The Survey of Scottish Gaelic in Australia and New Zealand

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St John Skilton, June 2004

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Abbreviations Used

Acronym	Meaning
ABC	Australian Broadcasting Commission
ACT	Australian Capital Territory (State)
AGS	Australian Gaelic Singers
AMEP	Adult Migrant English Program
CCE	Centre for Continuing Education, Sydney University
CGA	*Commun Gàidhlig Astràilia* (The Gàidhlig Association of Australia)
CLí	*Cothrom Luchd Ionnsachaidh*
CMA	Council for Multicultural Australia
CNAG	*Commun na Gàidhlig*
DFAT	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade
DIMA	Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (to 2001)
DIMIA	Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs
DP's	Displaced Persons [European refugees after the Second World War]
ECRML	European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages
ESL	English as a Second Language
IELTS	International English Language Testing System
L1	First Language
L2	Second Language
LOTE(s)	Language(s) Other Than English
MCEETYA	Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs
NALSAS	National Asian Languages and Studies in Australian Schools
NEMBC	National Ethnic and Multicultural Broadcasters' Council
NESB	Non-English Speaking Background
NMAC	National Multicultural Advisory Council
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
QLD	Queensland (State)
NSW	New South Wales (State)
SBS	Special Broadcasting Services
RP	Received Pronunciation
SA	South Australia (State)
SNP	Scottish National Party
SoSGA	The Survey of Scottish Gaelic in Australia and New Zealand
TAS	Tasmania (State)
VIC	Victoria (State)
VSL	Victoria School of Languages
WA	Western Australia (State)
WEA	Worker's Educational Association

Preface - 'And What are you Doing Next Week?'

The title of this Preface was the response when I summarised my topic for the benefit of an eminent professor of anthropology. Why would one want to study Scottish Gaelic in Australia? After all, as the supervisor of this thesis put it, it is not the first place one would think of starting the language's revival. An explanation is clearly in order.

1 Scottish Gaelic as an Embedded Language

I present aspects of Scottish Gaelic in Australia that might significantly influence language revitalisation efforts. I shall describe this as the *embedded* nature of Scottish Gaelic[1]. By this I mean that the independence of Scottish Gaelic in such a context - as a culture and an ethnicity in its own right - is contested. For some it is merely a part of a wider Scottish or British cultural sphere, whereas for other respondents this is unacceptable. SoSGA respondents are selected for their interest in the revival of Scottish Gaelic. How people try to revive or maintain a minority language in a country such as Australia is the primary focus of this thesis. For most people Scottish Gaelic is embedded elsewhere geographically, by being associated with the Highlands and Western Isles of Scotland. But some of the discourse of multiculturalism specifically permits the maintenance of immigrant languages. Given Australia's historically extremely high level of immigration (Burnley 2001) this means that a large number of languages are spoken there. Scottish Gaelic could be seen as just one of many of these. On the other hand, embedding a language elsewhere than where it is 'originally' spoken potentially calls into question a one-to-one mapping of nation and language. National identity and imagined communities (Anderson 1991) in the Antipodes are associated with Scottish ethnicity (Prentis 1983), but not with Scottish Gaelic. Therefore this study also examines how SoSGA respondents cope with apparent contradictions in status of the language.

Scottish Gaelic may also be embedded in other aspects of identity that are not associated with national identity. Here, issues of wider characterisation come to the fore, such as 'Celtic', or religious associations that do not necessarily strictly relate to national boundaries. Deeper spirituality may be accessed through Scottish Gaelic for those who consider it to be embedded in religious matters of deeper human significance. Therefore an important element of this

[1] An interesting contrast may be made with Giddens' (1999) use of 'disembedding' that he discusses in relation to the expropriating power of post-modernity.

thesis relates to identity.

2 Multiculturalism and Identity

I propose that the multicultural context of Australia is important. Discussions of identity in Australia sometimes concentrate on the ethnic origins of groups within the population (Smolicz 1995b) and on how characteristics of the Australian population developed (Clark 1963; Lateline 2003). Analyses that consider immigration in Australia in the light of socio-economic factors (Burnley 2001), or that see ethnicity as distracting from real issues of power (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988; Hage 1998; Rutherford 2000) are shown to be more explanatory.

Some aspects of identity might be far more fluid and contingent than considerations of ethnicity might allow. I argue that some interpretations of identity in Australia rely heavily on an essentialist reading of culture and ethnicity, which my data indicates is too simplistic. SoSGA respondents are careful not to allow themselves to be positioned by others. Scottish Gaelic plays a role in this in a number of ways, partly as an expression of identity, partly as a way of rejecting narrow-mindedness, and partly as heritage. Some SoSGA respondents see themselves as Australian with Scottish Gaelic as part of their heritage. In this sense, Scottish Gaelic is embedded within an Australian identity[2]. Other respondents specifically reject associations made by third parties as invalid. They present alternative views of how Australia and Scotland – as social spaces - map to their own lives. I hypothesise that characterisations of Scottish Gaelic in Australia as 'immigrant', 'minority' or 'endangered' have important implications.

Pragmatic factors influence my choice of context: I have done some phonetics research on Scottish Gaelic (Ladefoged, Ladefoged et al. 1997; Skilton 1997) and studied the language as an adult learner. An interest in Scottish Gaelic hopefully facilitates entry into Scottish Gaelic activities, enabling ethnographic observation of what people do.

3 Language Revival

That Scottish Gaelic is quite evidently not an Aboriginal Australian language may highlight different aspects of language revitalisation. Some reviews and comments on language revival and revitalisation have concentrated on clear cases of external pressures or blatant discrimination (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995a; Nettle and Romaine 2000). Others

[2] I distinguish this from a hyphenated identity (pers. comms. Juerg Schwyter) as it seems much more likely that a distinctive Australian identity is being advanced in many cases.

note difficulties with languages that have never been written or are remembered by very few people (Walsh 2002). These two important aspects of language death might initially appear not to apply to Scottish Gaelic in modern Australia. My research subjects are not obviously discriminated against by the majority by being supporters of a small and presumably little-known language. SoSGA respondents are not universally immigrants, as almost half (n=78 of 178 questionnaire respondents) are Australian-born. Neither are they socio-economically deprived as most of the respondents are either in full-term employment (n=60) or retired (n=72). The most common type of employment was reported as 'professional' (n=41), followed by 'self-employed' (n=20), 'clerical' (n=20), 'scientific' (n=18), 'teaching' (n=17) and 'academic' (n=14). More than two-thirds of the questionnaire respondents have received tertiary education. There is no obvious oppression – linguistic or otherwise - preventing SoSGA respondents from using and promoting the language they wish to revive. Under such potentially beneficial conditions, are there nonetheless factors that militate against language revival?

Conversely, for those wishing to learn Scottish Gaelic, there is no obvious instrumental benefit, although Bourdieu's (1991) idea of symbolic capital might provide a partial explanation. There is also little in my data to suggest militant, anti-state, linguistic activism. Discontent with the political *status quo* seems limited, despite desires for appropriate distinction within it – recognition rather than revolution, perhaps. I believe this can illustrate the situation in which many small languages might find themselves at present, or perhaps in the near future. People who associate themselves with a language might not be obviously discriminated against, being integrated into the dominant society, but the language is not part of the state apparatus. Many authors propose specific paths of action associated with ethnic revival (Fishman 1991) or Linguistic Human Rights (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995a; May 2001b), but what is it that activists <u>actually</u> do? How do their own ideologies affect their efforts? In the contexts of Australia and New Zealand, how do people try to revitalise a language?

Chapter 1 - Theoretical Perspectives

1.0 Introduction

The Survey of Scottish Gaelic in Australia and New Zealand is a study of discourse surrounding a minority language in multicultural settings. The research explores what people do in promoting the revitalisation of an endangered, minority language. Their approaches to the linguistic situation are interpreted in the light of the influence of the wider society and of reported personal experiences. I link power struggles over ideology, identity, and social justice with survey respondents' understanding of linguistic positioning in a post-modern society. Their attitudes and actions are examined in relation to wider society as well as to learning or using Scottish Gaelic in everyday life.

1.1 Data Considerations

The data collected for this thesis will not necessarily represent all aspects of Scottish Gaelic in Australia and New Zealand. However my intention is to illustrate some of the factors surrounding Scottish Gaelic in these countries. The survey started with Australia as the location of the study but was rapidly expanded to include responses from New Zealand. These were less numerous but some of the information seemed to add important elements to the investigation. Therefore the name was changed in the initial stages of the survey and is hereafter referred to as *'The Survey of Scottish Gaelic in Australia and New Zealand'* ('*SoSGA'* in abbreviation). This makes some sense, as the level of contact between the two countries is exceedingly high[1]. There are some superficial similarities in a British, colonial past, although this is not examined in detail. It was interesting in itself that responses from outwith Australia were received despite the promotional material for the survey specifically stating that it was aimed at Australian responses[2].

I include other 'international' material, illuminating the wider context. SoSGA respondents clearly exist in an environment that interacts with aspects of Scottish Gaelic at a global level. This includes Internet discussion forums, electronic lists, direct or indirect contacts with

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[1] Recent figures for Australian immigration show that those born in New-Zealand make up the biggest number of foreign-born arrivals for the years 1999-2000 and 2001-2002 by a considerable margin (21 889 and 15 663) over British arrivals (9 201 and 8 749) in second place. DIMIA (2002f). Immigration Update 2001 - 2002, Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs - Statistics Section. **2003**.

[2] Other early direct responses originated from the United States, for example, although those have been omitted from the survey due to constraints of funding and time.

individuals overseas, participation in Scottish Gaelic-related events outside Australia, and knowledge of history. The inclusion of a wide range of data is thus justified by the common themes that appear, irrespective of geographical location.

This chapter begins by introducing research priorities and makes a brief summary of the situation of Scottish Gaelic. Theoretical perspectives are then discussed, followed by the reasoning behind doing such a survey in Australia. I conclude with an overview of what I hope the research will achieve.

1.2 Research Priorities

This section identifies a number of research priorities for the survey. The broad aims are to examine issues that relate to the revitalisation of Scottish Gaelic in Australia or elsewhere. I examine the discourse surrounding the language in public domains, and interactions between SoSGA respondents.

Firstly, there are important elements of social or linguistic justice that appear in minority language debates. A strong thread of desire for greater linguistic equality is expressed in 'Linguistic Human Rights' arguments (Skutnabb-Kangas 1998), examined further in Chapter 2. Do SoSGA respondents feel that languages should be entitled to protective legislation within a given society? Do they feel that Scottish Gaelic should be protected?

Secondly, the aspect of the Diaspora has been present since large-scale emigration from Scotland began in the eighteenth century[3]. The relation between Australia as a modern, immigrant society and social identity is examined in Chapters 7 and 8. The effect of looking back into history (and pre-history) and to a country of origin is related to nationalism, examined in Chapter 5. Perceptions of ethnicity are examined for their possible effect on private and public aspects of Scottish Gaelic in Australia.

Thirdly, I consider 'global' aspects of identity related to Scottish Gaelic and to local understandings. 'Distant events' or 'large-scale happenings' remote in both time and space may be as familiar to people as anything local, and then 'integrated into personal experiences' (Giddens 1999). This element of post-modernity will be discussed in relation to the interests, activities and beliefs of SoSGA respondents. In Chapters 4 and 5, for example, understandings of Scottish history and society are shown to impinge directly on actual outcomes with respect to learning Scottish Gaelic and perceptions of Scottish heritage.

Fourthly, I examine everyday life in relation to Scottish Gaelic in Australia and New Zealand.

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[3] Needless to say this applies to many groups that have experienced migration, and the case of Welsh is briefly compared below.

This element deals with what it is that SoSGA respondents 'do' with Scottish Gaelic. This survey makes no claim to being statistically representative in population terms, but I have made strenuous efforts to reach as many individuals and groups as possible within the limited financial and time constraints available. I made direct and indirect contacts, and participated in many activities involving Scottish Gaelic in Australia. This led to a large amount of data collected as audio recordings and as field notes. Other data in text format is from correspondence or as commercially printed material available in the public domain.
Most fundamentally in this survey, I examine the discourse of SoSGA respondents itself, and how the arguments are presented. I discuss how categorisations inherent in some of the discourse can have significant effects on a minority language. I link ideologies bound up in the discourse of SoSGA respondents to wider aspects of society. In particular I examine how ideologies that show evidence of 'congruent' and 'contradictory' discourses (Tsitsipis 1998, p. 119) display how Scottish Gaelic fits with SoSGA respondents' experiences in the Antipodes. Policies expressed as 'multiculturalism' are examined for what it means to different respondents. Multiculturalism as a label is not a neutral description in Australia (Hage 1998). Sometimes close attention to the language used will illuminate important elements of the context. Therefore some aspects of (critical) Discourse Analysis are also used in this research.

1.3 An Overview of Scottish Gaelic in Scotland

1.3.1 Language Details

Scottish Gaelic is classified as a Goidelic language, closely related to Irish (Gaelic) and Manx (Ball and Fife 1993). A common distinction is between the Brythonic ('P-Celtic') languages (such as Welsh, Cornish, Breton) and the Goidelic ('Q-Celtic') ones (Irish, Scottish Gaelic and Manx) (Russell 1995, p. 14). This was based on */kw/ becoming /k/ in the Goidelic languages and /p/ in the Brythonic ones (Schmidt 1993, p. 68). The 'P' and 'Q' sub-grouping is contested (Russell 1995, p. 18), as alternative reconstructions of Proto-Celtic involve a closer link between Brythonic languages and [dead] Continental Celtic languages such as Celtiberian which preserved /kw/, making the P/ Q distinction less meaningful (Schmidt 1993, p. 68).
The Goidelic languages retain a case system that has vanished in Brythonic languages (Russell 1995, p. 14). There are other fundamental differences such as word-stress on the initial syllable in Goidelic languages where it is syllable-final in Brythonic ones, producing significant differences in word-shape (Russell 1995, p. 15). General features of the Goidelic languages are word-initial mutations and intervocalic lenitions (Russell 1995, p. 28). There are

systems of long and short vowels (Russell 1995, p. 29), and a history of contact with Latin, Welsh (Russell 1995, p. 30), and Norse (Smyth 1984, p. 175). Full stress in Scottish Gaelic is generally on the first syllable of a word with exceptions either from compounds or loanwords (Lamb 2003, p. 18). Intonation patterns may be determined at sentence-level (Skilton 1997) with emphasis indicated syntactically, typically with emphatic suffixes <sa> or <se> (Lamb 2003, p. 90).

The orthography of modern Scottish Gaelic follows principles of that of Classical Irish, with some innovations being incorporated (Gillies 1993, p. 147). Consonant phonemes typically contain a palatalised and a velarised (or non-palatalised) member (Gillies 1993, p. 148). Palatalisation is typically indicated orthographically by the use of <i> or <e>, such as the difference in *bàs*, /b̥aːs/, 'death', nominative, and *bàis*, /b̥aːʃ/, 'death', genitive (Gillies 1993, p. 147)[4]. This can also affect vowels, such as in *each*, (/ɛx/, or /jax/ depending on dialect [MD08][5]), 'horse', singular, and *eich*, /eç/, 'horses', plural (Gillies 1993, p. 147). Digraphs can represent fricatives (<bh>, <mh> for /v/, <gh> for /ɣ/, for example), or can simply represent syllabic breaks (<th> used to distinguish *fìtheach*, 'raven', from *fiach*, 'debt'). The opposition of voiced-voiceless stops is effectively an opposition of voiceless-unaspirated with voiceless-aspirated (Gillies 1993, p. 148). For example *gad*, ['withy'] approximates to /kat/ and *cat* ['cat'] to /kʰaʰt/ (Gillies 1993). Neither epenthetic vowels nor dental consonants are indicated in the orthography (Gillies 1993, p. 148).

Attempts to revise the orthography in the 1980s (SCEEB 1981) led to new usages in the school system and by some writers (Gillies 1993, p. 147). However, orthography is not necessarily consistently used. One example is an edition of a parliamentary dictionary (McLeod 2001c). McLeod (2001a) points out that the production of Scottish Gaelic documents has been uncoordinated, despite their 'increasing range' in recent years (McLeod 2001a, p. 100). Allied to this might be the comments on a 'New Gaelic', influenced structurally by English (Macaulay 1986), or by other sources, as reflected in SoSGA respondents' discourse.

1.3.2 History and Demographic Studies

Scottish Gaelic in Scotland is attributed to migrations from Ireland around 500 A.D. (Gillies

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[4] This can also be called 'slenderisation' (Extract 6.30). Unpalatalised consonants are described as 'broad'.

[5] Square brackets refer to a SoSGA recording. For transcription conventions and SoSGA references please refer to Appendix 4.

1993, p. 145). Scottish Gaelic, Scots and Pictish co-existed in what was to become Scotland after Goidelic-speakers pushed eastwards and took overlordship by the tenth century (Smyth 1984, p. 175). After the twelfth century, Scots became dominant in the Lowlands, with Scottish Gaelic predominantly in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland (Gillies 1993, p. 145). Linguistic differences between Irish, Scottish Gaelic and Manx imply a common ancestor language somewhere between the seventh and eleventh centuries (Gillies 1993, pp. 145). Modern texts appear in significant quantity from the seventeenth century, and stylistic differences – especially in poetry - indicate both colloquial and classical forms (Gillies 1993, p. 146).

Dialectal differences also seem to have existed for centuries, and modern speakers are keenly aware of these (Gillies 1993, p. 146). Common features of the language aside, Gillies (1993) identifies dialects based on geographical areas. These are broadly divisible into 'central', being the West Central Highlands from North Argyll to Wester Ross, and the 'peripheral' being on the eastern, southern and northern fringes of this area (Gillies 1993, p. 146). For example, initial nasalisation in islands like Lewis shows a voiced-voiceless distinction: /m̥, n̥, ŋ̊/ vs. /m, n, ŋ/ (Gillies 1993, p. 168). Other dialects assimilate following consonants and only post-aspiration prevents homophony; therefore *an coal* (/-ŋgʰ-/) is distinguished from *an gaol,* (/-ŋg-/) (Gillies 1993, p. 169). Pre-aspiration occurs before voiceless stops and is more pronounced in peripheral dialects, varying between /ʰ/, /h/ and /x/ (Lamb 2003, p. 21). Pre-aspiration is rare in the world's languages and is probably diachronically unstable (Silverman 2003, p. 596). It is unlikely to be a mirror-image of post-aspiration judging by its variability (Silverman 2003, p. 595). A dialectological study is 'yet to be written' (Gillies 1993, p. 146) and the grammar is described as 'less than standardised' even if variation is small (McLeod 2001a, p. 101).

From medieval times Scots was the language of state administration (MacKinnon 1991b, p. 50) although there was a Scottish Gaelic-speaking power centre in the form of the Lordship of the Isles from the mid-fourteenth century to the late fifteenth century (Grant 1984, p. 210). By the seventeenth century Scottish Gaelic was in retreat and there were a number of proscriptions on culture and language, reflecting the dominant state interests (MacKinnon 1991b, p. 50). The nineteenth century brought the 'Highland Clearances' and school systems, contributing to the decline in use of the language (MacKinnon 1991b, p. 51). Despite some later legislative protection for crofting communities (MacKinnon 1991b, p. 51), and sporadic political opposition, the social changes were inexorable (Devine 1994).

The number of Gaelic speakers has been in almost constant decline since census figures were taken (MacKinnon 1990). Importantly, about one third of speakers do not live in the Scottish Gaelic 'stronghold' of the Highlands and Islands, but in other parts of Scotland (MacKinnon 1990, p. 71). Although the 1971 census showed an increase of speakers (to almost 89 000) some of this has been attributed to a change in the census question (MacKinnon 1990, p. 79). In 1981 the speakers represented 1.6 percent of the population over 3 years of age, or 79 307 speakers (MacKinnon 1993, p. 494). Crucially, only about one quarter lived in districts where 75 percent of the people in that district also spoke Scottish Gaelic. Trends continued to show increasing urbanisation and outmigration (MacKinnon 1993, p. 494). Following analysis of the 1981 census data, MacKinnon (1993) concludes that the majority of speakers are no longer to be found in the western 'fringe' areas, but elsewhere in areas that 'could not be described in any sense as Gaelic in either present-day or recent historic character' (MacKinnon 1993, p. 501) [cf. (Robertson 1999, p. 244).]

By 1991 the number of speakers had decreased to 65 978 (MacKinnon 1996, p. 106), and to 58 650 by 2001 (MacKinnon 2003). Of relevance to this thesis is the increasing number and proportion of speakers who registered as having been born outside of Scotland. This increased from just under 4 percent in 1971 to 8.3 percent in 2001 (MacKinnon 2003). McKinnon (2003) attributes this to the Diaspora effect and return of descendants (MacKinnon 2003).

1.3.3 Change in Status and Change in Use?

1.3.3.1 Scottish Gaelic in Public Life and Education

Literacy in Scottish Gaelic is lower for regions that were historically Catholic compared to Protestant, due to Calvinist influence on biblical scripture (MacKinnon 1993, p. 493). Literacy has also been associated with intergenerational maintenance, but is generally below 60 percent (MacKinnon 1993, p. 493). Calls for Scottish Gaelic to be available in courts have been made since at least the first quarter of the nineteenth century (MacKinnon 1993, p. 492). Recent changes in political structure in the United Kingdom have seen the establishment of the Scottish Parliament, and there has been increased use of Scottish Gaelic there. In early 2003 a bill was put forward to the Scottish Parliament that seems likely to lead to official status for Scottish Gaelic (Knox 2003a). In mid-2003 a couple was legally allowed to register their child's full name in Scottish Gaelic for the first time (BBC 2003b).

A feature of recent censuses is the effect of the introduction of schooling in Scottish Gaelic that has led to a 'bulge' in the age-distribution of speakers (MacKinnon 1990, p. 78). This has

resulted in a higher proportion of speakers in the school-age ranges, with unclear long-term effects (MacKinnon 2003). Historically, Scottish Gaelic has not been widely available in schools, although not absent entirely. By the end of the nineteenth century there were moves to include it in the school curriculum and the 1918 Education Act officially allowed this (MacKinnon 1993, p. 492). University degrees in Celtic were possible from 1882, but generally the school system was geared towards literacy in English (MacKinnon 1993, p. 493).

Robertson (1999) sees the last twenty years as having witnessed a 'remarkable renaissance of the language and culture' (Robertson 1999, p. 244). This upbeat assessment is based largely on the changes within education spheres, starting with the establishment of Scottish Gaelic-medium playgroups in 1982 (Robertson 1999, p. 244). By 1999 there were 150 pre-school groups, and ten 'nursery' education units in Scottish schools (Robertson 1999, p. 245). Bilingual and Scottish Gaelic-medium primary education started in the Highland area in the 1970s and by 1997-8 there were fifty-five schools and 1736 pupils 'engaged in Scottish Gaelic-medium education' (Robertson 1999, p. 245). In 2002 a government minister said that 1,859 pupils were in primary Scottish Gaelic-medium classes (BBC 2002b). Demand from parents is cited as strong, and Robertson (1999) quotes a 1994 government report that labels the Scottish Gaelic-medium approach as successful (Robertson 1999, p. 246). However, Robertson (1999) also acknowledges the existence of criticisms claiming that language learning is limited to basic vocabulary and language awareness (Robertson 1999, p. 247). Scottish Gaelic-medium education in secondary schools is restricted to fewer subjects. Exams in Scottish Gaelic for the [school-leaving] Scottish Certificate of Education are restricted to history, geography and maths (Robertson 1999, p. 247). The language as a subject is streamed, with separate exams for fluent and for non-fluent speakers. Exams for fluent speakers were taken by 101 pupils at Standard Grade (age 16) and 46 at Higher Grade (age 17-18) in 1997 (Robertson 1999, p. 248). Classification as a learner or fluent speaker is 'a recurrent issue' and Robertson (1999) comments that some parents wish their children to be classified as learners in order to increase their chances of examination success (Robertson 1999, p. 248). The numbers of pupils taking Gaelic (Learner) exams in 1997 was 529 at Standard and 102 at Higher Grade in 1997 – 'small in comparison with most other languages' (Robertson 1999, p. 248). Some compare the small numbers of children studying Scottish Gaelic at schools to the number of speakers who die each year, concluding that this cannot maintain the population [(MacKinnon 2000) quoted in (McLeod 2001b, p. 15)]. There have been recent increases in government funding for cultural events related to Scottish Gaelic (BBC 2003e), although

grass-roots efforts are clearly continuing, with one school in the Hebrides producing spell-checking software (BBC 2003a).

Aspects of Scottish Gaelic in Scotland indicate a status change, while speaker numbers continue to decline. The language might now no longer be stigmatised but may rather act as an important marker in some domains - particularly judging by political desire to support language and culture (Russell 2002; BBC 2003e). The production of texts by the Scottish Parliament is clearly a move in this direction although some highlight the dangers of this being a mere 'tokenism' (McLeod 2001a, p. 110). Wilson (1999) perceives a distinct lack of planning in the 'renaissance' of the language.

Fishman (1991, 2001) highlights the importance of prestige as a factor in 'Reversing Language Shift'. This is most probably the case for Scottish Gaelic too. A survey by the BBC and Bòrd Gàidhlig na h-Alba indicated strong support for Scottish Gaelic education opportunities and for the importance of the language to 'Scottish life' (BBC 2003f). Unsurprisingly, assuming it was a random survey, very few of these respondents actually had any knowledge of the language. The report quoted David Crystal as noting that the language would have to be helped by more than just 'ticking a box in a survey' (BBC 2003f).

1.4 Theoretical Perspectives

This section introduces theoretical perspectives relevant to the data and that illustrate my approach. Theoretical perspectives 'influence how research questions are formulated' (Coupland 2001a, p. 1). This might be important in the light of Coupland's (2001a) view that sociolinguistics has been theoretically 'agnostic', with the risk that the social significance of data is missed (Coupland 2001a, p. 15). I briefly discuss some perspectives on language revival and then examine criticisms of sociolinguistics. I explain how these are relevant to my research.

1.4.1 The Importance of 'Reversing Language Shift'

Fishman (1991) presents criteria, which have to be met in order to 'Reverse Language Shift' (RLS). These are presented on an eight-level 'Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale' representing the level of language disruption (Fishman 1991, p. 87 ff.). This scale concerns identity, power relations and legalistic positions within a given society (Fishman 1991, pp. 87-109). Fishman's analysis is that stage 6 is 'extremely crucial' (Fishman 1991, p. 92), re-iterated in later work (Fishman 2001). This stage is 'the attainment of intergenerational informal oralcy and its demographic concentration and institutional reinforcement' (Fishman

1991, p. 92). Fishman (1991, 2001) emphasises that the change in status of a language is vital: stage 6 is seen as 'subsuming' neighbourhood institutions that are part of everyday life (Fishman 1991, p. 93). This is relevant to SoSGA, as much of the research is conducted within choirs, language groups, language classes, and language and culture organisations. Many of SoSGA respondents spend significant amounts of time and energy within these frameworks attempting to revitalise Scottish Gaelic. It is this aspect of language in everyday life where revitalisation is at such a crucial stage according to Fishman's (1991) analysis:

> 'Just as stage 8 represents a language-in-culture waiting to be painstakingly reassembled and relearned, and just as stage 7 represents a language-in-culture waiting for its 'old-timers' to reconnect with younger generations, so stage 6 represents a language-in-culture waiting for young people to create their own families and for intergenerationally diverse families to achieve the demographic concentration of communities.' (Fishman 1991, p. 93)

Fishman's (1991) stance thus clearly views family-based and community-based efforts as crucial turning points in a language's fortunes. The ideal is clearly for people to interact through the minority ('X') language. Fishman believes that a higher concentration of 'Xish speakers' would help to reinforce language use and 'create the social norms and interactive situations that facilitate the acquisition of Xish-as-a-second-language for those who have not hitherto done so', contributing to greater fluency (Fishman 1991, p. 93). The family is thus put forward as a 'natural boundary' and a 'bulwark' to protect the revitalisation of a language (Fishman 1991, p. 93).

However, as some of my research shows, contact between those who are fluent in Scottish Gaelic and those who are not, might be fraught with *ideological*, rather than practical, difficulties. Ideology itself may be identified as a barrier to language transmission. I identify part of the difficulty as the naturalisation of certain types of opposition (Bourdieu 1991). The acceptance of similar oppositions inherent in some of Fishman's (1991, 2001) arguments might itself reflect an authenticity hierarchy (Myhill 2003). The establishment of such a hierarchy might have important consequences and a significant impact on both language transmission and attitudes towards languages. This is discussed further below.

Links between language and society are quite explicitly made by Fishman (1991). That Fishman (1991) sees RLS as a way of changing aspects of <u>society itself</u> is strongly re-iterated by Fishman (2001):

> 'RLS is concerned with the recovery, recreation and retention of a complete way of life, including non-linguistic as well as linguistic features … All cultures and the social identities that they foster … are partially continuations and partially innovations relative to their own pasts. When both continuations and innovations are under local self-

> regulation they fuse together into a seemingly seamless authentic whole. RLS is the linguistic part of the pursuit of ethnocultural self-regulation which democracies and international bodies are increasingly recognising as a basic right for indigenous (and often for also for immigrant) populations.' (Fishman 2001, p. 452).

Fishman (2001) clearly sees language as one element in changing society - and ethnicity has a part to play. Importantly, I want to highlight how 'rights' are characterised in association with people who are 'indigenous' or 'immigrant'. Chapter 2 examines the issues of Linguistic Human Rights (LHRs) and shows how the naturalisation of such oppositions might have important consequences for debates about language. Fishman (2001) also seems to work within this framework, which might have implications for RLS efforts. In particular, the characterisation of languages as 'immigrant' or 'indigenous' in a country like Australia may very rapidly lead to a hierarchical valorisation of 'languages'. This is far from being a trivial issue, as it links to nationalism, discussed in the section below on the relevance of my thesis to Australia.

Scottish Gaelic was also used in the search for 'Britishness' (BBC 2002a) by the British Government between 2001 and 2003. Language testing was advanced as a possible condition for citizenship (Casciani 2002; Casciani 2003a), and subsequent events have led to citizenship ceremonies similar to those in Australia (BBC 2004a). English, Welsh and Scottish Gaelic have been advanced as languages in which to test for fluency for prospective citizens (BBC 2003c). The juxtaposition of these languages indicates to me that a concept of 'indigenous' has played a part in these ideas, as well as attempts to tighten the links between civic nationalism, citizenship and language. As will be seen in Chapter 6, the discourse of SoSGA respondents reflects that this is a problematic area for language maintenance.

1.4.2 The Ideology of Native Language and Identity

Fishman's work (1991, 2001) in relation to language revival, links language to identity via ethnicity. Myhill (2003) describes this as 'the ideology of native-language-and-identity' (Myhill 2003, p. 78). In an examination of Fishman's (1991) arguments about 'X-ish' providing a marker for ethnic identity, Myhill (2003) replaces 'German' with 'X-ish' in an extract from Hitler's *Mein Kampf* (Myhill 2003, p. 80). Myhill illustrates that the result bears similarities to Fishman's (1972, 1989) arguments linking language and ethnicity to identity (Myhill 2003, p. 80-81). For Myhill (2003) this is too essentialist and might lead directly to oppression. He insists that an identity-language link cannot be presupposed and that other aspects of identity can be more important (Myhill 2003, p. 83). Although he acknowledges

that such a view can be 'valuable', it might sometimes be 'dangerous' for those who do not choose to use their 'ancestral' languages if it creates an atmosphere of suspicion (Myhill 2003, p. 78). For Myhill (2003):

> 'An ideology defining identity in terms of native language will inevitably view groups as rejecting this ideology as being deficient, low on the 'authenticity hierarchy' established by this ideology … and perversely and insistently claiming distinctive identities and interests' (Myhill 2003, p. 77).

Firstly, I concur with Myhill (2003) that this ideology is inherent in some of the writings about LHRs, for example, as 'universally valid' (Myhill 2003, p. 78). Myhill highlights Fishman's (1991) insistence on the symbolic links between a language and a culture as the valid construct of such a relationship [via the importance of an 'Xman' being 'Xish'] (Myhill 2003, p. 79). This is not to say that there are not people who view their identity in this way, but Myhill (2003) highlights that such an ideology denies other constructs of identity as 'inauthentic' (Myhill 2003, p. 80). Myhill (2003) goes on to illustrate that exactly this view of Jews and Gypsies was at the core of Nazi ideology, leading to anti-Semitism and oppression of other groups. The status of a person was therefore also linked to their perceived 'authenticity' (Myhill 2003, p. 95). Some SoSGA respondents' views of authenticity will be examined in Chapters 5 and 6.

The validity of an ideology of authenticity will similarly be questioned in relation to my own research. I explore how native-language-and-speaker ideology affects the proposed solutions to language revival and survival, and how it affects the way in which the arguments are presented (Chapter 2). I also show how the authenticity hierarchy is invoked by some SoSGA respondents as part of their understanding of the linguistic situation of Scottish Gaelic. In Chapter 4 I show how this can directly influence aspects of second language acquisition, in both positive and negative ways, with regard to minority language maintenance. For instance, prototypical native speakers may be placed at the summit of an authenticity hierarchy. This consequently legitimises certain gate-keeping practices – perhaps as part of the 'exaggerated significance' of the concept (Myhill 2003, p. 78). This also relates to interactions between native speakers and non-native speakers in regards to the desire for learning Scottish Gaelic from native speakers. Some participants in this survey value native speakers as the apex of authority in Scottish Gaelic, but might falsely attribute meta-linguistic or cultural knowledge to them. In Chapters 2 and 6 I show how the postulation of a strong link between ethnicity, native language and nationalism can be problematic. It can be problematic for definitions of national identity, because of counter-claims of other languages for the same purpose. It can be

problematic in a context where civic nationalism is advanced as an ideal model for multicultural societies (Chapter 8). This might apply to Australia, as well as to Scotland.

Criticism of the indexical linking of identity and language extends into aspects of Australian society. I examine historical categorisations of people in terms of ideologies that use socially constructed attributes, such as 'race'. This is perhaps most well known in terms of the White Australia Policy, but such policies were hardly rare in the world[6]. In Chapters 6 to 8, I argue that a thread of such thinking continues today, via language policies. Policies such as multiculturalism are presented as positive for cultural (and presumably linguistic) diversity (DIMIA 2002a; DIMIA 2002b; DIMIA 2003j). How some SoSGA respondents react to multiculturalism might also reflect elements of the ideology of native language and identity. They simultaneously accept an indexical link between Scottish Gaelic and their (cultural and ethnic) heritage, but reject the *form* that it is believed to take. May (2001b) insists we should accept that many people link language and identity, and use this as a sensible route to claiming language rights. However, although May (2001a, 2001b) might be correct in identifying a source of motivation for language maintenance, this may be only partially in the interests of diversity. I argue, rather, that the results of such thinking lead to protection of languages, but not necessarily of linguistic diversity.

Finally, I agree with Myhill (2003) that the advancement of an authenticity hierarchy is not egalitarian and that it simply replaces hierarchies based on 'power/ wealth/ intelligence' with one that has roots in Herderian thinking concerning purity (Myhill 2003, p. 82). I argue in Chapter 2 that a similar view pervades some forms of LHRs arguments. The rejection of the Herderian view is also an essential element in Williams' (1992) critique of sociolinguistics, discussed below, which instead appeals for the incorporation of power relations in society for an understanding of language maintenance.

1.4.3 Criticisms of Sociolinguistics

Some criticisms of linguistics focus on sociolinguistics' lack of inclusion of power relations within a society (Fairclough 1989). Yet other commentators emphasise a broad divide between two different 'types' of sociolinguistic traditions (Coupland 2001a). One type is seen as associated with language variation, uses structured social categories, and is also described as 'quantitative' (Coupland 2001a, p. 5). For Coupland et al. (2001a) some approaches within

[6] Nor, of course, are they necessarily rare today either, as the highlighting of discriminatory language policies by many writers, not least of which Skutnabb-Kangas *et al*. (1995b).

this type do not rely enough on social theory (Coupland 2001a, p. 5). The other type assumes that experiences are structured entirely through 'local actions and practices' (Coupland 2001a, p. 2) and has led to a collection of 'socially-relevant mini-theories' (Coupland 2001a, p. 6). Coupland (2001a) perceives a 'micro-macro divide' between these types and self-consciously attempts to bridge this gap. Coupland (2001a) goes on to discuss how debates on sociolinguistics have sometimes concentrated on what the research matter itself 'should' be (Coupland 2001a, p. 7). If it is about human beings (and language), then we should be studying social theory more closely (Coupland 2001a, p. 7). If, on the other hand, the research matter is language (and human beings), then we should concentrate on linguistic details (Coupland 2001a, p. 4). Coupland (2001a) believes this is a misleading dichotomy and that both aspects concern researchers. It might be beneficial to progress under a set of 'programmatic principles' (as being inherently theoretical) rather than concentrate on theoretical concerns (Coupland 2001a, p. 7).

For my own respondents it seems that social categories, power relations and micro- and macro-societal factors play a role, justifying an approach that considers all of these. I try to account for influences from individuals, and from wider society, that contribute to the discourse surrounding Scottish Gaelic in Australia and New Zealand. Therefore I consider seriously multiple theoretical positions.

1.4.3.1 Questionable Claims About Society

As SoSGA inherently invokes a context, it is important to pay close attention to the social aspects surrounding the language. Lack of contextualisation can be criticised as a weakness of past sociolinguistic research. Glyn Williams (1992) is highly critical of approaches that do not take the constructed nature of society into account (Williams 1992). He argues that linguistics is not an objective science, having emerged from the social philosophy of its time (Williams 1992, p. 40). Some assumptions 'derive from the highly questionable claims of the nature of society made by social philosophers' and therefore claims of objectivity must be rejected (Williams 1992, p. 40). A criticism of 'essentialism' is voiced by Karol Janicki following criticism of Aristotelian philosophy by Popper (Janicki 1990). For Janicki (1990) essentialism leads to 'unwarranted certainty' and demonstrates negative effects on society such as disregard for other's beliefs (Janicki 1990, p. 114).

For Williams theoretical problems in earlier versions of sociolinguistics are inherited from a Eurocentric tradition that does not cope with changing theoretical perspectives in Sociology (Williams 1992, Ch. 1). In the 'revolution' that was inspired by the work of Saussure,

distinctions were made between the concrete, observable phenomena of language, and the uses to which language were put - hence Saussure's distinction between *langue* and *parole* (Williams 1992, p. 38). Williams (1992) sees the ideologies of Saussure's era as having an important effect on interpretations of linguistics – leading to a dichotomy between individual and society. Such a distinction also means that the relationship between the two has to somehow be explained. For Williams the ideological positioning of the 'opposition of society and the individual … is resolved and mediated by the fiction of a 'contract' ' (Williams 1992, p. 38). This opposition also led to the view of people as 'essentialised' by their language or culture:

> '[T]he ideology of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and its emphasis on history and group identity, led to people being seen in terms of discrete ethnic or national units with their own independent traditions and cultures and with a language and dialect characterised by a distinct grammatical structure. These structures were held to reflect the basic underlying characteristics of the group' (Williams 1992, p. 38).

May (2001a) and Skutnabb-Kangas (1998) strongly reject linguistic essentialism as a valid link between language and ethnicity (Skutnabb-Kangas 1998; May 2001a). An ideology narrowly linking language and ethnicity has perhaps influenced multicultural policies in modern Australia. In Chapters 7 and 8 I show that classificatory schemes based on supposed group characteristics might be related to modern policies of multiculturalism. At the heart of some of the modern debate is still an essentialised relation of the individual to society.

1.4.3.2 Primitive and Civilised

For Williams (1992) Structural Functionalism is particularly weak for failing to adequately take account of some realities (Williams 1992, Ch. 2). It is also criticised for teleological and tautological arguments such as social structures being explained by their function – although their function is expected to have been known before they developed (Williams 1992, pp. 62-64). Parsons is also viewed as having too narrowly focused on North American society (Williams 1992, p. 52). Williams (1992) is uncomfortable with Parsonian views that the development of social institutions is a distinguishing feature of civilised societies (Williams 1992, pp. 52-53).

Similarly, in analysing some public discourse in modern-day Australia (Chapters 7 and 8), I highlight the presentation of Australia as being inherently civilised by virtue of having developed or inherited particular institutions. These are taken to confer benefits such as 'cohesion' and stability and to reflect social advancement. Such understandings of 'civilised'

are further openly related to the English language (Dixson 1999)[7], as well as to the unity and coherence of the Australian nation (DIMIA 2002c). Williams' (1992) criticism of Parsonian views is that such an argumentation is self-fulfilling, illustrating how one's own society is supposedly superior. Such argumentation is politically conservative and reduces inequalities to differences in ability as inequality is presented as 'inevitable' and is justified 'as an incentive to the industrious' according to the Parsonian view (Williams 1992, p. 65). For Williams (1992) this philosophy views the political implications of power as irrelevant (Williams 1992, p. 65). A similar discourse pervades modern-day Australia where immigrants with 'skills' are presented as desirable for the society (Chapters 7 and 8). Earlier immigration policies openly allowed only those who were able to 'adapt' to the society to immigrate, initially by virtue of skin colour, later by virtue of their supposed racial affinity, and later still by virtue of their supposed skill-value to Australian society (Jupp 1998; Lopez 2000; Burnley 2001). I illustrate how, presented as a skill, the English language can still act as a partial gatekeeper to a 'civilised' society[8].

1.4.3.3 Power Relations

Williams (1992) criticises sociolinguistic approaches that see society as purely a constraint on individual action. This conceals the power relations within society (Williams 1992, p. 231). Williams (1992) ignores processes such as coinages, blends, reinterpretations or phonetic changes (Jeffers and Lehiste 1982, p. 131) to argue that any account of language change – such as language death - must include an account of power relations (Williams 1992, p. 234). He further rejects sociolinguistic analyses such as Conversation Analysis and Ethnomethodology for being too mechanistic. Analysing linguistic behaviours as the observation of norms and attempts at explanations by creating dichotomies - such as *normative* versus *deviant* – do not explain how these terms are status-related; only an account which includes power relations would be satisfactory (Williams 1992, p. 234-5). Williams' (1992) view will be shown to be too extreme despite having some validity. The behaviours and linguistic actions of SoSGA respondents may be interpreted in the light of power relations within the society. The advancement of Scottish Gaelic within Australia might

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[7] Some commentators compare Australia favourably, as more civilised than its neighbours, by virtue of having such institutions – including multiculturalism. Dixson, M. (1999). The Imaginary Australian. Sydney, University of New South Wales Press.; DIMIA (2002d). Multicultural Australia - The Way Forward - Message from the Minister, Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs. **2003**..

[8] This is, of course, a point raised by many linguists for many societies (e.g. Ingrid Piller, pers. Comms.), but I wish to highlight the continuity of immigration policy in Australia with respect to notions of purity and preservation.

run counter to the ideal of a monolingual nation-state (Anderson 1991). On the one hand it might be interpreted as a reaction to the dominant ideologies of homogeneous identity, such as 'Anglo'. In a society where strong claims are made for the desirability of homogeneity this can be interpreted as a deliberate presentation of alternative identities. The desire for advancement of Scottish Gaelic might be interpreted as a reaction to the categorisations prevalent in wider society by the use of an ethnicity that is not apparently sanctioned by a bureaucracy. It may well be that some SoSGA respondents are participating in a power struggle, as a language group, through trying to challenge dominant ideologies (Williams 1992, p. 252).

On the other hand, for others it is a matter of Scottish Gaelic helping to represent a deeper spirituality than is on offer elsewhere, or as the appropriate medium for particular cultural activities. Equally, some respondents deliberately do not use Scottish Gaelic in order to struggle for power because of their own cultural sensitivities. To examine Scottish Gaelic as a 'solidarity code' and English as a 'power code' in this context would be too simplistic [see also (Tsitsipis 1998, pp. 118-120)]. It seems more sensible to examine these in the light of personal identity. Scottish Gaelic can be seen as a licensed site for struggle – licensed as an important aspect of heritage, recognition, or for the expression of social justice, but to view it solely as this would be too simplistic.

1.4.3.4 Incorporating Authority

Bourdieu (1991) criticises Austin's Speech Act theory for lacking the element of authority. He maintains that the power of performative speech acts lies not in the words, nor in the institution, but in the acceptance of the power relations by listeners and speakers (Bourdieu 1991, p. 111). Tacit acceptance ('recognition') of power thus gives the words their impact (Bourdieu 1991, p. 113). Bourdieu (1991) thus criticises Austin for focusing too much on the ritual itself rather than what gives the ritual its legitimacy (i.e. 'misrecognition'). Recognition is only granted under conditions which define 'legitimate usage' (Bourdieu 1991, p. 113). It is therefore the delegation of authority, and the collaboration of those being governed, which allows a discourse to be authoritative (Bourdieu 1991, p. 113). Austin's error is in not noting that authority is vested is in 'the social conditions of production and reproduction' (Bourdieu 1991, p. 113). Authority is manifested, not created by speech acts, and is bestowed upon language 'by factors external to it' (Thompson 1991, p. 9).

This view might be useful in explaining authority in Scottish Gaelic for SoSGA respondents. In Bourdieu's (1991) analysis, authority is a matter of '*credentials*' (Bourdieu 1991, p. 119).

Credentials are clearly important in particular spheres of my study such as Scottish Gaelic classes. This approach may help one examine the authoritative position of the native speaker in teaching Scottish Gaelic. If efforts at learning the language depend on accepting authority in language matters, how this is established or attributed might be important. As shown in Chapter 6, there might be difficulties in understanding elements of the language when apparently contradictory information is received. For example adult learners can become immensely confused in the face of different phonetic (e.g. dialectal) realisations of a phoneme – as well as interference from their L1 categorisations. Native speakers may have authority to name what is correct and what is incorrect, but this is confounded by contradictory sensory information. Further, native speakers without linguistics or teacher training might be faced with learners' questions that they are unable to resolve. How linguistic authority is constituted may therefore directly affect language learning.

1.5 Practical Considerations

1.5.1 Discourse Analytical Approach and Methodology

In a quasi-chronological collection of works examining changing perspectives on Sociolinguistics, Jaworski and Coupland present what they see as key texts in Discourse Analysis (1999). In the introduction, the editors quite specifically lay claim to Discourse Analysis as involving study beyond 'language in use' (Jaworski and Coupland 1999). Language is not seen as something neutral, but rather 'it is the key ingredient in the very constitution of knowledge' (Jaworski and Coupland 1999). Discourse Analysis is also sometimes described as a collection of methods because it does not adopt one specific theoretical outlook (Williams 1992, p. 257; Coupland 2001a, p. 6). Cameron (2001) describes it as an 'umbrella term', incorporating a wide variety of types of study (Cameron 2001, p. 4). While it may be an end in itself, the study of discourse can be presented as revelatory of aspects of peoples' lives (Cameron 2001, p. 5). Jaworski and Coupland (1999a) illustrate how many writers see the study of discourse as vital to the study of society. Studying discourse can show power relations, reveal phenomena such as sexism, lead to an understanding of how knowledge and social processes are structure, and other aspects of 'language in use' (Jaworski and Coupland 1999a, pp. 2-3).

But Jaworski and Coupland (1999a) also point to a strand of Discourse Analysis that is itself involved in social aspects of language use associated with the prefix 'critical' (Jaworski and Coupland 1999a, p. 6). In this strand discourse is 'deconstructed' in order to examine the

ideologies that lie beyond the use of language itself (Jaworski and Coupland 1999a, p. 6). Discourse practices can 'reproduce' and 're-construct' social practices (Candlin 1997; Jaworski and Coupland 1999a, p. 3). Therefore some researchers interpret discourse practices as 'acts of resistance to dominant ideologies' (Jaworski and Coupland 1999a, p. 7). Fairclough's (1999) claim in this respect is that language is 'misperceived as transparent' (Fairclough 1999, p. 204). Language is not just indicative of society, but is used in doing 'ideological work' (Fairclough 1999, p. 204).

Fairclough (1999) insists that discourse types and genres are mixed in the production of texts and meaning, and that no texts exist in a social vacuum. Studying how this occurs is important:

> '[I]ntertextual analysis crucially mediates the connection between language and social context, and facilitates more satisfactory bridging of the gap between texts and contexts' (Fairclough 1999, p. 185).

Fairclough's (1999) analysis also claims that texts are heterogeneous and might contain contradictory aspects (Fairclough 1999, p. 185). This is interpreted as a 'hybridization' of different discourses and genres (Fairclough 1999, p. 190). Hybridization relates to everyday life by the deployment of conversational resources in integrating information from other media with 'practices and experience of the lifeworld' (Fairclough 1999, p. 197). So Fairclough (1989, 1999) insists that texts – not just in written, but spoken – may be interpreted by examining how society and history impinges on them (Fairclough 1999, p. 184). Ideas of intertextual analysis are also presented as much as a <u>method</u> as an approach (Fairclough 1999, p. 185). Personal identity might be constructed in terms of a group, and intertextual analysis may help to analyse this (Fairclough 1999, p. 202).

<u>1.5.2 Gaps in Critical Discourse Analysis</u>

Despite categorical claims that Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a theory (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999), other writers highlight that its subject matter is open to multiple interpretations (Widdowson 1998, p. 143). Widdowson (1995) criticises the dominant strand of CDA as lacking coherence as a theory (Widdowson 1995, p. 512). This yields an 'interpretive' rather than an 'analytical' reading of texts (Widdowson 1995, p. 513). It is also openly a 'mode of social action' with a political and social commitment informing it (Widdowson 1998, p. 136). However one of the results is that some analyses might more accurately reflect that the interpreter finds confirmation of what they hoped to find before examining the text (Widdowson 1998, pp. 144-145). This reduces CDA to 'political poetics'

(Widdowson 1998, p. 149) even though it may appeal to those whose desire is to expose social injustices by an appeal to morality (Widdowson 1998, p. 150). Widdowson (2000) therefore appeals to a more ethnographic approach in order to account for 'how different contextual and co-operative conditions give rise to alternative discourses from the same text' (Widdowson 2000, p. 22).

1.5.3 Ethnographic Involvement

Tsitsipis' (1998) work on Arvanítika provides some clarification for SoSGA. In his ethnographic approach, 'nuclei of linguistic ideology' are identified which help to interpret language shift (Tsitsipis 1998, p. 4). In this view, linguistic ideology is a 'complex response' to processes of linguistic shift (Tsitsipis 1998, p. 145). Because ideology is a response to, 'rather than a mechanical reflection of' social processes, there are no inherent linguistic structures or automatic signals that expose ideology (Tsitsipis 1998, p. 145). The paradigm that Tsitsipis (1998) uses is therefore 'evidential' and allows interpretation of clues to underlying realities (Tsitsipis 1998, p. 145). The underlying realities are not predetermined anthropological ones, but are products of particular processes (Tsitsipis 1998, p. 145).

One such process of relevance to SoSGA is the divide between native speakers and non-native speakers. This is a contrast that will appear in a variety of different spheres in this study, from official and government sources regarding the value of language study in Australia, to the importance of native speakers to my own respondents. In Chapter 4, for example, language study at school is examined in the light of its suggested value to the community because of the presence of native speakers with whom communication is presented as important. I also examine the 'implicational logic' (Tsitsipis 1998, p. 133) of discourse surrounding Scottish Gaelic as a language associated with few speakers and one that is a highly appropriate medium for specific cultural activities. In Chapters 5 and 6 the finding of, and learning from, native speakers is examined in the light of effects on reported proficiency. The perceived importance of links between ethnicity and language is related both to dominant discourses as well as the local ones of SoSGA respondents and helps to illustrate the 'contrast between an earlier and a modern condition as it is locally perceived' (Tsitsipis 1998, p. 139).

1.5.4 Objectivity, Subjectivity

Bourdieu (1991), Fairclough (1989), Cameron *et al*. (1999) and Williams (1992) conclude that no research is neutral. While there can be no doubt that some classifications are extremely

useful for understanding facets of language (Labov 1972; Trudgill 1988; Holmes 1992; Fasold 1995; Mesthrie, Swann et al. 2000), some might ultimately be categorisations imposed on data sets by researchers (Milroy 2001a). If they are taken as more than just tools with which to do research, some authors fear that they also impose versions of reality on the social world, or limit their 'operational value' (Fairclough 2000a). Some are wary of 'pronouncements of expert discourse organised into … 'regimes of truth' ' through which people are controlled (Cameron, Frazer et al. 1999, p. 142). Furthermore, researchers might be part of 'a tradition of knowledge' from which they 'cannot entirely escape' (Cameron, Frazer et al. 1999, p. 142). Sociologists might themselves have helped to perpetuate such 'regimes of truth' and so for Cameron *et al*. (1999) this raises the question of whether or not research empowers the subjects themselves (Cameron, Frazer et al. 1999, p. 143). Cameron *et al*.'s (1999) and Fairclough's (1989) desires are to unmask the sources of oppressive social relations, and to allow the subjects of the research to act upon it (Cameron, Frazer et al. 1999, p. 144). Cameron *et al.* (1999) suggest a compromise between assertions of the existence of an independent reality and an entirely subjective approach that works within the framework of those being researched (Cameron, Frazer et al. 1999, p. 147). Attempts to claim an outside rationality can sometimes be condemned as a 'spurious objectivity' (Fairclough 1989, p. 195).

Descriptive approaches, despite overt sociological intent, have led to valuable insights into language and society[9] (Coupland 2001a, p. 3), and would therefore not wish to abandon them. Conversely, they might wish to move closer to a position incorporating versions of reality presented by those being researched (Cameron, Frazer et al. 1999, p. 147; Coupland 2001a, pp. 3-6). Objectivity and subjectivity are therefore less of a goal for some than having an integrationist approach (Coupland 2001a, p. 15). This ties to the criticisms of sociolinguistics because research should therefore take into account issues of power, categorisations by researchers as well as subjects, local and global contexts, and ideologies. This thesis will try and describe events in terms of their surroundings and relate items to each other in order to clarify meanings in ways that chime with a broadly sociolinguistic framework.

1.5.5 Social Engagement

I briefly return to a point raised by Cameron *et al.* (1999) which insists on social engagement. Much of their own research relates to social inequality and ideas of 'empowering' research

[9] Coupland specifically mentions surveys by Labov in this respect.

subjects (Cameron, Frazer et al. 1999, p. 143). The authors explicitly link this to objectivity by questioning the divide between 'subjective' and 'objective realities' (Cameron, Frazer et al. 1999, p. 146). They criticise ethnomethodological approaches for being too much in the relativist mould (Cameron, Frazer et al. 1999, p. 146). Ethnomethodology is seen as too weak, only taking into account actors' subjective experiences, and so it is unable to supply alternative visions of reality (Cameron, Frazer et al. 1999, p. 147). This is effectively a criticism of micro-scale study which only recognises what subjects say is 'reality' (Cameron, Frazer et al. 1999, p. 146). Cameron et al.'s (1999) critical position therefore brings them closer to a 'realist' position where they would want to accept outside realities (Cameron, Frazer et al. 1999, p. 147). Conversely, approaches that claim the independence of 'reality' cannot account for influences of interpretation by the observer (Cameron, Frazer et al. 1999, p. 148). The researcher may only be able to make sense of events by relating them to their own interpretations in describing a 'social reality' (Cameron, Frazer et al. 1999, p. 148). This difficulty leads Cameron *et al.* (1999) to conclude that 'validation' of results is necessary both within the research framework as well as within the framework of the subjects – and therefore that interaction with subjects is 'inescapable' (Cameron, Frazer et al. 1999, p. 149).
Cameron *et al.* (1999) urge the researcher to consider the effects on the subjects in interpreting events. 'Ethics', 'advocacy' and 'empowerment' are crucial (Cameron, Frazer et al. 1999, p. 150). 'Ethics' involves morality, in order to avoid 'deception' and to maintain privacy, for example (Cameron, Frazer et al. 1999, p. 150). Advocacy involves using the information to correct errors and ensure 'truth' (Cameron, Frazer et al. 1999, p. 151). Cameron *et al.* (1999) follow some of Labov's (1982) precepts in this regard, but ultimately leave open the issue of whose truth it might be. This raises the issue of who might need empowerment, and how the researcher judges this (Cameron 2001, pp. 152-153). The authors' partial answer is to 'research on, for and with' subjects, implying a dialogue between researcher and researched (Cameron, Frazer et al. 1999, p. 154).
The interrelationship of dialogue and empowerment highlights an important dimension of SoSGA. Cameron *et al.* (1999) are acutely aware that notions of who is and is not powerless are not at all clear-cut (Cameron, Frazer et al. 1999, p. 153). SoSGA respondents, taken as a group, are not obviously socio-politically or even economically oppressed - in obvious contrast to other sectors of Australian society. However, Scottish Gaelic, which unites them, is seen as threatened. Empowerment in the sense of helping them to counteract the perceived threats is supposedly what a researcher should be doing, given the moralistic framework outlined by Cameron *et al.* (1999).

But this ignores the potentially very different frameworks in which sociolinguists and language activists might work. I do not hide my own point of view that linguistic diversity is desirable. It is not only that language provides subject matter for research, nor merely that it is an issue of scientific endeavour to study languages before they disappear (Janse and Tol 2003), but also that I do have emotional involvement in the fate of small languages. I find them interesting and valuable, and to deny this would be disingenuous. While in no way do I wish to entirely 'set the agenda' for the research without involving my subjects (Cameron, Frazer et al. 1999, p. 155), I do wish to examine critically what people argue about saving. Is it *linguistic diversity* that benefits from some of the efforts taken on behalf of small languages? How are language revival efforts linked to other socio-political factors? How are languages and the people who speak them portrayed? What do SoSGA respondents want to revive and/or revitalise? In the thesis that follows, I will be very cautious about adopting a moral standpoint. Instead I restrict myself to trying to understand what SoSGA respondents do and why they do it, and relate it to different understandings of linguistic diversity.

1.5.6 Summary: Overall Approach

My overall theoretical approach accepts some of the perspectives of Fairclough (1989, 1999) and Bourdieu (1991) and tries to avoid some criticisms made by Williams (1992), Cameron *et al.* (1999) and Coupland et al. (2001a). I also take very seriously Coupland's (2001a) assertion that there is room for integrating various perspectives (Coupland 2001a). Following Fairclough (1989), Bourdieu (1991), Wodak (1999) (and others) I broadly accept that language itself plays a part in constructing social spaces. However, I do not dismiss the (Labovian) view that the 'system' of society – constructed or otherwise - might also play a role in determining what happens. I hope to demonstrate that there is both action and *reaction* in some behaviours, so that society could be considered to have 'agency' for SoSGA respondents (Coupland 2001a, p. 10). There might also be more explanatory interpretation of their behaviours by considering that their experiences are 'refracted' in their discourse (Tsitsipis 1998, p. 20). This would allow for an understanding of individuals' choices with regard to intergenerational transmission of Scottish Gaelic, for example, as examined in Chapter 6.

Bourdieu (1991) describes the 'symbolic power' of agents and how it is dependent on their positioning, by themselves or others, within social space (Bourdieu 1991, p. 243). As I discuss below in connection with the naturalness of oppositions, how agents classify continuous social space (Bourdieu 1991, p. 242) is of importance to my analytical framework. In particular,

Bourdieu (1991) discusses the power to name things being dependent on credentials. Although he specifically uses the examples of academic qualifications as 'valid on all markets' (Bourdieu 1991, p. 240), I extend this idea to concepts such as native speaker-hood and other attributes. I interpret them as 'credentials' in the sense that such attributes are considered as elements conferring authority on an individual. Fluency in Scottish Gaelic can be a form of cultural capital that has value amongst SoSGA respondents. The valuing of such cultural capital may have significant effects on revival efforts for a minority language. Although notions of cultural capital are indeed useful, some aspects of Scottish Gaelic in Australia will present a problem for conditions of legitimacy as viewed by Bourdieu (1991). In Chapter 6 I will argue that local legitimacy does not derive from an elite with power, nor is it derivable from within the nation-state, but is in fact sometimes dependent on the ideologies of identity of some SoSGA respondents.

Finally, and for me most importantly, my research is empirical, in the sense that I collect data and analyse it. I accept that theoretical perspectives influence the nature of the data that I can gather. Although it might be difficult to answer some questions about language revival, I hope that my approach will go some way towards asking new questions that make some of the older ones irrelevant.

1.6 Relevance to Australia

1.6.1 Identity and the Naturalisation of Oppositions

Williams' (1992) critique of social theories highlights how behaviour is sometimes explicitly linked to identity, ethnicity and culture (Williams 1992, p. 224). It has a 'functionalist ring' to it by 'locating a language group within its heritage' as a way of defining social boundaries (Williams 1992, p. 225). This analysis of society is sometimes reflected in public debate in Australia. Some are convinced of attributes that define – or should define - what it is to be 'Australian', such as the current Australian Prime Minister, presented as claiming that the embrace of a particular identity will ensure social harmony (Jupp 1998, p. 147). Particular 'Australian' characteristics may be invoked in order to debate the way in which Australia should perceive itself (Lateline 2003). Multiculturalism is involved by being unmasked as a cover for continued domination (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988; Hage 1998), or as a positive aspect of a progressive society (DIMIA 2001k). In relation to debates in Britain, (Australian-born) British politicians can use Australia to invoke civic nationalism and English as a positive model for identity (Hewitt 2001). It is hardly surprising that language should be the

site of conflict over identity and belonging.

Bourdieu's (1991) understanding of the 'naturalisation' of oppositions might provide a relevant perspective. Bourdieu (1991) discusses how rites tend to

> '… consecrate or legitimate an *arbitrary boundary*, by fostering a misrecognition of the arbitrary nature of the limit and encouraging a recognition of it as legitimate.' [Emphasis in original] (Bourdieu 1991, p. 118).

I use this approach as a potential explanation of the importance of rites of passage in the domain of immigration as well as of ethnicity in Australian society. One such boundary is that between Australian and immigrant.

Immigration to Australia is sometimes presented as allowing people to adopt Australian characteristics (Australia 2001). Citizenship is accordingly conferred by the nation-state via a rite, implying the sanctioned crossing of a boundary. The crossing of a human-made boundary, and becoming an Australian citizen via a state-authorised ritual, confers legitimacy of permanent residence in Australia. Some of the text produced by the Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA) is clearly an attempt at a consecration of such a rite of passage (Australia 2001). This is what Bourdieu (1991) might term the 'production of discontinuity out of continuity' (Bourdieu 1991, p. 120). For some SoSGA respondents this is in some ways an imposition that they endure, but do not agree with. The appeal to civic identity does nothing but make them wish to emphasise a different one. Australian citizenship was applied to British subjects in 1948 and gradually led to changes in residency rights[10] (Day 2001, p. 252). The very creation of such a boundary may be seen as an inappropriate imposition of identity by some SoSGA respondents. Their 'Scottishness' might be directly affected by such a distinction, as will be seen in Chapters 6 and 8. Whereas their Australianness was not in doubt when they moved there, subsequent political events have affected how they present their identities. Their identity can become contested, partly due to their ethnicity, and partly due to their birthplace. This agrees with other research that discusses markers of belonging (Bechhofer, McCrone et al. 1999; Wodak, Cillia et al. 1999). Immigration may therefore be perceived as an important element in social identity. Whereas some respondents clearly do not feel that birthplace in the Antipodes precludes their being Scottish, for others there is clearly some form of legitimacy hierarchy. On the other hand, the conferring of civic citizenship is supposed to make one Australian

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[10] Within the lifetime of many SoSGA respondents, this was not the case, as British nationality had previously conferred voting and residency rights.

(Australia 2001). But, again, the dual immigrant-Australian status of some SoSGA respondents makes this problematic, because identity issues are potentially in conflict. Legitimacy to pronounce on matters Scottish Gaelic, or imagined affinity with Scottish Gaelic, may partly depend on a person's immigrant status. In this sense, a 'rite' such as immigration to another country, might directly affect how a minority language is viewed or is used in a society such as Australia. Crucially, it is also just such conflicts of status that allow some SoSGA respondents to use their positions in a consciously political manner. So the boundaries are sometimes not rejected, but become useful.

1.6.2 'Ethnic, Anglo, Aboriginal'

The terms 'Ethnic', 'Anglo' and 'Aboriginal' are naturalised by usage (Bourdieu 1991, p. 119) and deployed to indicate Australian identities. In a recent interview on Australian television, Germaine Greer suggested that Australia should consider itself as an 'Aboriginal republic', describing how she believed that Australians should change their view of their country accordingly (Lateline 2003). Part of what makes this contentious in Australia is that identity is sometimes characterised in just such stark tripartite terms (Dixson 1999), or else is criticised for such a characterisation (Hage 1998; Rutherford 2000). Aboriginal society is perhaps still the most marginalised in Australia (Day 2001, p. 320), and was the target of specific legislation as early as the first Australian constitution of 1900 (Bourke 1994). (Immigrant) 'Ethnics' benefited from policies such as multiculturalism that supposedly allowed them to be treated in the same way as 'Anglos' (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988; Hage 1998). What some might find unsettling in Greer's (2003) argument for placing Aboriginal identity to the fore, is that 'white' or 'Anglo' identity must consequently be questioned in relation to this. It might be that Greer deliberately picks a stereotypical attribute of the Anglo, 'mateship', and interprets it as being Aboriginal in origin (Lateline 2003). I do not believe this is accidental, given the iconic status that this supposed attribute has in relation to Australian identity. This can only be understood within the context of the magnitude of the opposition between 'Anglo' and 'Abo', each of which are sometimes presented as coherent wholes. So Greer's comments (Lateline 2003) could be interpreted in various ways. It might be an attempt to make a nonsense of such an opposition, to colonise a positive attribute on behalf of a disenfranchised group, or to further lay claim to the continent (Day 2001, p. 316). Conversely, it might be to try and emphasise a common identity for all Australians. What exactly it is that constitutes 'Australians' can therefore be very problematic. A related issue in Australian society is the magnitude of the opposition between 'Ethnic' and 'Anglo' – and problems with using such

distinctions when it comes to Scottish Gaelic (MacDonald 2002). Any behaviour that appears to flout this distinction might inherently be calling such a natural opposition into question. This thesis shows how such oppositions might be partly reinforced, or partly re-interpreted. For example the term 'Anglo-Celtic', as used in SoSGA respondents' discourse or in official reports (VIC 1997, p. 12), is inadequate if 'Anglo' has no relation to 'Celtic'. Equally, 'Ethnic' as an opposition to 'Anglo' is not straightforward as used by some SoSGA respondents. Although few indicate an outright rejection of such oppositions, the terms are manipulated so that they call into question what exactly it is that they refer to. Some SoSGA respondents intelligently adapt the presentation of their selves to the oppositions that they perceive to exist around them. Thus Scottish Gaelic may provide a focus for the re-division of such oppositions. On the one hand it is an example of the presentation of self on different stages (Goffman 1959), but I argue that it is also partly subversive and calls into question the usage (and perhaps the validity) of the oppositions themselves. The terms might be used as oppositions rather than as true descriptors - in this way SoSGA respondents interact with the socio-political context as part of their language activism.

1.6.3 Language Activism in a Multicultural Society

This survey also examines the relationship between language activism and the wider society. Inter-group relations could be interpreted with respect to post-colonialism (Coupland 2001a, p. 8) which is relevant to Australia and New Zealand. Language as a socio-political element within the society is evident from government pronouncements on the matter. Multiculturalism inherently implies some consideration of language rights, benign (Smolicz 1995a) or otherwise (May 1998; Wright and Kelly-Holmes 1998). But who may demand these rights? Are they offered by the state, or are they granted subject to pressure? I examine what might encourage, entitle or authorise someone to be a language activist and to potentially demand rights.

Some Australian government pronouncements promote English (DIMIA 2002a; DIMIA 2002b; DIMIA 2002c) therefore minority language activism may be a direct challenge to domination. A desire to change this aspect of the nation-state is stated as a goal by some writers (Fishman 1991; Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995b; Nettle and Romaine 2000; May 2001b). But one difficulty is that the nation-state potentially provides security for individuals by finding a balance between protection and freedom (Coulmas 1998). Therefore overthrow of the nation-state might not be beneficial. I argue in Chapter 2 that some forms of minority language activism might paradoxically lend support to a supposed 'ideal' of nation-

building: that of a simple one-to-one mapping of nation and language (Anderson 1991). I suggest that arguments formulated in terms of changing society, but preserving the nation-state, might not actually benefit linguistic diversity.

Fairclough's (1999) view that social control and social domination are exercised 'increasingly through texts' (Fairclough 1999, p. 205) is examined in the light of SoSGA respondents' reactions to the surrounding discourse. The claim might have to be modified as SoSGA respondents may not be dominated by, but actively subvert such texts. I briefly consider here governmental discourse in Australia on the promotion of multiculturalism (Australia 1999a). There is a quite overt linking of multiculturalism and what is termed 'a fair go' in some pronouncements (Australia 1999b). I do not believe that it is accidental that this particular phrase, also used as a marker for the Australian dialect of English, is chosen. Indeed, this chimes with the government's approval (Australia 1999b, p. 11) of the recommendation by the National Multicultural Advisory Council that 'Australian' should be prefixed to 'multiculturalism' as an indication of the 'uniqueness' of this ideology (Australia 1999a). Further, 'a fair go for all' is also specifically touted as a catchphrase for Australia (DIMIA 2002d), with policies of 'productive diversity' being presented as financially beneficial for the country (Australia 1999b). Herein lies a potential contradiction within the message itself: by promoting diversity of cultures, languages would presumably be promoted too. In the same document as this apparent promotion of diversity, there is a specific endorsement of English as a 'national language' (Australia 1999b, p. 6). Within such a discourse, language activism in Australia is undoubtedly part of the wider political context. Multiculturalism can be presented as an 'Australian' attribute and part of a 'uniquely Australian experience' that has benefited the country (Australia 1999b, p. 11). SoSGA respondents sometimes contest such a claim to authority over the formulation of ideology, as well as its effects. Some overtly embrace such a policy as representing renewed freedoms, whereas it is vociferously criticised by politicians such as Pauline Hanson for favouring particular (ethnic) groups (Jupp 1998, p. 148). How this is perceived and re-interpreted by SoSGA respondents is examined in Chapters 5 to 8.

From a different perspective the very nature of the ideology is itself derided as a way of maintaining 'white' dominance by co-opting the 'ethnic' into a system (Hage 1998). Hage's (1998) approach will be valuable in helping to explain why it might also be important, therefore, that pronouncements on matters multicultural potentially have to include an 'ethnic' voice. It will also help to clarify why being, or not being, 'ethnic' might be important in terms of representation for some SoSGA respondents (Chapter 9). The very designation of terms such as 'ethnic' might very well be what creates – or reinforces - such distinctions (Bourdieu

1991). Such distinctions might be meaningless if looked at in isolation. A discourse challenging the use of such terms may be a rejection of the ideology. However, this might be too simple. As will be seen below, it is not necessarily distinctions which are rejected, but rather the scope that they should take. Some terms are rejected as inapplicable, even if their validity as terms is not questioned. Therefore a theoretical stance which copes with who has the power to name – i.e. who it is that is entitled to make certain distinctions – will have much more explanatory power in this thesis.

Some arguments supporting language rights concentrate on the conditions of entitlement to particular rights (May 2001a). The political context of Australia might appear to license language revitalisation efforts as part of a benign political system (Smolicz 1995b). May (1998) rightly points out that this can easily change with varying political circumstances (May 1998). The desire for institutionalisation of (a) language might also play a role in this discourse, as an attempt to cement its position in relation to the society or state. I therefore explore how specific political discourses might play a role in language revitalisation efforts. How this links to actual behaviour is examined in Chapters 4 and 5.

In summary, who is it that agents believe has legitimate authority to act on behalf of the language or on behalf of speakers of the language? Authority may depend on activists' 'credentials' (Bourdieu 1991). If ethnicity is important in the set of credentials, then authority will partly derive from this. This is also why elements of ethnicity are important here: the wider society might license ethnicity as a parameter for language maintenance. So a language activist's credentials might partly reflect the socio-politics of the society. Throughout the thesis I try to disentangle how this has an effect on language revitalisation efforts.

1.7 Australian and Scottish: both Local and Global

Some SoSGA respondents are active participants in language revitalisation efforts in Australia as well as the U.K. It will be evident in Chapter 6 that SoSGA respondents exist in a context wider than Australia and New Zealand and are acutely aware of this. Some may project themselves outside Australia as part of wider groupings, despite portraying themselves as distinctive within Australia. Scottish Gaelic choirs, for example, exist both within the local and the global dimensions. In a study of a Welsh choir based in the United States, Wray *et al.* (2003) use the metaphor of 'turfing' to illustrate how a community of practice can establish a distinctive identity in different ways in different countries. Whereas in the United States the Welshness of the choir members is distinctive, in Wales it their Americanness (Wray, Evans et al. 2003, p. 69). For SoSGA respondents who are choir members their identity as distinctive is

important: in Australia they are not simply 'Anglo' Australians. On the other hand, some respondents stress their Australianness when competing in Scotland.

Wider spiritual and religious affiliations can be related to global concerns, rather than only local interest. This also applies to ethnic identifications such as 'Celtic'. How these different contexts affect the presentation of their selves on different stages [following (Goffman 1959)] will be related to how their identities function within the socio-political contexts. Considerations of resistance to language shift will also be called on to approach this issue (Watts 2001).

1.7.1 Identity and Belonging

One difference with the research that Wray *et al.* (2003) have conducted, though, is that 'turfing' is a difficult metaphor to use with SoSGA respondents. Whereas in Wray *et al.* (2003) prior Welsh identity was not present, this might be different for SoSGA. Scottish Gaelic activities may provide a focal point for their expression of belonging to wider communities than those in which they physically live. This suggests a remote, 'loose network' (Milroy 1992, pp. 214 - 216) with people beyond national boundaries whom they do not know personally. Wray *et al.* (2003) attributes this to the availability of information via different media:

> 'As a result, there is the potential both for an increasing fluidity in an individual's choices – resulting in temporary allegiances and/ or oscillations over time in the strength of one or other facet of one's identity – and, in consequence, for the development of much more complex personal profiles of social identity.' (Wray, Evans et al. 2003, p. 69).

In my own data, however, I stress that the allegiances can be portrayed as anything but temporary. Indeed, they are sometimes portrayed as eternal and essential, reaching well beyond the confines of national borders as well as backwards into time. Involvement in certain communities of practice may well be temporary, but the claims of belonging are not. Whereas in Wray *et al.*'s (2003) research the choir was an adjunct to the college, some of the SoSGA data illustrates that people sometimes justify their participation based on (biological) descent. This is an important point because it relates to aspects of ethnicity and – dare I say – race. Bourdieu's (1991) view is that categorisations such as ethnicity are oriented towards the production of social effects. '[E]thnic group' and 'ethnicity' are 'scientific euphemisms that have been substituted for the notion of 'race', which is nonetheless still present in actual practice' (Bourdieu 1991, p. 220). I show how ethnicity does indeed play a crucial role in senses of belonging – and indeed in understandings of how policies such as multiculturalism

are implemented. In Chapters 7 and 8 I show how important were notions of race in the (recent) history of Australia for defining who was to be allowed to belong to the nation. I go further by arguing that notions of ethnicity/ race are present in the discourse surrounding heritage, perhaps contributing to authenticity hierarchies (Myhill 2003).

1.7.2 Hybridity and Modernity

Social identity relates to views that people do not live in a 'socio-historical vacuum' (Coupland 2001a, p. 18). Many of SoSGA respondents call on 'mediated knowledge' (Giddens 1999, p. 416) as part of their participation in Scottish Gaelic activities. History, politics, religion, music and other aspects of culture might be omni-present in these activities. Daily life is frequently related to events or knowledge in which they were not directly involved, but with which they may feel affinity. Scottish Gaelic might be important in particular realms as a medium for singing, for example, or in the exploration of non-Christian mysticism. The reverse also applies. For some, Scottish Gaelic is closely associated with their personal histories. I explore how diverse are the views of how Scottish Gaelic fits into everyday life.

Giddens' (1999) approach is that the world in this sense is 'phenomenal' with potentially distant influences (Giddens 1999, p. 415). Individuals 'selectively incorporate many elements of mediated experience into their day-to-day conduct' (Giddens 1999, p. 416). The 'appropriation of mediated information' may be done in such a way to avoid 'cognitive dissonance' and resolved to provide a 'coherent narrative of self-identity' (Giddens 1999, p. 416). In this way a modern society is linked with a past one narrowly associated with Scotland. It might also help to explain links drawn with 'ethnicity' in the sense used by May (2001a); that actually it is not ethnicity per se, but understandings or perceptions of ethnicity that help to justify the links. I explore how some respondents resolve potential cognitive dissonances between the modern, observed 'reality' of Scottish Gaelic and historical accounts - or even portrayals in fiction.

Giddens (1999) also discusses the consumption of goods as part of the project of self whereby their consumption value is greater than their 'use-value' (Giddens 1999, p. 424). This is part of his argument concerning 'commodification': the consumption of goods as development of a lifestyle, for example (Giddens 1999, p. 425). This might, in part, apply to the desire for things Scottish Gaelic as a marker of a political stance and as a social attribute. Giddens' (1999) analysis might provide a perspective also hinted at in work that relates support for multiculturalism to those with tertiary education [(Betts 1988) as discussed in Lopez (2000)].

While this may well be the case for some, I also consider the case for resistance to commodification (Giddens 1999, p. 426) by some SoSGA respondents. Some strongly reject what they see as inauthentic approaches to culture in some public gatherings in matters Scottish and Scottish Gaelic.

1.8 Goals of the Research

1.8.1 Arguments Beyond Language

Issues of 'mother tongue' and Linguistic Human Rights can involve arguments that promote non-linguistic factors as entitling people to language rights (Fishman 1991; Skutnabb-Kangas 1998). In Chapter 2, I link this to a form of nationalism, as I perceive many of the arguments to be located within the purview of the nation-state. I further argue that an approach advocating LHRs might (unwittingly) be promoting particular dialects at the expense of linguistic diversity. Legitimacy of rights might rely on the creation of boundaries as arbitrary as any others - the creation of a discontinuity out of continuity (Bourdieu 1991, p. 120). This thesis explores how such divisions, as applied to a minority language, can profoundly affect language revitalisation. I examine how arguments that appear only partially related to language itself might impinge directly on revitalisation efforts. Whether these are classified as positive benefits or not, might also depend on views of language and linguistic diversity.

1.8.2 Minority Languages and Institutionalisation

Trudgill (2002) sees a link between the disappearance of dialect continua and changes in society (Trudgill 2002). This can happen through standardisation (Trudgill 2002, p. 159). Some aspects of my research indicate how the institutionalisation of Scottish Gaelic might reflect a form of standardisation where regional dialects become unimportant to the goal of the institution itself. I argue that the very use of Scottish Gaelic in a choir setting - as a form of institutionalisation - is both a reaction to, as well as a response to, the surrounding context. This might be a form of boundary-formation to protect the language, for example. Institutionalisation has led to the dominance and standardisation of many languages already (Milroy 2001a). But institutionalisation might also reflect attempts to manage authenticity hierarchies dependent on native speakers or people initiated into the language or culture. I also attempt to demonstrate how institutionalisation in such circumstances might strongly influence the actual learning outcomes and attitudes of people trying to engage with the language and culture. My research therefore includes study of the discourse within institutions where Scottish Gaelic is found in Australia.

1.8.3 Language Revival

The rate of language death is sometimes described as 'alarming' (Janse 2003a, p. ix). This is of concern to sociolinguists because the reasons for language death are probably socio-economic and socio-political (Janse 2003a, p. x). The same forces may also be relevant in the 're-awakening of ethnic identity' (Janse 2003a, p. x). This may add to the impetus for revitalising languages (Janse 2003a, p. xiii) as ethnicity might play a determining role according to some viewpoints (Fishman 1991). 'Revitalisation' is understood by Spolsky (1996) as a particular kind of language revival, where people wish to speak the language in the home. While the success or failure of these efforts is examined with mixed results (Fishman 2001), it is not necessarily clear how ideologies affect language revitalisation. Therefore an examination of some of the discourse might provide insights into how people envisage this task. In some of my data I analyse how oppositions such as that of the 'native speaker' versus the 'non-native speaker' might play a role. Bourdieu (1991) sees conferred authority as typical in institutional settings and I consider this concept in a wider perspective. Language revival may be influenced by who is perceived as legitimate (Myhill 2003), or who has the appropriate cultural capital (Bourdieu 1991). This thesis examines how these issues influence language revival.

Chapter 2 - Language Maintenance and Revival

2.0 Introduction

This chapter might appear to make an implicit assumption that is not valid. It might appear to assume that Scottish Gaelic is a language. By this I do not mean to say that it is not a language, but a linguist might want to describe it more accurately as part of a dialect continuum that includes Irish and Manx. This affects language maintenance and preservation; which variety should be protected by legislation? Which variety should be accepted as the one which adult learners and children should acquire when they wish to learn it? Which dialects are closer to Irish? Where does Manx fit as part of the continuum (now arguably broken)? There is no widely accepted 'standard' form of Scottish Gaelic with a standardised orthography (McLeod 2001a).

This poses a 'problem' for theorising about language death and revival in many ways. The lack of definition of 'language' appears to be at the root of the issue, even though linguists know that what are described as languages are political and social constructs. Unfortunately, but perhaps predictably, Scottish Gaelic is viewed or talked about as if it is a single, homogeneous entity. This is relevant to language death because it begs the question of what exactly it is that people might wish to preserve. Standardisation is relevant here. Trudgill (2002) makes the point clearly in discussing dialect change between the Netherlands and Germany where there is (or at least was) a dialect continuum despite the geographical border. Standardisation has made local communication more problematic as middle-class Dutch speakers learn standard German rather than the local dialect (Trudgill 2002, p. 30). Trudgill (2002) sees the denigration of local dialects as contributing to language death – and here I mean 'language' in the sense of a continuous set of dialects. The labels of 'Dutch' and 'German' are more valid in a geo-political sense than in a sociolinguistic sense. This is a point made by Pennycook (2002), who considers that languages may be reducible to (European) political and cultural constructs 'independent of their description' (Pennycook 2002, p. 14)[11].

Trudgill (2002) expresses his objection to the discrimination of people based on the dialect they speak, and comments that some might shift to the standard variety as a solution to being discriminated against (Trudgill 2002, p. 32). Therefore I also wish to highlight the importance

[11] Pennycook (2002) quotes Mülhäusler (1996) that the difficulty that linguists have with languages, dialects and communalects is due to the non-existence of such 'objects'.

of preserving dialects, as expressed by Trudgill (2002)(Trudgill 2002), rather than preserving a (standard) 'language' in the hope that the dialect continuum will fortuitously be saved along with it. This is relevant to my own study in both a theoretical, and in a practical way. From a theoretical perspective, I fear that many writers have made an assumption about the homogeneity of 'language'. In reviewing the literature on language preservation and revival in this chapter below, I will argue that a segment of the literature assumes that languages are bounded entities that can be protected as a whole. This might be a simplification in order to argue for greater linguistic protection, but I contend that such a simplification risks pigeonholing dialect continua into discrete units that do not reflect current linguistic diversity. This is not mere pedantry: linguistic diversity is exactly what many supporters of language maintenance advocate.

At a practical level, I fear that the assumption of linguistic homogeneity, or perhaps the desire for it, is as threatening for (the collection of dialects we call) 'Scottish Gaelic' as the proclaimed 'domination by English' has ever been. I shall consider that threats to small languages may be an aspect of standardisation, and shift to English is one (extreme) outcome. Milroy comments on the 'ideology of standardization' highlighting the 'legitimacy' that standardised versions of languages acquire and the consequent imposition of 'invariance' or 'uniformity upon a class of objects' (Milroy 2001a, p. 531) that might not warrant it – for example dialect continua. The move towards standardisation is argued to be 'functional' in the sense that there is a purpose behind it. Milroy (2001a) contrasts this with 'general' language change, which is not necessarily purposeful (Milroy 2001a, p. 535). Thus standardisation leads to a version of the language that has a specialised, perhaps revered place within a community of speakers. This is at the heart of what it is that people believe is a 'Language' (Milroy 2001a, p. 539).

A conversation I had with an energetic campaigner for Scottish Gaelic indicates the relevance of this analysis. Respondent 085, a leader of a Scottish Gaelic-related organisation for many years and organiser of innumerable activities, told me that the variety of dialects and the resultant confusion for learners was one of the major barriers. He believed that this contributed to the number of people who abandoned learning it, despite being initially very motivated. He was quite forceful in his assertion that the language would be a lot easier to learn, and therefore easier to promote, if a standard form had been developed. In referring to Scotland, he believed that 'if they want the language to be a national language, then they need a standard' (Respondent085 2001) [SoSGA_N1]. Trudgill (Pers. Comms.) points out that this is also a feature of arguments for the strengthening of Nynorsk versus Bokmål. The

standardisation of Welsh is cited positively by another SoSGA respondent who argued that standardisation saved the language [MD22]. It might also highlight different attitudes between native speakers and non-native speakers who wish to encourage learning. Dialects are viewed by Respondent 085 as part of the set of difficulties in preserving the language. Dialects are presented as a 'nuisance' (Trudgill 2002, p. 29), although here they are a barrier to language maintenance rather than 'progress' in the sense of promoting civilisation.

Milroy (2001a) comments on the 'culture' of standardisation in which some languages exist (Milroy 2001a, p. 531), and an unsympathetic view of Respondent 085 might be that as an adult learner, this is where his attitudes have been formed. However, I wish to consider what exactly this respondent, amongst many others, wishes to preserve. I interpret that he wishes to preserve the Language as a bounded entity and as a unified, coherent and manageable whole. It is the language as a language and as an element of culture, which represents what it is for him to be himself. Language, in this respect, **is** linked to identity. I do not in any way question the validity of his stance. What I do want to bring into perspective, however, is that such stances might be at odds with the preservation of linguistic diversity. Having a standard Scottish Gaelic might eventually reinforce standardisation ideology, and perhaps reduce the legitimacy of non-standard forms (Milroy 2001a, p. 547). I do not believe that my respondent has made what I see as a causal link between 'standardisation ideology' (Milroy 2001a) and language death – something against which he is quite openly fighting. The preservation of the 'language' takes precedence over the preservation of linguistic diversity.

In Chapters 6 and 9, I comment further on 'standardisation ideology' and the experiences of speakers. Some 'learners' are viewed as remote from 'native speakers' precisely because learner versions of the language are not recognisable geographical dialects in the sense that native speakers understand them. It is not simply a matter of people not becoming fluent, but also reflects the feeling that there are new versions of the language being developed by organisations, or educational bodies, that are not connected to their own understanding of their language. This 'disconnect', I argue, is a crucial aspect of language preservation in such cases, and cannot be ignored.

The arguments about language standardisation might also go deeper into the heart of language preservation ideals. I consider that Respondent 085 might be right about the practical considerations in preserving Scottish Gaelic. He might very well have insight into what it is that will help to keep people speaking the Language. Such a pragmatic stance might at least help to preserve some of what idealistic linguists wish to keep in their language landscape, even if it is not ideal. But his stance is also ideological, in wanting to preserve the Language. I

also interpret some of the literature regarding linguistic human rights as taking such an inherently ideological stance - perhaps as a response to the socio-political structures that surround linguists. However, this could bypass the role that Trudgill (2002) sees for sociolinguists: to combat attitudes that denigrate dialects (Trudgill 2002, p. 30). I do not suggest that Respondent 085 has such an attitude – he clearly does not disrespect the dialects that he hears. I suggest, though, that his perceptions of the difficulties related to dialects shapes his attitudes to the preservation of the Language. In this sense, Scottish Gaelic in Australia presents another 'problem' in the field of language endangerment: that there is no recognised, standard dialect to preserve. The wider arguments that circulate around saving a Language might thus suffer from an ideology of standardisation, as well as from inattention to the heterogeneity of language.

Like all languages, Scottish Gaelic is made up of its dialects, but for the sake of argument, I might imply that it is a coherent entity – which it quite clearly is not. I will argue that an imposition of uniformity is unsustainable in the light of desires to preserve linguistic diversity. Further, that the preservation of languages does not guarantee the preservation of linguistic diversity.

2.1 The Importance of Maintaining threatened languages

This section will examine some of the ideas about the importance of language maintenance, and look at some of the arguments that are used. It will also critically examine the analogy with ecological disaster, and highlight the limitations of such an analogy. The importance of issues of social power will be stressed in this discussion, and related to Australia in particular.

2.1.1 Linguistic Orthodoxy

According to Trudgill (2002), linguists are well placed to defend linguistic rights because they are the only ones who are aware of the extent and nature of political classifications that categorise 'languages' (Trudgill 2002, p. 111). In particular, whether languages are *Ausbau* (dependent on political demarcations) or *Abstand* languages (dependent on linguistic characteristics) will also determine what type of language planning is needed for minority languages (Trudgill 2002, p. 112). Trudgill (2002) contends, accurately I believe, that most people who discuss language denigrate vernacular varieties and see some versions as having greater validity (Trudgill 2002, p. 113). The rejection of such denigration is a position that one could say is at the heart of linguistics orthodoxy: that dialects are hierarchically arranged only by the (accidental) social status of their speakers, and (arbitrary and unjustified) ordering of

languages should not follow from this. Linguists believe that all languages are equally valid in linguistic terms, and therefore by extension that they are all equally entitled to 'life'. Within a given structure, such as the nation-state, some argue strongly for 'rights' of languages, in an analogy with human rights, and the right to 'life' for a language should therefore be guaranteed. Those who suggest that languages might be left to die can be accused of 'Darwinism' (May 2001b, p. 148). Importantly, there might be good reasons for maintaining languages, such as the furthering of our own knowledge.

2.1.2 The Loss of Basic Knowledge

There are what might be termed 'basic' reasons for language maintenance, related to the detailed structure of language that allow us insight into language mechanisms (and perhaps thought processes as a result). One might consider research such as that on syntax, Universal Grammar, and phonetics as in this sort of category. Sociolinguistics, however, is still important. Phonetic realisations of phonemes, for example, may be conditioned by social factors. Work such as that by Labov (Labov 1972) where phonemes were labelled as 'sociolinguistic variables', was crucial in changing understanding of this. Research on linguistic gender shows that our understanding of grammatical constructs may be informed by phenomena such as language contact (Trudgill 2002, Ch. 8). The very structures of society and nature of linguistic change might help us unravel how such features occur, and their relative importance to language structures. But if we live in a world where the present is increasingly 'unlike the past in social network and demographic terms', then the types of linguistic categories may be different too (Trudgill 2002, p. 92). Grammatical categories such as grammatical gender may also therefore disappear, and Trudgill (2002) urges research before it is too late (Trudgill 2002, p. 92). Language preservation might be important even to inform us about 'basic' aspects of linguistics.

2.1.3 Anthropological Loss

Some publications concentrate on the cultural and linguistic loss associated with the disappearance of ways of life (Vazeilles, Behling et al. 2000). Ways of life and linguistic aspects are lost together, and rights are urged as a way of redressing this endangerment (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995a; Bar 2000). Robert Moore (2000) discusses the recent arrival ('post-1980') of the term 'endangered' to describe languages, replacing terms such as 'moribund' and obsolescent' (Moore 2000, p. 65). 'Language death' is interpreted as 'a special case of 'language shift' that occurs when a given local speech community abandons

(whether under obvious duress or not) the use of a form of speech that for whatever reason is not being spoken elsewhere' (Moore 2000, p. 66). Moore identifies the first print appearances of the term 'endangered languages' in the 1990s (Moore 2000, p. 66) and a summary posting on the Linguist List by Dan Everett, relating to conferences on the topic, indicates an acceleration in the 1990s (Everett 2002).

Moore (2000) also sees the topic and the terms used as having emerged from the 'post-1960's 'environmentalist' discourse' with analogies drawn between the disappearance of cultures and 'worldviews' and the disappearance of biological species (Moore 2000, p. 66). For Moore (2000) this might be 'strategic' in highlighting the losses, but also means that there are 'unfortunate ideological entailments' (Moore 2000, p. 67). Moore (2000) is not convinced that academic studies relate closely enough to the language changes 'on the ground' (Moore 2000, p. 67). Trudgill (2002) expresses his own conviction that linguists should apply their knowledge to the solution of real-world problems as part of their 'duty' to communities who need help (Trudgill 2002, p. 137). May (2001b) is scathing about any claims of scientific disinterestedness, as he sees it as this merely reinforces the 'ongoing exponential loss of the world's minority languages' (May 2001b, p. 316). Lack of action is dismissed by Nettle and Romaine as 'benign neglect' (Nettle and Romaine 2000, p. 153).

Moore (2000) uses the Saussurean distinctions of 'langue' and 'parole' as relevant to the study of endangered languages. Whereas there have been many studies on the lexico-grammatical aspects of endangered languages, according to Moore (2000) there are far fewer on the study of the disappearance of speech forms as a practise of the speech community (Moore 2000, p. 67). These show 'more promise' in tackling issues of language endangerment, because they do not treat languages as 'artifacts of cognition' (Moore 2000, p. 67). Moore (2000) suggests that more anthropologically situated ethnography needs to be done to understand what it is that counts as a 'loss' (Moore 2000, p. 67). I see Moore's (2000) urging as a valid criticism, as well as his implicit distancing from 'language' death to concentration on 'forms of speech' within a community. I hope that some of my methodology detailed in Chapter 3 will indicate that I have tried to situate this study within the wider context of the society within which the users of Scottish Gaelic exist. This is an important reason for including learners, native speakers and other interested parties in my study: the 'community' involves all of these (ill-defined) categories, not merely native speakers.

Importantly, Moore's (2000) anthropological approach touches on other aspects of endangered languages as a global phenomenon. His observation that endangered language discussion arises out of 'environmental discourse' of the 1960s (Moore 2000, p. 66) does capture some of

the feeling that it is a protest movement. Indeed, the very defence of 'minority' versus 'majority' presupposes a stance of resistance to domination. As will be seen in Chapters 5 and 9, this is reflected in the belief in the ability of human action to prevent language death. Human action is also inherently involved in the ecological metaphor used in discussing language endangerment.

2.1.4 The Ecological Destruction Metaphor in Language Death

The ecological metaphor is perhaps most strongly advocated in publications such as that by Daniel Nettle and Suzanne Romaine (Nettle and Romaine 2000). They specifically draw a parallel between geographical areas of biodiversity [measured in terms of numbers of species] and areas of linguistic diversity to strengthen their analogy (Nettle and Romaine 2000, p. 44). Local ecosystems are presented as increasingly remote from post-agrarian communities and therefore Nettle and Romaine postulate that their preservation seems less important to us (Nettle and Romaine 2000, p. 46). This is a crucial aspect of the argument: that we (in the developed world) are increasingly 'outside' of nature and that we are destroying habitat (Nettle and Romaine 2000, p. 47). There is an important element of power relations too:

> '[T]he destabilizing activities of a few powerful groups have potentially catastrophic consequences. Much of the world is now being covered by a few species of Eurasian origin – wheat, barley, cattle, rice. These monocultures are replacing a profusion of endemic diversity whose functions we are only now beginning to understand and appreciate. The linguistic situation is uncannily similar, but the spreading varieties are English, Spanish and Chinese. Moreover, the underlying causes, and even the rates of spread, are extremely similar in both cases …' (Nettle and Romaine 2000, p. 48).

In this view, the powerful groups are united by language categories, and prompt massive loss. Nettle and Romaine go on to study situations where they pinpoint the grammatical losses such as numeral classifiers in Micronesian Pohnpeian (Nettle and Romaine 2000, p. 63) or noun classes in Dyirbal (Nettle and Romaine 2000, p.66). These are presented as reflections of society that would otherwise be unknown. Loss of languages such as Palikur (Brazil) would have prevented us from knowing that languages <u>can</u> have different noun classes (Nettle and Romaine 2000, p. 69). Nettle and Romaine also highlight loss of knowledge through language, such as that held by traditional fishermen who 'are still rich sources of information unknown to western scientists' (Nettle and Romaine 2000, p. 72). A similar opposition between '(western) scientist' and 'local' knowledge also occurs in a footnote in Skutnabb-Kangas (Skutnabb-Kangas 2002). Knowledge of rivulets being used for salmon-spawning was known to Saami because names of the rivulets contained a word meaning 'salmon-spawning ground', but this had not previously been known by Finnish biologists (Skutnabb-Kangas 2002).

Although I agree with Skutnabb-Kangas (2002) and Nettle and Romaine (2000) that attention to language aspects could help to advance wider knowledge, I am also wary of the presentation of this sort of knowledge as an opposition between scientists and indigenous people, where indigenous people 'know' more about the natural world. Most linguists would agree that language encapsulates knowledge, but realise that it might be opaque to the user of the language. An example of precisely this surfaces in the discourse of one of SoSGA respondents discussed in Chapter 6 (Extract 6.44). The respondent knows that the traditional month-names contain information on traditional Scottish Gaelic activities, but no longer knows what they are [MD29.22]. Knowledge of a language is no guarantee of knowing the (past) socio-cultural attributes that formed its words. There are dangers in presenting arguments couched in terms of ecological accounts unavailable in anything but the local language. Ecological arguments might imply that it is a language-ethnicity link that gives unique ecological insight, and that 'western' languages cannot do this. I doubt that either Skutnabb-Kangas (2002) or Nettle and Romaine (2002) actually believe anything of the sort. It is perhaps for this sort of reason, however, that Blommaert dismisses arguments by Skutnabb-Kangas (2002) as Whorfian or essentialist (Blommaert 2001b). The core of the ecological argument, however, is valuable: loss of language might well diminish our knowledge, including in areas where we understand least about our natural environment. However, I would add that this is equally true of any languages where loss of dialects might obscure our knowledge. Any language loss is knowledge loss, in this sense. To emphasise 'indigenous' languages too strongly might imply that these have retained something mystical, which other languages no longer have.

On another level the ecological argument may be effective in framing the scale of the loss in terms which are easier to understand. The current rate of environmental change is widely perceived as dramatic, and therefore people who do not know about language loss could be made aware of how seriously linguists take the situation. Smolicz (1995b) comments on the apparent contrast in passion over threatened fauna and the relative disinterest in language endangerment. May (2001a) views the analogy between environmental or habitat destruction as appropriate in terms of the widespread nature of language death. However, such argumentation also reinforces the view that language destruction is inevitable, reinforcing a version of social Darwinism that postulates the survival of the 'fittest' languages (May 2001a, p. 368). The biological metaphor also obscures the social issues that relate to language loss, such as power, prejudice, (unequal) competition and, in many cases, overt 'discrimination and subordination' (May 2001a, p. 368). Most of the threatened languages are also associated with

marginalised groups and language loss is often associated with much broader socio-economic and socio-cultural dislocation (May 2001a, p. 368). The biological metaphor also hides the socially constructed nature of prestige and attitudes towards languages, and is therefore not a process of natural selection (May 2001b, p. 4). This also holds true of the term 'language' itself, depending as it does on the socio-political context, and the derogatory labelling of a language as a dialect (May 2001a, p. 369). May (2001a) uses the example of Norwegian independence from Sweden to illustrate how the status of a language is dependent on the construction of nation-states (May 2001a, p. 369).

2.1.5 The Negative Rôle of the Nation-state

There is also nothing 'natural' about the role of the nation-state in language matters. The use of print media and the spread of printed versions of languages are discussed at length in Anderson (Anderson 1991, p. 40ff.), particularly in relation to 'print vernaculars'. The centrality of the nation-state to this process is vital: May (2001a) makes the link between the 300 or so nation states in the world and the similar number of languages that are expected to survive. In terms of overall survival, 'less than 1.5% of the world's languages are recognised officially by nation-states' (May 2001a, p. 369). The '*legitimation* and *institutionalisation'* (emphasis in original) of national languages is understood as a crucial part of the process of nation-building so that national languages become associated with modernity and progress while minority ones are associated with 'tradition and obsolescence' (May 2001a, p. 370). As will be seen in Chapters 7 and 8, the representation of 'culture' in Australia is criticised with this in mind: some forms of multiculturalism are criticised by Castles *et al.* (1988) and by Hage (1998) for devaluing cultures other than the dominant ('Anglo') one. Hage (1998) develops ideas that view the dominant elite as using other cultures in a zoo-like collection to enhance the nation's prestige.

The idea of a common language for a nation-state is a relatively recent one (May 2001a, p. 370) and May (2001a) draws on the ideas of Gellner (1999) that an idealised nation-state has congruent national and political identities. Nation-states still aspire to this ideal despite the 'realities' of multilingualism within their borders (May 2001a, p. 370). However, in the modern world May (2001a) sees such an ideal as under pressure from above and from below. From above, the nation-state is pressurised by 'the burgeoning influence of multinational corporations and supranational political organisations' which force nation-states to re-evaluate their own power (May 2001a, p. 371). From below, minority groups are increasingly mobilised to question nation-state congruence, or else to redefine it in terms of their own

representation within it (May 2001a, p. 371). In the case of Australia, this might be reflected in some of the changing political paradigms since the 1960s. In terms of economic adaptation to a global marketplace, immigration policy has adapted in order to cope with outside 'others' who do not match the previous political ideals of homogeneity (Denoon, Mein-Smith et al. 2000). The social and political presence of minority groups has increased (often under the rubrics of 'ethnic' and Aboriginal). In the 1970s Australian politics reflected the pressures of greater recognition of minorities and of human rights, and ideas such as multiculturalism became accepted[12] (Lopez 2000). Conversely, Hage (1998) sees the political processes as having stolen the ethnic minority voice by instituting multicultural policies in order to deny effective political power (Hage 1998). This could be interpreted as a hegemonic, state-level response to the threat to the nation-state from 'below'. The Australian acceptance of United Nations Human Rights declarations or the adaptation of Australian immigration policy to cope with industry demands (Burnley 2001) could be interpreted as responses (or acquiescence) from 'above'. For May (2001a) the significance of the nation-state to language loss is central (May 2001a, p. 371). In this respect, it is the movement of Linguistic Human Rights (LHRs) that presents a challenge to the unequal power relations constructed by the nation-state (May 2001a, p. 371).

2.2 Linguistic Human Rights

The (Australian) authors of the teach-yourself book, *Colloquial Scottish Gaelic,* quote a 1997 petition to the British government in which use of Scottish Gaelic is presented as 'an issue of human dignity, of belonging, and of justice' (Spadaro and Graham 2001, p. 1). The language is viewed as needing protection within the framework of the nation-state. It is a protection against language death and purchasing the book is also presented as part of this process:

> 'We hope that the investment you make will repay you with new understanding of an ancient culture which has refused to die; indeed, which still has a vital role to play' (Spadaro and Graham 2001, p. 2).

LHRs advocates argue that specific frameworks should be put in place with such protection in mind.

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[12] The changing political climate and the increasing political visibility of civil rights issues in this period was also being felt in the United States and elsewhere, as reflected in the establishment of some minority language services. Hernández-Chávez, E. (1995). Language Policy in the United States. Linguistic Human Rights - Overcoming Linguistic Discrimination. T. Skutnabb-Kangas and R. Phillipson. Berlin, Mouton De Gruyter. **67**.

2.2.1 The Importance of Linguistic Human Rights

Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995a) aim to 'establish the contours and scope of the concept of *Linguistic Human Rights*' by focusing on a theoretical perspective. Phillipson *et al.* (1995) see the topic as not yet coherently defined, and observe that the topics of language and human rights are seldom merged (Phillipson, Rannut et al. 1995, p. 1). Supporters of LHRs believe that there should be legal and structural rights for people speaking minority languages (Grin 1995; May 1998; Skutnabb-Kangas 1998). These are often couched in terms of using state (May 2001a), or international political structures (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995a) in order to guarantee some form of rights. In this view, states would be compelled to provide structural support for those who wish to ensure the use and transmission of their language (Skutnabb-Kangas, Phillipson et al. 2001). The definition of 'group' is one of the contentious issues but ignoring this is impossible in the context of Australia. Group rights and multiculturalism are strongly linked in Australia, partly because of the political context out of which multiculturalism has arisen. Political representation and group rights were specifically linked to multiculturalism in political speeches from the 1970s such as that by Al Grassby (Lopez 2000). This aspect of multiculturalism continues to the present day. The 1999 report on multiculturalism by the NMAC quotes Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser in 1981 presenting multiculturalism as a guarantor of basic rights:

> '[M]ulticulturalism is about equality of opportunity for the members of all groups to participate in and benefit from Australia's social, economic and political life. … I am talking about basic human rights … No society can long retain a commitment and involvement of groups that are denied these rights' (Australia 1999a, p. 25).

Lopez (Lopez 2000) discusses at some length some of the background issues to the establishment of policies of multiculturalism, which are further discussed in Chapter 8. However, I note here that notions of group rights have long been associated with multiculturalism, and that multiculturalism as an official policy still currently aims to cope with a 'diverse' society (Australia 1999b). Therefore, the state is specifically linked to rights that allow linguistic and cultural diversity. This section will examine some of the literature concerning linguistic rights and relate it to the socio-political reality of Australia.

2.2.2 Individual, Group and State Interactions and Linguistic Human Rights

The principal elements of the debate are often the interaction between individuals, groups and the state. As the state 'remains the bedrock of the political world order', May (2001b) sees it as sensible for the site of claims to linguistic rights (May 2001b, p. 7). Some do not share the view that legislation will be of much assistance. Coulmas (1998) argues that legislation

potentially enacted because of efforts by lawyers or linguists would not necessarily result in utopian laws (Coulmas 1998, p. 64). Even such instruments as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are the result of 'vested interest, debates and political bargaining' (Coulmas 1998, p. 65). Coulmas (1998) also urges linguists to take better heed of law experts to avoid redundancy. This might be the case, for example, in highlighting legislation that might already be in place that presupposes language rights in education or in the courtroom (Coulmas 1998, p. 64).

Coulmas (1998) also takes the view that there are various 'goods' competing for legislative protection, and the balancing of these involves legal and moral issues (Coulmas 1998, p. 365). He argues that the issues of basic and non-basic rights have not yet been settled - therefore it would be premature to fit language into a framework of legal rights when it is not clear that it is a 'basic' right when compared to economic or subsistence rights (Coulmas 1998, p. 65). The framework of legal rights is itself a difficult issue, as there are differing views as to whether it is the state or international organisations that should have supremacy in these matters (Coulmas 1998, p. 65). Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995a) call for international and universal protections but I perceive their arguments to be grounded within the remit of the nation-state. Using arguments reliant on national protection might result in variable outcomes from one state to another.

The very nature of the political structures is partly what ties language interests so closely to the state. By virtue of using a particular language, the state itself discriminates between different languages, or different forms of a language. The very relationship between a nation state and the language(s) chosen for its administration means that some languages automatically have pre-eminence (Coulmas 1998, p. 66). As Coulmas points out: '[u]ntil very recently, virtually no state has seen the cultivation of linguistic pluralism as one of its responsibilities' and multilingualism has mostly been a 'problem' for the state' (Coulmas 1998, p. 66). Historically many states were quite overt in their policies of assimilation through language and culture (May 2001b, p. 21). Therefore, to argue that demanding linguistic interventions at state level is not a threat to the nation-state (Phillipson, Rannut et al. 1995) is perhaps simplistic. At the very least, it changes the way in which a state might operate [even if only at local level], and to ignore this is to ignore the political implications of such demands.

In Australia, political changes heralded changes to language aspects of government and society from the 1960s onwards, and saw the introduction of interpreter and translation services (Lopez 2000, p. 188). These were significant changes from a position that previously stressed the importance of a monolingual country. An alternative position, though, is that the

nation-state has survived intact, managing to subvert the demands made upon it in the name of social justice by making sufficient concessions and avoiding wholesale changes (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988; Hage 1998).

Skutnabb-Kangas *et al.* (2001) do not necessarily subscribe to the legitimacy of 'nation-state ideology', but, like May (2001b), express their desire to use political realities in order to pressure states to accept some forms of linguistic rights (Skutnabb-Kangas, Phillipson et al. 2001, p. 145). From this point of view, they extend the duty of care to the state and wish to ensure that states respond to demands for provision (Skutnabb-Kangas, Phillipson et al. 2001, p. 145). In this conception the state is a key player in LHRs. May (2001b) would want to challenge the 'hegemony of the dominant ethnie within nation-states' (May 2001b, p. 12) by renegotiating the relationships between languages (May 2001b, p. 312). May (2001b) sees the last few decades as witnessing 'a sustained assault on the established nation-state' by 'peoples' arguing for greater self-determination (May 2001b, p. 15). These necessarily entail major political and social consequences (May 2001b, p. 15). Much of the argument for LHRs is therefore bound up with a re-examination of political structures.

2.2.2.1 Costs and Provisions

Coulmas (1998) argues for the balancing of provision with costs as an aspect of state duties. In states like Switzerland where languages are associated with a geographical region, Coulmas does not see the assimilationist pressure as 'illegitimate' if acting on those living outside the region in which their language is protected (Coulmas 1998, p. 67). This is a 'cost-efficiency' requirement of the state and language assists the 'efficient' running of the state (Coulmas 1998, p. 67). Crucially, Coulmas (1998) sees the importance of the state as acting in 'the best interests of the common good', which also means that the nation-state inherently supports majorities and thus pressures minorities (Coulmas 1998, p. 67). The very existence of minorities might even be contested by some states, and where states do recognise minorities they may distinguish between immigrant and indigenous groups and accord them different rights (Coulmas 1998, p. 68). Coulmas does not see it as unreasonable that immigrant groups should assimilate to the 'regime in place' where it is their individual choice to move countries. He does not see this as applicable to indigenous groups where they might have had language regimes forcibly imposed on them, and therefore have a greater claim to dissent (Coulmas 1998, p. 68).

Underlying the distinction between 'indigenous' and 'immigrant' seems to be the view that because immigrants have 'choice' as to where they live, they should forfeit some of their

linguistic 'choices'. Although Coulmas (1998) himself is aware that there might be 'structural' reasons for migration (Coulmas 1998, p. 68), presumably such as oppression and lack of effective economic rights, he seems to gloss over the fact that the language choices for the migrants might have been equally absent in their country of origin as in their new one. Therefore, to distinguish between language rights based on the economic or political status of the individual still does not address whether or not they should be granted language rights. What seems to be inherent in both Coulmas' (1998) argument and that of the supporters of LHRs, is the formulation of a hierarchy of language where 'mother tongue' is at the apex, 'second' or 'state language' is next, and 'foreign' language is below. This is a form of indexical linking of language to political status – and political status is itself tied to the individual's (or group's) position with respect to the nation-state in which they find themselves. Coulmas' (1998) approach recognises different legal traditions and therefore accepts differences from state to state. Supporters of LHRs would presumably want to see a universal application of guarantees. Coulmas (1998) insists that such a position is incompatible with variations in beliefs about rights from state to state (Coulmas 1998, p. 70). Whereas the distinction for the individual (or group) as 'immigrant' or 'indigenous' has political meaning, the meaning is perhaps less clear for language in a context of demo-linguistic changes. I argue that as Scottish Gaelic in Australia is interpretable as both an 'immigrant' as well as an 'indigenous' language (in the same way as English is in Australia), this throws such a problem into its territorial perspective. The basis on which English and Scottish Gaelic have different entitlements in Australia is political and demographic. Distinctions between them based on 'foreign', 'immigrant' and 'indigenous' are not always meaningful in this context. Therefore to distinguish between languages on this basis might offer no help whatsoever in saving a small language. It also does nothing to cope with the political circumstances within a nation-state. The political context might even be the starting point for arguments about rights. Coulmas (1998) himself highlights the example of Korean in Japan where people were forcibly moved there during the Second World War and therefore believes that their claims for language rights are 'less capricious' than those of, say, temporary migrants (Coulmas 1998, p. 71). This illustrates how specific circumstances might be closely linked to claims for language rights. Any claims for universal language rights would presumably not make such distinctions, arguably because they should avoid special circumstances.

Coulmas (1998) considers that the possibility of transmitting one's language to one's children to be a private matter (Coulmas 1998, p. 64). In this view, it is not a matter for state support or

intervention. However, this ignores the situation, such as that for Scottish Gaelic in Australia, where individuals might want to learn the language as part of their own heritage, but who have been unable to learn it in the home. In this situation, it is hardly surprising that some would call on the State to supply education for their benefit, and therefore LHRs approaches might offer greater promise. Chen (1998) distinguishes between rights to ensure that the State refrains from interference in behaviour, and rights that would guarantee provision in some services (Chen 1998). One of these would be that the State might commit to ensuring the survival of a language (Chen 1998, p. 49). The ensuring of diversity could be argued as a moral obligation in this line of reasoning (Chen 1998, p. 50). This would allow voluntary association, but not compel people to take up the service. This is relevant to Australia, because the country does specifically declare itself multicultural and expresses its wish to maintain diversity (Australia 1999a; DIMIA 2002b).

2.2.2.2 Legal Issues and Definitions

Coulmas (1998) discusses the 'messiness' of defining groups and the problems that this poses for legal systems, which seek precise definitions (Coulmas 1998, p. 68). The same fuzziness over legalistic definitions exists for languages and the existence in some states of language rights serves only to highlight that there are some clear cases, not that there is any satisfactory, legal definition of a language (Coulmas 1998, p. 69). Linguists themselves do not adopt a common position on how to differentiate languages (Coulmas 1998, p. 71). Therefore, territorial solutions pose a way out of this impasse because boundary demarcations are a lot easier to implement (Coulmas 1998, p. 69). This might create further problems such as 'new minorities' where the geographical boundaries do not coincide with linguistic ones or where assumptions of linguistic homogeneity are invalid. This might possibly also lead to segregationist policies, such as in apartheid South Africa (Coulmas 1998, p. 69). Some supranational authorities can be called upon to arbitrate in power relations within states, such as the European Union, but this is only applicable where nation-states have agreed to have some of their powers limited (Coulmas 1998, p. 69). For Coulmas (1998) this shows that 'Western enthusiasm for pluriethnicity and multiculturalism is not shared in other parts of the world where education and welfare are considered more important problems than shifting identities' (Coulmas 1998, p. 70). He also warns against the preservation of 'fascinating human anachronisms' merely for the purposes of study (Coulmas 1998, p. 70). This is an aspect of Scottish Gaelic relevant to SoSGA. Indeed, among some SoSGA respondents there is clear disenchantment, sometimes revulsion, at being considered merely as a representative

of a culture. They do not see themselves as experts in Scottish Gaelic purely because they have been brought up with the language – and react negatively to learners who do see them in such a way. Coulmas highlights the danger of perceiving individuals as merely ciphers for their 'group' culture (Coulmas 1998, p. 70). Overall, Coulmas (1998) concludes that claims for universal rights might be unrealistic in terms of political realities and different sociolinguistic situations (Coulmas 1998, p. 71). Therefore legalistic solutions are not perceived as guaranteeing solutions to social problems (Coulmas 1998, p. 72).

2.2.3 Issues of Power

May (2001a) views LHRs as important because they highlight the imbalance of power relations and are an attempt to argue that speakers of minority languages should be accorded the same rights that majority languages already have (May 2001a, p. 371). Education is one important area for according rights. Pennycook (2002) comments that mother tongue rights in education are held up as a political icon along with gender equality, universal education and democracy (Pennycook 2002, p. 11). Demand for mother tongue rights acts as a counter to conservatism and racism. It is 'one of the most significant domains of political action within applied and educational linguistics' (Pennycook 2002, p. 12). Support for mother tongue education can be seen, therefore, as a political stance. Phillipson *et al.* (1995) decry the fact that people can be prevented from using their 'mother tongue', mostly via bureaucratic or directly oppressive means. The freedom to use a language is therefore presented from the human rights perspective as an issue of social and linguistic justice (Phillipson, Rannut et al. 1995, p. 1).

Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995a) frame many of the issues of permitted language use within the political spaces of nation states and their legislation, and international treaties and laws (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995a, p. 71 ff.). Their essential concern is with the specific proscription of languages, often by the state, and the legislative context for those who wish to use a language of their choice. They examine various international treaties, and conclude that '[d]espite the good intentions of drafters of covenants, from the United Nations Charter onwards, and the ratification of them by member states, there are still major social inequalities where linguistic injustice appears to be a relevant factor' (Phillipson, Rannut et al. 1995, p. 3). Lack of access to institutions such as courts and education affect the fair treatment of an individual in a given society, and this is linked to issues of freedom of speech and language maintenance (Phillipson, Rannut et al. 1995, p. 2). Phillipson *et al*. (1995) link minority rights specifically to language rights because 'the groups who do not enjoy full

linguistic rights today – regardless of how these are defined – are mostly minorities' (Phillipson, Rannut et al. 1995, p. 3). The role of the nation state in this aspect is also emphasised: because international organisations are structured in terms of the nation-state as a representative constituent, many minority groups have been denied access to human rights institutions – 'appeal to the United Nations Human Rights Committee is restricted to submissions by governments' (Phillipson, Rannut et al. 1995, p. 16). The nation-state is therefore potentially the site for conflict and it relates directly to issues of power:

> 'When we affirm categorically that all individuals and groups should enjoy universal LHRs, this claim needs to be seen in the light of the political reality of unequal access to power. Most linguistic majorities seem reluctant to grant "their" minorities rights, especially linguistic and cultural rights, because they would rather see their minorities assimilated' (Phillipson, Rannut et al. 1995, p. 3).

But it is a 'myth' that minority rights are a threat to the nation-state (Phillipson, Rannut et al. 1995, p. 4). States sometimes fear that minorities who are granted rights will thereafter attempt to develop a separate nation - but this is countered by arguing that the granting of rights is an alternative to repression (Phillipson, Rannut et al. 1995, p. 5). Phillipson *et al.* (1995) argue that because minorities wish to retain their identity, the drive by a nation-state to become homogeneous is futile (Phillipson, Rannut et al. 1995, p. 5). This is also a view supported by May (2001b), who sees the emergence of 'cultural nations' within established nation-states as proof that political secession is not always a goal (May 2001b, p. 78). Regional autonomy for Wales and Catalonia are cited as examples (May 2001b, p. 79).

The denial of LHRs to internal minorities may also be linked to foreign policy issues because states might be reluctant to criticise other states for refusing to recognise minorities out of fear that their own policies will come under scrutiny (Phillipson, Rannut et al. 1995, p. 6). This therefore supports an 'escalation' of ethnic conflicts and violations of LHRs (Phillipson, Rannut et al. 1995, p. 6). Failure to respect LHRs is stressed as an important factor in contributing to ethnic conflict (Phillipson, Rannut et al. 1995, p. 7).

Phillipson *et al.* (1995) distance themselves from arguments of 'primordialism' that claim that languages are inherited (Phillipson, Rannut et al. 1995, p. 8). They reject 'anthropomorphic' arguments that languages might be classified in terms of hierarchies of beauty, logic or any other characteristics attributed to them. Such views

> '… do not have any basis in reality: all natural languages are complex, logical systems, capable of developing and expressing everything, provided that enough resources can be used for their cultivation' (Phillipson, Rannut et al. 1995, p. 9).

Views that languages might be assessed in terms of a hierarchy based on their characteristics

could lead to a false classification of their speakers in a similar way (Phillipson, Rannut et al. 1995, p. 9). 'Primordialists' are contrasted with 'Instrumentalists' who use the symbolic value of a language in order to distract from the 'real' economic and political issues (Phillipson, Rannut et al. 1995, p. 9). As will be seen in Chapter 8, this is exactly one of the accusations levelled against the use of multiculturalism in Australia, where some authors see a lack of desire to deal with structural inequalities masked by an apparently tolerant ideology of multiculturalism (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988; Hage 1998).

Phillipson *et al.* (1995) do invoke hierarchical arguments in relation to violations of LHRs, however. If 'mother tongue', 'second language' and 'foreign language' are taken to represent a hierarchy of most important to least important in terms of (chronological) socialisation, the authors argue that the violation of LHRs is most important for 'mother tongue' (Phillipson, Rannut et al. 1995, p. 10). Such a hierarchy of violation would therefore also influence a hierarchy of implementation of LHRs, considering 'mother tongue' legislation as being most important (Phillipson, Rannut et al. 1995, p. 10-11). The arguments are closely linked to ideas of the liberty of self-determination, which encompasses arguments of group rights (Phillipson, Rannut et al. 1995, p. 10). This issue therefore also raises the question of whether LHRs are an aspect of group or of individual rights. Phillipson *et al*. (1995) interpret LHRs as having aspects of <u>both</u> individual and group rights; they are 'individual' in the sense that an individual should be allowed to acquire the cultural heritage of preceding generations and the right to receive education in the medium of a language, to learn it and to use it. It is an aspect of 'group' rights in the sense that languages are part of community life and should enable full participation in the wider society (Phillipson, Rannut et al. 1995, p. 12). They stress that '*collective and individual LHRs presuppose and complement each other and are in no way alternatives to each other*' (emphasis in original) (Phillipson, Rannut et al. 1995, p. 12).

Phillipson *et al*.'s (1995) approach to protecting mother tongue education might appear to be an unassailably moral position. However, promotion of mother tongue education could obscure other political issues. Mother tongue education is no guarantee of emancipation, for example. Pennycook (2002) uses the colonialist example of Hong Kong to argue that we should be wary of arguments concerning the benefits of mother tongue education. Colonial administrators urged mother tongue education (and its 'culture' of respect) in attempting to prevent the challenge to colonial power (Pennycook 2002, p. 20). Such calls for mother tongue education might be an attempt to maintain power rather than relinquish it. '[L]anguage in education was part of the process of governmentality and protectionism; the support for vernacular languages in education was part of the production of otherness, the creation of

static traditionalism' (Pennycook 2002, p. 20). Pennycook (2002) also refers to Australia for an example of the questionable benefits of mother tongue education. He quotes Walton on the division of Aborigines on the basis of authenticity (Walton 1996, p. 87), whereby authenticity and homogeneity is ascribed to those who are 'traditional', whereas the 'non-traditional' are considered to have 'lost' their culture (Pennycook 2002, p. 22). As will be seen in Chapter 6, 'authenticity' occurs as an important ascription in reference to Scottish Gaelic native speakers in my own study. Pennycook (2002) describes this as an essentialist view of language and identity, whereby authenticity is perceived to stem from language ability. This is argued to potentially be the case for education in Creole or Torres Strait languages in Australia, which denies the opportunity for speakers to 'form and reform' their culture (Pennycook 2002, p. 22). Supplying education in the mother tongue might thus be a form of preventing change (Pennycook 2002, p. 22). Pennycook (2002) does not reject arguments for mother tongue rights, but does view them as strategic (Pennycook 2002, p. 23). Such a strategy might reproduce exactly the same form of colonialist discourse that produced such a division of languages in the first instance:

> 'It is important … to consider, whether or not we are promoting mother-tongue education, bilingualism, monolingualism, or multilingualism, we may be reproducing a colonial legacy of language construct. To fight the battle in these terms is to reproduce, not oppose, colonialism. We tend to get stuck here between old polarities: Anglicism vs. Orientalism, mother tongues vs. global languages, preservation vs. assimilation, multilingualism vs. monolingualism.' (Pennycook 2002, p. 23).

Thus notions such as 'mother tongue' might imply an underlying universal category that in reality can only be understood contextually and locally (Pennycook 2002, p. 24). Pennycook (2002) sees a danger in using the notion of mother tongue, which 'may reproduce those fixed categories of identity that many wish simultaneously to avoid' (Pennycook 2002, p. 24). Pennycook (2002) quotes Makoni (1998a) in describing proponents of multilingualism as 'ideological captives of the system they are seeking to challenge' (Pennycook 2002, p. 22)[13]. The problem is therefore that arguments supporting mother tongue rights actually use the same conceptualisations of the social world that essentialised 'language' in the first place. An answer to this would be to 'disinvent language': we should no longer conceptualise the problems in terms of 'reified notions of dominant languages and mother tongues', but understand the 'semiotic tools' that we use (Pennycook 2002, p. 26).

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[13] Pennycook broadens Makoni's (1998a) argument from the context of South Africa, (where 11 languages were declared 'official') to a wider post-colonial era Makoni, S. (1998a). African Languages as European scripts: the shaping of communal memory. Negotiating the past: The Making of Memory in South Africa. S. Nuttall and C. Coetzee. Oxford, Oxford University Press**:** 242-248.

In a similar vein to the analysis of mother tongue, notions of 'group' might present problems for the arguments supporting LHRs. Phillipson *et al*. (1995) themselves raise this with regard to collective rights and how to define the group concerned. Some of the terms that are used ('ethnic', 'tribe', 'nations', 'peoples', 'minority') are seen as lacking clear definitions for human rights purposes (Phillipson, Rannut et al. 1995, p. 13). They also highlight the labile nature of terms such as 'ethnic' which was 'often seen … as a characteristic that only minorities possessed. Majorities were devoid of ethnicity' (Phillipson, Rannut et al. 1995, p. 13). As will be seen in Chapter 8, the use of the term 'ethnic' in Australia[14] has exactly such difficulties, where it is used as a contrastive term for those who are not perceived to be culturally part of the majority – such as recent, non-Northern European immigrants. It is also a term that excludes Aboriginal peoples in its usage (MacDonald 2002). In the legal frameworks, such terms need clarification as to their scope in order to provide a basis for legislation, in particular for trans-national instruments such as the European Charter on Regional and Minority Languages (Phillipson, Rannut et al. 1995, p. 13). This problem lies at the heart of arguments for LHRs – without defining the group, it would be hard to define to whom the rights should belong.

2.2.4 Problems with Group Rights Arguments

LHRs arguments may suffer from the reliance of a one-to-one correspondence of identity and language that is unsustainable (May 2001a). For the respondents to my own survey, it is clear that they are able to enact different identities within Australian society, by invoking language on some occasions, by invoking ethnicity on others, and nationality on yet other occasions as needed. Sometimes this is part of public presentation because of the 'multicultural' context and the perceived audience, sometimes this is because of what they wish to achieve in terms of language revitalisation. LHRs arguments that rely on ethnicity to justify protective measures fail to address the legitimacy of identities for people whose ethnicity is reflected contextually, not permanently. Some people may indeed bindingly link one of their languages and their identity, but those LHRs arguments that fail to address multiple identities risk legitimising only a particular version of a language or culture. This would be exactly the same process by which nation-states have given dominant languages unique legitimacy. Many SoSGA respondents feel themselves part of more than one society without being socially dislocated. Many of SoSGA respondents belong to multiple (ethnic) groups and nonetheless

[14] This is also probably the case in many multicultural societies.

wish to see Scottish Gaelic revitalised and used as a living language. They often become language activists by virtue of their actions within political and social spheres. Therefore, while many of the arguments in LHRs are appealing and worthwhile for minority language supporters who wish to retain the presence of a number of languages, the issue of 'group' and the links to language need to be examined extremely critically. After all, individuals make up groups. May (2001b) sees this as a disjuncture between 'individual' and 'collective' which poses problems to the legitimacy of any claim (May 2001b, p. 9).

A specific, potential danger in arguing for group rights is that the identity-language link becomes fossilised rather than just essentialised (Pennycook 2002, p. 22). If only particular groups that represent a language are selected for the granting of rights, some forms of the culture associated with that language would potentially have greater validity. This would effectively be a form of discrimination based on beliefs about the use of language within culture. This might also lead to a language authenticity hierarchy where only particular facets of a language or culture are legitimated by the attribution of group rights. One could imagine a scenario where Scottish Gaelic choirs in Australia were to be granted help on the basis that theirs was principally a language activity, while the Scottish Gaelic religious groups were not granted help on the basis that their (Christian, Protestant) religion(s) were not discriminated against. This might lead to increased funding for choirs and perhaps the flourishing of choral forms of Scottish Gaelic, while psalm-singing and biblical rhetoric in Scottish Gaelic might continue to decline. Thus, one form of language would be promoted while another would not. Under such circumstances one form of language use might inadvertently be favoured over another based purely on an ideology of language rights. While many would agree to the need for protection of groups that suffer 'injustice' in some way, the answer is perhaps not to legislate for a group, which might be ill defined if language is the only defining criterion.

Would LHRs arguments perhaps be more convincing if presented as an issue of individual rights within a society that enabled its citizens choice of language use? Arguments in May (May 2001a) tackle some of the issues in LHRs that SoSGA exposes. The multiple identities available to SoSGA respondents (May (2001a) describes 'competing identities') present a challenge to the assumption that the groups are necessarily coherent. They present a challenge to the view that groups who are all interested in promoting a language necessarily have common objectives in other areas, such as religion or culture. The groups that wish to promote Scottish Gaelic in Australia (or elsewhere) have a common link through the desire for the continued existence of the language – but are in no way united in the forms in which it should

be used, nor in the ways in which it expresses their identity. The variety and interests of such groups are viewed by me as equally legitimate. I challenge the notion that it is groups, which should be accorded linguistic rights in preference to the individuals who make up such groups. The notion of group rights does not always sit comfortably with one principal motivation of the LHRs movement: the desire for the vitality of minority and endangered languages.

2.2.4.1 Problems with Identity

May (2001a) agrees with LHRs arguments in Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995a), for the maintenance of collective group ethnolinguistic identity. But May (2001a) also notes the contested nature of claims of collective aims, and questions what he sees as the formulation in LHRs arguments by Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995a) that language is the principal identifier of a group (May 2001a, p. 372). The issue of a 'group' is most problematic here. There is a clear mismatch between what some individuals would want compared to what the group as a whole might desire, and therefore this 'immediately problematises the legitimacy of *any* claim to a group-based minority language right, whatever its social and political merits' (May 2001a, p. 372); emphasis in original). Linguistic identity is just one of many identities, according to May's argument (May 2001a, p. 372). He insists that the 'LHR movement' must reject 'any intrinsic link between language and identity' (May 2001a, p. 366). Coulmas (1998) describes the firm link between language and identity as a 'nineteenth century romantic idea' and asserts that it is 'contingent' (Coulmas 1998, p. 72). Similarly, Blommaert (2001b) criticises Skutnabb-Kangas (2001) of 'Whorfianism' for linking ethnicity and language too closely (Skutnabb-Kangas 2001; Blommaert 2001b, p. 540). Kelly-Holmes (1998) highlights a false link in relation to her own experience in Ireland where Irish identity is no longer necessarily seen as depending on the speaking of Irish. In this sense, the language was perhaps more of a 'fetish' in the recent past than a reflection of the current reality (Kelly-Holmes 1998, p. 77). In the context of a multilingual society, Kelly-Holmes (1998) describes what an attribution of group rights might entail: ' … this desire to confine individuals to an identity which they should continue simply because others have deemed that it should be continued' (Kelly-Holmes 1998, p. 78). For Kelly-Holmes (1998) the 'over-ideologisation of language' had a negative effect, and the Irish language was 'hijacked by ideologues and imbued with values, qualities, histories far removed from the everyday culture lived by individuals' (Kelly-Holmes 1998, p. 78). This view agrees with that of Coady and Ó Laoire (2002) who comment that Irish identity was decreasingly tied to Irish after the Second World War (Coady and Ó Laoire 2002, p. 147). This was despite the incentives for the use of Irish as a medium of

tuition from 1922 until the 1970s (Coady and Ó Laoire 2002, p. 146). Use of Irish from the 1970s had more of a 'political symbolic use' in Ireland (Coady and Ó Laoire 2002, p. 146). They see a resultant mismatch between the stated ideals of Irish revival and the current teaching in schools (Coady and Ó Laoire 2002, p. 156)

May's (2001a) principal argument is that we are not necessarily defined by our language. In some cases it may only be a 'surface feature of ethnic identity' (May 2001a, p. 372). The view of language as an 'essentialist' feature of ethnicity is therefore rejected in favour of including anthropological accounts that describe ethnicity as constructed, either wholly or partly (May 2001a, p. 373). Ethnicity may be 'situational', and this therefore accounts for its fluidity and malleability 'and the fact that both individuals and groups might use their ethnicity instrumentally to achieve particular political ends' (May 2001a, p. 373). As will be seen from the SoSGA data below, this is exactly what some SoSGA respondents do. Different aspects of their identities are brought to the fore in order to achieve social or political aims. Different contexts and different groups allow SoSGA respondents to emphasise different features of Scottish Gaelic that are important to them. Their activities also illustrate that different groups forming with Scottish Gaelic as a focus are not necessarily co-ordinated or consensual in their aims. This is despite a very high degree of membership overlap between groups. The data that I present in Chapters 4 to 9 will add to the view that identity is 'multiple, shifting and contingent' (May 2001a, p. 373).

On the other hand, May's (2001b) rejects as too extreme the account that language is merely a feature equal to others (May 2001b, p. 31ff.). May (2001b) observes that constructivist accounts understate the link between ethnicity and particular 'historically associated languages' (May 2001a, p. 373). Language is linked to our individual and social identities because they 'are mediated in and through language' (May 2001a, p. 373). May (2001a) sees the hard ('scientific') constructivist view as missing the fact that language is '*experienced* as vital by those who speak it' (emphasis in original):

> '[T]o say that language is not an inevitable feature of identity is not the same as saying it is unimportant, yet many commentators in (rightly) assuming the former position have also (wrongly) assumed the latter' (May 2001a, p. 373).

May (2001a) goes on to present Fishman's (1991) arguments concerning the indexical link between a historically associated language and its culture (at least in the 'short term') as representing the best match between a language and its speakers (May 2001a, p. 374). Therefore he accepts a 'weak version of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, highlighting the *influence* of language in shaping our *customary* ways of thinking' (emphasis in original; (May

2001a, p. 374). As language and culture are linked symbolically, the fortunes of a language are therefore dependant on those of its speakers in their social and political circumstances (May 2001a, p. 374). May (2001a) quotes Fishman on child socialisation patterns being associated with a particular language (Fishman 1991, p. 24) quoted in (May 2001a, p. 374). According to this view, a language is culturally significant, but does not imply that identity is fixed, nor that particular languages are fixed to particular identities (May 2001a, p. 374). Language instead becomes a 'significant resource to one's ethnic identity, both at the level of social integration and social identification' (May 2001a, p. 374). May (2001a) concludes that constructivist and 'primordialist' paradigms should be combined to adequately describe language and identity issues (May 2001a, p. 375). Bourdieu's (1991) notion of 'habitus' is called on as explaining the formation of a frame of reference which affects views of, and behaviour in, the real world (May 2001a, p. 375).

May's (2001a) 'middle way' approach will also be called upon to help explain some phenomena linked to language interests and language awareness amongst SoSGA respondents (May 2001a; May 2001b). Many respondents - but importantly not all - strongly link Scottish Gaelic to their own ancestry and heritage. These links are important in motivating some respondents to explore the language alongside other facets of identity - for example, the linking of a wider form of identity under the rubric 'Celtic'. Celtic attributes may also be perceived as Scottish Gaelic, and vice versa. For language revival issues, Scottish Gaelic can be portrayed as equivalent in status and interest to other Celtic languages. This goes well beyond the traditional professional linguists' categorisation of the languages within the same family tree. 'Deeper' aspects of identity are sometimes linked to all Celtic languages. This is the case, for example, in the use of Scottish Gaelic in exploring Druidic ritual, where SoSGA respondents do not necessarily use simple ethnicity as a legitimating factor, but claim deeper significance from their participation. It is also the case in some respondents' decisions to learn not just Scottish Gaelic, but also Irish, sometimes in frustration at the lack of adequate resources available, sometimes because they 'share' ethnicity between Scottish Gaelic and Irish. In some specific cases, Irish is the next best in the set of near-equivalents for expressing individual identity. The postulation of a strong link between language and identity would have more difficulty in reconciling such an accretion of ethnicities, and a 'constructionist' account helps to explain why certain languages are co-claimed. Irish, Scottish Gaelic and Australian ethnicities may be emphasised together, sometimes within one individual. A strong claim of language-identity link would be compelled to make over-generalisations about such cultures or ethnicities.

Whereas May (2001a) quotes Fishman (1991) on child socialisation (May 2001a, p. 375), there is a very important aspect of Scottish Gaelic in Australia in adult socialisation. I argue here that as identity is fluid and contingent, then it is also dynamic within the individual. This would account for interest in Scottish Gaelic waxing and waning as other factors affect people's lives and as their circumstances change in a multilingual context. Such a position would be difficult to reconcile with a view that one group identity should be attached to an individual. Crucially, not all SoSGA respondents are bound to their Scottish Gaelic identities, and many consciously reject any attempt to attribute to them fixed identities, which they might see as parochial or unrepresentative of their individuality. May (2001b) describes these 'nonsynchronous identities' as a norm for the individual (May 2001b, p. 39). Some respondents only occasionally participate in any Scottish Gaelic activities, sometimes because they have no wish to form a strong association between themselves and others who might claim the 'same' identity (ethnic or linguistic). Some respondents concern themselves with Scottish Gaelic only later in their lives, as an aspect of 're-discovery' of their ethnicity and heritage and relish learning something, which they see as pertaining directly to them. Others might contest such claims or categorise learners as proponents of a 'new' dialect of Scottish Gaelic, for example. Contestations of what the language represents indicate that language, identity and group rights are not necessarily comfortably intertwined. These aspects of interest in Scottish Gaelic impact directly on language revival efforts.

2.2.4.2 Problems with Group Rights

May (2001a) addresses the issue of individual rights within the liberal, democratic tradition and relates it to LHRs arguments for group rights. The status of a citizen with individual rights does not take into account the 'private' aspects of their lives such as language (May 2001a, p. 376). Citizens' rights normally also take precedence over personal and collective identity, thereby denying 'group difference' (May 2001a, p. 376). This separation between citizenship and identity 'understates, and at times disavows' wider affiliations that may be used to construct identity (May 2001a, p. 376). For May (2001a) this illustrates that our cultural attributes cannot be experienced alone, but have to be performed or experienced as part of a group (May 2001a, p. 376). May (2001a) avoids defining a group and calls upon Kymlicka's (1995) notion of 'group-differentiated' rights instead (May 2001a, p. 377). Group-differentiated rights are presented as being potentially accorded to an individual within a group, such as the right of someone in Canada to use French in a Federal Court (May 2001a, p. 377). Rights would then be conferrable either on an individual or a group, subject to some

limiting proviso (May 2001a, p. 377). Therefore a federal system, where a nation-wide minority is in the majority in one area, would allow a group to exercise group rights (May 2001a, p. 377). In his more detailed exposition, May (2001b) also suggests a distinction be made for 'polyethnic rights' which would be primarily aimed at protecting linguistic aspects in the private domain (May 2001b, p. 118).

Ensuring a proviso such as 'where numbers warrant' (May 2001a, p. 377) is not unproblematic, however. Firstly, as Coulmas (1998) asks, is it a reasonable expectation for education authorities to provide education in any language for small groups of people? This could potentially mean an 'inefficient' use of state resources in education. Blommaert (2001a) emphasises that basic educational needs in third world countries could be seen as having higher priority. He argues that as such a tiny proportion of children go to school at all, resources should be maximised for school attendance, with concerns about linguistic rights accorded lesser priority (Blommaert 2001a, p. 139). In other countries where the state barely functions effectively in providing education, legislation would be ineffective in any case (Blommaert 2001a, p. 138). This is not an argument accepted by Skutnabb-Kangas *et al.* (2001) who believe that this may lead to a situation where it becomes 'too late' to provide education in a 'mother tongue' (Skutnabb-Kangas, Phillipson et al. 2001, p. 150).

Secondly, provision for education relative to numbers may be of no help at all in fluid demo-linguistic situations. May's (2001a) argument is essentially territorial relying on the definition of 'minority' and 'majority' based on geographical region with no claim to universality. This is essentially the same as other arguments for minority protection (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995b; Skutnabb-Kangas 1998). May's (2001a) solution to balancing individual and group rights depends on group-differentiated rights not overriding individual rights. This relies on distinctions between 'internal restrictions' and 'external protections' (Kymlicka 1995; May 2001a, p. 377). External protections would limit a group's right to impose internal restrictions on individuals – particular instances being patriarchal or theological denial of freedoms (May 2001a, p. 377). The dangers of injustices would be mitigated by the promotion of fairness so that one group does not dominate another (May 2001a, p. 378). May (2001a) argues that minority language rights are just such an external protection, and appeals to the 'fairness' of allowing minority groups the same language rights as majority groups (May 2001a, p. 378). Abandoning a culture and language is, by extension, a matter of personal choice if an individual wishes to do so (May 2001a, p. 378). But should a person wish to retain their heritage, they should be entitled to do that (May 2001a, p. 378).

2.2.4.3 Morality and Fairness

The issue of 'fairness' is still unsolved, considering the likely reluctance of majority groups to enact protective measures for minority groups or languages. Grin (1995) believes in arguing for the wider benefits of 'diversity' (Grin 1995, p. 33). May (2001a) however, argues for matters of social justice to prevail, thereby convincing the majority to accord the same privileges to others as they themselves already have or want (May 2001a, p. 379). For example, the use of Dutch at the European level would entail the use of Frisian at Dutch national level (May 2001a, p. 379). His argument is thus one of moral persuasion, contesting the dominant position of such languages. This would also entail the challenging of nation-state and language congruence (May 2001a, p. 380). With the caveat that respect for rights should be granted where appropriate and reasonable, May (2001a) insists that groups should be granted these as fundamental rights (May 2001a, p. 380). He particularly highlights situations where 'conquest, colonisation or confederation' has denied groups a legitimate say, and writes that there should be 'at least a degree of legitimation and institutionalisation along with majority national languages' (May 2001a, p. 380).

Arguments for 'fairness' and for 'social justice' are essentially moral stances in a bid to prevent unequal power. However, in a society where there are strong views that the injustices of the past are not remedied by action in the present, this may be difficult to promote. Exactly this sort of debate appears in Australian society since the 1980s and is discussed in more detail in Section 2.2.5 on 'asymmetry' and contextualised further in Chapter 8.

2.2.5 Language Legislation and Language Maintenance

Phillipson *et al*. (1995) point out that protection for minority languages in courts of law is affected by the way in which international treaties and covenants are drawn up. Many of these are drawn up in a 'negative' way with prescriptions on non-discrimination rather than providing active support (Phillipson, Rannut et al. 1995, p. 15). Therefore Phillipson *et al*. (1995) desire affirmative action on the part of the state to ensure the application of rights such as guarantees of minority-language education (Phillipson, Rannut et al. 1995, p. 16). They also argue for the inclusion of LHRs in international law (Phillipson, Rannut et al. 1995, p. 16) and perceive the inclusion of rights regarding the 'right to learn the mother tongue fully' as being the most difficult question (Phillipson, Rannut et al. 1995, p. 17). Rights should also become legally binding rather than being recommendations, as well as clarifying financial obligations for their implementation (Phillipson, Rannut et al. 1995, p. 17). LHRs are not new given existing national legislation, but they argue that clarifying and codifying language rights is a

way to 'achieve greater social justice' (Phillipson, Rannut et al. 1995, p. 17). For May (2001b), the provision of rights should be permanent, and not a temporary remedy to be revoked at a later stage (May 2001b, p. 118).

2.2.5.1 Language Aspects of International Treaties

Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995a) examine the historical development of linguistic rights for minorities and how these are reflected in international treaties. Despite some states having multicultural frameworks for education, they point out that this is not a guarantee of multilingualism nor a guarantee against violation of LHRs (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995b). The authors also suggest that such violations are 'a sophisticated contemporary form of racism, namely linguicism' (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995b). Assimilation is enforced via formal education in the majority language (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995b), an issue raised by Smolicz for Australia (Smolicz 1971) quoted in (Lopez 2000, p. 160).

Linguistic homogeneity was imposed as part of monolingual doctrines associated with nation-states (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995b). Concern for access to power for all citizens was a factor in the development of a monolingual state policy in post-1789 France (Grillo 1989, Ch. 2). It was not only linguistic or elite dominance in nation building, because considerations of liberty were intertwined with monolingualism. Access to rights and services within the society, according to this view, are presented as being dependent on acquiring (or having) a particular language. A similar argument is used in present-day Australia. Some official statements present English as the effective means of access to the wider society and to state services (DIMIA 2002c), in particular in government responses to the National Multicultural Advisory Council (NMAC) 1999 report (Australia 1999a) on using English as a national language (Australia 1999b, p. 27). Other arguments present the supposed transmission of cultural values through (Australian) English (Dixson 1999). Access to social equality is presented as an issue of access to English, and consequently access to state provision. Free English tuition is offered to migrants who wish it, as will be seen in Chapters 7 and 8. Therefore, using a prescribed language or dialect is still advanced as a key to full participation in society.

This facet of Australian society can potentially be viewed in the light of other forms of discrimination: while the government reports denounce discrimination on the basis of 'origin' of citizens (Australia 1999a), there is nonetheless a form of discrimination on the basis of the language they speak. Civil liberties being extended only in one particular language is seen as a

'structural favouring' of that language (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995b). Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995a) highlight the glorification of the dominant language accompanied by the vilification of others and trace such ideas as far back as ancient Greek vilification of Barbarians (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995b).

Nineteenth century treaties began to deal with national minorities, which were often also linguistic minorities (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995b). In between the two World Wars, peace treaties specifically contained clauses protecting linguistic minorities, but some signatories such as France, the United Sates and Britain did not offer such safeguards within their own borders (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995b). After the Second World War, many treaties were drawn up following United Nations frameworks to protect individuals against arbitrary or unjust treatment – but Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995a) see this as concomitant with a relative neglect of protection for minority groups (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995b). They quote more recent UN publications (1992) that appear to recognise that declarations of rights for groups are overdue, and see it as a new focus of interest (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995b).

Overall Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995a) see the 'strongest' support for minority rights within national constitutions, and weakest support within 'universal' treaties, some of which are recommendations without legal force (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995b). Language is not seen as a prominent concern in these treaties (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995b), and immigrant minorities are excluded in some UN formulations (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995b). Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995a) construct a grid on which to map legal measures. The two dimensions are 'degree of overtness', as a measure of minority language use in education, and 'degree of promotion' as a measure of the extent to which a language is prohibited, tolerated or actively promoted (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995b). In this representation most of the international charters' clauses on education fall into the 'covert tolerance' region (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995b). A few cases – such as English-language amendments to the US constitution - are depicted as overtly assimilation-oriented and prohibitive. Conversely, other countries' legislation is overtly promotional, such as the South African Freedom Charter (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995b).

In sections dealing with education, the international and regional covenants do not mention language (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995b). This contrasts with declarations on discrimination for <u>other</u> human rights (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995b). Therefore for language issues these declarations are seen as 'no stronger than *covert assimilation-oriented*

toleration' (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995b). The consequence is thus that minorities are not generally guaranteed the right to use their languages in schools (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995b). Using the scheme devised by Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995a), Smolicz (1995a) describes Australia as having moved from overt prohibition to tolerance of languages other than English (Smolicz 1995b, p. 241).

Despite supra-national agreements, it is often the state that decides on minority language matters. Rulings by the European Court of Human Rights indicate that subjects have the right to education if available, but do not have the right to have it established for them (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995b). Redress sought in the courts is often open to the individual, but only in countries where specific legislation exists (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995b). In general, none of the legally binding declarations is oriented towards mother-tongue maintenance (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995b). Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995a) express their desire to see legislation enacted that 'explicitly promotes minority languages within a maintenance-oriented framework' (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995b).

2.2.5.2 Ideological Arguments for Language Rights

Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995a) praise draft European legislation that is maintenance-oriented. They contrast this to UN declarations on migrant workers that exclude language rights (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995a, p. 97). Other draft declarations, with international scope, urge the UN to implement a universal declaration of linguistic rights (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995a, p. 98). Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995a) again stress the need for clarification of many concepts that such declarations might eventually include, such as 'mother tongue', 'bilingual', 'official language' etc. (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995a, p. 100). The importance of clarification is highlighted by the issue of whether learning a foreign language at school is also a linguistic right (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995a, p. 100). Britain is particularly singled out as 'insularly' assuming 'that the dominant position of English internationally is in their interest' (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995a, p. 101). But Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995a) see foreign language teaching as a separate issue to the survival of minority languages. They view the right to learn an official language of the country of residence as 'inalienable' (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995a, p. 102). The distinction Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995a) make is between 'necessary' linguistic rights and 'enrichment-oriented' linguistic rights. 'Necessary' linguistic rights should apply to mother tongues and to second languages,

but not to foreign languages which constitute 'enrichment', even though important (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995a, p. 102).

The distinction for Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995a) is inherent in the terminology that they use and tied to the framework of nation states. The definition of what is a 'mother tongue', and what is 'foreign' inherently relates the status of the language to particular geographical borders over which a nation-state has sway. Their argument is pragmatic, but for some endangered languages, it is potentially flawed if promotion of a threatened language is paramount. Their argument relies heavily on a principle of territoriality, in that mother tongues are associated with a specific geographical region. However, what if the language is not viewed as indigenous, even though it has been present in the country for many centuries? The case of Scottish Gaelic in Australia presents just such a potentially problematic scenario. As a community language, it was historically used in very few locations, but has nonetheless been in Australia probably as long as English, along with many other languages (Burnley 2001). There are currently printed publications, churches, choirs, and living speakers of Scottish Gaelic in Australia who use the language as part of community life, even if the scale of use is small. Therefore, if length of time in a country and current use are criteria for being 'indigenous', Scottish Gaelic and Australian English could be argued to be on a par.

Of course, such logic hardly penetrates in the real world: the *de facto* dominance of English in Australia is exactly what makes it *primus inter pares*. But there is no question about the importance of Scottish Gaelic as a language that has inherent value as a <u>living language</u> for SoSGA respondents, without denying their valuing of English. There are many of SoSGA respondents who see it is an <u>inalienable</u> part of their own heritage – even though they may have no living relatives who speak it. If it is a linguistic human right that '[e]very social group has the right to positively identify with one or more languages' and that 'every person has the right to use the language(s) of his/ her group in any official situation' (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995b), then one should argue that Scottish Gaelic is such a candidate language for protection, even in Australia, according to such a scheme of LHRs. Adult learners interested in language revival would probably reject any suggestion that the acquisition of the language is merely 'enrichment'. The discourse of almost all SoSGA respondents indicates support for the revival of Scottish Gaelic irrespective of their nationality.

<u>2.2.5.3 LHRs as an Argument for Language Revival</u>

Language revival is one of the stated aims of Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995a). Language policies should be 'maintenance-oriented' (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson

1995b). Similarly, many SoSGA respondents want to preserve Scottish Gaelic by allowing (or encouraging) as many people as possible to speak the language. Therefore, one could argue that LHRs should be granted to those who consider it as a 'mother tongue' even if it is not the first language they have learned. For Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995a) a 'mother tongue' is defined as the language 'one has learned first and identifies with' (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995b). But this would deny people the opportunity to learn, say, the first language of their parents, or perhaps even their grandparents when they themselves do not speak it as a first language. Some SoSGA respondents view it is an injustice of the [recent] past that they did not have the opportunity to learn it either at school or from their parents because the (prohibitive) nature of the society discouraged their parents from passing it on to them. The argument surrounding the definition of 'mother tongue' may therefore unwittingly make any intergenerational break in the use of a language a criterion for not allowing people the right to speak it[15]. The very distinctions made by Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995a) might not be helpful for threatened, ex-territorial languages, such as Scottish Gaelic in Australia[16]. Perhaps an underlying problem is that Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995a) are concerned primarily with the denial of rights to those who wish to speak a language that they have grown up with. This seems to be fundamentally a moral issue of human dignity, and a laudable one. However, if such rights are dependent on the geographical location of potential speakers of the language, by virtue of international boundaries over which they have no control, then they are not universal rights.

Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson's (1995a) arguments tend to concern languages that have been subject to specific oppression in the countries in which they are 'indigenous' (Kurdish, Saami etc.). This would probably be uncontroversial in the case of Scottish Gaelic within the U.K. (or at least Scotland). But the converse reality is that Scottish Gaelic is a language (like English) that has been taken to British colonies along with its speakers over at least three centuries. Therefore it is also an immigrant language (along with English) in this sense. So, in some ways, Scottish Gaelic (like English) could be argued to be 'immigrant', 'foreign' as well as a 'mother tongue' all at once for speakers in Australia. Thus, separating 'foreign' and 'immigrant' languages may be drawing distinctions that are not in the interests of promoting threatened languages. This is important because Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995a)

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[15] The issue of whether or not the revival or recreation of a language is even possible is momentarily left aside here. This perhaps applies less to Scottish Gaelic than, for example, Cornish where the language might be viewed as having been resurrected, and claims that it does not represent what was once spoken.

[16] In passing I note that the case for Scottish Gaelic as a community language in continuous use is potentially strongest for Nova Scotia in Canada, but this is not within the remit of my study.

dismiss the granting of similar rights to foreign languages (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995b). Their argument is based on the need to balance the survival of 'dominated minority languages' and a need for basic justice, against the desire for multilingualism for other motivations (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995b).

This potentially presents another difficulty: is the aspect of justice related to the speakers of such languages or to the language itself? Social justice is arguably available to all speakers of Scottish Gaelic because they are all bilingual in English. Arguments that language rights should be accorded to people on the basis that this enables them to access institutions within the society might be irrelevant in supporting Scottish Gaelic in Australia (or the U.K.). If the argument of maintenance is to be applied to the language <u>and</u> its speakers, then Scottish Gaelic deserves support, as it is a language that is severely threatened (and not yet dead). In discussing the European Charter on Regional and Minority Languages, Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995a) point to the preamble that states that it is an inalienable right to use a regional or minority language in public life (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995b), a stance with which they concur. They argue for a distinction between 'enrichment' and 'necessary' rights to protect against the profligate choice of language (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995b). Presumably, as no Scottish Gaelic speaker is excluded from social institutions by virtue of their being bilingual, it could be argued that the right to learn Scottish Gaelic is not 'necessary'. This would be a direct contradiction of the right to use the language in public life, because it is not 'regional' in Australia. So here again is an indication of the territorial nature of Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson's (1995a) arguments – the status and definition of the <u>same</u> language would be dependent on geographical location rather than on its frailty. This might lead to the continuing decline of the language in one location while others attempt to prop it up in its 'homeland'. In a *reductio ad absurdum*, every living, threatened language would only be supported where it was considered to have been before any group migrated with it. This clearly leads to some absurdities: French in Canada, for example, should not benefit from any protection as it is adequately ensconced in France. Such an approach would potentially lead to the complete fossilisation of language location for languages that are not dominant, and is clearly not desirable for maintenance purposes. In a poignant reminder of why this is <u>not</u> trivial, I point out that the SoSGA recordings contain an anonymous individual speaking in a dialect that is now almost unheard in the Western Isles, as it has been lost from the island where it once occurred.

The arguments mounted by Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995a) are pragmatic, in wishing to use the existing framework of international human rights as the springboard for

protecting languages. Therefore, the best chances of success for their arguments might be if states accept the basis of 'rights' as a way of protecting languages within national borders. Nevertheless, such an approach is not without problems for small and endangered languages – particularly if they are threatened everywhere in the world. Claims of universal protection might need more careful consideration. If Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson's (1995a) approach hinges on the definition of 'mother tongue' as a 'first' language, then there is no support for people who wish to learn Scottish Gaelic as adults, or who wish to have their children educated in Scottish Gaelic when they do not speak it themselves, even if they see it as a crucial part of their heritage. Such arguments in the Australian context might also condemn some Aboriginal languages to never being revitalised.

2.2.5.4 Asymmetry in Language Legislation

If a state or nation is to accept that language legislation is an aspect of human rights, it also has to examine how such legislation should be enacted. There might be a need for some form of protection for minority languages which legislation would facilitate. Grin (1995) examines theoretical aspects of combining 'autochthonous' (indigenous) and immigrant language rights in a territorial approach. Because of increased migration flows and technological advances, 'present-day migrants are more likely, on average, to claim a right to maintain the language and culture of their native country in new surroundings' (Grin 1995, p. 33). Therefore there is a demand for rights based not on a 'historical connection with the piece of land on which they happen to live, but in a non-territorial right to the maintenance of cultural and linguistic identity' (Grin 1995, p. 33). Therefore political boundaries containing both indigenous and immigrant languages increase 'the need for a perspective on the simultaneous allocation of autochthonous and immigrant language rights' (Grin 1995, p. 34). Grin (1995) considers this from the point of view of diversity (rather than 'fairness') arguing that society, as a whole would benefit. This also sidesteps the issue of legitimacy. He argues that it might be easier to persuade majority opinion by stressing benefits to their own welfare rather than the welfare of others (Grin 1995, p. 34). This is largely the approach taken in discourse surrounding Australian multiculturalism (see discussions in Chapters 4, 7 and 8 and publications from the Australian Department of Immigration and Indigenous and Multicultural Affairs; (DIMIA 2001k; DIMIA 2002a).

Grin (1995) describes how the principle of territoriality would operate:

> '… [T]he territorial principle rationalizes limits to personal language rights, because it provides criteria by which to decide where certain language rights will be granted and where they will not; the personality principle helps to link language rights to other

> human rights, and to define the extent and nature of language rights granted in a given territory. The personality principle is generally regarded as offering better safeguards to the individual, whose language rights are not subject to geographical restrictions, while the territorial principle is usually seen as a better protection for collective rights because it is considered more conducive to the maintenance of linguistically homogeneous settings in which a group's language and culture can thrive.' (Grin 1995, p. 35).

This is an acknowledgement of the '*de facto* territorialization of all language rights', where states have geographically-defined powers (Grin 1995, p. 35). Grin (1995) argues that his model is also able to cope with multilingual situations (Grin 1995, p. 36), making it potentially applicable to Australia. One particular aspect of interest to language revival efforts is that of 'asymmetry'. Grin (1995) describes 'asymmetry' as modifying the territorial principle, which would normally grant rights on an arithmetic basis according to speaker numbers (a 'symmetrical' approach) (Grin 1995, p. 37). Grin (1995) proposes recognising that the power relations between different groups are not symmetrical. For example in situations such as in the Swiss canton of Grison, where one spouse is German-speaking and the other Romansch-speaking, the Romansch spouse is always bilingual and their children are probably more likely to be educated in German (Grin 1995, p. 37). Small-scale demographic and demo-linguistic changes thus have a disproportionate effect on Romansch, demonstrating unequal power relation for such languages in contact. Grin (1995) believes that court rulings promoting services in the relevant language may be counter-productive if this is not taken into account (Grin 1995, p. 37). For example, if support is dependant on the percentages of speakers present in an area, small demo-linguistic changes might alter such a percentage and therefore deny services in the dominated language (Grin 1995, p. 38). This is an example of equal treatment when there is an unequal relationship (Grin 1995, p. 38) – arguably the case for all languages in Australia in relation to English. Therefore, Grin (1995) suggests that <u>asymmetric</u> policies would be necessary in order to support threatened languages, rather than just *allowing* use of languages, which inadvertently helps the larger languages:

> 'In other words, the protection and promotion of threatened languages would lead us to grant unequal language rights to different speech communities; more precisely, the preservation of linguistic diversity may imply that the language rights of some groups, whether autochthonous or immigrant, have to be curtailed' (Grin 1995, p. 38).

This is an argument for the need to institute protective measures. Australia from the 1960s has moved from describing itself as a monolingual nation to the formulation of ideologies and policies that claim a multicultural basis (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988). Current political discourse in Australia portrays Australia as a country where cultures and languages (other than English) are under a protective cover where 'social equity' may flourish (DIMIA 2002a;

DIMIA 2002b).

2.2.5.5 Asymmetry and the Political Context of 'Backlash'

Asymmetry in language legislation also applies specifically to debates about past injustices in Australia. In particular, debates over the previous denial of Aboriginal rights and racist discrimination in past Australian policies feature an element of a refusal to re-visit the past with regret. Day (2001) and Jupp (1998) highlight this aspect of what is called the 'black armband' or 'Blainey debate' where prominent figures [such as the current Prime Minister, John Howard] express their intention not to examine the past in terms of current morality as it would serve only to open wounds in the society that are claimed to be closed. It might be argued that the current society no longer contains such structural injustices and therefore there is no need to add further supportive measures if people are not actively discriminated against. Multiculturalism, for example, allows the use of whatever language one wishes in a private sphere, and in cultural settings of people's choosing (Australia 1999a). It is also argued that such a system is at best benign neglect (Smolicz 1995a) and that active steps need to be taken to reverse decline (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995b). May (1998) argues that Australia's hard-won openness to multicultural ideas is no guarantee of multilingualism, nor is it necessarily sufficiently well-established as a policy to prevent gains being easily lost (May 1998).

In contrast to the discourse of providing refuge, official support for languages and cultures may be seen as preferential treatment. This perception of preferential treatment has led to public debate in Australia and populist attacks on the apparent influence of special-interest groups. The fears expressed about special treatment in Australia may also be expressed as attacks on multiculturalism and its supporters, (see (Jupp 1998; Burnley 2001, p. 348) and are also possibly related to the view of Australia as a country that should allow people a 'fair go' (DIMIA 2002d). As will be seen in Chapters 7 and 8, this debate is part of the political landscape in present-day Australia. The attacks are sometimes countered by official responses, which promote multiculturalism in Australia (DIMIA 2002b). The particular political stances adopted are to do with exactly what Grin (1995) suggests as an approach to convincing majority opinion: that the society as a whole would benefit from diversity (Grin 1995, p. 34). Michael Clyne and Dennis Ager highlight the potential 'backlash' in *Managing Language Diversity*, with regards to language planning (Ager 1998). Clyne (1998) highlights the negative associations that may be attached to the 'advantaged migrant' (Clyne 1998, pp. 24-25) in Australia, and in Chapter 8 this is placed in the context of Australian immigration

discourse and policies. Ager (1998) comments on the potential backlash that might occur as host populations react against the perception that an immigrant group is 'getting more than its fair share of resources' and the use of anecdotal evidence ('tales') of preferential treatment:

> 'In the hands of politicians, such tales can be dynamite, even where they derive simply from a misunderstanding, and relating anecdotes is typical of the discourse of many extremists, not only in Australia but also in the rhetoric of such people as the French National Front leader Le Pen.' (Ager 1998) also quoting (Bréchon 1994).

Such a backlash is not an unrealistic fear, as Hernández-Chávez (1995) points out for the rise of the 'English-only' and 'nativism' movement in the United States since the 1980s, which he interprets as having gained momentum (Hernández-Chávez 1995, p. 153 ff.). Jim Cummins (1995) goes further and puts the whole debate concerning bilingual education in the United States in the perspective of the suppression of minorities by a dominant group (Cummins 1995, p. 160), and into the broader context of relations between 'rich and poor groups (or nations)' (Cummins 1995, p. 161). Although Cummins (1995) refers to the United States and Spanish, claims of political attitudes that may be gaining ground might be relevant to Australia. Cummins (1995) draws a parallel between the 'paranoia' of dominant groups in which their hegemony is contested, and the support for brutal regimes outside of the United States such as those in South America (Cummins 1995, p. 161). Cummins sees it as no coincidence that there is simultaneous suppression of domestic minorities and of foreign liberation movements:

> '[T]he overriding goals of the dominant political group are virtually identical in both situations, namely to reverse a socio-political change that they perceive as threatening their ability to control and exploit a traditionally dominated group.' (Cummins 1995, p. 161).

For some, Cummins contends, bilingual education would even amount to a threat to the 'American way of life' or that bilingualism heralds ethnic divisions (Cummins 1995, p. 161-162). As will be seen below, this sort of consideration cannot be ignored in the Australian context. Conflict over empowerment might be played out (at least in part) over language rights. For example political directions chosen by a state may very well reflect ideals of homogeneity, as was openly the case when Australia had a policy of 'assimilation'. It is presented as self-evident that people coming in to the society should assimilate to English rather than expect to use their own languages in order to progress within the society. Any resistance to this may be portrayed as threatening the society.

2.2.5.6 Asymmetry and Threats to Identity

Languages other than English that are believed to get preferential treatment might also be

presented as threats to Australian identity. Sometimes this is quite overt in Australia: politicians who pronounce on identity and the preservation of the Australian nation are sometimes concerned with the fostering of a unique pattern of Australian-ness (Rutherford 2000). They might also attack apparent advantages received by small groups at the expense of wider society as being unfair and therefore un-Australian (Denoon, Mein-Smith et al. 2000, p. 466) – a reversal of the 'fair go' discourse. Immigrants, Aborigines and supporters of multiculturalism are often targets (Denoon, Mein-Smith et al. 2000, p. 466). Multiculturalism itself is sometimes portrayed as a means of ensuring diversity and overcoming structural inequality (Australia 1999b). Therefore the introduction of asymmetry to the principle of territoriality in language planning is one that is potentially hostage to political fortune. In Australia any asymmetry in language planning would have to be implemented in an awkward political climate. In a similar way in which Cummins (1995) sees US bilingual education as threatening to the dominant in society (Cummins 1995, p. 163), so might language concessions granted to minorities in Australia be portrayed as threatening established Australian identity.

2.2.5.7 Territoriality and Geographical Regions

Grin (1995) has two further modifications to make to the territorial principle: firstly the concept of 'inclusion' which is an attempt to cope with the geographical dispersion of language groups (Grin 1995, pp. 38-40). This essentially proposes that official languages are chosen at an increasingly local level containing a very high degree of decentralisation (Grin 1995, p. 39). Secondly Grin (1995) uses the idea of 'dynamics', based on the observation that population movements are part and parcel of the modern world, and that the issues of granting language rights by host societies to immigrant groups become very emotional (Grin 1995, p. 40). Grin (1995) realises that the sudden introduction of nation-wide language rights along with the arrival of outsiders might lead to fears on the part of current inhabitants – and that limiting language rights geographically might assuage some of these fears (Grin 1995, p. 41). In Australia, large-scale immigration has led to 'permissions' rather than the allocation of language rights, and debates leading up to the review of Language policy in the 1980s were very heated (Ozolins 1993).

Grin (1995) claims that his proposals have potential for dealing with complex patterns of multilingualism, coping as they do with population movements and continuing diversity (Grin 1995, p. 45). These theoretical proposals are potentially applicable in practice for Australia. Australia officially promotes diversity as part of its make-up (DIMA 2001a; DIMIA 2002b).

Complex multilingualism is potentially an apt description of Australia as there are a large number of language groups in Australia.

In practice, however, English is still enormously dominant and is the language to which all others in Australia are compared. Language education is still limited (Smolicz 1995b) and although immigrant languages and Aboriginal languages have recently (2001) been placed under the aegis of one department (The Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs), Aboriginal groups do have a pseudo-separate political department (ATSIC – Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders Commission) established in 1988 (Day 2001, p. 316). Therefore there is a structural separation already present in terms of 'indigenous' and 'immigrant' languages. Further, Grin (1995) makes some deliberate assumptions to elaborate his model, one of which is that each level of government has some degree of jurisdiction over the language used (Grin 1995, p. 41) whereas in federal Australia this is not necessarily the case, as examined in Chapter 4. Geographical concentrations are also not obviously favourable to Grin's (1995) modifications. Studies such as those by Burnley (2001) indicate that even at local level there are no areas of significantly high concentrations of particular immigrant or language groups in Australia. The areas which do show high concentrations of particular ethnic groups are mostly associated with recent immigration; historically groups have tended to move to other suburbs once settled, as part of chain migration (Burnley 2001, p. 344). At local levels, there are very few areas in Australia which have high proportions of speakers of languages other than English. For example in Sydney in 1996 only three Suburban Local Areas (SLA's) had percentages of Chinese speakers between ten and sixteen percent (Burnley 2001, p. 280). Burnley shows that there are factors such as mobility, residency status and wealth in determining living location which affect demographics in Australia (Burnley 2001). Further, language groupings such as 'Chinese' are a convenient category only for census questions which most certainly do not take into account the highly diverse origins of the speakers, such as Malaysia, Singapore, Taiwan, Hong Kong and China (Burnley 2001, p. 281). Only for some tiny communities such as Laotian and Cambodian are high proportions settled in a small area (Burnley 2001, p. 295). There is generally no tendency for groups to congregate in Australia and therefore the characteristics are generally of high (urban) dispersal of languages other than English (Burnley 2001, p. 296). Overall, according to census figures for 1996, just over fifteen percent of the population (of about 18 million) spoke languages other than English at home[17] – but this is a high number of languages with many small groups

[17] The caveat here is the nature of the census question. The question that has been asked in the last few censuses

represented. Only 44 000 people were estimated to speak an indigenous Australian language, 367 000 spoke Italian (2.3%), 259 000 spoke Greek (1.6%), 190 000 spoke Cantonese (1.2%) and 162 000 (1.0%) spoke Lebanese Arabic – these last four being the only languages where 1 percent or more of the population spoke a language other than English. Vietnamese, Spanish, German and Mandarin were the languages with the next highest number of speakers (ABS 2002). Therefore any strategy which allows a language official status even at a very local level would probably have to deal with numerous languages, rather than one or two other than English. This raises the level of complexity significantly in the Australian context.

The 'political clout' that any particular language might have in Australia is also a practical concern. Lopez (2000) discusses the rise of some 'ethnic' political groups in the early 1970s as part of the introduction of multiculturalism, and indicates that many of them were actually quite narrowly focused, and did not necessarily have similar political stances (Lopez 2000, Ch. 4 and Ch. 8). Other matters rather than language have been important concerns of these groups, and therefore there may be few concerted efforts to introduce languages other than English into bureaucratic systems. Issues such as racism, discrimination and poverty have generally been more important (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988; Jupp 1998; Burnley 2001).

Grin (1995) does not necessarily claim that the practical application of his ideas is imminent. However, he claims that the principles he uses cope with both indigenous and immigrant languages using the same approach, and would work within a decentralised society (Grin 1995). Perhaps his most important principle is that of asymmetry in order to support the protection of small languages – which would take the unequal power relationship of languages into account. However, if asymmetry in language planning is currently being introduced, it seems to be currently going in the opposite direction to what Grin (1995) suggests. For example the United Kingdom Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act (2002) asserts the primary position of English (along with Scottish Gaelic and Welsh) as languages that immigrants should master (Casciani 2003b). This is in line with Grin's (1995) comment that his proposals are not necessarily implementable in the face of majority opinion being unwilling to grant immigrant language rights (Grin 1995, p. 41). In Australia, there have also been recent changes to immigration procedures which seem to strengthen the dominance of English in this context as some classes of migrant are required to prove a certain level of English proficiency (DIMIA 2003f). The situation is one where the dominance of English is

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(1981, 1991, 1996 and 2001) has been to ask what language other than English is used in the home, which is potentially misleading because it assumes a homogeneous home environment (see also Wright and Kelly-Holmes, 1998).

apparently being reinforced, but as will be seen in Chapter 8, this may be partly as a response to growing fear of the presence of other languages in multilingual societies.

2.3 Multilingual Societies

Some commentators see the modern world as reflecting greater diversity than in the past, within the boundaries of the nation state, and consider this as an aspect of modernity (Burnley 2001, p. 348). Grin (1995) sees a rise in the sense of pride of minority communities since cultural changes in the 1960s. The co-existence of different cultures was thus given 'a new seal of legitimacy' (Grin 1995, p. 32). An important aspect of Australian society is the discourse presenting its multicultural nature. Multiculturalism is sometimes presented as a positive, economic benefit, by increasing cultural 'wealth', and as being able to reduce ethnic conflict (Australia 1999a). How these arguments are framed is examined in the light of approaches to multilingualism.

2.3.1 Monolingualism and Economic Arguments

Phillipson *et al.* (1995) counter arguments that claim a correlation between economic growth and monolingualism by simply indicating that there is no causal link between the wealth of a country and the number of languages spoken (Phillipson, Rannut et al. 1995, p. 4). Jenny Cheshire (1998) similarly cites Switzerland as a country where many languages have official status and which has very high economic growth (Wright and Kelly-Holmes 1998, p. 35). This debate is not necessarily a trivial one, especially in the context of large-scale migrations. Strong views concerning the importance of migrants to learn and use the majority language exclusively in their new country are often aired in the media. As I discuss in Chapter 7 concerning immigration and Australia, language issues are never far from the surface of heated (political) debate concerning the desirability of migrants. The issue is an international one as far as migration movements are concerned and arguments may be advanced that economies would benefit from workforces speaking the language of the majority, 'host' nation (Casciani 2003b). In the U.K., media debate at the end of 2002 on this topic centred on the English language abilities of new immigrants (Casciani 2002). Such debates often include the apparent desirability of English-language skills as a way of maximising their financial contributions to society through taxes. The president of the London Chamber of Commerce, for example, apparently called for greater availability of English language classes for exactly this reason (Casciani 2003b). The Employability Forum ('which advises government on refugees in the economy') reportedly said that the lack of suitable English classes is a barrier

to employment (Casciani 2003b). Immigration, language and economic arguments are tightly bound in this type of debate. As will be seen in Chapter 4, economic justifications are a core feature in the promotion of 'diversity' in Australian education.

2.3.2 Migration and Monolingualism Arguments

In the context of migration, some argue for the need to manage the society in order to reduce social conflict (Wright and Kelly-Holmes 1998). Language is 'usually problematic' in migrant situations (Wright 1998, p. 2). Economic migration is thus a particular case where writers such as Wright and Kelly-Holmes (1998) see a need for adaptation, using Australia as a particular context. Wright and Kelly-Holmes (1998) view multilingual societies as containing tensions because of the conflicting needs of migrants, and of the society to which they move. Solidarity and cohesion are pre-supposed as crucial factors, particularly in democratic, civil societies. Taking into account of these different needs would fail to 'capitalise on diversity' and the host society would feel resentment over concessions made (Wright 1998, p. 1). Therefore both groups need to show generosity to alleviate the social tensions:

> 'For a society to manage these conflicting aims needs immense generosity of spirit. On the part of the host society, the generosity comes through offering the possibility of full integration but accepting that certain aspects of integration may be declined and that this is the right of the immigrants. For the incoming group, the generosity comes from its willingness to accept the adjustments that the hosts demand, or at least enough of them for the host society to believe that they are maintaining the cohesive solidarity of their society.' (Wright 1998, p. 1).

Adaptation to language needs is presented as minimising social tensions and maximising the benefits to the society as a whole (Wright 1998, p. 1-2). They describe language as 'the least negotiable marker of identity' and therefore as containing crucial symbolism (Wright 1998, p. 2). The tensions between calls for a multicultural, 'tolerant' society and dissenting voices that see threats to the nation will be related to identity and language issues in Chapter 7. The view of Australia as a country with a homogeneous 'core' where English plays an important role is examined in Chapters 7 and 8.

Grin (1995) comments that asymmetric generosity is not likely (Grin 1995). Recent developments in the U.K. also suggest that language hegemony is not disappearing, with the introduction of ability in English as part of the citizenship process (Casciani 2003a). Intriguingly, newcomers are potentially allowed to learn Scottish Gaelic or Welsh under such legislation – presumably under the terms of the European Charter on Regional and Minority Languages (Extra and Gorter 2001).

2.3.3 Achieving Parity

The strongest calls for LHRs in one form or another tend to be calls for multilingual societies. This is in contrast to the previous ideology of nation-state and language congruence (Gellner 1983 (1999)). Many cases that are held up as successful are through legislative reforms. May (2001b) expands ideas based on the successes of the Māori language nest approach (May 2001b, p. 285 ff.). The power of self-determination and re-examinations of the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi gained leverage for achieving better conditions in fields such as education (May 2001b, p. 290). Nettle and Romaine (2000) highlight successful Hawaiian efforts via legislative changes. This meant that some indigenous language programs were beginning to become highly developed by the late 1990s (Nettle and Romaine 2000, p. 183). Similar changes in Wales in the 1980s allowed the establishment of Welsh in the school curriculum – even though it may not have been the original intention of central government to actively promote the language (May 2001b, p. 268). More recent political activity in Scotland may yet lead to the institutionalisation of Scottish Gaelic following the passing of a Gaelic bill in March 2003 (Knox 2003a).

These cases are examples where states have been persuaded to change their legislation or adapt it. Such an approach can be successful where the state is persuadable, and therefore this is in itself a vindication of attacks on legislative apparatus. However, Scottish Gaelic in Australia puts forward a slightly different scenario: although it potentially forms part of the ethnicity of a substantial proportion of the population (labelled 'Anglo'), there seems to be little scope for negotiating a different status for the language. Firstly, it is not indigenous in the sense in which 'Aboriginal' is understood. This therefore allows arguments for the primacy of claims for Aboriginal languages in this sort of situation. Secondly, it is a language with a small number of speakers resident in the country and overall intergenerational loss. Therefore, there is little widespread 'community' support for a change of status in the language. Thirdly, it might be described as 'economically unimportant' in the sense that Australia has no major trading or business partners who use the language. Ignoring aspects such as 'cultural value' or 'tourist potential' for the moment, it is difficult to see a language like Scottish Gaelic in Australia achieving parity through political negotiations. Nonetheless, it is a language that exists in a context which is promoted as 'multicultural' which would ideally allow it to flourish (DIMIA 2002a; DIMIA 2002b).

Many SoSGA respondents feel that the language is difficult to promote in the Antipodes. Some, like Respondent 085, therefore hope for changes in Scotland to assist them, in what I

see as a form of territorial nationalism in the 'homeland' (Chapter 6). Others continue to work within Australia in the promotion and teaching of the language. This often, but not exclusively, occurs in the informal, adult education framework and is an attempt to reach a wider base for language learning. Direct political activity also occurs with challenges to the state's bureaucratic systems, and demands made on funding sources that were perhaps not initially envisaged by the architects of such policies. All of these responses, and more, should help to illustrate how people respond when there are no 'clear' paths to further self-determination, perhaps unlike Māori and Hawaiian. It also helps to move the debate away from simple equations of ethnicity-language in self-determination, as the complex identities of SoSGA respondents defy this sort of simple linking. Many SoSGA respondents can claim a number of identities ranging from Scottish, Celtic, Irish, and Australian – even English – in order to explore the maintenance of a minority language. The case of Scottish Gaelic in Australia should help to highlight strategies that 'grassroots' activists themselves believe are available.

2.4 Conclusion

A central aspect of LHRs discourse is that of access to power via (or with) linguistic rights. However, this may be fighting the battle on completely the wrong battlefield. In accepting that there are 'languages', LHRs discourse may be accepting definitions of language that have imposed uniformity on something that is not homogeneous. Standardisation ideology (Milroy 2001a) may have led to the belief in LHRs discourse that there are such things as 'languages' to protect, whereas I wish to consider that we should perhaps think in terms of dialect continua as linguistic diversity.

For some, a group's 'mother tongue' is the most important element to protect (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995b). But the term 'mother tongue' may actually be unhelpful in 'reproducing a colonial legacy of language constructs' (Pennycook 2002, p. 23). Therefore, LHRs arguments may not have escaped the paradigm of 'standardisation ideology', which they sometimes claim they are trying to undo. Further evidence of this comes from the way in which the arguments are presented. One principle is the derided notion of assumed homogeneity. Yet some arguments have not escaped this entirely. Grin (1995) reasonably argues for local control of language matters, on the basis of the territorial principle – as a way of ensuring 'linguistic homogeneity', presumably within a smaller area than the current size of a nation-state (Grin 1995, p. 35). Just such a desire for linguistic homogeneity was an element in making languages part of the nation-state (Gellner 1983 (1999)). If we are likely to witness

an increase in local diversity (Burnley 2001; Trudgill 2002), then cultural and linguistic homogeneity may be difficult to enact – even at a local level.

There is also pressure for minority languages to be institutionalised in the same way as majority languages. This is most evident, perhaps, in May's (2001b) well thought out arguments on legitimating and institutionalising minority languages (May 2001b, p. 163 ff.). The apparatus of the nation-state might offer greater self-determination. He offers examples (New Zealand, Catalonia, Wales) where renegotiation of the linguistic and cultural attributes of the nation-state may prove to be successful in protecting and promoting minority rights (May 2001b, Ch. 7-8). But I stress that the same ideology appears to be apparent in this scenario: that minority languages are, in their turn, legitimated and institutionalised as part of state apparatus (education, legal system, administrative bureaucracy) in the same way as majority languages already have been. This may be quite reasonable in terms of social justice and self-determination, but it may also lead to the standardisation of minority dialects in identical manner to what are now majority languages. This may go against the grain of our own linguistic orthodoxy that languages are (political) constructs and do not reflect how linguists understand language as dialect continua. Do we really want more of the same type of standardisation?

There is another sense in which reasonable arguments go against linguistic orthodoxy. As May (2001b), Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995a) point out, minority languages are often associated with oppression of the (ethnic) groups to which they are linked. In line with this sort of reasoning, many writers argue for distinctions to be made based on the social situation in which speakers might find themselves. Coulmas (1998) offers the example of Korean in Japan as a more reasonable demand by comparison to other languages, in the light of colonial injustice (Coulmas 1998). Common divisions are foreign/ indigenous/ ethnic/ immigrant (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1995a), or 'polyethnic' and 'national-minority' (May 2001b). I have argued in Section 2.2.5.2 that these distinctions depend on positioning within a nation-state, and therefore rely on a geo-political, framework for their interpretation. Importantly, such distinctions allow writers to construct hierarchical protection schemes based on the socio-political status of the speakers of the language, not on the closeness of the language to 'death'. I return to the idea of linguistic orthodoxy: that all languages should be considered equal as vehicles of expression. Nevertheless, here they are not equal because of where their speakers are located. Do we really want to save languages based (indirectly) on their location with respect to (arbitrary) geographical boundaries?

Having highlighted the inconsistencies between linguistic orthodoxy and some language

maintenance efforts, I wish to stress that I view these as pragmatic responses to socio-political contexts. Some do not intend to take on the nation-state, given that it does provide individual liberties (May 2001b), but to work with the political tools at their disposal within states, and via supra-national organisations (Skutnabb-Kangas 1998). The challenge is not to the nation-state, but to the cultural constituents within it. I interpret considerations of how to advance LHRs by May (2001b) Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995a) and by Grin (1995) as pragmatic in terms of current political structures. In view of this, I wish to highlight what it is that language-maintenance efforts might be aiming to achieve. Whereas I agree with arguments such as Pennycook's (2002) that supporters of LHRs may be using the same notions and constructs that he sees as 'colonial', I will also suggest that this conceptualisation may be exactly what motivates the drive towards language preservation for many. I return to the analysis by Respondent 085 who sees the issue in terms of 'Language' (rather than in terms of language). It is exactly within the realm of Language as a construct that some may be working and fighting. The preservation of dialect continua, in this conceptualisation, is not what is to be preserved. The notion of a particular language may be a prime motivator for preservation, not linguistic diversity in the sense in which it may be understood by linguists. Preservation of language is still a political argument – arguments that deal with language protection, maintenance or revival, implicitly accept the political constructs, but contest what elements should be part of the structure. In this way, Scottish Gaelic can be linked to forms of nationalism, rather than to ideals of language preservation. May (2001b) accepts such a driving force as an explanation for the continuing importance of ethnicity, and thereby language (May 2001b, pp. 72-73).

In looking at the discourse of language revitalisation, there appears to be an element of anthropomorphy: language as a living organism that deserves 'rights' in an analogous way to human beings. This seems to be despite claims to the contrary (Phillipson, Rannut et al. 1995, p. 9). Of course language is nothing like an organism, and this is a distracting metaphor and analysis, even if politically powerful (Moore 2000, p. 66). I also believe that the anthropomorphic treatment of language stems from the same sort of objectification that may be occurring in standardisation ideology: it is a way of giving, and presenting, coherence to a collection of items (Milroy 2001a), as well as imbuing it with ability to act. It therefore becomes externalised in some way. It also implies that the 'life' of a language exists beyond the human beings who speak it. We instinctively know this not to be the case. Therefore, I remark that much of the energy of LHRs arguments appears directed at institutions and systems – not directly at the speakers. This strikes me as an anthropomorphic treatment of

language. Taken to its conclusion, would total institutionalisation allow language to change or evolve in the same way as we have known it so far?

Thus far, the reader may have become comatose with depression about our inability to save linguistic diversity. However, I hope to add some more optimism from this point onwards. While I suggest that Scottish Gaelic in Australia presents 'problems' for some formulations of language maintenance, I also hope to show that it is not necessarily bad news. Only by examining matters where categorisations are unclear will allow us to re-examine our assumptions. Unclear cases may help to illustrate the wider picture.

Scottish Gaelic presents a problem of classification in terms of indigenous/ immigrant/ foreign, although categorisations may justify activists' behaviour. I concur with May (2001b) and Fishman (1991) that particular languages might have particular relevance when linked to ethnicity (constructed or otherwise). Many SoSGA respondents are motivated in exactly this way. On the other hand, some are not, and therefore to assume that we can use ethnicity as a starting point for language maintenance efforts is false.

The anthropomorphic treatment of language endangerment also brings to mind an important aspect of ecological destruction: that of 'habitat'. Assumptions concerning the language's 'life' may have to be modified because Scottish Gaelic does exist in Australia, rather than just in Scotland. Unsurprisingly, many see the language as being 'naturally occurring' in Scotland – however, this is complicated tremendously by cases where the language is used in Australia in ways that have nothing to do with Scotland. Into which (new) social spaces does a small language fit? Use in expressive song, as part of religious ritual (new or old) and as politically subversive, indicates that even tiny languages may have 'life'. Ways in which Scottish Gaelic is used in Australia may help us to question the territorial emphasis on language maintenance. Scottish Gaelic in Australia may further add to the debate about what is important for language-identity links in multilingual contexts. There is good evidence in my data to suggest that having access to Scottish Gaelic may help to allow people to reject past racism and injustice, and the hegemony of a single, dominant language. If May (2001b) is right in that the introduction of multiculturalism has allowed identities to become 'negotiable' (May 2001b, p. 35), then there may be evidence in SoSGA data for how people do this. Some SoSGA respondents highlight the Scottish Gaelic aspect of their identities in order to engage with what they see as state hypocrisy. They are very adept, for example, at understanding the ways in which to subvert systems in order to put them to use in ways in which they may not have been intended. In pursuing an identity that might not 'fit' a particular vision of Australia, SoSGA respondents may help to highlight what they see as inadequacies. One such aspect is

the question of what is 'ethnic' in such a context. Further, it questions whether it is the state's duty to 'manage' languages in its care in the same way as it 'manages' humans in its citizenry. The obvious danger is the continuation of nation-state ideology of promoting only selected languages – in which case small languages and linguistic diversity will suffer everywhere. Perhaps languages like Scottish Gaelic will inevitably fall through the political cracks if they are no-one's responsibility. I hope to indicate that many people do see it as their 'responsibility' to do something about language maintenance, and that they are prepared to challenge ideologies in this respect.

Of importance to Australian language policies in recent decades, is that of economic rationalist arguments concerning language (Clyne 1998). Scottish Gaelic in Australia (along with many Aboriginal and small languages) does not fit into the category of languages that might help Australia in trade dealings. This argument is advanced as a reason for learning other languages (NSW 1998a). Such debates are also a way of objectifying language and presenting it as a commodity for consumption for economic benefit. This may contribute to perception of language as important for its 'sign' value (Fairclough 2003, p. 19). In attributing 'value' to languages in commodity terms, it is clear that small (and stateless) languages will suffer. In denying such economic evaluations, many SoSGA respondents may help to contest such arguments.

Chapter 3 - Methodology

3.0 Introduction

An important aim of The Survey of Scottish Gaelic in Australia and New Zealand was to provide a description of the language situation of Scottish Gaelic in these countries. The survey was conducted by a variety of ethnographic means, with the aim of collecting and analysing the accounts of the language situation that were given by its users. I also wanted to include multiple dimensions in the description of the context. Gorter's (1987) opinion is that 'there is no such thing as a 'real' or 'final' description, there can only be intersubjective consensus on what makes an adequate description. A list of possible aspects in the description of a language situation is endless …' (Gorter 1987, p.44). Importantly, I intended to capture claims made by SoSGA respondents as indicators of attitudes towards Scottish Gaelic. Some of these claims would be examined in comparison to observed behaviour, bearing in mind that 'it is very difficult to actually test claims about current language use in any domain' (Gorter 1987, p. 46).

This chapter describes how respondents were recruited and how data was collected. Overall, the approach was to accept contributions from people who were prepared to participate in the survey, in any number of formats. This included written documents, spoken conversations in person or over the telephone, as well as publicly-broadcast or printed information. The approach was ethnographic in that I participated on an almost daily basis in the communities of those involved with Scottish Gaelic. I participated in both formal and informal activities, interviewed and engaged many people in conversation regarding the research, and acted as a participant observer in many activities. I followed the advice of Briggs (1986) and Schensul *et al*. (1999), by including both qualitative and quantitative data (Schensul, Schensul et al. 1999, p. 4).

3.1 Ethnographic Involvement

Much of the data is from direct interactions with SoSGA respondents. Not all responded to the questionnaire, but all participated in written or spoken form. In order to collect data, I participated in many activities linked to Scottish Gaelic. Therefore I was myself the 'primary instrument of data collection' (Schensul, Schensul et al. 1999, p. 72). This involved more than just observing, as I also had to function as a member of the groups under study (Schensul, Schensul et al. 1999, p. 73; Cameron 2001).

The identifications that people make are part of the research itself. Milroy's (1992) model of network relations may provide some clarity in determining who is part of a community. In order to enter the communities involved with Scottish Gaelic, some of my initial contacts were with people who self-identified as community members. This led to further integration within the groups that gathered around various interests. I was therefore able to examine some of the ties within groups as well as between groups (Milroy 1992). This hopefully overcomes both some of the issues in categorisations, as well as coping with 'mixed' categorisations (LeCompte and Schensul 1999, p. 25). Milroy's (1992) criticism of Bourdieu's (1977) description of a single linguistic market may also be relevant here (Milroy 1992, p. 210). There may be different linguistic markets in the sense that Scottish Gaelic is not equally used or valued within different contexts. How 'close-knit' the groups are may play a role as well as the activities themselves (Milroy 1992, p. 211). Examining groups gathered around issues of Scottish Gaelic may clarify where the language fits into peoples' lives.

Schensul *et al.* (1999) concur with Malinowski (1922) that ethnographers benefit from being unobtrusive. By using an ethnographic approach, I was able to produce a study of the events *'as they occur in their natural settings'* (LeCompte and Schensul 1999, p. 9); emphasis in original). I had no intention of manipulating the settings, but as a new participant to many of the proceedings, I was aware that I sometimes may have influenced some of the events. Given the small size of many of the groups, it was clearly not feasible to remain anonymous, nor for those involved to pretend that I wasn't there. Neither was unobtrusiveness necessarily beneficial. For example, my presence within Scottish Gaelic classes permitted me to observe aspects of second language acquisition first-hand. As the classes were small, to have attempted anonymity would have been illogical and dishonest (LeCompte and Schensul 1999; Schensul, Schensul et al. 1999). Therefore I make no claims to having been unobtrusive to my research subjects while conducting the research. There was thus no 'cover story' (Schensul, Schensul et al. 1999, p. 75) for the project. However, while I made it abundantly clear that I was studying Scottish Gaelic in Australia, I did not necessarily discuss specific details of linguistics research frameworks.

The accusation of 'passing' as a native speaker might also be levelled at the researcher who appears as authoritative. On the one hand, there are clear issues of the researcher being perceived as having authority and responsibility that may not be warranted (Caughie 1999). Authority is an ethical issue raised by passing because a researcher might present themselves in ways which cloud their goals (Piller 2002). There are some cases where it was clear that I was considered an authority, for example when respondents encouraged me in the hope that

the profile of Scottish Gaelic would be raised [MD02], as a justification of their own interests, or as a source of language learning. This element of interaction in the research was discussed in 1.5.5 in relation to engagement and other points raised by Cameron *et al.* (1999).
Schensul *et al.* (1999) make an important point about time spent in the community leading to exposure to more day-to-day or routine events (Schensul, Schensul et al. 1999, p. 91). To this end, I participated in some activities over an extended period of time, such as choir practices and language classes that stretched over a year from June 2001 into September 2002. Direct involvement also sometimes led to access to other material in written form, or older audio recordings that pre-dated or post-dated that time period. This gave some insight into historical changes, so I was not restricted to a static view. This occasionally allows me to relate context to outcomes.
Overall I followed the definition of fieldwork given by Briggs (1986) as 'research that involves intense interaction between a researcher and a given population over a substantial period of time. Fieldwork generally includes a number of different research modalities, including interviews of one or more types' (Briggs 1986, p. 7).

3.1.1 Definition of Research Subjects

The aim of the survey was to study users of Scottish Gaelic in Australia and New Zealand, in order to draw conclusions about the relationship between the vitality of the language and identity of the users. I defined a user of the language as someone who took part in regular language-related activities, or else someone who claimed to be able to use the language in some form. I wanted to reach not just those considered to be fluent speakers, but also those who claimed some knowledge of it, or had a significant interest in it. Therefore I attempted to identify as many speakers and students of Scottish Gaelic in Australia and New Zealand as possible. I was interested in discovering as much as possible about the beliefs and claims surrounding the language according to all users of the language, no matter how proficient they were.

3.1.2 Recruitment of Respondents

A major aspect of the data collection was to find speakers, and the organisations to which they belonged. A network approach was also used as a means of recruiting further respondents for the survey. I specifically requested that if respondents knew other speakers of Scottish Gaelic, to either ask them to contact me, or else provide me with their contact details (usually a postal address) in order for me to write a letter directly. In this way, many respondents were

approached via people that they already knew, or at least via an introductory letter giving some background to the survey. This had the advantages of allowing entry into the communities that I may otherwise not have had as well as not being overly intrusive. Some organisations were found by web-based search, telephone directory, through advertisements placed in Scottish-interest publications, or by personal introductions via other respondents. Equally, I had to find those who did not belong to any particular organisations, or had no affiliation to any specific organisation connected to Scottish Gaelic. Respondent 058 replied to an advertisement placed in a publication. She replied by sending in copies of Scottish Gaelic songs that had been in the family.

Extract 3.1 'I've never met one'

Respondent 058: 'I hope you discover remnants of Gaelic speakers roundabout. I've never met one and my father said it was only the old people they knew, when he was a boy […] who still spoke it. I tried to pick up some of it [a few] years ago, armed with a dictionary and numerous phrase books and tapes, but without conversation and correction it does not have much purpose. I was curious to discover how many words in English usage are derived from the Gaelic, and to discover the history embedded in many others.' [SoSGA_L_R058, 13-Nov-01]

The same respondent commented on the wide variety of interests related to Scottish Gaelic.

Extract 3.2 Sentiments Die Hard

Respondent 058: 'Part of my interest (off-on admittedly) in Gaelic has been because it could have been my inheritance, but it had slipped away before my time. Our family maintained various Scottish-Australian links that decreased over time. Early experiences with a Caledonian Society & Scottish Country Dancing were formative. Highland Games are still attended occasionally. Our sons wore the tartan as school cadets […]. 'Ceud Mile Fàilte'[18] *has stood over our door for many years. Sentiments die hard.' [SoSGA_L_R058, 21-Jan-02].*

Like many initial responses, the discourse reflected knowledge that the language had been spoken in previous generations, but was not part of their own lives. Some of these responses were included in the survey in the case of active language learners, but contributions from the remainder were not used.

Because of the likely variety of interests associated with Scottish Gaelic, the survey methods had to take as many potential types of user into account as possible, as well as catering for a number of different backgrounds. Fluent and 'native' speakers of all age groups were canvassed. The survey had to find out a number of 'facts' about the speakers, as well as their opinions about the language. 'Facts' were considered to be, for example, aspects relating to

[18] 'A Hundred Thousand Welcomes'

age, birthplace, citizenship, nationality, employment and current place of residence. Opinions were considered to be self-reported proficiency, frequency of use, attitudes towards institutional support for Scottish Gaelic, and attitudes towards language and culture.

3.1.3 Research Scope

The survey aimed to discover as much as possible about the ways in which Scottish Gaelic is used. I attempted to reach a variety of users spread across both Australia and New Zealand. I specifically attempted to include people that may not have typically participated in Scottish Gaelic-related activities, as well as those who participated in cultural activities wholly or partly related to Scottish Gaelic (such as language classes or choirs). This also included such activities as Scottish Country Dancing groups, Pipe bands, Highland Games and other cultural activities. In order to pursue the research in a consistent manner, I explained to subjects that I was researching the use of Scottish Gaelic in Australia and New Zealand. Although I did not use a 'cover story', I did present potential respondents with a brief summary of the aims of the survey as being to discover as much as possible about Scottish Gaelic in Australia and New Zealand. Consistency is highlighted as necessary by writers such as Schensul et al. (1999):

> 'It is always useful to develop a script or cover story for the project; this will ensure that the basic description of the study is consistent from location to location, even though the presentation style and the responses to questions about the project will change from one presentation to the next' (Schensul, Schensul et al. 1999, p.86).

3.2 Research Paradigm

The research paradigm used for the survey was a synthetic one, using a number of approaches.

3.2.1 Positivistic Aspects and 'Applied Ethnography'

The positivist approach was important, as there seemed to be an observable reality (Cameron, Frazer et al. 1999, p. 153) to the context of Scottish Gaelic in Australia and New Zealand. But a purely positivist approach would be insufficient in a number of ways. For example, it was not clear that there was a single, coherent Scottish Gaelic community in Australia, and I hypothesised that there were different groups and interests gathered around the locus of the language itself. Therefore it was also necessary to practise 'applied ethnography' (LeCompte and Schensul 1999), in the sense that I would be a participant in the communities themselves. I took it as a given that Scottish Gaelic is a minority language and an endangered one, and it was clear that many groups were actively concerned with facets of language maintenance or revival. Therefore there also had to be commitment to various groups to disseminate the

information (LeCompte and Schensul 1999, p.44) based on the initial contacts with some of the respondents who are keen to revitalise the language.

3.2.2 'Critical' Ethnography

The ethnography was also 'critical' (LeCompte and Schensul 1999), situated as it was in a particular context: the research was physically conducted in Australia. The speakers of the language have, historically, been British immigrants (Prentis 1983). Certain aspects relating to the widespread discourse of '*multiculturalism'*, such as perceptions of resource allocation to particular 'ethnic' or other groups, were expected to feature as part of the discourse of the respondents. Some of the respondents were immigrants to the country, but others were born there. These are postulated as potential important distinctions for the purposes of this study. There has been much political debate concerning modern-day immigration and government policies in this area, with implications felt strongly in the Federal elections of 2001 (Otmar 2001).

3.2.3 Poly-vocal Nature of the Account

The ethnographic approach is also a poly-vocal account, and therefore 'interpretive' because it gathers data from various viewpoints (Tsitsipis 1998, p. 14). The Scottish Gaelic-interest communities are varied and have different aims, with different views of reality and of community – perhaps both in Australia as well as wider afield. Further, there were likely to be a number of accounts of the situation of Scottish Gaelic in Australia and New Zealand, perhaps even sometimes conflicting. As far as the researcher's position is concerned, I was a participant in the communities, and therefore the outcomes are crucially *negotiated* meanings. This is therefore also a departure from the positivistic paradigm. Therefore this account reflects a number of the views encountered.

3.3 Advertising of the Survey and Recruitment of Respondents

3.3.1 Editorial Letters and Advertisements

The survey was advertised in a variety of media, in order to get maximal exposure in Australia and New Zealand. This was done through print and electronic media, as well as through Scottish Gaelic, or Scottish Society newsletters, as well as through networks of people who had connections with Scottish Gaelic activities. A breakdown of these media is in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1 Organisations Through Which SoSGA was Advertised

Medium	Name/ Type of Medium	Method
Organisations based in Australia		
Australian Gaelic Societies	Scottish Gaelic Society of Victoria Commun Gàidhlig Astràlia Australian Gaelic Singers	Letter or advertising material on an A5-format sheet, asking anyone with some Scottish Gaelic or an interest in Scottish Gaelic to contact SoSGA.
Australian Scottish Interest Societies	Clan Newsletters (various) *Victorian Scottish Union Gazette* Scotland House Highland Games organisers (various) The Celtic Centre (Newcastle) Scotland House (Sydney)	
Scottish Interest Newspapers	Raising the Standard (QLD)	
Australian Commercial Newspapers	*West Australian Newspapers*	
Australian Radio Stations	SBS Gaelic Radio Programme (1107 AM nationwide) 4EB Radio (community radio in Brisbane) Other community stations where respondents appeared on the stations and mentioned the survey themselves without specific request from researcher.	Radio presenter mentioned SoSGA during programme and provided contact details
United Kingdom-based and International Organisations		
U.K. Commercial Newspapers	*West Highland Free Press* *Press and Journal* (Aberdeen and Inverness) *Glasgow Herald* *The Scotsman* *The Stornoway Gazette*	Letter to Editor explaining SoSGA and asking readers who knew any Australian Scottish Gaelic speakers to contact me.
U.K. Radio Stations	BBC Radio Nan Gàidheal (November 2001) BBC Radio Scotland (Iain Anderson Show, December 2001)	Interviews with presenter explaining that SoSGA wanted to find as many Gàidhlig speakers as possible for the survey.
International Scottish Interest Magazines and Newspapers	*The Scottish Banner* *Scots Heritage Magazine* *Cothrom* Newsletter (CLí - worldwide Scottish Gaelic learners' association)	Letter or advertising material on an A5-format sheet, asking anyone with some Gàidhlig or an interest in Gàidhlig to contact SoSGA.
Electronic Lists	GAELIC-L@LISTSERV.HEANET.IE (Irish language list) GAIDHLIG-B@LISTSERV.HEANET.IE (Scottish Gaelic learners' list) GAIDHLIG-A@LISTSERV.HEANET.IE (Scottish Gaelic fluent speakers' list) Gaelic4u.com	General posting with letter of explanation about SoSGA and request for volunteers.
Scottish Gaelic Interest e-media	Website of *Scots Heritage Magazine* Website of CNAG. [Commun na Gàidhlig]	Five-line summary of project; researcher's email address.
	Westword web-based newspaper	Short article on Gaelic Choirs in Sydney and Melbourne

A number of organisations agreed to print editorial letters or run advertisements in their publications, occasionally for a small fee. The request for participants was also circulated via Celtic and Linguistic electronic lists. Letters were written to British newspapers in areas where there were considered to be Scottish Gaelic speakers, such as the Western Isles, Glasgow and Inverness. The reasoning behind this approach was that there may have been readers in these areas who would mention the survey to their friends and relatives in the Antipodes. This did indeed produce some more respondents otherwise unaffiliated to organisations in Australia and New Zealand. In some of the newspapers, the letter was used as the basis for an article by a journalist on the staff, and the letter itself was not printed. The *Press and Journal* (Merritt 2001b) and *The Scotsman* printed articles, with an article also appearing on-line (Merritt 2001a).

Promotional material was sent out by post and requested participation by anyone in Australia or New Zealand using, or interested in, 'Scottish Gaelic'. It specifically mentioned the inclusion of 'learners' as well as 'those who have spoken the language from a young age' in order not to exclude potential respondents on the basis of proficiency. In all promotional material, the term 'Scottish Gaelic' was used in order to distinguish Scottish 'Gàidhlig' from Irish 'Gaelic'. Nonetheless, I did receive enquiries from people with an interest in Irish Gaelic wanting to participate[19]. Equally, there were a number of volunteers from the United States who expressed a desire to participate, but who were excluded on the grounds of cost as well as place of residence.

3.3.2 Flyers and other promotional Material

The Survey was also advertised directly, with flyers and advertising sheets at Scottish-interest events. These were sometimes taken by volunteers to the events of interest where they included the flyers in their own promotional material or at their stall at the event in which they were participating. Volunteers sometimes offered their help or were requested to hand out flyers where appropriate. Events were typically Highland Games, dancing or musical competitions, or other Scottish-related cultural events. A few volunteers were provided with a laminated A4 sheet to keep, describing the survey and appealing for volunteers. The flyer most commonly used also doubled as an advertisement in some of the media. It was photocopied on coloured paper with the bulk of the wording in English, but with a small

[19] One person was extremely adamant that a similar survey should be done for Irish, indicating the depth of feeling on this matter. The person described it as shameful that Irish was not being studied as well.

Saltire (the Scottish national flag) underneath the heading, in order to identify the advertisement as 'Scottish' in Scottish interest media, as well as two sentences in Scottish Gaelic for the benefit of those who were able to read it. This was intended to appeal to those who knew some Scottish Gaelic, as well as implying that the advertisement was placed by someone who knew the language. Once respondents contacted me following an advertisement, I sent out a questionnaire, where applicable, or a letter asking for postal addresses if they had initially emailed me. This meant that the vast majority of the questionnaires sent out were to individuals, with a known name and address. For those respondents who sent in a questionnaire, an estimate of where they heard of the survey is in Table 3.2 (percentages rounded to nearest integer). This table does not account for respondents who did not complete to the questionnaire, nor those who did not return the questionnaires sent to them (approximately 40). Some respondents wished to remain anonymous, but had nonetheless enclosed letters or indications of how they had heard of the survey and are therefore included. The 'Unknown/ Anon.' category includes those where no indication of source was given.

Table 3.2 How Questionnaire Respondents Heard of SoSGA

Organisation/ Name	Percent	Number
Unknown/ Anon.	14%	25
Scottish Gaelic Society - VIC	10%	18
Scottish Gaelic Class - SA	8%	15
Commun Gàidhlig Astràilia	7%	13
Scottish interest magazine	7%	13
Scottish Gaelic Class - NSW	6%	11
Australian radio station	6%	10
CLí newsletter	6%	10
Scottish Gaelic events - NSW	6%	10
Scottish Gaelic group - WA	5%	9
e-Media	4%	8
U.K. Newspapers	4%	8
Letters to Societies/ Clans	4%	7
A5 Flyer	3%	6
Newspaper advert WA	3%	5
Via Personal contact	3%	5
Scottish Gaelic Class - QLD	3%	5
Total Known:	(100%)	178

Table 3.2 does not include respondents to the survey who did not return questionnaires. Approximately 45 additional individuals participated in interviews, wrote letters or had telephone conversations with the researcher. In general, most people contacted were very keen to help the survey, and went out of their way to gather names and addresses of potential respondents. A number of respondents were also recruited via various cultural events or activity days where I was present as a participant. This was an important strand of the collection of data.

3.4 Data Collection Methods

I wanted to collect relevant data over an extremely large geographical area, within a reasonable time frame, and from people with a variety of backgrounds. Therefore, following general advice by Le Compte *et al*. (1999), I used a variety of techniques, in order to maximise 'coverage' by the survey with minimal resources (Salant and Dillman 1994, p. 35). Data was therefore collected by a variety of means, the most common being the following:

- Questionnaires completed by respondents
- Personal communications from respondents (letters, emails, conversations)
- Semi-structured interviews or informal conversations with respondents
- Participant observation in events associated with Scottish Gaelic
- Monitoring of broadcast and print media in Australia, and e-media and 'listserv' groups internationally
- Academic publications and journals directly related to study of Scottish Gaelic
- Websites devoted to Scottish Gaelic culture or language, internationally and in Australia

3.4.1 The Questionnaire and Initial Elicitation of Data

The first part of SoSGA was a questionnaire sent out by standard postal service to volunteers. I sent out questionnaires if respondents met the criteria of involvement in a Scottish Gaelic language activity, had used the language or actively supported it. This meant that people who had attempted to learn the language, who had a significant interest in the language, or who participated in language-related activities were invited to take part. The survey therefore included people who acquired the language as children, who learned it as adults as part of educational activities, or who had learned it in the course of other activities. No proficiency tests were carried out, but the questionnaire did ask the respondent to rate their own ability. Some wished to participate further in discussions of issues surrounding Scottish Gaelic in Australia and were therefore included in the second stage of the survey, even if they did not

respond to a questionnaire.

3.4.2 Why use a Questionnaire?

In designing the survey, I considered methods that would prove cost-effective, obtain detailed data, and provide contact details for respondents who were prepared to participate further. An approach that was not too intrusive was considered beneficial. One very important consideration was that I should be able to administer the survey entirely myself, and a mail survey was efficient because 'fewer people are thus required to conduct the survey' (Salant and Dillman 1994, p.35-36). A questionnaire also provided privacy (Salant and Dillman 1994, p.36) and anonymity where required. There were two primary objectives in using the questionnaire: firstly, to find respondents who were prepared to participate in the next stage, and secondly to obtain some basic information about those claiming to use Scottish Gaelic in Australia and New Zealand. There were also a number of questions included to elicit opinions about various aspects of the language in Australia and elsewhere.

There were a number of advantages in using a questionnaire:

- A large number of people could be surveyed at a relatively low cost. Given the geographical dispersion of the respondents, this was an important criterion.
- A wide variety of people could be included with one method of assessment.
- The survey could be anonymous for those who wished it, as well as allowing space for people to add their contact details for further participation. Equally, those who still wished to participate further could provide anonymous questionnaires while still being able to make contact by other means.

Allowing respondents to answer the questionnaires in private reduced direct pressure on them from a researcher or intermediary. No intermediaries were needed to collect the completed questionnaires, as respondents were provided with stamped, addressed envelopes in which to return them. A postal questionnaire also allowed some of the questionnaires to be distributed by intermediaries or key informants, while still maintaining consistent modes of response. There was a small section at the end of the questionnaire specifically asking those who had responded if they wished to participate further, and was to be left blank if they wished the questionnaire to remain anonymous. This had the double advantage of allowing people to add their names and addresses if an intermediary had given them a questionnaire. Therefore even if I had not met, or written to them personally, I was able to contact them after receiving their questionnaire in the post. In order to maximise the chances of a returned questionnaire, the questionnaires were supplied with a stamped envelope, and were addressed back to the survey.

The first questionnaires were sent out in October 2001, and the last were sent out in July 2002. The replies continued to arrive until August 2002. Of the approximately 200 questionnaires sent out to specific respondents, and the approximately twenty handed out at group gatherings, 178 were returned.

3.4.3 Questionnaire Design

3.4.3.1 Language Choice

The questionnaire was in English, based on the assumption that this would be the primary language used by the respondents. This was borne out by the results, as some who claimed high fluency in speaking Gàidhlig also claimed lower, or no skills for reading and/ or writing. This also ties in with the likelihood that many respondents may not have had schooling in Scottish Gaelic, even as children in Scotland. Gàidhlig-medium education was not common in Scotland, and is not widespread even today (Robertson 1999, p. 244). Less than ten percent of state schools in Scotland offer Gaelic (Learners) option for school-leaving purposes (Robertson 1999, p. 248). Therefore, amongst those who grew up in Scotland and who answered the questionnaire, literacy in Scottish Gaelic was not guaranteed. Further, a few respondents had acquired spoken Scottish Gaelic from their parents in Australia, but not literacy.

3.4.3.2 Questionnaire Layout

The questionnaire contained forty-two questions, arranged over both sides of an A3 sheet, and designed to fold over into an A4 format. This approximated a booklet design, for ease of use and clarity (Salant and Dillman 1994, p.103; LeCompte and Schensul 1999). The questionnaire was given a prominent heading in large, bold font, and a brief introductory paragraph was included before the questions (Appendix 3). An addressed, return envelope was also included with the covering letter in order to maximise the response, with a stamp for respondents resident in Australia. Respondents in other countries were expected to provide their own stamps.

3.4.3.3 Questionnaire Pre-testing

The questionnaire went through three trial versions, being tested on ten test cases, two of whom had no knowledge of Scottish Gaelic. The first two versions were rejected because of factors such as question clarity, font size, and excessive length. A number of questions were omitted in order to allow a better presentation and readability. Version 3a was sent to

Australian respondents, and version 3NZ was sent to New Zealand respondents. The New Zealand version merely substituted 'New Zealand' for 'Australia' where relevant, with no change in the order of questions. This allowed easier integration of the two sets of data.

3.4.3.4 Questionnaire Legibility and Design

The questionnaire was designed to be as legible as possible, with large print size (12-point bold), and with tick-boxes immediately following the questions. Most questions were in closed format (Hoare 2001), particularly those requiring factual responses. Most of the questions required only one answer, but some allowed more than one. There was in-built flexibility to allow for variations. For example, the spreadsheet used to process the responses (Microsoft Excel) allowed for single or multiple entries for citizenship. A number of job types were given as choices, and some respondents did indeed tick more than one option. In some questions, it was expected that a number of choices would be selected, such as membership of organisations, or musical instruments played, and the spreadsheet was coded to accommodate this. Space was given at the end of each question for answers that had not been considered, or alternatives that had not been envisaged. Few cases of alternatives actually occurred, although many respondents used these spaces to either qualify their responses, or give additional information.

In those questions where attitude was being examined, each question was scaled from *'Very strongly agree'* to *'Very strongly disagree'* from left to right on a 6-point Likert scale, following ideas by various researchers (Davidson and Henning 1985; Salant and Dillman 1994; Masgoret and Gardner 1999). I also used types of questions derived from other attitudinal surveys such as that of Gibbons (1996, 1999), as well as referring both to the order and type of questions in usage surveys (Sproull and Chalmers 1998). The scale was kept consistent throughout the opinion questions, and the far rightmost option was always the 'opt-out' choice. This took the form of options such as *'Unable to ...'*, or *'No Opinion'*. For all the questions where a category had to be chosen, there was always the opportunity to enter a different option in the space provided below the question under *'other'*. In practise, not many alternative answers were entered, although some interesting notes were made in these spaces, making valuable additions to the survey. The opinion questions were all of the 'positive' type, as a way of attempting to reduce confusion. This aspect does also run the risk of introducing a 'boredom' factor, as respondents might be expected to answer automatically. But as the questionnaire was being sent out by post in many instances, leaving the respondents to fill it in without guidance, this was considered a more sensible option. This was also in line with

advice by Salant and Dillman (1994) who suggest that the visual impact of the questionnaire is crucial as an initial impression in order to motivate respondents to complete it (Salant and Dillman 1994, p. 101ff.). I considered that people would be more likely to respond if it was 'not too difficult' (Salant and Dillman 1994, p. 102).

For the information-gathering questions, the question order was deliberately mixed up in order to partly distract from the attitudinal questions, and partly to avoid monotony. Therefore 'background' questions were asked initially, followed by the attitudinal questions, and then followed by more information-gathering questions on cultural issues. For some of the self-reported ability questions, there was an attempt to use some realism in the likely spheres of use, such as asking how a respondent would feel about using Scottish Gaelic in a particular setting. This follows the ideas of Masgoret and Gardner (1999). In a questionnaire that they distributed to Spanish-speaking learners of English, they chose 'positively worded items … which assess the extent to which students seek to learn English for integrative reasons' (Masgoret and Gardner 1999, p. 222). Positive wording was used in the SoSGA questionnaire when asking attitudinal questions.

One quarter of the last A4 page was left blank at the end of the questionnaire to add anything that the respondent felt was of interest. The last few lines of the last page were marked as being reserved for contact details for those who wished to participate further.

3.4.4 Range of Questions

3.4.4.1 A Basic Profile

The questions in the first section aimed to provide a general profile of the respondent, and a rough idea of their upbringing. The respondent was asked to choose appropriate categories of nationality and place of birth, based on country. Distinctions were made between countries of the British Isles. The respondent was asked for age of exposure to Scottish Gaelic, birthplace, citizenship questions, and nationality questions. Assessment of either of the parents' fluency was asked, with the following demarcations: *Fluent*, *Moderate*, *A little*, *None* and *Unknown*. Place of residence at age 7 was asked.

3.4.4.2 Learning and Usage Questions

The second set of questions concentrated on reported use of Scottish Gaelic, followed by proficiency and then opinion questions, rated on a 6-point Likert scale. These asked about aspects of education and culture. The primary purpose in using a 6-point scale was to see if any distinction was made for depth of feeling concerning some aspects of Scottish Gaelic.

Davidson and Henning (1985) use a Scalar analysis of a survey, and conclude that high ability students overrate aural/oral skills by comparison to writing, and that the choices of *'average'* and *'some difficulty'* clustered together on their 7-point Likert scale (Davidson and Henning 1985). Therefore, for SoSGA, this terminology was avoided, and the respondent was asked to select a choice reflecting their *'agreement'* with a statement. Although a distinction was made between *'very strongly (dis) agree'* and *'strongly (dis) agree'*, the analysis concentrated on whether the responses were broadly positive or negative.

A specific area of interest was attitudes towards Scottish Gaelic and how they related to views of use and cultural heritage. The questionnaire included questions exploring respondents' thoughts regarding usage, spheres of use, and self-reported ability in Scottish Gaelic. There was no attempt to test the accuracy of the self-reported ability: this would not have been feasible given the wide geographic dispersion of the respondents, nor was an appropriate test instrument available. The design deliberately tried to draw out details of the reported usage. For example, there was a question asking specifically about the spoken form of Scottish Gaelic, immediately following one on place of usage of Scottish Gaelic. Further on in the questionnaire, respondents were asked to estimate the number of people they knew with (some) Scottish Gaelic, and how frequently respondents used it.

Following concerns highlighted by Gorter (1987) for Frisian language surveys, the answers could be compared for potential inconsistencies (Gorter 1987). The validity of the SoSGA results was as much in the claims made as in the answers themselves. Specifically, I wanted to be able to distinguish between those claiming to use it within the family, and those not within the family, as well as obtaining some idea of the size of group involved with Scottish Gaelic. As with interview responses examined by Gorter (1987), I did not necessarily reject questionnaires that displayed inconsistency, but rather used them as data (Gorter 1987, p. 49). This also follows general advice given by Briggs (1986) that responses are not necessarily given in the format in which the researcher expects them to be. Therefore the questionnaire responses were examined critically for claims made, rather than solely for their 'validity'.

3.4.4.3 Society, Cultural Attributes and Attitudes

The questions in the final section were designed to gain some measure of the cultural attributes (such as musicality, and membership of societies and clubs) of the respondents. Respondents were also asked to report the number of people they knew that spoke Scottish Gaelic, in order to examine possible correlations between reported usage frequency, and number of other speakers known. Distinctions were made for a number of different clubs and

organisations, some not necessarily related to Scottish Gaelic activities, such as membership of a United Services Club, which are common in Australia. It was hoped that this would also give some background to the variety of organisations that respondents joined.
There were also specific questions that asked about potential transmission of the language across generations. This followed the discussion on this topic in Gorter (1987), where one is able to access information about other generations from the respondent themselves. The questions were whether either of the respondent's parents had some knowledge of Scottish Gaelic, and whether they would want to teach it to their children, where relevant.

3.5 Follow-up After Questionnaire Administration

More specific details were examined after some initial data collection had been made. A detailed analysis of the discourse of users of the language would examine claims of identity, attitude towards the language, and the status of the language in the lives of the respondents. Principal among the research questions was what identity claims were made by the respondents, either about themselves or others. Particular attention was paid to claims centred on nationality, place of birth, country of origin, claims of race or ethnic affiliations, and claims concerning the status and nature of Scottish Gaelic.

3.5.1 Participant Observation

There were a number of events where I participated as an observer. Examples of this were Scottish Gaelic language classes, in which I enrolled, Gàidhlig-days or weekend events, choir practices and performances, or other wider Scottish interest events. These were occasionally recorded, but more often notes were taken. I had to be mindful of being unobtrusive, as well as being able to function in these settings. In this respect, I was initially marginal to the various communities. This is in line with observations made by Schensul *et al*. (1999), who comment that *'ethnographic researchers hold an identity that is never fully co-terminus with the individuals who are members of the community or research setting in question'* (Schensul, Schensul et al. 1999, p.70, emphasis in original). Although Schensul *et al*. (1999) urge the researcher to be unobtrusive so that this 'minimizes the influence of the researcher', this was not necessarily either desirable or practicable in these contexts. For example, through the process of enculturation and socialisation, I was gradually drawn into the activities of the community, and included as a group member. For example, I was voted onto committee positions at Annual General Meetings of one of the organisations that I had joined. This was an element of 'reciprocity', as well as allowing me to study the community from within. It was

also crucial to establish a rapport, which is also seen as essential by writers such as Briggs (1986), as well as Schensul et al. (1999), who observe that '[good] rapport ultimately rests on the connections through which ethnographers have been introduced to the community setting' (Schensul, Schensul et al. 1999, p.74).

To many I did seem to bring 'added value', in that I was co-opted into helping the organisations and community further their own aims or continue to operate. I was also asked to assist in the running of some events. I had also previously written general newspaper articles, published in the commercial press in the U.K. and Australia, which highlighted the activities of some of the organisations. In this sense, counter to comments by Schensul et al. (1999), I was bringing 'inducements' (Schensul, Schensul et al. 1999, p.74) for the communities to co-operate with the research project. In this respect, added visibility that the project and articles were perceived to give the groups might be interpreted as an element of reciprocity, rather than 'inducement'.

3.5.2 The Researcher's Status - 'Because you sounded posh on the 'phone'

3.5.2.1 Project Description for Respondents

To those people who had agreed to take part in the survey, and whom I contacted for further discussions, I introduced myself as being British, and said that I had moved to Australia recently (less than a year beforehand) from Edinburgh. I explained that I had moved to Australia as my partner was Australian, and that she had returned for family and work commitments. Therefore it was clear to most people that I was not very knowledgeable about Australia and the situation of Scottish Gaelic there. From that point of view, I was outside of the community. However, I also explained that I had previously done some research on phonology at Edinburgh University. Rarely, the details of the research came up for discussion, and I explained that I had studied Scottish Gaelic phonetics and phonology with other researchers, and performed some fieldwork in the Western Isles of Scotland (Ladefoged, Ladefoged et al. 1997; Skilton 1997; Ladefoged, Ladefoged et al. 1998). As I was able to speak Scottish Gaelic reasonably, and had some knowledge of the phonology, many also assumed that I was knowledgeable enough to understand some of the finer details of the language. For those who did ask me about my background, this clearly had an effect on how I was perceived. I did have conversations and discussions with some respondents regarding some of the points that they raised. One respondent, Flathal, while talking about a grammatical issue with which learners had difficulty, indicated how she perceived my ability.

Extract 3.3 The Converted

Flathal: 'This is preaching to the converted: you know this' [MD4.08].

So the general view of the researcher was that I knew about Scottish Gaelic but was completely uninformed about Australian society. Further, that my interest in Scottish Gaelic was primarily an academic one, and that I was researching the use of the language in Australia. Again, Flathal, in talking about other researchers who had come to Australia from Scotland in past years, described them to me as *'one of your kin'*[20]. The view of the researcher as being from Edinburgh seemed to be significant. For example as part of the introduction to one of the Scottish Gaelic events, I was (erroneously) introduced as coming from Edinburgh University, *'and now based at the University of Sydney'* [MD07].

There were other comments or emails which indicated that I was viewed as having good Scottish Gaelic. For example, one of the organisers of a Scottish Gaelic event wrote to me asking if I would help.

Extract 3.4 Need for Teachers

Respondent 016: 'I also need to talk to you about possibly helping out with some of the teaching!' [SoSGA_E_R016, 07-Feb-02].

I was conscious of trying not to appear too knowledgeable, and I also made it clear that I had learned the language as an adult in Edinburgh, and partly in Skye and North Uist where I had conducted some research. Many other learners took the opportunity to speak to me when the chance arose, as with a respondent (Dubhmór) who switched to Scottish Gaelic after we had already started a conversation in English [MD03]. A few respondents made a point of speaking Scottish Gaelic to me whenever possible. At teaching events where there was some streaming by ability, I was always placed in the advanced classes or groups.

Other respondents who had initially known less about the survey, and who were contacted after having returned a questionnaire, were less sure of my position. For example, Dardulena commented that she had previously wondered if I was involved in some form of testing of Scottish Gaelic. It became clearer to her that it was her opinions that were being sought when I arrived to interview her. She explained that she had previously not paid too much attention to the details of the Survey, and had initially expected to be tested in Scottish Gaelic. When asked why she had thought this, she explained that it was *'because you sounded posh on the 'phone'* [MD02]. My accent, describable as RP, also prompted one new respondent to ask

[20] The School of Scottish Studies at Edinburgh University has in the past recorded Gàidhlig-speakers in Australia; there was also a partial survey by Commun na Gàidhlig in 1992 which was never completed (Pers. Comms. MacIver, M. (2002). CNAG survey. S. J. Skilton. Inverness, Comunn na Gàidhlig.)

why a 'Sassenach' was interested in studying Scottish Gaelic. *Sassenach* is occasionally used as a term to denote English people, or foreigners, and is derived from *'Sasainn'*, Scottish Gaelic for England. When I informed the respondent that I had moved to Australia from Edinburgh, and was studying the language as a linguist, this seemed to provide a satisfactory response. She then went on to explain that she herself was (originally) from Glasgow, and discussed where her family was from. Other respondents also used my accent as an indicator of Scottishness. For example, Diùranach commented:

Extract 3.5 Not Very Scottish

Diùranach: 'You sound as Scottish as I do – that's not very' [MD09.65].

When I explained that I had moved to Australia from Edinburgh, he then went on to describe how he himself had been at school in Scotland, and the conversation continued.

At all stages of the survey, and in my contact with respondents, I made it clear that I was doing a PhD thesis at the University of Sydney. Many people also wished to have the results published in some other format, however, and I undertook to provide some form of summary of the survey to various societies and groups once it was complete. I also became involved in discussions with many people as to the best mechanisms for dissemination of the data.

3.5.3 Determining Who to Interview

From a combination of those volunteering to participate further on the questionnaire forms, and from those people that I met in the course of my immersion in the communities, I selected those who would be appropriate to interview in greater depth. Some volunteered themselves, but others were approached with a request for interview, or asked for permission to record the activities in which they were involved. Only one request was refused. I used the following general criteria to decide who to talk to further:

- Willingness to participate in the survey.
- Membership of, or intimate involvement with, key organisations associated with Scottish Gaelic in Australia and New Zealand, particularly choirs and language organisations.
- Involvement with or strong opinions about teaching Scottish Gaelic.
- Strong feelings about particular issues and topics of direct relevance to the survey, such as language maintenance, language revival, perceived injustices, maintenance of cultural heritage, and the position of Scottish Gaelic in Australia and New Zealand.
- Involvement with Scottish Gaelic at a young age.
- Involvement with groups not necessarily linked to use of Scottish Gaelic (such as Country

Dancing societies and Clan organisations, amongst others).

- Studying Scottish Gaelic despite no apparent association with any organisation linked to Scottish Gaelic.
- Members of groups performing language activities such as classes and choirs.
- Associated Scottish Heritage groups who were interested in Scottish Gaelic, but who did not use the language in anything more than an iconic way.

Of the 178 questionnaires returned, fifty (28%) wished to remain anonymous, meaning that the vast majority of the respondents actively wished to participate further. This was far more than had been expected, and probably reflected the greater interest in Scottish Gaelic than might be shown in public spheres.

3.5.4 Interviewing Respondents

I was conscious of approaching respondents with caution, especially in order to try and learn different norms within the groups that I was studying. This was in accordance with points raised by Briggs (1986) who recommends participation in the activities of the communities, such as by joining groups (Briggs 1986). He describes his own learning process in the community which he studied, as having been advanced by doing woodcarving with one of his respondents. Although broadly speaking I might have been considered to have the same communicative norms in an Australian society as a British one, I was careful not to assume that this would be true. There were differences beyond banal lexical items in our English dialects that were not immediately apparent to me, and referents (such as well-known Scottish Gaelic songs) that were imbued with greater meaning than I had initially been aware of. Therefore I did not immediately proceed to interviewing respondents unless the opportunity would otherwise have been lost entirely. I tried to maximise my understanding of the norms and situations before interviewing respondents. In order to maximise the amount of useful information I could obtain from the interviews, I agreed with Briggs (1986) that 'sensitive and effective interviewing … presupposes awareness of the society's categories of speech acts and social situations and the rules for relating them' (Briggs 1986, p.45).

I was also aware of the co-constructed nature of the resulting discourse, and did not always attempt to force questions into the frame of the interviews. Although I did have a general set of topics that I would want to discuss, I was prepared to let the respondents lead the discussions. I was interested in hearing what they felt motivated to talk about, as much as hearing their views on the topics of interest to me. The interviews were unstructured, apart from maintaining, as a general topic, the discussion of Scottish Gaelic in Australia and related

language issues. This meant that many discussions also delved into areas such as religion and cultural activities associated with Scottish Gaelic. I made as much effort as possible not to prompt use of particular expressions, but to allow the respondents to use their own terms. If particular terms were used, and reference was made to the issues again, I attempted to either re-use the same term within the context, or to clarify the meaning before proceeding.

3.5.4.1 Preserving Anonymity

Respondents' anonymity was important to many, and for the ethical collection of data. Therefore respondents were invited to provide the researcher with a pseudonym to be used when quoting them directly. This provided a way of personalising the respondents, as well as allowing them a way of portraying an aspect of themselves that was otherwise not revealed. Respondents who did not provide a name were assigned a Scottish Gaelic name at random. Those who wished to remain entirely anonymous were assigned a number at random between 001 and 220, e.g. 'Respondent 058'. Questionnaires, if returned, were assigned the same reference number as their respondent number. Respondent numbers replace pseudonyms if identifying features are present in the respondent's discourse, or if they discuss aspects which may identify them in association with their pseudonym. In a few cases within the text, respondents are identified by their role, such as 'Adjudicator', at public venues. Respondents' pseudonyms and basic biographies are listed in Appendix 1 and a list of the principal recordings used for this survey is presented in the table in Appendix 2.

3.6 Elicitation of Further Data for the Survey

Some respondents were contacted in writing. The geographical area meant that when I was unable to travel to the places where the respondents resided, written contact was considered to be the most time- and cost-effective method in many cases. I wrote letters or emails to people who had already contacted me, based on the following criteria:

- Clarification of a point raised in the questionnaire or in conversation. For example, opinions concerning methods of teaching or numbers of students learning Scottish Gaelic.
- Asking for further explanation of a selected topic previously discussed.
- Questions about the respondent's background and experience of Scottish Gaelic in Australia or New Zealand, or opinions concerning the language in particular regions.

I also telephoned some respondents who were prepared to participate further. This was appropriate where some respondents also lived further away than I was able to travel, or else

where I wanted to clarify some points and felt I knew the respondents well enough to speak to them directly. When I had access to a telephone with a built-in speaker, the conversation was recorded.

3.7 Summary

The bulk of my data is from respondents themselves in their own words. Where I was unable to record activities, I made notes in booklets which I carried with me. I also photographed some particular features or events for the benefit of my own memory, or to use within this survey. Data not directly from SoSGA respondents is from items passed on to me by interested parties, typically in printed format.

Chapter 4 - Second-Language Education in Australia and the Position of Scottish Gaelic

4.0 Introduction

This chapter examines factors relevant to learning Scottish Gaelic as a second language in Australia. I start with an overview of current teaching of languages other than English (LOTEs) in schools. Language learning in Australian schools provides a backdrop to learning Scottish Gaelic in Australia. Statistics produced by education departments for state schools indicate a complex and variable exposure to LOTEs. Statistics published by State departments of education are analysed, and related to their policy statements.

Historically, New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia introduced multilingual policies in schools in the 1980s, earlier than Tasmania, Queensland and Western Australia (Ozolins 1993, p. 178). Two States, NSW and Victoria, had approximately 11.5 million of the estimated 19.3 million population of Australia in 2003 (ABS 2002; ABS 2003b). I concentrate on these two most populous states in more detail and briefly discuss the others in terms of education policies and strategies. State (government) schools are examined because they are often clearly targeted for policy initiatives (Baldauf 2002).

Aspects of the public presence of Scottish Gaelic will also highlight some of the issues which do not mesh with some of the theoretical constructs discussed in Chapter 1. For example, Bourdieu's (1991) concept of the linguistic market may not be able to cope with the dynamic context of Scottish Gaelic in Australia. Stroud (2001a) criticises Bourdieu (1991) for exactly this aspect. He comments on the rise of Catalan in Spain, and on Wolof in Senegal which have alternative legitimacy despite not being state languages (Stroud 2001a, p. 249). Stroud (2001a) argues that Mozambique contains a 'complex linguistic ecology' where it is by no means certain that Portuguese functions in a hegemonic manner. Although Australia provides a very different context, the advent of political changes associated with multiculturalism has meant that the linguistic 'market' is dynamic. Languages have come under particular attention in this process because of associations with culture, ethnicity and social justice. Stroud (2001a) criticises Bourdieu (1991) for not incorporating the dynamic nature of societies, demonstrating that some linguistic markets are not integrated (Stroud 2001a, p. 254). Similarly, different forces act on languages in Australia from sometimes competing interests. English has an ambiguous position in the world of SoSGA respondents. To suggest that it is merely a matter

of the covert prestige of Scottish Gaelic in the face of the dominant language would miss other complex relationships. In a political climate which has seen great social change, some SoSGA respondents have found social spaces in which to pursue their language interests, and to promote Scottish Gaelic. This may be interpreted as evidence of different marketplaces for languages in Australia. Competing forces act on the representation and status of languages, resulting in a multiplicity of markets, even where the state has a strong, central position. Stroud (2001a) sees 'historicity' as important because languages may be 'de-legitimised' by association – for example, Castilian is negatively associated with Fascism (Stroud 2001a, p. 270). Many SoSGA respondents associate English with colonisations, of both the Antipodes and Scotland. The status of English is therefore not static, nor necessarily coherent. The status of English can influence expressions of self so that language loyalty becomes important. Stroud (2001a) argues that Bourdieu's (1991) notions would need to take identity and self-definition into account to cope with a changing 'field' (Stroud 2001a, p. 270). One such field is that of Scottish Gaelic in public life, and another is that of language education in Australia.

4.1 A Brief Overview of Language Education in Australia

4.1.1 The Importance of the Education Domain

The SoSGA questionnaire asked respondents where they used Scottish Gaelic. Figure 4.1 shows that that almost half of those surveyed by questionnaire used Scottish Gaelic in the classroom (n=85). This includes teachers, as well as students, and indicates the importance of the classroom as a site of usage for the language. A majority of those using it in the classroom reported that this was the only place in which they used it (n=49). This is shown in orange in the second column of Figure 4.1, a subset of those in column 1. The number of respondents who reported not using Scottish Gaelic at all is highlighted in red (n=27). I also asked respondents to whom they spoke Scottish Gaelic. The results are displayed in Figure 4.2. The second column in Figure 4.2 shows the number who reported that they spoke Scottish Gaelic to their classmates (n=59). The third column is a subset of these, showing how many reported speaking only to their classmates (n=49). The overall pattern of reported usage of spoken Scottish Gaelic indicates that, after 'friends', the classroom is the most common place to speak the language. The respondents who speak Scottish Gaelic in the classroom only, account for a quarter of the total questionnaire respondents.

Figure 4.1 SoSGA Respondents' Place of Scottish Gaelic Use

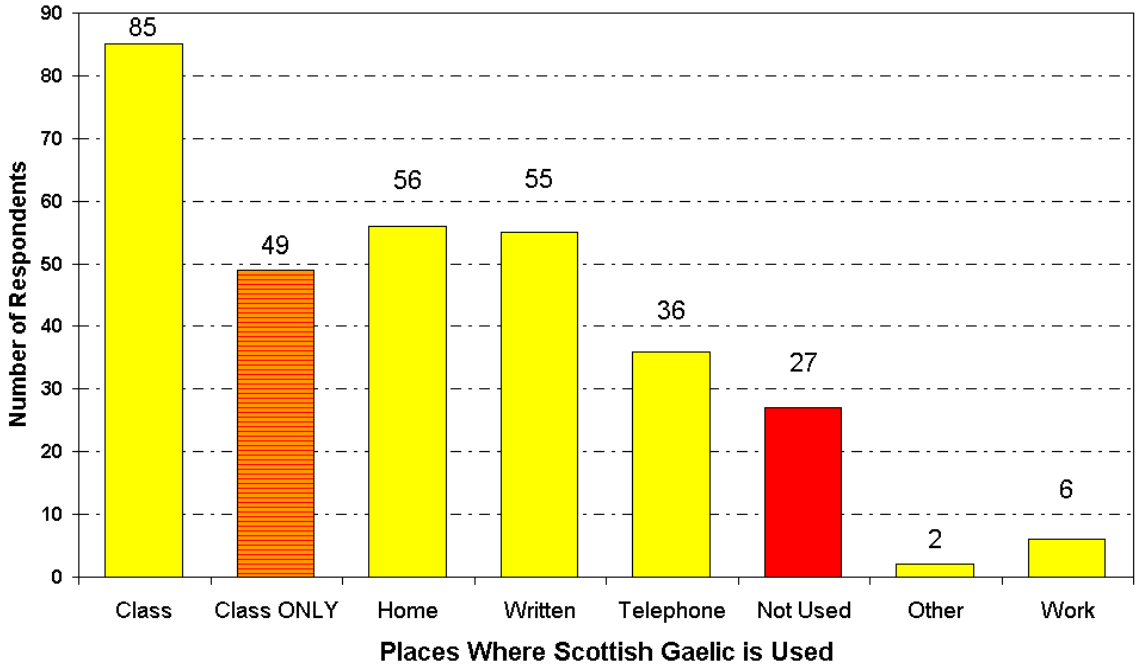
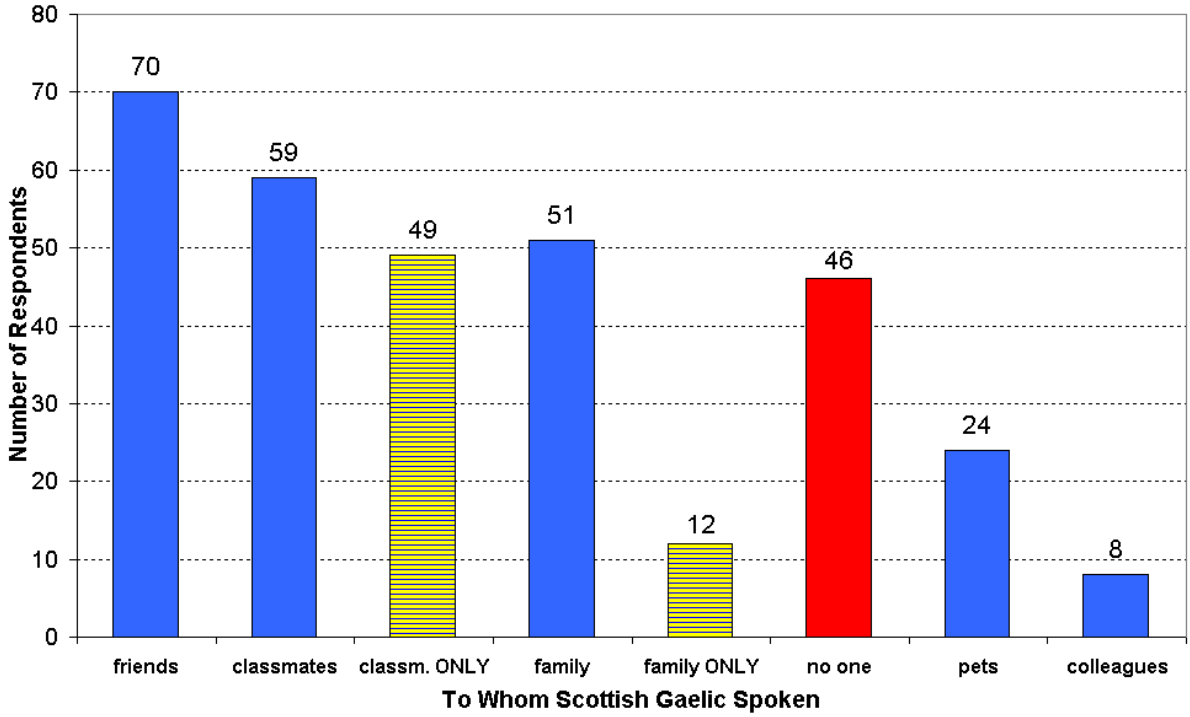


Figure 4.2 SoSGA Respondents' Scottish Gaelic Social, Spoken Use



Figures 4.1 and 4.2 highlight one institutionalised aspect of Scottish Gaelic in the Antipodes where, for a significant proportion of people, Scottish Gaelic exists in a single domain. By comparison, a similar number report that they use it in no domain at all (n=46), although two-thirds of these respondents also reported low skill levels (n=29). This means that more than

half of the questionnaire respondents do not use spoken Scottish Gaelic in their wider lives. For those who speak it in the family (n=51), a relatively smaller subset of them use it only there (n=12) by comparison to those using it in class. This implies that most people who use it in the family are additionally part of wider circles using the language. Overall, these figures indicate that the classroom becomes an important factor for Scottish Gaelic in the Antipodes, and therefore I examine aspects associated with language teaching in greater depth.

4.1.2 Responsibility for Education

Responsibility for primary and secondary education in Australia is placed at State level. Approximately two-thirds of schoolchildren are enrolled in government schools (Clyne and Kipp 1999, p. 34). Tertiary education is the responsibility of the Federal government although various Federal policies have influenced policies at school level. Federal encouragement was sometimes aimed directly at schools: government reports in the 1980s specifically tied funding to language teaching and simultaneously to 'cultural sensitisation and intercultural studies' (Ozolins 1993, p. 174). States were nonetheless responsible for the administration of the funding (Ozolins 1993, p. 174). The development of language policy in education from the 1970s was also affected by changing education needs for migrant children (Ozolins 1991, p. 337). Language teaching was usually seen as distinct from teaching English as a second language (Ozolins 1991, p. 337).

By the time a Federal Government policy on language teaching was formulated in 1987, many States had already started to implement their own policies (Ozolins 1991, p. 346). Some of these were in direct response to local lobbying by language activists (Ozolins 1993, p. 242). Some policies were based on preliminary findings of the 1987 Lo Bianco report and other preceding reports (Kalantzis, Slade et al. 1990; Ozolins 1993; Clyne and Kipp 1999). While this led to some differences from State to State, there is currently a concentration on a core set of languages.

Tertiary funding has been the responsibility of the Federal government since 1974 (DETYA 2001e) when tuition fees were abolished. Higher education is administered at the Federal level through the Department of Education, Training and Youth Affairs (DETYA), which has responsibility for the Federal Government's higher education policy development and programme administration (DETYA 2001a). Education reviews in the mid-1980s specifically set aside funding for community languages in tertiary institutions (Ozolins 1993, p. 176). Individual universities award 'bonus points' to applicant students who have studied an LOTE at school (Smolicz and Secombe 2003, p. 16).

4.1.3 Language Policy, Language Teaching – Integration to Multiculturalism

Language policy in Australia in the second half of the 20th century reflects the dominance of English as a national language. At times there has been great resistance to teaching, or even allowing 'migrant' languages in public spheres, such as in print and broadcast media. Although non-English languages were allowed, newspapers were restricted to a small proportion of 'community languages'[21] until after the Second World War (Ozolins 1993, p. 4). Only French (and German, when not influenced by wartime enmity) was taught to any extent in schools (Clyne 1991a, p. 217; Ozolins 1993). In 1970, the journal *Babel* reported that 97 percent of LOTE enrolments in schools were in French alone (Ozolins 1993, p. 86).

Adult language teaching after the Second World War was geared to English, in order to assimilate migrants, many of whom were from Southern Europe (for detailed discussion see Clyne (1991b), and Ozolins (1991, 1993)). It was only in the late 1970s, with the establishment of the SBS (Special Broadcasting Services), and changes in the wider society, that moves towards the establishment of education in LOTEs were implemented (Ozolins 1991, p. 336). Ozolins (1991) discusses the various government reports on the teaching of 'community languages' and perceived need for greater bilingual education as part of a strategy of helping immigrants integrate into Australian society – it was not an educational stance (Ozolins 1991, p. 338). Motivation for greater bilingual education was initially based on non-assimilation to Australian culture, as it was thought that bilingual education would help to bridge the gap between migrants and the host society (Lopez 2000, p. 177). There was also concern over the lack of (socio-economic) mobility of particular immigrant groups (Kalantzis, Slade et al. 1990, p. 198). Multicultural policy was overtly aimed at addressing some of these issues and as an explicit granting of rights to migrant groups (Lopez 2000, p. 244). Ozolins (1991) sees the teaching of LOTEs as 'an area in which the policy of multiculturalism can perhaps be most clearly exemplified in providing an element of the migrants' own culture as part of the school curriculum' (Ozolins 1991, p. 338).

Some criticise the teaching of community languages that are 'often no more than tokenistic and short-term. Students would learn a limited range of language for domestic interchange … and a little bit of culture' (Kalantzis, Slade et al. 1990, p. 199). There is also the suggestion of political 'opportunism' at work, as the 'ethnic'[22] vote may have been important at election

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[21] I have retained the term 'community' language, widely used in the literature to represent migrant languages.
[22] 'Ethnic' implies 'migrant', or 'minority' language group, and excludes Aboriginal Australian languages.

time (Kalantzis, Slade et al. 1990, p. 199). Community language programs were seen as inadequately funded, with little effect in terms of educational outcomes, or of social access (Kalantzis, Slade et al. 1990, p. 199). The funding announcements of some of the major policies were inadequate for their objectives, according to this view, and merely an 'inexpensive response' (Kalantzis, Slade et al. 1990, p. 199).

Another influence was the perceived need for people competent in the languages of Australia's trading partners - a view echoed in recent policy statements by both Federal and State education authorities (VIC 1997, p. 8; DETYA 2001d). For example, the Education Department of Tasmania explicitly states that

> '[t]he capacity to speak the native language is recognised as an important asset to communicating and negotiating with people in other countries. This has important economic and trade implications for Australia' (TAS 2001a).

By the 1980s, most States had developed explicit policies, and the National Policy on Language, was produced as part of the Lo Bianco report in 1987 (Kalantzis, Slade et al. 1990, p. 199). The report also explicitly states some broad social goals of 'enrichment, economic opportunities, external relations and equality' (quoted in (Kalantzis, Slade et al. 1990), p. 199). Some major programs were established, including a National Aboriginal Language Program, English teaching for 'new arrivals', and the Australian Second language Learning Program (Ozolins 1993, p. 243). The Hawke government supported these programmes, based on arguments of maintaining heritage, promoting tolerance, and exploiting Australia's linguistic diversity to economic ends (Ozolins 1993, p. 248). In practice, the implementation seems to have been mostly in the sphere of education rather than in terms of library resources or interpreting/ translation services, and funding initially promised for various of the programs was not delivered (Kalantzis, Slade et al. 1990; Clyne 1991a; Ozolins 1993). Ozolins (1993) perceives a continuing tendency to link multicultural education and ethnic affairs in policy implementation (Ozolins 1993, p. 248).

In 1988, Prime Minister Hawke had told the Ethnic Communities Council that a 'balanced' language policy would remain in place, with no 'artificial distinction made between economic and community languages, or between Asian and non-Asian languages' (quoted in (Ozolins 1993, p. 252). But a later shift in emphasis seems to have occurred, with greater stress laid on the use of languages for economic and trade purposes (Ozolins 1993, p. 254). The Federal government now provides a per capita reward of A$ 300 to schools for every Year 12 student

that graduates in one of the 14 priority languages[23] (DETYA 2001c). Four Asian languages, Mandarin, Indonesian, Japanese and Korean were further prioritised in Federal policy documents, as discussed in Sections 4.2.1 and 4.3.7.2 (Clyne and Kipp 1999; DETYA 2001c). Clyne and Kipp (1999) interpret this as a shift to language learning based on perceived economic importance.

There is not necessarily a good correspondence between the languages promoted and trading partners. In examining the trade figures, a small number of countries dominate imports and exports. For Australian merchandise exports in 2001 the most important partners were Japan (20%), the United States (10%), Republic of Korea (8%), New Zealand (7%), followed in order by China, Taiwan, U.K., and Germany (ABS 2001). The total for all other countries was about 40 percent (ABS 2001). For imports, the order of importance was United States (22%), Japan (12%), followed by China, U.K., Germany, New Zealand, Republic of Korea, and Taiwan, all of which were less than 10 percent. The total for all others is almost 40 percent (ABS 2001). It is interesting to note the equation of language for trade with particular countries – possibly reflecting the association of nation-states and monolingualism. Clyne and Kipp (1999) comment on the differences in status accorded to different language varieties, for example, which do not coincide with national boundaries (Clyne and Kipp 1999, p. 44). Chinese, Arabic and Spanish are 'pluricentric' in this view, in that speakers of these languages in Australia can come from a wide variety of countries and speak very different dialects (Clyne and Kipp 1999). Another factor is that some trade derives from a very small number of extremely high-value transactions, with consequently less demand for language skills (pers. comms. (Baldauf 2002)[24].

4.2 Overview of Policy Statements

4.2.1 Recent Federal Policy on Language Education

LOTEs have been a specific area of interest for education departments in Australia. In April 1999, State, Territory and Commonwealth Ministers of Education met as the 10th Ministerial Council on Education, Employment, Training and Youth Affairs (MCEETYA) in Adelaide. LOTEs were identified as one of the 'eight key learning areas' (DETYA 2001d).

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[23] According to Clyne and Kipp (1999) these were Aboriginal languages, Arabic, Chinese (Mandarin), French, German, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Modern Greek, Russian, Spanish, Thai and Vietnamese. This differs slightly from the ten languages listed on the DETYA website in July 2001, as the NALSAS languages are further prioritised.

[24] Baldauf (2002) mentioned Korea in this respect, which imports a large amount of Australian coal in a small number of transactions.

Prioritising Asian languages in the curriculum has been named as a specific government strategy: the National Asian Languages and Studies in Australian Schools (NALSAS) Strategy (DETYA 2001c, p. 1). This targets four Asian languages of perceived economic value: Chinese (Mandarin), Indonesian[25], Japanese and Korean, 'chosen on the basis of regional economic forecasts made by the Mainland South East Asia Branch of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT)' (DETYA 2001c, p. 7). The (Federal) Department of Employment, Training and Youth Affairs had included NALSAS in its language policy with a target of reaching 60 percent of schoolchildren in years 3 to 10, and 15 percent of year 12 students learning at least one of these languages by 2006 (DETYA 2001c). However, in December 2002 the funding ceased (VIC 2002, p. 10).

DETYA highlights two other language elements: 'Community Languages and Priority Languages' (DETYA 2001c). The stated objectives for teaching community languages are language maintenance and 'the understanding of the different cultures within Australian society by all students' (DETYA 2001c). This is a Federal version of the policies espoused by almost all of the States of Australia with regard to community languages. Funding support is provided, but explicitly excludes 'capital purposes; and programmes which are predominantly religious or political' (DETYA 2001c, p. 7). The priority languages are listed as: Aboriginal languages, Arabic, French, German, Modern Greek, Italian, Spanish, Russian, Thai and Vietnamese. Notably, the target groups for 'community languages' and 'priority languages' are slightly different – teaching of community languages is aimed at all students, 'but especially those of a non-English speaking background' (DETYA 2001c, p. 1). No such emphasis is made for 'priority languages', however (DETYA 2001c, p. 4). Education authorities are entitled to shuffle the funds between programmes.

4.2.2 Australian States Policy Statements on Language Policy

Teaching LOTEs in Australia must be considered in the light of English as the dominant language. English is not declared an official language according to the constitution (Clyne 1997, p. 191). Following language policy reviews, there were publicly-voiced fears in the 1980s that the status of English in Australia was under threat (Ozolins 1993, p. 218). Recent Federal government publications re-assert the position of English as the national language and as 'fundamental to full participation in society' (Australia 1999b, p. 27). Proficiency in English has been a concern partly because of census-derived figures showing low confidence

[25] This is taken to mean Bahasa.

in English ability for newer immigrants (Clyne 1997, p. 195). The present government committed itself to continued support for 510 hours of free English-language tuition for new immigrants (Australia 1999b, p. 27). Support for English is echoed in the States: NSW policy documents explicitly refer to English as the 'national language', and that competency in English is 'essential to participation in Australian society' (NSW 1998a). In Victoria, English is described as 'the nation's common language' (VIC 1997). Irrespective of whether English is presented as a lingua franca or a national language, there is a pervading sense that competency in English is linked to social justice. Access to society appears either as an explicit goal, or as part of the benefits of multicultural education. The Queensland document states:

> 'The principles of the [multicultural] policy focus on **access** to services and programs, **participation** in and opportunities to contribute to all aspects of Queensland life, and **cohesion**' (QLD 1999), emphasis in the original).

QLD therefore presents education in LOTEs as important for a stable society. Additionally, LOTE language classes are presented as useful for recent migrant children in order to help them integrate. Integrating refugees into normal schools can be done by initially including them in language education programmes, according to official analysis: 'We can help to ease some of the settlement problems of these newer communities' (Pile 2000, p. 10). This is a theme that re-appears in Section 5.4.8 with direct consequences for Scottish Gaelic.

The idea of LOTEs benefiting Australian society as a whole is stressed in almost all of the State-produced literature. High priority is claimed for teaching LOTEs in Victoria, for example, 'because of the educational, cultural, vocational and social benefits it brings to those learning another language as well as to the community as a whole' (Eckstein 2000, p. 1). NSW believes teaching LOTEs will 'increase economic opportunities and benefits for the individual, the state and the nation' (NSW 1998a). While the policy documents do not actually say so, it appears that one may read 'multilingual' education wherever the term 'multicultural' education is used. This concurs with analyses by Ozolins (1993) and Clyne and Kipp (1999) who comment along similar lines for the programs set up in the past.

There are apparently other reasons for learning LOTEs, though: Tasmania appeals to research as a 'Rationale' for teaching LOTEs (TAS 1995). 'Learning a second language extends children's cognitive and conceptual development' (TAS 1995) is the first motivation in the policy document, placed before communicative and economic aspects. The Education Department of Western Australia stresses that learning a LOTE will help with understanding English, and language as a concept (WA 1995). Learning languages is linked to general

'comprehension' and 'accuracy' skills (WA 1995). Further, states such as Queensland, NSW and Victoria also link learning LOTEs to combating racism, embodied in a government initiative (http://www.racismnoway.com.au/). This is part of a theme that has 'cultural understanding' at its core, and some States (e.g. Victoria) recommend teaching cultural aspects as a supplement to language teaching. At the Victoria School of Languages (VSL), opportunities are provided for second-language learners to meet people with a background in the language, enhancing their 'linguistics ability, general knowledge, and acceptance of difference' (Pile 2000). However, some sound a note of caution about the introduction of 'cultural material', as it may misrepresent the culture as a whole with the use of stereotypes (Fanany 2000).

4.3 Analysis of Published Statistics – New South Wales.

4.3.1 Primary and Secondary Education

Enrolment numbers in LOTEs in the States of Australia show that a small number of languages dominate the language-teaching curriculum. Generally the same from State to State, they largely reflect the languages that have been 'prioritised' for study at Federal or State level. LOTEs are not popular, attracting fewer numbers in total, than any of Physical Education, History, Geography, Music or Drama (NSW 2001; NSW 2002a; NSW 2003). English is compulsory throughout Secondary school (Years 7 to 12) and a LOTE is generally compulsory from Years 7 to 10[26]. As a whole, Primary participation in LOTE education is higher, reflecting recent changes in policy.

4.3.2 Schools in New South Wales

About two-thirds of school students are enrolled in Government schools in NSW, and a further 351 455 students (31%) are enrolled in non-government schools (NSW 2003, p. 48). The next highest enrolments are in Catholic schools: 118 759 at Primary level and 101 894 at Secondary level (ABS 2002). Enrolments for all other schools are 50 423 at Primary level, and at Secondary level are 58 008 (ABS 2002). Since the 1970s the proportion of students in non-government schools has gradually increased from about 20 percent. The proportion of students in Years 11 and 12 in non-government schools is higher than the overall average, representing 38 percent of those in their final school years (NSW 2003, p. 48). Secondary schools in NSW

[26] Where enrolment numbers are not spelled out explicitly, I have taken the figures for English as a basis for total comparisons, as this subject is compulsory for years 11 and 12. This should therefore reflect the numbers of students enrolled.

have compulsory attendance in Years 7 to 10 (after which a school-leaving certificate may be issued) and advanced studies in Years 11 and 12 leading to a Higher School Certificate (NSW 2003, p. 40). Its award is also dependent on having studied a language (VIC 2002, p. 10).

4.3.3 Government Schools Student Categories in NSW[27]

In 2002 in NSW there were 2 237 government schools (NSW 2003, p. 7), 1 649 of which were primary schools, 459 'high' schools and 106 schools for Special purposes (NSW 2003, p. 8). After peaking in the late 1970s when there were about 812 000 pupils in State schools, enrolments stabilised around 750 000 between the mid-1980s and 2002 (NSW 2003, p. 13). By 2002 the total number of school students was 754 800 of which 447 897 were in primary schools and 302 988 in secondary schools[28] (NSW 2003, p. 16).

In all years from kindergarten to year 10, the number of boys exceeds the number of girls. But in years 11 and 12 girls were more numerous than boys (NSW 2001, p. 17). The 16 Sydney metropolitan districts account for 52 percent of the total enrolment of NSW, reflecting the heavier population density of the Sydney area, but this is a gradual decline from the 1997 figure of 57 percent (NSW 1998b; NSW 2001)[29].

Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander students were 4.4 percent of the total enrolment, a gradual increase from about 2 percent in the late 1980s (NSW 2003, p. 31). They represented 8 percent of the Sydney metropolitan primary school enrolment, and 2 percent of the total Secondary school enrolment (NSW 2003, pp. 32-33).

If a LOTE is spoken in the student's home by themselves or a 'parent, guardian or sibling', they are classified as being from Non-English Speaking Background, abbreviated NESB (NSW 2003, p. 49). NESB students increased from 17 percent of the total school enrolment in 1988, to 25 percent of the total with approximately 192 000 pupils (NSW 2003, p. 34). Some metropolitan districts showed very high proportions of NESB students, such as Granville, where 83 percent of enrolments were NESB (NSW 2003, p. 34). The five biggest categories of schoolchildren from NESB are 'Chinese' (17.6%), 'Arabic'[30] (14%)[31], Greek (4.6%), Italian (4.2%) and Hindi (4.1%) (NSW 2003, p. 37). The rank ordering of the top four had remained unchanged between 1996 and 2002 (NSW 2003, p. 34).

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[27] All raw statistics are from the statistical bulletins, (NSW, 1998b; NSW, 2000; NSW, 2001; NSW, 2002), but all charts are the author's.

[28] About 15 000 pupils are enrolled in Schools for Special purposes; NSW (2003: 27).

[29] No figures were available for 2000 from the NSW Department of Education and Training website. 1999 figures were published in 2002.

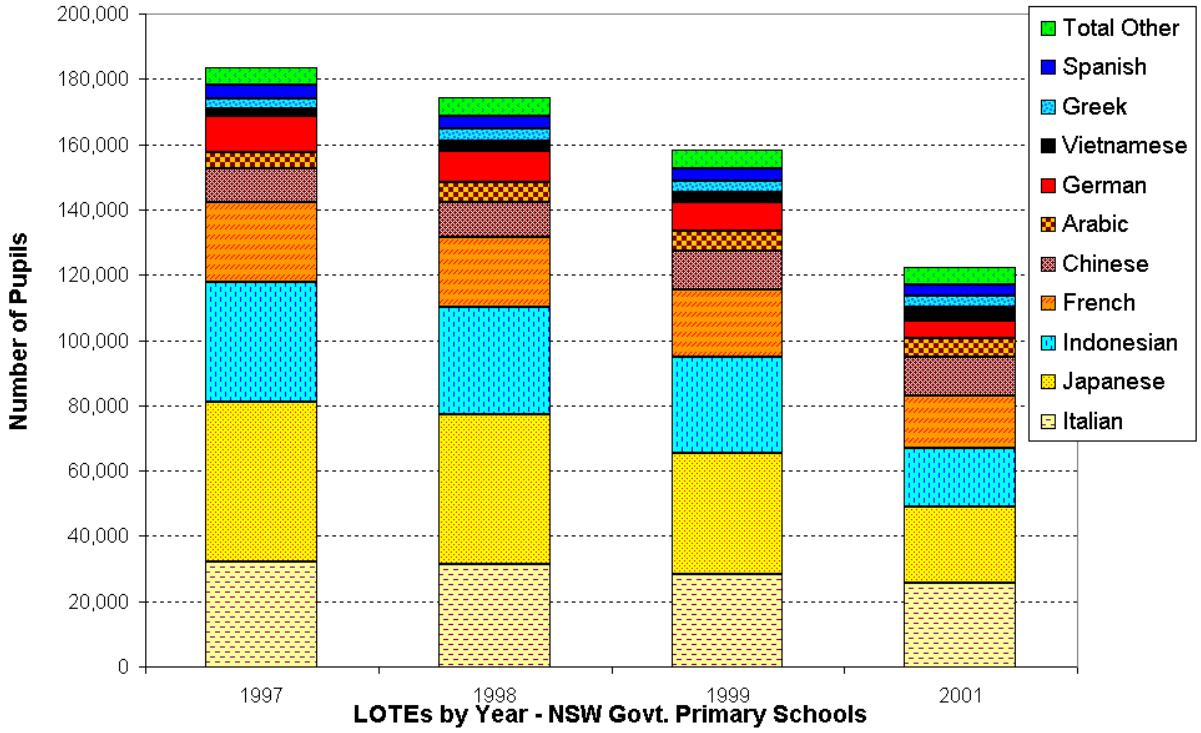
[30] No distinction is made in the official NSW statistics between different 'Chinese' and 'Arabic' languages.

[31] Between 1988 and 1996 the highest number of NESB students had been Arabic speaking (NSW, 2003: 34).

4.3.4 Teaching of LOTEs in NSW Primary Government Schools

Figure 4.3 shows the number of LOTEs enrolments for Government Primary school pupils, shown as a cumulative bar chart.

Figure 4.3 Enrolment in all LOTEs in NSW Government Primary Schools



Six languages dominate: Italian, Japanese, Indonesian, French, Chinese and Arabic. These account for about 80 percent of the LOTE enrolments. Overall there has been a drop in the proportion, and number, of primary school students studying LOTEs, from 42 percent in 1997, to 28 percent in 2001[32]. Enrolments in NALSAS languages fall some way short of the target of 60 percent of students in Years 3 to 10, to be achieved by 2006 (DETYA 2001c, p. 7). Between 1997 and 2001, NALSAS languages as a proportion of the total enrolment, fell from 22 percent to 12 percent. As a proportion of LOTEs, NALSAS languages fell from 51 percent to 42 percent. Only one language, Vietnamese, had increased enrolments.

At the bottom end of the LOTE spectrum, there were a number of languages that appeared either infrequently during the years collated, or else had consistently low enrolment. This is shown graphically in Figure 4.4, for languages that generally had lower than 250 enrolments over all primary school years[33].

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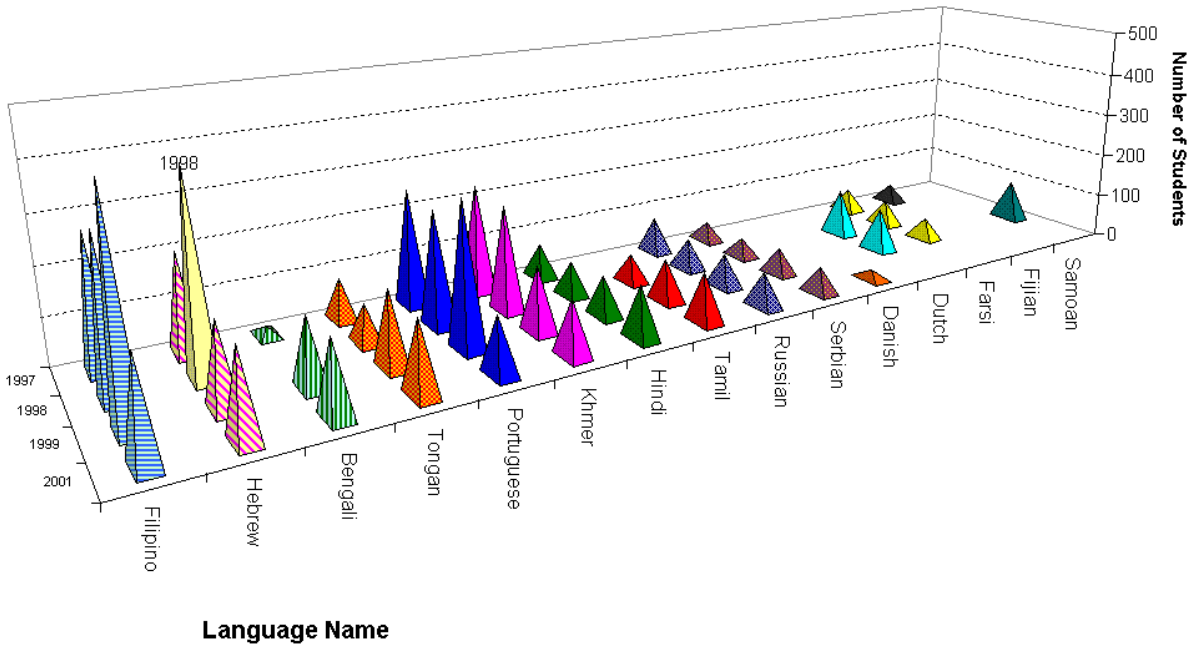
[32] Primary school LOTE figures were not provided in the Statistical Bulletin for 2002 (NSW, 2003).

[33] The figure for Hebrew in 1998 was 815 – significantly different from the figures around 200 in other years, so this has been halved to give a better impression of scale.

Figure 4.4 Minor LOTEs in NSW Government Primary Schools – 1997 – 2001



Overall, similar languages tend to be offered at primary level and at secondary level, and the same languages tend to predominate. A greater variety is offered at secondary level, but a slightly greater proportion overall of primary students studied a LOTE.

4.3.5 Teaching of LOTEs in NSW Secondary Government Schools

Just under a third of NSW government Secondary school students study a LOTE. This is an aggregate for all senior school years 7 to 12. This was consistently around thirty percent in the period 1997 to 2002. However, the studying of LOTEs is very unevenly distributed in a number of ways. When the enrolments for the final two years of schooling are examined, it is clear that LOTEs do not play a large part in the Higher School Certificate. The aggregate masks the significant decrease in the proportion of students studying LOTEs in the final, non-compulsory Years 11 and 12. The proportion falls from around 35 percent in Years 7 to 10, to about 13 percent in Years 11 and 12, illustrated in Figure 4.5. Government targets for 2006, set in 2001, had been for 15 percent of Year 12 students to study a NALAS language, and a further 10 percent to study other languages (DETYA 2001c, p. 7).

Two other major factors skew the distribution of LOTEs. Firstly, there is a significant sex bias in LOTEs enrolments. Secondly, as with Primary schools, a small number of languages dominate the curriculum. These factors are examined in section 4.3.6.

Figure 4.5 Comparative Proportions of LOTE Students in Compulsory and Non-compulsory Years - NSW Government Secondary Schools

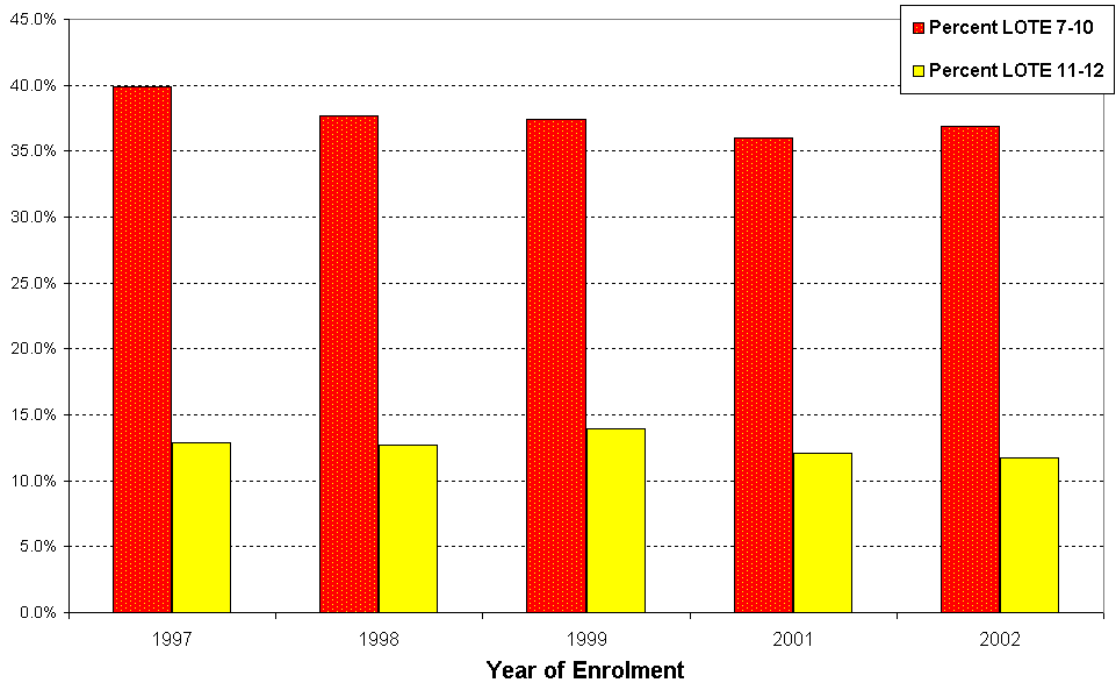
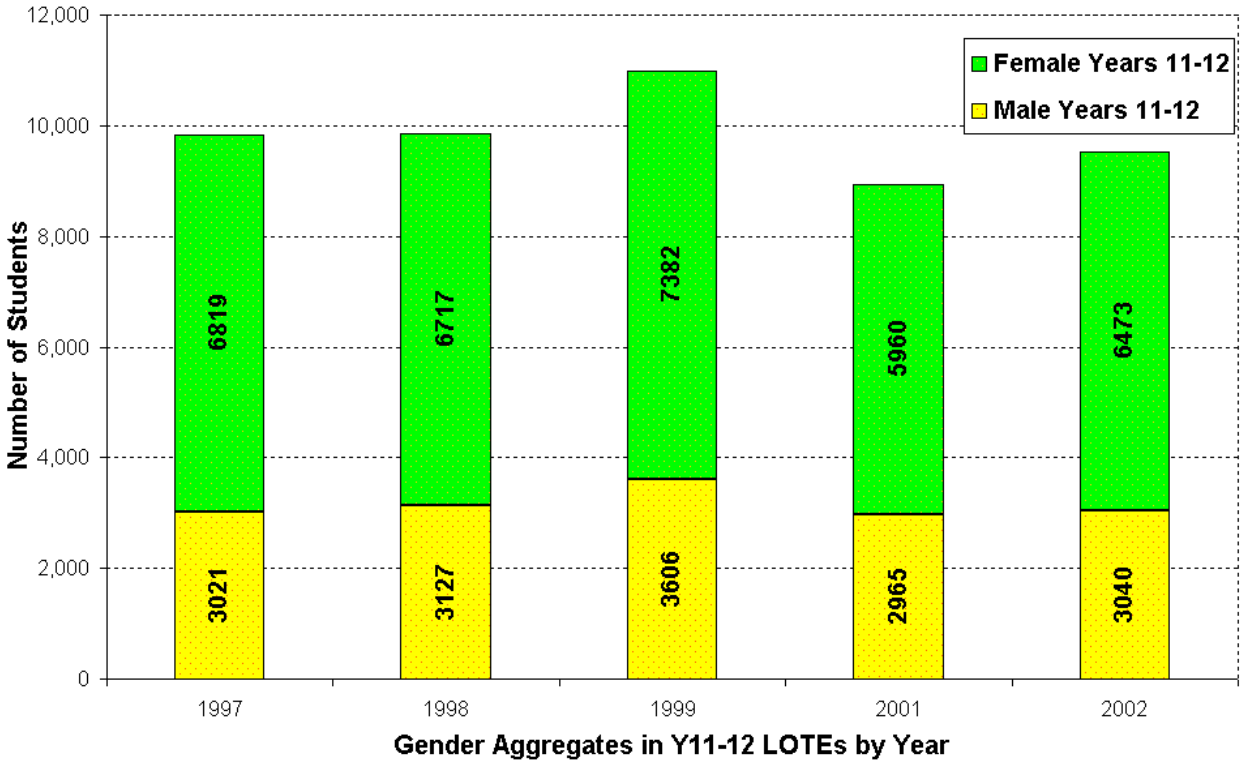


Figure 4.6 Aggregate Gender Distribution for All LOTEs in NSW Secondary Government Schools – Years 11 and 12



4.3.6 Gender Distribution in NSW Government Secondary Schools

The gender balance between females and males taking LOTEs changes radically after post-compulsory Year 10. The pattern is consistent in the period 1997–2002. Whereas it is around 1.2 to 1 in favour of females in Years 7 to 10 (averaged), in Years 11 and 12 it becomes over 2 to1. This is not attributable to the higher proportion of females to males in the final years of schooling overall, which is 1.2 to 1. Figure 4.6 shows how the enrolment numbers change while the ratios remain similar from year to year.

Within the overall sex bias towards females studying LOTEs, there are large variations. Some languages have an overwhelming bias towards female students, viz. French (5 to 1), Italian (3 to 1), Indonesian (3.5 to 1) and Filipino (4 to 1). French, Italian and Indonesian are popular LOTEs and therefore make a disproportionate contribution to the overall bias. Most of the other LOTEs have a lesser bias towards female students, and a few had more males than females studying them. This was the case for Classical Greek (no recorded Year 12 female students), Hebrew, Khmer, Thai and a few other languages where the average number of students was around one or two per year. In Figure 4.7, the ratio of females to males is calculated as an average for the period 1997 to 2002 for Year 12 students. The ratios are plotted against the languages, in their order of popularity. The ratio of female to male for English (1.1) is plotted first, in red on the left, as a baseline comparison of the overall female to male ratio in Year 12. The dark coloured bars represent languages where the ratio was skewed towards female students, and the light coloured bars represent languages where the ratio was skewed towards male students[34]. In the smaller LOTEs the bias is not as pronounced, but the enrolments are small. It should also be noted that there were great imbalances in sex for Biology, with a 2 to 1 ratio of female to male, and in Physics, with 2 to 1 male to female (NSW 2003, p. 40). Thus it seems that gender is a factor in language study.

[34] The nil values reflect that only one gender studied that language – only males in the case of Classical Greek and Lithuanian, and only one female for Estonian.

Figure 4.7 Gender Ratios in LOTEs for Government Secondary Schools in NSW by Language. Average from 1997 to 2002 for Year 12 students

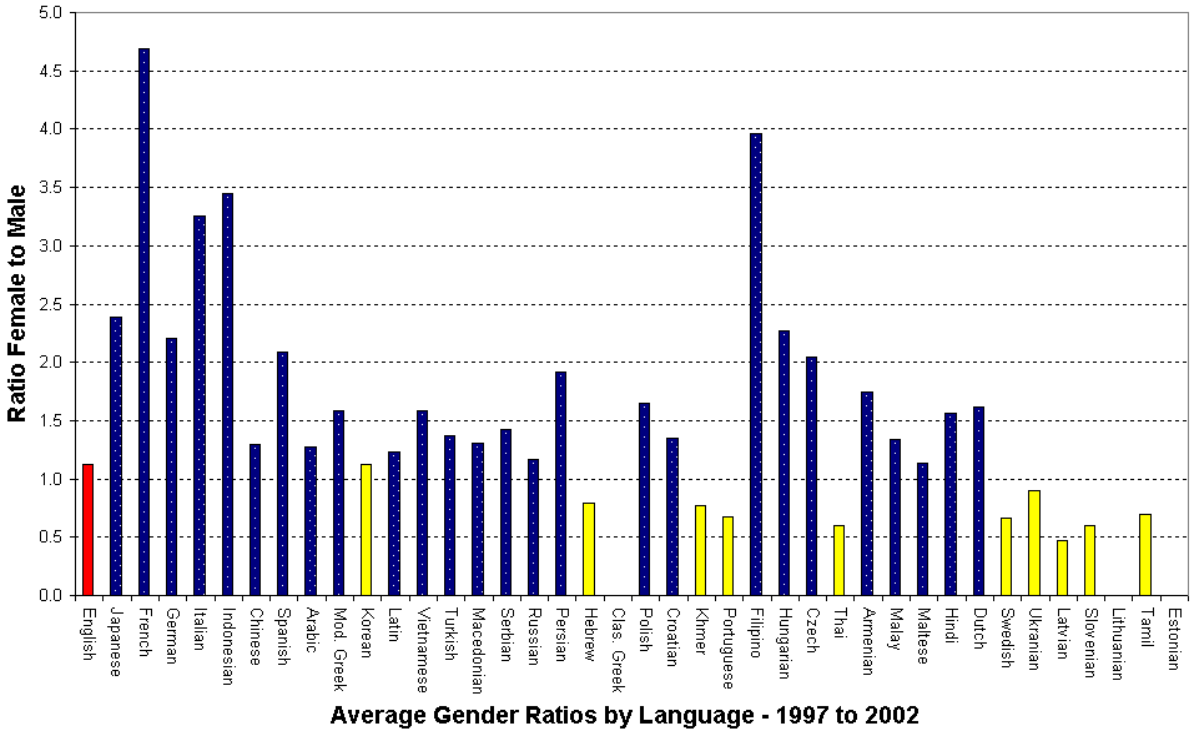
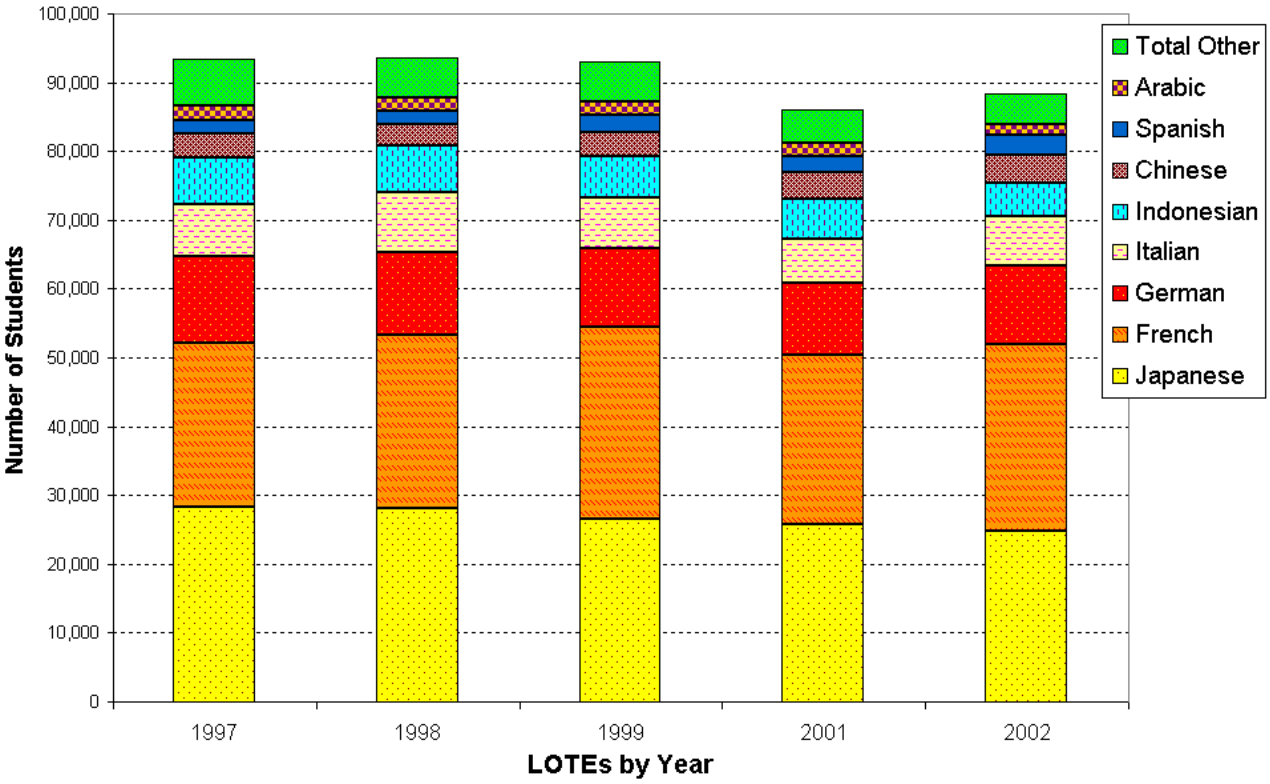


Figure 4.8 Enrolment in All LOTEs – NSW Secondary Government Schools

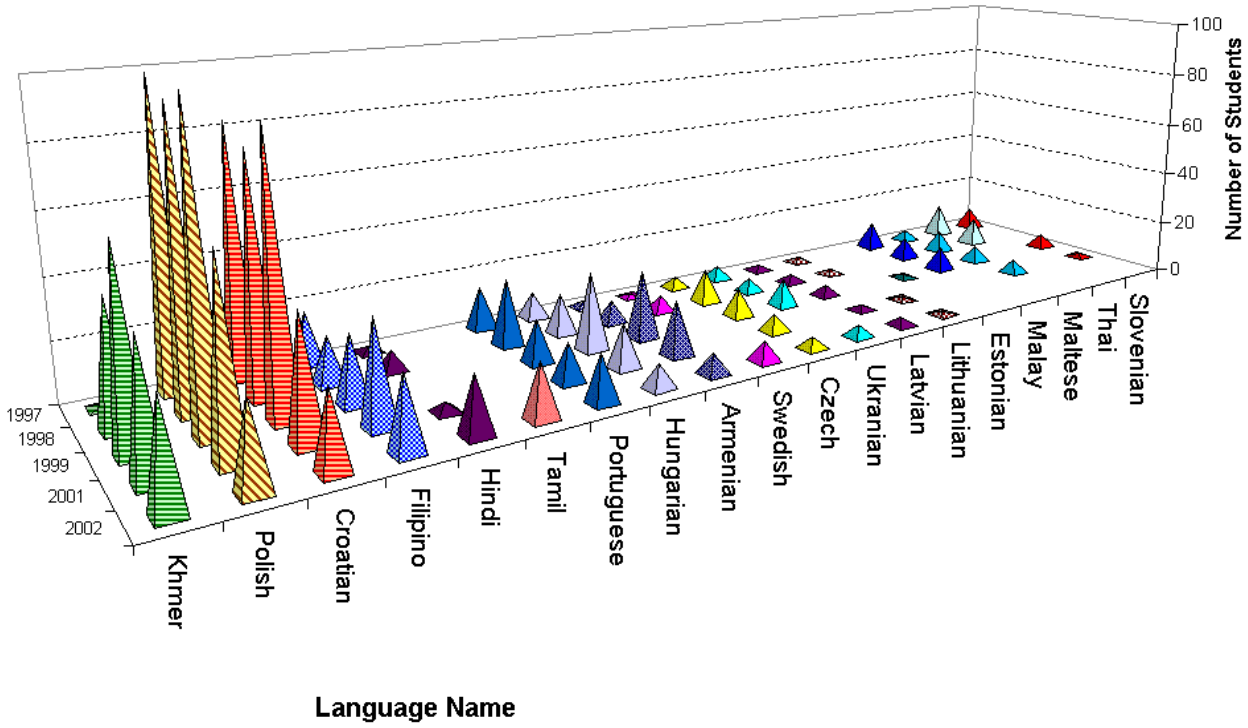


4.3.7 Language Choices

In general, students in NSW Secondary Government schools do not select widely from the languages available. A small number of languages accounts for almost all of the LOTE teaching in NSW Government schools between 1997 and 2002. For the school years 7 to 12, just two languages, Japanese and French, were consistently chosen by over 55 percent of students who studied LOTEs. The top eight languages made up 95 percent of all secondary school LOTEs in 2002, reflecting a slight increase from 93 percent in 1997. This is shown graphically in Figure 4.8, where the top eight language choices are compared to the total for all other languages. The colour scheme is comparable to that for NSW Primary LOTEs in Figure 4.3. The dominance of just a few languages is consistent in the years 1997 to 2002. The top twelve languages stayed largely the same in rank ordering, with Japanese and French the top two languages by some margin. This should not conceal that there are almost 40 languages taught at secondary schools during this period.

At the other end of the scale, some languages had consistently low student enrolments. The languages with fewer than 100 students in any one year in NSW, between 1997 and 2002, are shown graphically in Figure 4.9.

Figure 4.9 Minor LOTEs in NSW Government Secondary Schools



Even though some languages attracted only one or two students over a six-year period, they were nonetheless offered in the curriculum. This makes an interesting comparison with the discourse surrounding the difficulty of getting Scottish Gaelic into schools based on small numbers of students, discussed further in sections 4.6 and 4.7. There are no Celtic languages offered in the NSW Secondary curriculum and little sign of many Diaspora or minority languages – although some such as Armenian and Slovenian might fit this category in Australia. There appear to be no (non-Aboriginal) endangered languages offered.

4.3.7.1 Correlations Between LOTEs Offered and NESB Enrolments

In the years 2001 and 2002, some LOTEs were streamed, meaning that there were separate programmes offered for 'background students' in that language, notably Korean, Chinese, Persian, Japanese and Indonesian (NSW 2003, p. 46). This resulted in a curriculum distinction between those with that language background and those whose families had no connection to the language. Nonetheless, there is no overall correlation between the numbers studying particular LOTEs with the origins of the NESB speakers. There are few French and Japanese background speakers, for example, but these are the most popular LOTEs. Conversely, there are many Arabic NESB students, but not a high proportion of students studying the language. Overall, 25 percent of secondary NSW Government schools enrolments were NESB students (NSW 2003). This average, though, disguises the significant differences between the Sydney metropolitan area and the rest of the State. In the sixteen Sydney school districts, NESB enrolments were almost 44 percent of the total student population, whereas in the rest of the State they were only 5 percent (NSW 2003, p. 36)[35].

In comparing numbers of speakers of minor LOTEs in the State partially correlate with the language's position in the school system. Some match reasonably well: Vietnamese is the language with the 8th highest number of speakers in NSW (ABS 2002) and is the 12th most popular language in secondary schools. Korean has the 11th highest number of speakers in NSW (ABS 2002) and is the 10th most popular language in secondary schools. Conversely, the bottom few languages do not appear in the top 35 languages in NSW but are nonetheless represented in schools (ABS 2002). These are the languages from Armenian to Slovenian in Figure 4.9. Samoan has as many NESB enrolments as Korean (NSW 2003, p. 38), but is not apparently offered in NSW secondary schools. No Aboriginal languages are discussed in these statistics, as Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander statistics are published separately (NSW

[35] This is not a simple urban/ non-urban divide, as there are other large conurbations in the State. This aspect will be examined for Victoria below.

2003). Some languages remain on the curriculum despite an exceptionally small uptake during the period studied (e.g. Estonian and Tamil). None of the small languages offered in NSW schools are clearly endangered languages.

4.3.7.2 NALSAS Languages

The languages identified by the NALSAS strategy were identified on the basis of their importance in interaction with 'key Asian economies' (DETYA 2001c, p. 7). These languages were Chinese (Mandarin), Korean, Japanese and Indonesian (DETYA 2001c, p. 7). In NSW government secondary schools, they averaged just less than 5 percent of total enrolments in Year 12 for the period 1997–2002[36]. The enrolments are shown by year in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Percentages NALSAS Languages - Year 12 NSW Government Schools

Year	Numbers of NALSAS students in Year 12	Percent Year 12 students studying NALSAS languages
1997	1 729	5.1
1998	1 710	4.8
1999	2 033	5.6
2001	1 093	3.2
2002	1 689	4.5

The government's aim of reaching 15 percent of year 12 enrolments in 2006 (DETYA 2001c, p. 7) seems remote given these statistics. There was probably little change from the six years prior to this. Using figures from 1990–1996 for Australia as a whole, Baldauf and Djité (2000) comment that 'large gains' need to be made to reach the targets. They produced similar, nation-wide statistics as those for NSW in Table 4.1 (Baldauf and Djité 2000, p. 236). Another factor, is that any increases in NALSAS students in the 1990s were dominated by increases in Japanese enrolments alone (Baldauf and Djité 2000, p.237). The NALSAS strategy also specifically earmarked funding for the scheme, whereby authorities claimed funding on a per capita basis (DETYA 2001c, p. 7). Further, funding could be moved between 'community' programmes and the 'priority' programmes (DETYA 2001c, p. 8). Nonetheless, NALSAS languages remained around 40 percent of the LOTEs enrolment in NSW between 1997 and 2002.

[36] I have used the total numbers of students enrolled in English as a baseline for these figures. This means that figures for English as a Second Language, and English 'Life Skills' are excluded, slightly increasing the apparent percentage of NALSAS enrolments.

4.3.8 NSW Saturday Schools

NSW supports a 'Saturday School' system for community languages in Years 7 to 12 where six thousand students are enrolled (NSW 2002b). This gives 'students the opportunity to study the language they speak at home, if a course in that language is not offered at their own school or college' (NSW 2002b). The school runs outside of normal school hours on Saturdays and offers 24 languages (all of which are already offered on the curriculum and are therefore a subset of those mentioned in Sections 4.3.4 and 4.3.5). The initial establishment in 1978 of the Saturday School in NSW had originally been opposed by the Teachers Federation who argued that it should be run within normal school hours (Ozolins 1993, p. 181).

Five justifications are given for attending a Saturday School, first of which is relationships within the family circle:

> '* helps students maintain rewarding relationships with their parents/caregivers, grandparents, relatives and other community members;
>
> * promotes in students a sense of cultural identity, resulting in heightened self-confidence and self-esteem;
>
> * provides an opportunity for students to develop high levels of skill in the language they speak at home;
>
> * improves students' performance across the curriculum; and
>
> * places students in a better position to take advantage of employment opportunities' (NSW 2002b).

Language maintenance is thus directly linked to good relations with (presumably) first generation migrants who are native speakers of LOTEs. The other justifications are similar in intent to those outlined in policy statements: cultural links and identity, cognitive skills, and economic advantages in multilingualism. All of these rationales appear in other State and Federal government reports during the 1980s in reviewing multicultural education (Ozolins 1993, p. 178 ff.). The continued use of the term 'community language' is worth comment: by the mid-1980s, in Victoria, the term 'community languages' is replaced in discussion papers by the term 'LOTE' after criticism by some language groups. This was partly due to arguments concerning cognitive skills and other motivations for language learning (Ozolins 1993, p. 185). 'Ethnic Schools' had a similar problem: some commentators saw 'ethnic' as too pejorative in this context (Ozolins 1993, p. 188). 'Community' became a preferred term (Ozolins 1993, p. 190).

The continued presence of the NSW Saturday School indicates another fault-line: that community languages are partly outside the everyday school system in NSW. The different

forces applied to different languages are apparent. Some languages are separated out on the basis of identity, rather than economic motivations. This approach is not uncontroversial in Australia. Criticisms of the separateness and 'inward-looking and often homeland-looking' nature of ethnic schools was an element of debate in the 1980s, with calls to include language studies within the normal school system (Ozolins 1993, p. 186). In some criticisms the social issues were considered to be class, not ethnicity, and therefore ethnic schools were not seen as providing solutions to these problems (Ozolins 1993, p. 186). Others criticised regular schools for using ethnic or language schools to run classes on their behalf, which marginalised languages (Ozolins 1993, p. 188).

4.4 Analysis of Published Statistics – Victoria

Victoria has a long history of language education innovation. In the early 1970s academics at La Trobe University (near Melbourne) became involved in projects that aimed to change the learning environments of two disadvantaged schools (Lopez 2000, p. 176). Italian replaced French as a school subject in the first changes which took into account the language background of local parents (Lopez 2000, p. 177). The result of one project was the first bilingual school project for migrants in Australia (Lopez 2000, p. 177). Part of the ideology promoted by the project initiators was that this would help to lead to a more diverse and tolerant society (Lopez 2000, p. 178).

These models were not without opposition. Some resistance came from the migrant parents, who 'had traditional or conservative social values that contrasted sharply with most of the changes the multiculturalist educationalists wanted to institute' (Lopez 2000, p. 295). For some parents these changes impaired the ability of the school to 'serve as a vehicle for social mobility' and therefore the programmes were not as popular as had been hoped (Lopez 2000, p. 295). The changes were motivated by a broad social agenda that sometimes did not accord with the views of the very people for whose benefit they were being implemented (Lopez 2000, p. 296). Lopez (2000) interprets this in the light of multiculturalist activists supporting ideals of language maintenance, but not of social conservative values that did not agree with their ideological agendas (Lopez 2000, p. 296)[37]. For example language maintenance was accorded higher value than parents' other concerns (Lopez 2000, p. 297). For Lopez (2000)

[37] Lopez (2000, p. 297) cites an example at that school, of a proposed beach camp excursion where the migrant parents of only one of the twenty-two girls consented to their daughters participating, compared to eight of the eleven Australian girls, apparently out of concerns for their 'chastity'. In similar vein, Lopez (2000, p. 295) reports comments that migrant parents supported the wearing of trousers by girls on the basis that this would apparently prevent boys from looking up their daughters' dresses.

this indicates that the multiculturalists had not always sought to eliminate the devaluation of cultural traits, but instead 'had replaced one basis for devaluing cultural traits with another' (Lopez 2000, p. 298). Similarly, some SoSGA respondents condemn historical, monolingual Australia in contrast to the inherent improvement available by embracing multiculturalism (Extract 8.4).

Victoria is described as one of Australia's most culturally and linguistically diverse States, with just over 20 percent of Victorians over 5 years old speaking a language other than English at home (VIC 2002, p. 6). This is one reason given for continuing to support language teaching (VIC 2002, p. 6). The complex interrelationship of language learning and English proficiency is highlighted in arguments that see these as mutually exclusive. For example, recent submissions to a government report included a teacher's comments who considered that English literacy was the highest priority, rather than LOTEs (VIC 2002, p. 12). This was a view that the teacher believed was shared by the surrounding community (VIC 2002, p. 12). With these elements as backdrop, multicultural education in Victoria has an important position.

4.4.1 Multicultural Education as a Philosophy

A 1997 policy document on multicultural education in Victoria aims to bring together teaching in LOTEs, English as a Second Language and intercultural communication as part of an explicitly multicultural approach (VIC 1997, p. 4). Multiculturalism is described as a 'philosophy' for the benefit of society:

> 'A philosophy of multiculturalism represents a viable course between the unacceptable extremes of racism and prejudice, and the equally blind ethnocentrism of separate development. Such a philosophy is applicable to all aspects of life but nowhere is it more important than in the education of our children.' (VIC 1997, p. 4).

So multiculturalism is implicitly placed in a position between extremisms and as a way of overcoming prejudices. The document goes on to stress how the policy framework is aimed at 'cultural inclusiveness' and 'notions of equality, equity, choice and access' (VIC 1997, p. 4). Multiculturalism is strongly contrasted to policies of assimilation and there is a rejection of attempts 'to create a country that was culturally and linguistically homogeneous based on British heritage and traditions, and with English as the only language' (VIC 1997, p. 5). The education sector is presented as having 'played a significant role in promoting the values and mores of the host Anglo-Australian culture, seeing it as unnecessary and divisive to provide special programs for students from language backgrounds other than English' (VIC 1997, p. 5). Multiculturalism is aimed at <u>all</u> Victorians, not just recent migrants, but also 'long-

established settlers and the generations that have followed them' (VIC 1997, p. 8). The document describes reports in the 1960s and 1970s that studied migrant disadvantage and states that assimilationist policies of the time did not capitalise on the talents and resources that migrants were able to bring to the society (VIC 1997, p. 5). After a period of 'integration' where children were helped by ESL classes, multiculturalism eventually became government policy (VIC 1997, p. 5). This era heralded the valuing of 'cultural and linguistic diversity within a context of unity' (VIC 1997, p. 5). With multiculturalism firmly established, the document states its aim to build on the 'accumulated wisdom' since the 1980s (VIC 1997, p. 6). To this end, multiculturalism is

> 'a considered response to the reality of a linguistically and culturally diverse society and its aim is to see intercultural awareness and skills become natural outcomes of schooling' (VIC 1997, p. 6).

Multicultural education is more than simply a school subject, described as a 'holistic approach to schooling' and is to permeate all of school study areas by 2006 (VIC 1997, p.9). The 1997 policy document explicitly rejects a narrow equation of language study with multiculturalism (VIC 1997, p. 9). In practise, schools were expected to incorporate aspects of the Multicultural Policy into their school charters by the last part of 2000 (VIC 1997, p. 9). NALSAS is to be integrated within the overall multicultural framework, rather than 'marginalised as a separate study' (VIC 1997, p. 9).

This is a strong discourse of rejection of past education systems – and of multiculturalism providing a morally better system. It is claimed that multiculturalism taps incoming talents and resources, presumably previously undervalued. In all political eras the education system is seen as a site for social engineering, with the present philosophy reversing the morally unacceptable past one. That multiculturalism has to be explicitly argued as not being merely language study might also imply that it is perceived, at least in some quarters, as exactly that. The effectiveness of a multicultural policy is argued to be dependent on particular factors:

> 'An effective multicultural policy is a policy that promotes respect by all cultures for all cultures, one that allows Australians the freedom to maintain and celebrate their languages and cultures within a socially cohesive framework of shared values, including respect for democratic processes and institutions, the rule of law and acknowledgement that English is the nation's common language. […] It does not accept the sort of cultural separatism that confines minorities to ethno-specific structures' (VIC 1997, p. 8).

Appeals to cohesiveness and the embracing nature of English will re-appear a number of times in this Chapter.

4.4.2 Financial Incentives and Support

Victoria runs reward schemes to encourage LOTE education (as does NSW, to a lesser extent): Primary schools receive at least A$75 per LOTE student, and staffing support for secondary schools is available, although schools themselves may decide which languages are taught (Eckstein 2000, p. 5). Victoria also has a bilingual schools project, where 15 government schools receive extra funding for LOTE-medium teaching for 450 minutes per week. The Victoria School of Languages (VSL) provides extra hours of language teaching, and has a role of supporting schools. It is a school with no actual premises of its own, providing a service function where needed or desired (Pile 2000). This is usually via Saturday morning classes, which enrolled approximately 15 000 students in 1999 (Eckstein 2000, p. 7). The VSL, like the NSW community schools, can be presented as helping to provide wider benefits.

> 'It also caters for the learning of second and subsequent languages, it fosters language maintenance for those students born overseas and contributes to social and cultural continuity and family cohesion for those born in Australia into a family with a background in another language and culture.' (Pile 2000, p. 1).

To give an idea of the dominance of the State school system, 31 081 students attended one of the 199 after-hours 'ethnic' schools (VIC 2000, p. 4). These schools are not necessarily language schools, but it seems likely that LOTEs have a place there too. Ethnic schools in Victoria receive A$90 per student (Eckstein 2000, p. 8)[38]. Learning a LOTE can be of academic benefit to students. Marks are scaled up by 5 percent if the LOTE is studied at senior level, allowing marks to be used in university entrance points (Eckstein 2000, p. 8).

4.4.3 Teaching of LOTEs in Primary Government Schools in Victoria

There was a higher participation rate in LOTEs in State Primary schools in Victoria, over a similar period, than in NSW. While it was falling in NSW, it was increasing (from an already high base) in Victoria. This meant that the enrolments in Victoria were almost triple the rate of those in NSW by 2000. The primary school population in Victoria was about two-thirds of the size of that in NSW by comparison. Figure 4.10 shows the change in Victoria over the period 1995 to 2000[39].

A similar range, and small number, of languages dominate the LOTE enrolment In Victoria as in NSW, although in different rank order. Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, French and German

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[38] In a report in 2002, it was stated that 31 000 students attended 200 such schools, and that 50 languages were offered overall (VIC 2002, p. 6).

[39] All raw statistics from (VIC 2000).

predominate. This is shown graphically in Figure 4.11[40].

Figure 4.10 Primary LOTE Enrolments in VIC Government Schools

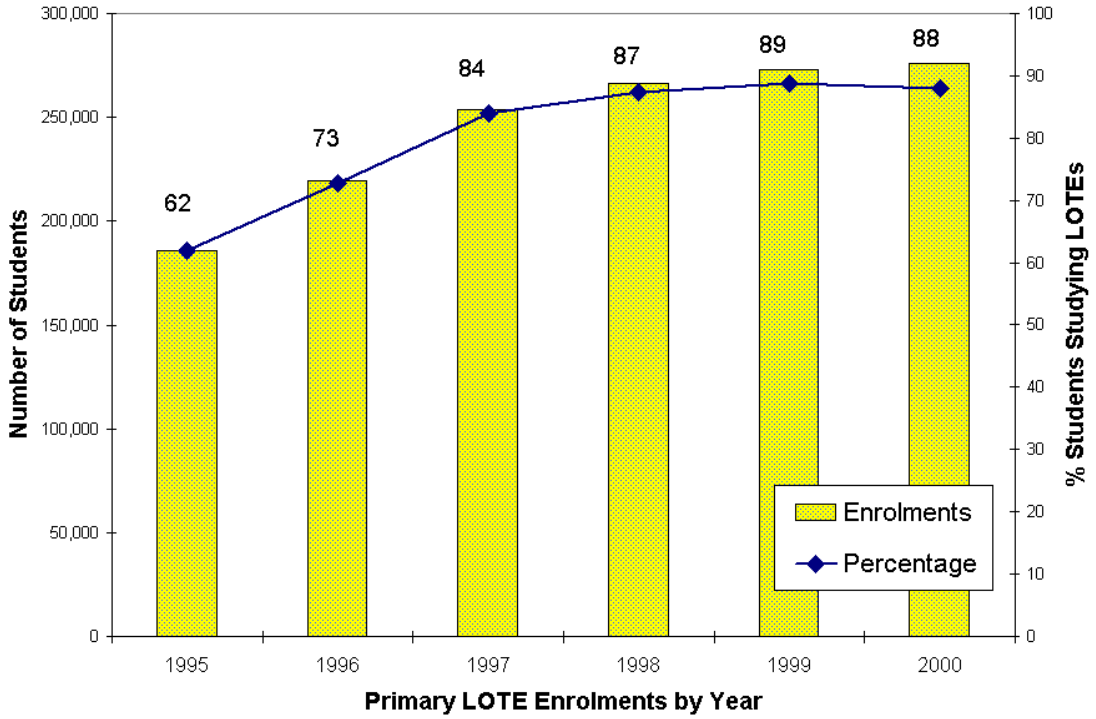
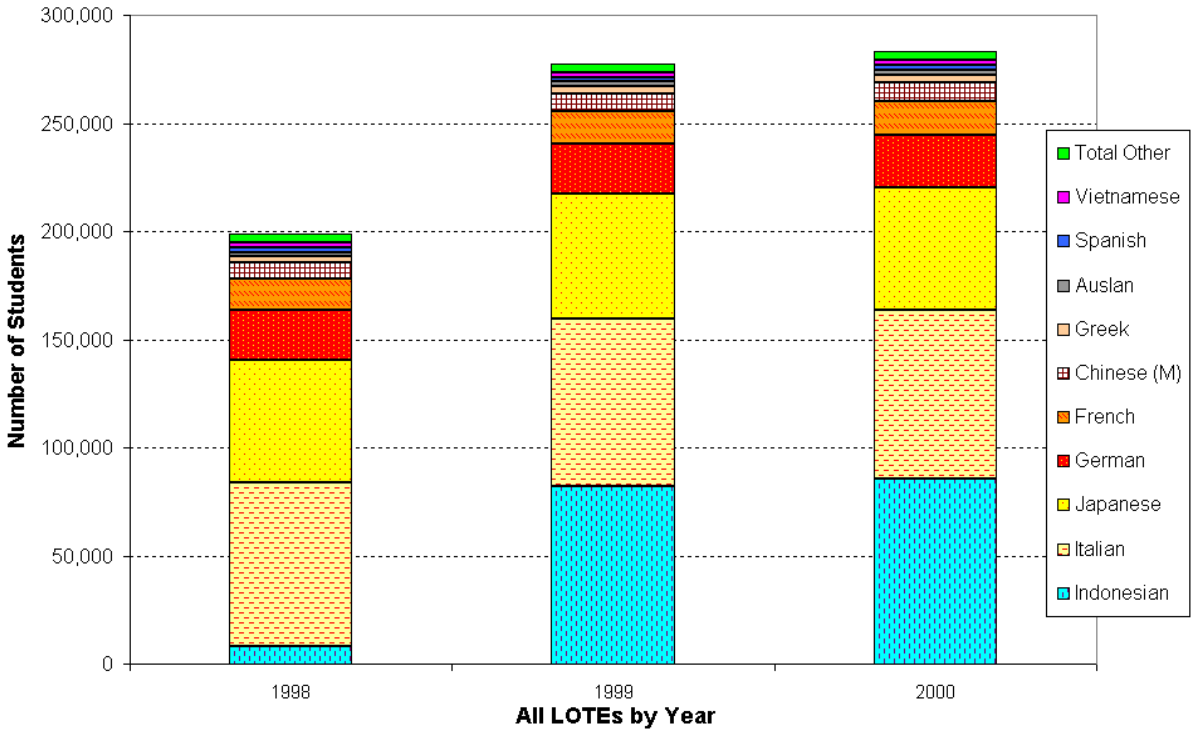
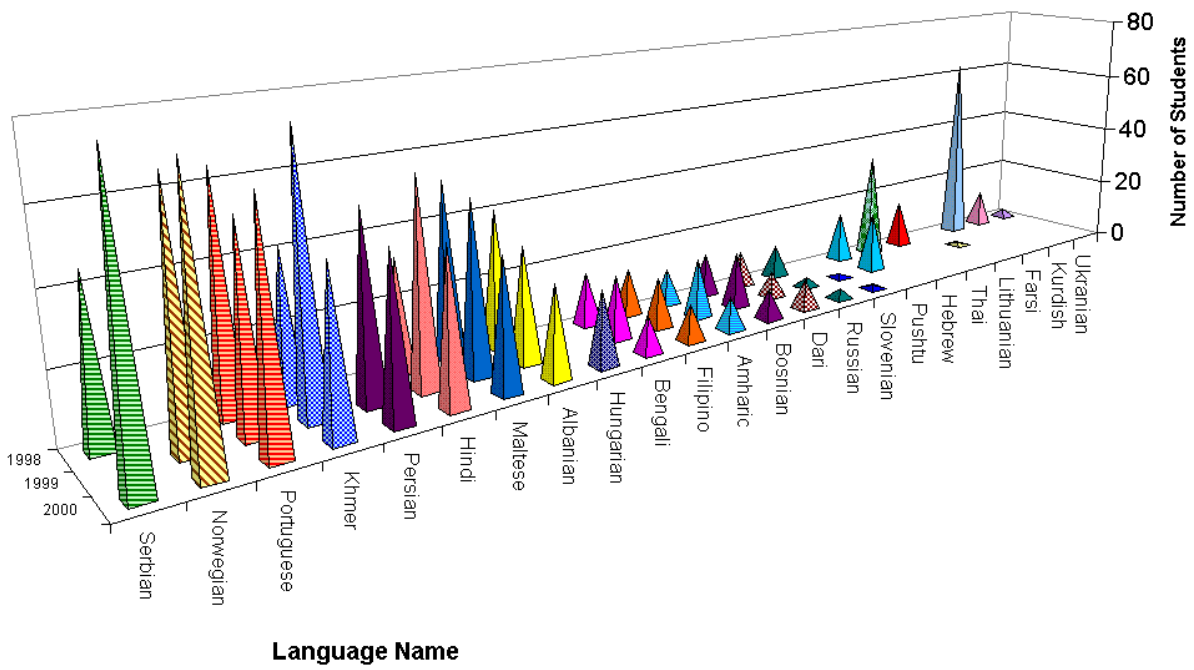


Figure 4.11 Dominant LOTEs in VIC Primary Schools



[40] 'AUSLAN' is the language for hearing impaired and is included by VIC as an LOTE.

Figure 4.12 Minor LOTEs in VIC Primary Schools



The bulk of the increase in LOTE enrolments in VIC primary schools between 1998 and 2000 came from just one language: Indonesian. As with NSW, there was also a pattern of a large number of minor LOTEs shown in Figure 4.12. There is a partial overlap with those in NSW.

4.4.4 Teaching of LOTEs in Secondary Government Schools in Victoria

Overall, there was a large change between 1989 and 1999 in the availability of LOTEs. At least one LOTE was offered at 75 percent of colleges (secondary schools) in 1989, but by 1999 this was 99 percent (Eckstein 2000, p. 2). Of the 308 government secondary colleges in Victoria, 302 provided some form of LOTE program in 2000 (VIC 2000, p. 14). However, for Years 11 and 12 LOTEs were only offered in approximately half of the colleges (VIC 2000, p. 14). Contact time was much higher by Year 12 than at Year 7, at 233 minutes compared to 115 minutes respectively (VIC 2000, p. 15).

Average enrolment in secondary education LOTEs was 59 percent by 1999 but, as with NSW, is far higher in Years 7 to 10 (Eckstein 2000, p. 3). In Victoria, just five languages make up 88 percent of the total LOTEs enrolment as shown in Figure 4.13. Similar languages predominate in Victoria as in NSW, but the top five are more evenly weighted. The overall averages for Victoria hide some important features, as in NSW. Study of a LOTE is compulsory in Victoria up to year 8, after which enrolment decreases rapidly. In 2000, 9.5 percent of Year 11 students in Victoria studied a LOTE, and 7.8 percent in Year 12, both marginally increased from 1999

(VIC 2000, p. 14). So although it might appear that enrolments are higher in Victoria than in NSW, in senior years it is similar, if not lower.

Figure 4.13 Dominant LOTEs in VIC Secondary Schools

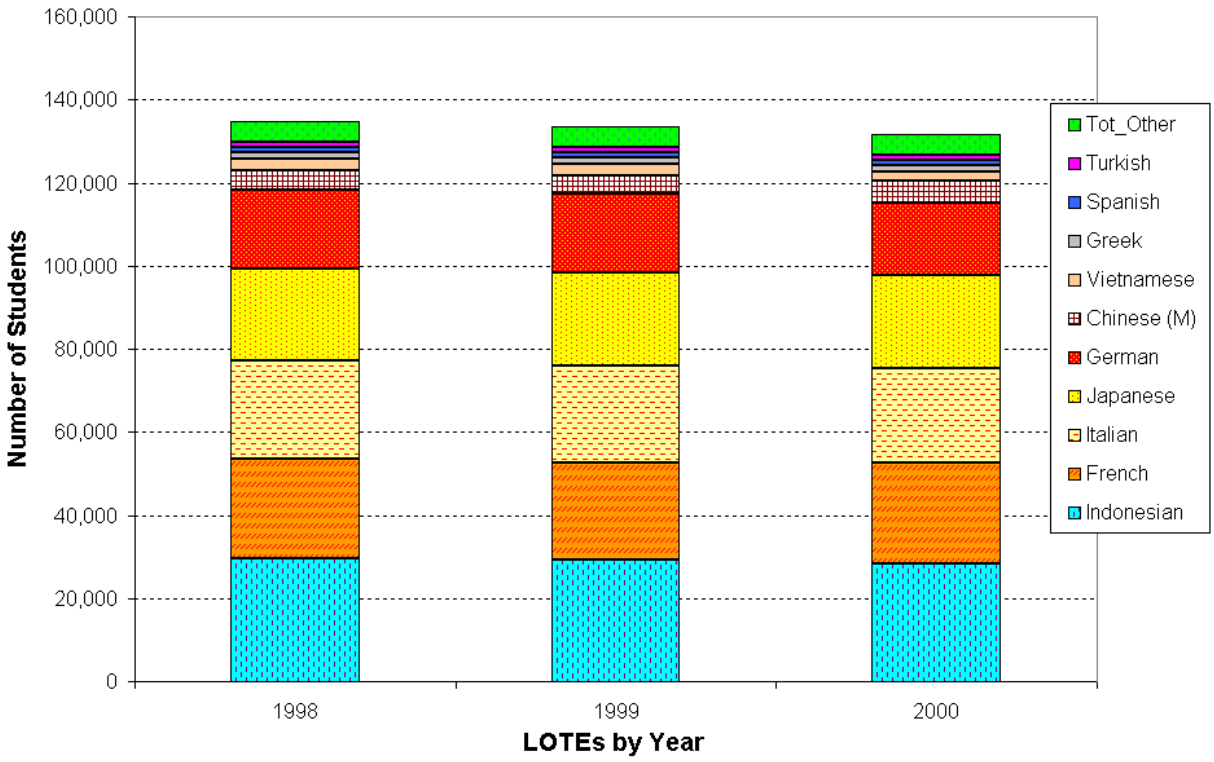
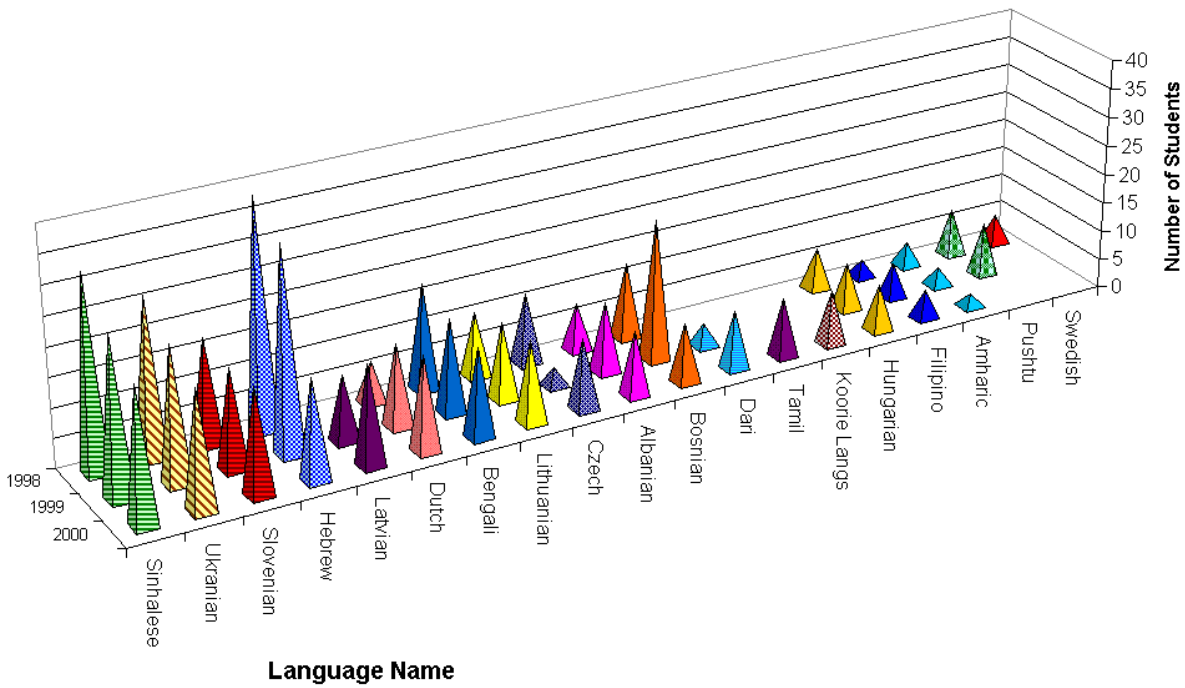


Figure 4.14 Minor LOTEs VIC Secondary Schools



The involvement of the VSL in LOTE teaching also meant that a higher proportion students studied there in their final year (VIC 2000, p. 43). By comparison to Primary level, Indonesian fell sharply in importance in colleges. By Year 12 it had fallen to 17 percent of total LOTE enrolments. Vietnamese, on the other hand, had increased its proportional representation in Year 12 by comparison to Year 7 (VIC 2000, p. 49).

For minor LOTEs, a similar picture to NSW emerges, with small enrolments in a number of languages. Figure 4.14 shows the enrolments for LOTEs for languages that generally had fewer than fifty enrolments for the years 1998-2000.

As in NSW, there is an average 2 to 1 bias of females to males for LOTEs in years 11 and 12 in Victoria (VIC 2000, p. 15). This was similarly more pronounced in French (VIC 2000, p. 43). Another feature that should be highlighted for Victoria LOTEs is that the teacher sex ratio bias towards females is slightly greater than amongst students. It is highly variable from language to language, but overall 76 percent of LOTE teachers are female (VIC 2000, p. 60).

Average enrolment figures hide a feature of LOTE in Victoria regarding the type of program. These are 'content' programs, i.e. learning material in the language, 'object' programs, learning the language itself, and 'awareness' programs, or learning about the language (VIC 2000). 17.3 percent of programs were awareness-based, and 82.3 percent were object-based (VIC 2000, p. 15). However, the distribution was variable according to language as well: for the languages with the five highest enrolments (Indonesian, French, Italian, Japanese, German) the awareness-based programs were greater, about 20 percent of the total (VIC 2000, p. 49). Almost 93 percent of students were in classes aimed at second-language learners (VIC 2000, p. 15).

LOTEs in Victoria are also unevenly distributed between colleges, and between areas. Overall, although more than 90 percent of colleges provided LOTE teaching up to Year 9, this fell to about 80 percent in Year 10, to 60 percent in Year 11 and to 54 percent in Year 12. The discrepancy between what is offered in urban ('metropolitan') schools by comparison to non-urban ('country') areas is large. In country schools in Years 9 and 10 the proportion of enrolments is about half of that in metropolitan schools. In Year 11, 10 percent study an LOTE in metropolitan colleges, and 8 percent in country colleges, and in Year 12, this is 8.7 percent and 5.9 percent respectively (VIC 2000, p. 83). The regional effect is even more pronounced in particular languages: two-thirds of secondary Italian students, for example, are in colleges in just two of the nine regions (VIC 2000, p. 86). Among the popular languages, 134 colleges offer Indonesian, and 115 offer French. However, only two colleges offer Turkish, the tenth most popular language (VIC 2000, p. 103ff.).

4.4.5 Future Strategies

A 2000 review of LOTE teaching in Victoria regrets that LOTEs have not truly penetrated the school system as much as has been desired (VIC 2002). That this is also true of the ideologies, is hinted at in the foreword by a prominent politician: 'the important economic, social and community benefits gained from learning languages are not widely understood both in schools and in the wider community' (VIC 2002, p. iv). Particular strategies indicate the need to improve the eventual proficiency of the students, as increased supply of teaching, and improving its quality, were particularly targeted (VIC 2002, p. v). The document reflects a position that the benefits of language learning are 'well known in academic and some educational circles' unlike schools and the community (VIC 2002, p. viii). It states that 'there is a challenge before us in convincing critics' (VIC 2002, p. v).

There is a recognition of the uneven distribution of LOTEs provision in rural and urban areas, and so this is marked for particular attention (VIC 2002, p. vi). The 'recommended minimum [teaching] time of 150 minutes per week' is to be defended against critics, in order to ensure that 'outcomes' are achieved (VIC 2002, p. vi). Rural areas were apparently less supportive of retaining this minimum (VIC 2002, p. x), therefore those areas were to be targeted with 'promotional activities' (VIC 2002, p. xvi). The 'disengagement' of boys is recognised and strategies are advanced to counter this (VIC 2002, p. viii). Career benefits, cognitive development and 'the maintenance of identity' are added to the reasons for studying LOTEs (VIC 2002, p. vii). The report also highlights demand for a greater choice of languages (VIC 2002, p. xi). The recommendations were that students should have a choice of 'European and Asian languages' and that at least one language 'significant in the local community' be provided (VIC 2002, p. xi). At a structural level, there were recommendations that financial burdens on after-hours 'ethnic' schools and 'newly emerging ethnic communities' be reduced in order to allow them to pursue language teaching (VIC 2002, p. xiv).

The sense of the broadcast, or promotional, element of this document is heightened by the assertion that clear commitment 'at the highest level to languages as an essential element of the core curriculum will be a beacon, sending the message to schools and the wider community about the importance of language learning' (VIC 2002, p. vi). The report recommends what it terms 'lighthouse schools' to show the way (VIC 2002, p. ix). The battle is still on, it seems, for the position of languages in Victoria's (and Australia's) education systems, and strategies are needed for people to see the light.

4.5 Less Populous States in Australia

4.5.1 Queensland

Queensland is the third most populous state, and the fastest growing at 2.3 percent[41] between 2002 and 2003 (ABS 2003b). The 'dispersed population' was identified as a complicating factor in providing education services, as a third of all students live in rural or remote areas (QLD 2003, p. 32). There was a difference between rural and urban participation in Japanese and German for the years 1998-2001. For Japanese in 2001 it was 4.6 percent of enrolments in Year 10 in rural areas, and 5 percent in urban areas. For German it was 0.9 percent and 3.5 percent respectively (QLD 2002a). In similar vein to other States, the sex ratio was heavily in favour of females for these languages, by more than 2 to 1 on average (QLD 2002a). Overall, between 1998 and 2001, the participation rate fell for both of these languages: from 6 percent to 4.9 percent for Japanese, and 3.5 percent to 2.8 percent to German (QLD 2002a). In Year 12 in 2001, there were no languages in the top 20 subjects chosen (QLD 2002a). However, specific languages are prioritised in Queensland:

> 'The Queensland School Curriculum Council provides syllabuses for the seven Government priority languages - Chinese (Modern Standard Mandarin), French, German, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese and Korean - so these are the major languages taught in Queensland schools' [pers. comms.; (Harrod 2001)].

There are also awards, such as the 'multicultural school award', and learning a LOTE is now compulsory in years 6 and 7 (QLD 1999).

Queensland shows lower participation overall in LOTEs when compared to other States, and a similar bias towards a small number of languages. Strategies were more concerned with implementing general resources for schools, such as air-conditioning and computer access (QLD 2003). The 'Strategic Plan' identified low educational achievement for Year 12 and higher by comparison to other OECD countries, as well as low tertiary enrolments (QLD 2002b, p. 3). Education as an export was also identified as being a 'top ten' export earner for Queensland (QLD 2002b, p. 3).

4.5.2 Western Australia

Enrolments in schools in WA are smaller than NSW or Victoria, with 252 874 students in all government schools and 105 887 in all non-government schools (WA 2002, p. 25). In a handbook designed to assist teachers, a revision of LOTE strategies and arguments, based on classroom research, rejects the argument that only 'academically-able' students should learn

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[41] This was double the Australian average (ABS 2003b).

languages (WA 2001, p. 4). Learning a second language is apparently 'now more fully recognised as being a tangible and real part of life for Australians, in terms of both their local and global interactions' (WA 2001, p. 4). The following motivations for learning LOTEs are advanced: 'a better understanding of other societies', and to 'acquire skills and understandings that can be used in future social, cultural and vocational contexts' (WA 2001, p. 4). Learning LOTEs is additionally said to be of cognitive benefit, by helping children understand English (WA 2001, p. 4). According to the report, having all primary students learn an LOTE in school years 3 to 7 was achieved by 2000 (WA 2001, p. 5). Further priority languages are identified for the future: 'Aboriginal Languages, Modern Standard Chinese, French, German, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Modern Greek, Spanish, Thai and Vietnamese' (WA 2001, p. 5) – a similar range to other States and following Federal recommendations. Various strategies are outlined, including 'the teacher's use of the target language as the principal source of target language input' and the use of other media (WA 2001, p. 7). 'Real opportunities' are identified as being interactions with 'speakers from the target language community' (WA 2001, p. 7). Proficiency is given high priority, with the 'focus on making meaning … even though their ability to write and speak may be limited' (WA 2001, p. 7). The strategy aims to have all students in years 3-10 studying a LOTE, with the 'measurement of outcomes' against a Standards Framework by 2005 (WA 2001, p. 8). The standards are expected to be both qualitative and quantitative (WA 2001, p. 9). Specific ability tests in Italian and Indonesian at Year 7, and for French and Japanese for Years 7 and 10 were available by 2001 (WA 2001, p. 11). Japanese and French Support Officers had also been appointed (WA 2001, p. 11). For talented Year 11 students, scholarships are available (WA 2001, p. 10).

Although for tertiary education, WA offers two scholarships valued between A$40,000 – A$50,000 to students who show ability in Japanese (WA 2002, p. 25). Award of the scholarship is based on proficiency tests and a good study plan (WA 2002, p. 25). Recipients are 'expected to provide some indication of how they expect their experiences in Japan will benefit the Western Australian community on their return' [sic] (WA 2002, p. 25).

Participation in society is a strong theme of the Education Department's overall strategy and not confined to Australia:

> 'The *LOTE Beyond 2000* strategy signals the commitment of the Education Department to the continued development of sustainable programs in languages other than English for all students in government schools. Through such programs, students are able to develop skills and attitudes that enable them to participate fully in the multicultural and multilingual society that is Australia and to interact meaningfully and productively with

other communities in our global society.' (WA 2001, p. 11).

So it is not only languages as a means of interaction, but also the development of attitudes that are targeted, in line with other States' policy statements on multicultural issues.

4.5.3 South Australia

There were 104 114 Primary students and 63 830 Secondary students at school in South Australia (SA) in 2003 (SA 2003, p. 1). The overall trend since the mid-1990s has been a slow decrease in overall enrolments (SA 2003, p. 1). In the 1990s SA had largely managed to teach at least one LOTE to all primary school students, but this did not continue through to secondary schools (Smolicz and Secombe 2003, p. 9). By Year 12 less than one-tenth of students studied an LOTE (Smolicz and Secombe 2003, p. 9). Smolicz and Secombe (2003) attribute resistance to wider LOTE teaching to desires to 'streamline' choice to a smaller number of languages (Smolicz and Secombe 2003, p. 10).

Some endangered Aboriginal languages are studied in SA, such as Pitjantjanjara, with 1 465 school enrolments, and three students at Year 12 (Smolicz and Secombe 2003, p. 21). Kaurna, which has a preserved grammar and vocabulary, although the last speaker died in 1929, is being offered at University level (Smolicz and Secombe 2003, p. 20).

4.5.4 Tasmania

Tasmania's population was decreasing between 1996 and 2001 (ABS 2002). It is also the state least affected by post-war migration and has the lowest proportion of NESB residents (Clyne 1991a, p. 215). Tasmanian Education supports a policy of language learning on the basis of cognitive development, understanding of cultural diversity, and states that 'the capacity to speak the native language is recognised as an important asset to communicating and negotiating with people in other countries' (TAS 1995, p. 2). Total enrolment in LOTEs in Primary education is about 12 percent (TAS 2001a). In Secondary school there are fewer languages taught overall, and the same top four languages as in NSW and VIC predominate between 1998 and 2001, accounting for 93 percent of LOTE enrolment (TAS 2001a). The top four languages taught at secondary level are French, Japanese, Indonesian and German in that order of enrolment numbers (TAS 2001a). The total LOTEs enrolment dropped between 1998 and 2000, and then rose to almost 14 000 by 2001. The gains for LOTEs in 2001 were largely due to French and Japanese enrolments increasing above the 1998 levels. As with the other States, the pattern is one where status, European, or trade languages dominate.

4.6 An Insider Impression of Language Teaching in Australia

Some SoSGA respondents believe that language teaching in Australia is not taken seriously. This is strongly expressed by Iona, herself a recently retired teacher[42]. In Extract 4.1 she comments on her perception of the support available to her.

Extract 4.1 Variable Support for Language Teaching

Iona: *'Up until '96-7 or -8 it was- at our school anyway- it was more or less left up to the individual teacher, if you wanted to do it. And I was told in no uncertain terms by the principal […] that I could teach some other language if I wanted to […] as long as I had completed all the other things that the department required me to teach in my class. […] So I used to do it as little lesson breaks. Um, and we did little songs, we did counting. I had infants, children … and in between lessons we might do an Italian song or a Japanese song. At one stage one of my [students'] parents was a German lady and so she was allowed to come in once a week to do German, and so for the rest of the week I would do little bits in German as lesson breaks, um, to reinforce what she'd been teaching the children, and it was basically games and stories and a little bit of language.*

SS: *So what she'd been teaching them was part of the curriculum?*

Iona: *At that stage, no. We had a couple of different principals at that time, and […] what happened in the school depended on the principal's attitude. One principal said, as long as I had done everything else that was required of me, then I was basically allowed to indulge my eccentricity of another language* [laughs] *which is basically what it was. But then in '96-7and 8 the Department [of Education] was pushing another language into the school, sort of encouraging schools to get involved. The principal was very supportive – a new principal - was very supportive of anybody who wanted to do language […] I was doing Japanese and the school actually bought the backup material for the Japanese which was screened I'm pretty sure it was SBS. Then they changed to [a private channel] and - I don't know whether I did it illegally- […] as we couldn't watch it as it was being beamed, I taped it at home and brought it to school and showed it to the children […]. And the last year I taught, I was teaching one lesson a week to my own class and two or three other classes […] and it was going very well and the kids loved it […].*

SS: *[…] From what you're telling me it was Italian, French, German and Japanese? So what about languages like Scottish Gaelic?*

Iona: *Forget it, forget it! Where do you learn how to do it? […] Do you want to tape my answer to this? I've got an answer and I know exactly what I think but you might not like what I say!*

SS: *Well it's all anonymous, anyway.*

Iona: *My opinion is that, erm, Anglo-Saxon, Scottish Gaelic, Scots, Irish: not important. It's not European, it's not ethnic enough, if you will. I mean you're not allowed to tell Irish jokes but as far as I know you are allowed to tell English jokes and Scottish jokes. […] I don't think that Gaelic is given, um, much credibility at all as being a useful language to learn. And I guess, if you look at it, we've probably got a lot more speakers of European languages in the country through immigration than we have Gaelic.*

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[42] Iona retired earlier than the official retirement age.

[…]
Iona: I guess it was through literature as well, though, that we did French and German – literature and opera and things like that. Although you would think that with opera, Italian would have been up there on the list. But I think maybe even the rest of world doesn't realise in the Gaelic language there's a lot of literature there, we just never knew about it.' [MD01.11-13].

Iona describes language teaching as her *'eccentricity'*, putting her outside of the school normality. There are outside influences over which she has no control, such as the principals and the Department, from whom permission to teach language is needed. Iona also keenly feels the difference in supportiveness between some principals and others. She also claims insufficient resources are given to teachers.

Iona clearly feels that certain languages are considered more acceptable for teaching because of their 'ethnic' attributes. Her initial reticence to comment also highlights my impression that she is wary of appearing to be anti-ethnic, merely by supporting a language such as Scottish Gaelic. So the external pressures Iona feels are not due just to lack of support for language teaching *per se*, but are also related to a (political) agenda. Languages like French and German are taught thanks to their association with literature – but the same principle is not applied to a language like Scottish Gaelic which she considers to also have good literature. She believes that it is unknown, that it lacks 'credibility' because it is not 'useful', that it lacks 'ethnicity', and hence is rejected.

4.7 The Desire for Scottish Gaelic in Schools

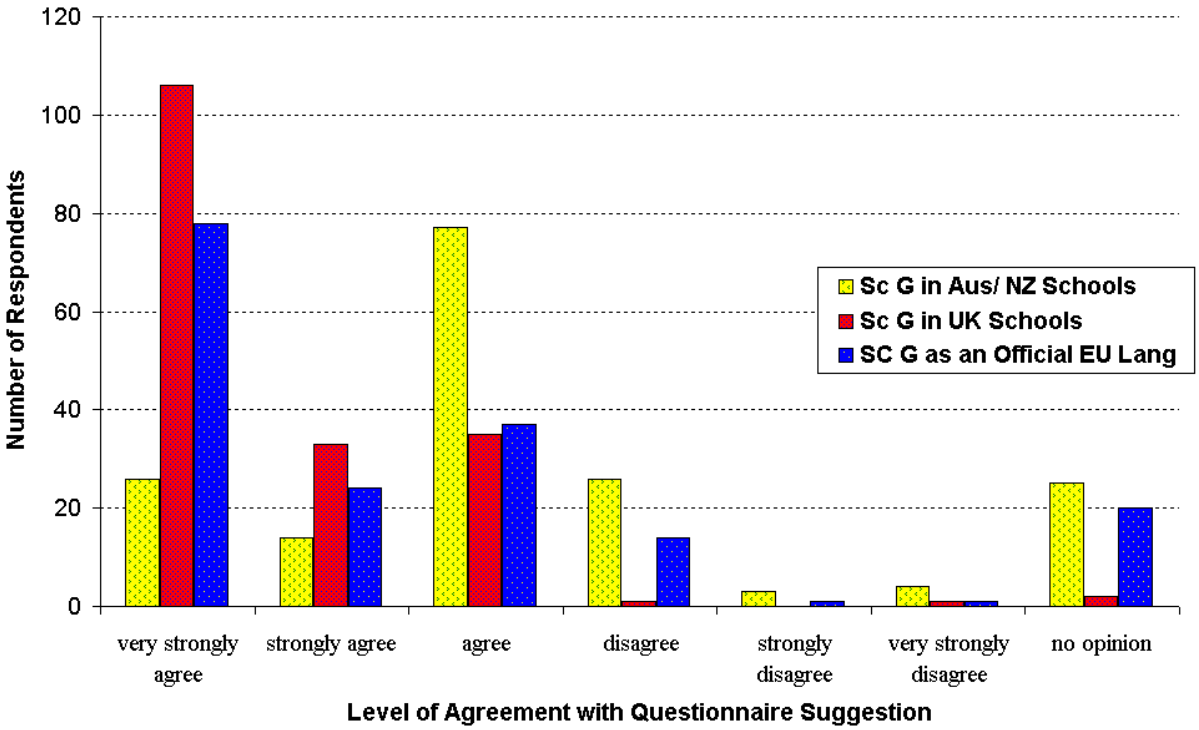
Although Iona expresses her scepticism about teaching Scottish Gaelic in schools, the responses to the survey showed support for this idea. Only three respondents were under the age of 18 (all female) none of whom were known to be studying it at school. They had reported taking lessons in adult classes or from their parents. Therefore the bulk of opinions on this matter are from people on whom it would not impact directly.

The questionnaire asked respondents to measure their agreement with the provision of languages in political or educational institutions (for details see Appendix 3). In Figure 4.15 I have grouped together the questions regarding the presence of Scottish Gaelic in schools in Britain and in Australia (or New Zealand if relevant) as a crude measure of support for institutionalisation. Another question asked SoSGA respondents' opinions regarding support for Scottish Gaelic as an official European Union Language – a question whose apparent relevance was probably heightened by recent Scottish devolution. Following the U.K.'s accession to the European Charter on Regional and Minority Languages (Extra and Gorter

2001), it seems highly unlikely that Scottish Gaelic is ever likely to have status at the European Union level. Nevertheless, the European Union's political structure is apparently perceived as relevant to Scottish Gaelic by SoSGA respondents: only three of the 178 questionnaire respondents did not answer this question. The idea of official status for Scottish Gaelic within the European Union was also more positively viewed than having Scottish Gaelic in Antipodean schools. This adds weight to the analysis that SoSGA respondents believe that Scottish Gaelic should be given political status as a protective measure. The question was deliberately asked in relation to a non-Scottish political body which, I assume, would also have received overwhelming support.

Unsurprisingly, there was overwhelmingly strong support for the presence of Scottish Gaelic in 'Scottish (or British)'[43] schools. This matches with ideas that Scottish Gaelic is identifiably a language of the British Isles (n=106 said that they 'very strongly agreed' that Scottish Gaelic should be in U.K. schools).

Figure 4.15 Attitudes to Institutionalisation of Scottish Gaelic – Schools and E.U.



By comparison, support was not quite as strong for presence in Australian schools, but overall 67 percent of respondents agreed to a greater or lesser degree (n=117). Nonetheless, less than

[43] The question was framed in terms of 'Scottish (or British)' schools for two reasons. Firstly, I did not expect to learn much from trying to find the difference in support for English versus Scottish schools. What I really wanted to know was the difference between support inside and outside of the Antipodes in this respect. Secondly, more practically, were constraints of space, this already being a long questionnaire.

19 percent disagreed, (n=26) indicating that having Scottish Gaelic in Antipodean schools was not an absurd one for the majority of SoSGA respondents. When viewed comparatively, it is clear that support for Scottish Gaelic in institutions in Britain and the European Union is stronger than in the Antipodes. This is an expected finding in line with the view of Scotland as a more likely homeland for Scottish Gaelic. This aspect is discussed further in Chapter 6. Overall, there is also clear support for schools as a support for Scottish Gaelic.

Having Scottish Gaelic in Antipodean schools is not a purely hypothetical idea either. That it was a real desire is also indicated by at least three cases where SoSGA respondents were aware of, or involved in, trying to have Scottish Gaelic taught in Australian schools. In the first situation, I had asked Muc-mhara if she knew of any facility for children to learn Scottish Gaelic in her area.

Extract 4.2 'The Headmaster was Quite Happy …'

Muc-mhara: No facility - in fact I had a call a few months ago from a lady who- who was looking into taking her child out of school during .. a Vietnamese class they were having. This was an elective primary school child and they were being taught Vietnamese and she was objecting to that. She said 'My roots are Scottish and I would like her to learn Gàidhlig' and I said 'Well, more power to you. If I can help you, I'm more than willing'. She lived away- it was too far to do it myself but I said 'I'll give you any help I can'.

SS: And so she was proposing to replace the Vietnamese classes with Gàidhlig at the same time? […]

Muc-mhara: Well she was going to take her child out of class and teach her at home for that short time they were doing- that's how strongly she felt about it. And I haven't heard from her since then so I don't quite know whether she ever, erm… […]

Muc-mhara: She just rang and I said contact me if you need any more help. […] But the headmaster was quite happy. [MD02.09]

Muc-mhara reports that the person apparently wanted her child to learn a language associated with her *'roots'*. If the child was going to be taught another language, the parent apparently felt that it should be an appropriate one. The headmaster was supportive, and according to ideas expressed in multiculturalist discourse, heritage is a valid reason for teaching a language in schools. It is therefore unsurprising if SoSGA respondents feel that Scottish Gaelic deserves a place in schools as much as other languages. In the second case, a school student had apparently taken the initiative and pursued private lessons. Following that, the student had joined adult language classes [MD04.20].

The third situation was a more formal attempt to set up regular schooling. An association in a large city had tried to set up a fund and organise a group of parents whose children would receive lessons in Scottish Gaelic. This had become a specific part of the organisation's remit

a couple of years beforehand, with targeted funding to be set aside. At one of the meetings, the issue was discussed and it was decided that such a specific remit was inappropriate and restrictive for the organisation. The project had foundered in the meantime and so the committee proposed to remove that specific aim from the organisation's self-imposed duties. In Extract 4.3 Fingal summarises what the intention had been[44].

Extract 4.3 Nothing Came of it

Fingal: *'At the time there was a project to erm conduct a Gaelic school- to start a Gaelic school for children with the thought that they are our future and such like. Erm, the people organising that believed they had an undertaking from a number of parents to, er, to have their children attend the school and so it was raised at the [meeting]. […] I'm not sure […] it's actually appropriate [now] to specifically allow for the school. As you can see here […] there's a […] particular section […]: 'That the association set up a trust fund for the sole purpose of teaching children the Gaelic language and culture. The initial funding […] may be added to by donation or the creation of special funding. The fund is under the trust of administrators one of whom is Gaelic-speaking'.*

Respondent 017: *Is that [sum] still there or was it never?*

Fingal: *It wasn't ever. It was never actually set aside. (Respondent 217) has actually sent a communication which he's agreed to have us distribute. He said: "Thanks for your message and enquiry about the trust fund which was supposed to be set up to promote Gàidhlig amongst the young. This committee met on a couple of times […] but nothing came of it due to lack of interest by those families who had given some undertakings at the [meeting], that the young people would attend. This objective was abandoned. In effect no funds were ever transferred to the bank account to my knowledge […] but some funds were used to buy Gaelic materials […]. Later on I believe they were also used to buy learning aids. […] The trust fund was never established […]". So what we are proposing was, [to remove reference to it as] it's now sort of irrelevant […]. This doesn't mean that we can't pursue similar ideas in the future should they prove appropriate or desirable but it also means we aren't locked into – because at the moment we are supposed to have [the sum] set aside which we just don't have. […]*

Respondent 012: *Can I just make a comment? The problem with [the school] as I recall it was finding the children to teach and getting them with or without their mothers in the same place at the same time.* [laughter] *We should bear it in mind, I believe, that it is one of our desires to teach people Gaelic, particularly including children. It's just proved too hard – so far.' [MD12.59-61].*

This was a promotional activity, in trying to establish formal schooling in Scottish Gaelic for children. Unfortunately, it was bedevilled by cash flow, plus the eventual lack of *'interest'* by the parents. The approach taken is also significant: a trust fund was established, and native speaker guidance considered vital. The targeted students were to be part of an institution, with resources and learning materials at its disposal. Structured language learning was an aim, not

[44] Some parts of this discussion have been suppressed in order to preserve anonymity.

merely exposure to the language.

4.8 Adult Education and Language Learning in NSW

Two groups are considered here regarding the teaching of LOTEs to adults: the Continuing Education (CCE) Centre within the grounds of Sydney University, and the Worker's Educational Association (WEA). These are examined for illustration, concentrating which language courses are offered, and associated issues.

4.8.1 WEA Sydney

The WEA introductory page states that it was founded in 1913 as a non-profit organisation and that it receives support from the NSW Board of Adult and Community Education (WEA 2002, p. 2). A wide variety of courses are offered at the Association building in the centre of Sydney: Art and Photography, Computers, Communication skills, Culture and Societies, Drama and Hobbies, Educational tours, History and Literature, Languages, Business and office skills, Visual Arts and Music and Writing and English skills (WEA 2002, p. 2).
The languages offered were divided into three groups: 'Quick Courses for Travellers', Intensive 'Saturday Morning Beginners Courses', and evening or lunchtime courses, which were available at different levels (WEA 2002, p. 36). The 'Quick Courses' were in French, Italian, Spanish and Japanese, and cost A$140 for 8 lessons of two hours. The Saturday courses were in French, Italian and Spanish, and cost A$260 for 8 sessions of three-and-a-half hours each (WEA 2002, p. 36). This was slightly cheaper than equivalent courses at the Centre for Continuing Education (Section 4.8.2). The courses with more than one level were split into 15 sessions of two hours and also cost A$260. These were generally in the evening or lunchtimes. Details are summarised in Table 4.2.
Different languages were advertised in different ways. Chinese was advertised as useful for 'travel and business purposes' (WEA 2002, p. 36). The guide also offered 'Corporate training' for general foreign language needs of staff, in order to facilitate their business dealings (WEA 2002, p. 38). Tutors would teach in-house at the companies (WEA 2002, p. 38). Spanish and Greek courses were both highlighted as having cultural aspects, with the Greek beginners' course offering enlightenment for tourist beginners.

> 'Retsina? Souvlaki? The Parthenon? An introduction to modern Greek, with an emphasis on practical skills'.
>
> And 'Aspects of cultural life included.' (WEA 2002, p. 37).

A similar targeting of travellers was evident for the Indonesian course:

> 'Many people now travel to Indonesia, Australia's nearest neighbour, to enjoy its special culture and places.' (WEA 2002, p. 37).

The overall emphasis is quite clearly on the functional use of the language for travellers to the countries where the languages are spoken. In French, though, it goes slightly deeper: the conversation course was specifically aimed at having discussions about French films with a particular theme (WEA 2002, p. 36).

Table 4.2 Summary of Adult Language Courses at WEA, Sydney 2002

Language	Levels Offered	Total Hours Taught
Arabic	Level 2	30 hours
Mandarin	Level 2	30 hours
Dutch	Level 2	30 hours
French	Levels 1 to 4; Intermediate, Advanced	480 hours
	Conversation	60 hours
	Film Discussions	18 hours
German	Levels 1,2, Advanced	120 hours
	Conversation	30 hours
Greek	Levels 1,2	60 hours
Indonesian	Beginners	30 hours
Italian	Levels 1 to 4; Intermediate	390 hours
	Conversation	30 hours
Japanese	Levels 1,2	60 hours
	Calligraphy	30 hours
Latin	Various[45]	90 hours
Spanish	Levels 1 to 4; Advanced.	270 hours
Swedish	Level 2	30 hours

4.8.2 Centre for Continuing Education, Sydney University

The CCE offered a wide variety of language and other courses. During the period January 2000 to June 2002 courses were available in Information Technology, Management, Film and Cultural studies, Languages, History, Fine Arts, Philosophy and Personal development. The year was divided into four periods, and students could progress through levels of courses in sequence, if so structured. The course brochures generally presented courses as enabling access to wider knowledge and new experiences. In the Mid-year program for 2001, the Vice-Chancellor of Sydney University extols the virtues of the courses:

> 'By participating in these courses for lifelong learning you can join with like-minded people to engage with new ideas, develop new talents and enter new worlds. Enjoy your learning!' (CCE 2001c, p. 2).

[45] The Latin courses offered were in writing and Medieval Latin in addition to Unit 2 (WEA 2002, p. 38).

The Director of the Centre expresses similar sentiments regarding personal improvement.

> 'There is no better time to further your education and to refresh your mind by joining a Continuing Education course. We place an emphasis on best quality teaching and best value for money in these courses. Joining with people who share your interests to learn together in a friendly environment can really enhance your life. I do hope you enjoy reading through this guide to find the courses that are right for you.' (CCE 2001c, p. 3).

The covers of the guides also have encouraging phrases or words: 'Extraordinary!', 'Discovery!', 'Refresh your mind', 'Outstanding', 'Grow!'. The overall impression is one of intellectual awakening and improvement. The guides advertised the languages section under the rubric 'Courses that work for you', with bullet points highlighting that courses were taught by native speakers and that employment opportunities were enhanced (CCE 2001c; CCE 2001d; CCE 2002a). There is little reference to language learning for maintenance purposes, or for communicating with the wider community in Australia. Many of the associated, additional courses are aimed at conversations as a tourist, or understanding films or literature in the target language.

Approximately 15 languages were available, generally the same ones throughout the year. The courses were structured in 6 to 10 week blocks, some in the evening, and some on Saturdays. Although courses were advertised in the guides, they were not always offered if there were insufficient numbers – suggested to be about six (Pers. Comms.; Anonymous respondent, June 2002). There were up to 4 levels available for more popular languages, which also had a choice of classes at the same level, at different times. The smaller languages were offered mostly at a single time-slot. Some language courses were also associated with other aspects: conversation skills (Modern Greek) or a concentration on understanding films (Italian), for example. Table 4.3 shows the frequency of language courses offered, along with the number of courses available. For those such as French, this generally meant that there were a choice of time-slots for basic level courses and single, more advanced courses (typically levels 2-4). The '+' symbol indicates that there was also a related specialist course available, such as conversation skills[46].

As is clear from Table 4.3, a similar set of languages predominates here as in other educational domains. However, some Celtic languages are offered. The overall range appears static over this time period with little indication of the 'exotic'. For some courses the same teachers were used throughout the period examined such the specialist Latin course for reading skills. This was also true for the extra Italian and French courses, although there were

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[46] An asterisk indicates that the course was known by the author to have been cancelled.

a number of teachers apparently involved (CCE 2001c). Based on the teacher names in the guides, it seems that some teachers at the CCE also taught at the WEA.

French and Italian are consistently associated with courses having a wider remit than just language teaching. Generally, these were aimed at improving conversation skills. Captions under the photographs in the guide sometimes suggested tourist motivations for needing language skills (CCE 2001c, p. 14; CCE 2001d, p. 14; CCE 2002b, p. 14).

Table 4.3 Number of Courses Advertised for Languages at CCE, 2000 to 2002

Language Name	Number of Courses per Language in 2000 to 2002											
	2000				2001				2002			
	Jan-Feb	Mar-May	Jun-Aug	Oct-Nov	Jan-Feb	Mar-May	Jun-Aug	Sep-Dec	Jan-Feb	Mar-May	Jun-Aug	Sep-Nov
Arabic	1	1	1	1	1	1+	1	3	2	1+	1	3
French	5+	9+	6+	6+	6+	9+	6+	8+	7+	10+	7+	9
German	2	3	3	4	3	3	3	3+	3	4	3	4
Italian	8+	9+	8+	8	8+	10+	7+	7+	8+	10+	7+	9+
Japanese	2	2	3	3	2	3	3	3	4	2	3	3
Latin	1	2+	2	3+	3	3+	3	2+	1	3+	3	2+
Mandarin	2	3	4	3	3	4	3	3	3	3	3	4
Mod. Greek	3	3	2	2	3+	4	2+	2	3	3	3	4
Spanish	4	8	7	5	7	9	7	7	8	4	6	7+
Turkish	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	-	1	-	1	1
Vietnamese	-	2	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	1	1	1
Russian	-	-	-	2	1	-	3	3	-	-	4	4
Irish	-	-	-	-	1	-	1	-	1	1	1	1
Sc Gaelic	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	2*	-	-	-
Indonesian	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	2	-	-
Welsh	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
‘Grammar’	1	1	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

The costs of the courses were generally around A$200. Advanced courses were more expensive (up to A$289), as were those of longer duration: e.g. Arabic, 20 sessions, Level 3, was A$350 (CCE 2001d, p. 15). These costs were not dissimilar to the WEA, but are generally slightly more expensive per hour. To put these costs in context, the level of A$200 is comparable the median weekly rental of households, or to half the median individual weekly income in NSW for 2001 (ABS 2002).

Unlike at school level, there are few arguments in the adult education literature advancing the supposed benefits to Australia, or to the community, of taking language courses. The promotional phrases tend to emphasise personal development, or instrumental and business skills in foreign countries. There is a much greater, if not total, concentration on the individual studying the language. The ideologies evident are of life-development and personal gain. There is no mention of multiculturalism, or of the innate value of languages to the community for the diversity that they foster. Language teaching is more 'outward-looking' in the sense that it prepares people for the foreign world, rather than for diverse Australia.

4.8.3 Overview of Tertiary Language Education in Australia

Federal policy decisions have often had an indirect effect on tertiary language teaching in Australia because they have been aimed at schools (Baldauf and Djité 2000, p. 237). This has led to a patchy spread of languages and, coupled with funding decreases for universities, has led to reduced staff numbers for teaching languages in recent years (Baldauf and Djité 2000, p. 237). A study of the 1996-1997 year indicated that tertiary contact hours had reduced from 6 hours per week to 4 or 3 (Baldauf and Djité 2000, p. 238). Economic efficiency measures used to assess tertiary education have additionally meant that language teaching appears expensive (Baldauf and Kaplan 2002, p. 153). Teaching materials are largely imported for tertiary language education, as the market is correspondingly small by comparison to school level (Baldauf and Djité 2000, p. 241). These are often materials based on L1 learning, so are not always contextualised for Australia (Baldauf 2002).

Language teaching has shifted towards Asian languages in recent years. The number of universities offering Japanese, for example, has increased rapidly (Baldauf and Djité 2000, p. 238). The number of Universities offering other NALSAS languages has increased to a lesser extent (Baldauf and Djité 2000, p. 238). Enrolments for other languages, however, have remained largely static or decreased (Baldauf and Djité 2000, p. 237).

About 15 percent of tertiary enrolments were overseas students in 2000, and Arts and Humanities were the most popular Faculty (DETYA 2001a). The high proportion of foreign students at Australian universities also has important implications: these students are 'fee paying' which means that they supply a far greater income per capita than Australian students, and thus become an important source of revenue (Baldauf and Djité 2000, p. 236). This is explicitly referred to as a route for expansion in WA. The Annual Report for 2001/ 2002 indicates action 'in response to university concerns about Western Australia lagging behind other States in new international education marketing initiatives' (WA 2002, p. 22). The

Department of Education Services is therefore actively pursuing marketing higher education in the United Arab Emirates and China (WA 2002, p. 22). The 'export of education services' from WA private institutions apparently contributes A$370 million to the total Australian earnings of A$3.1 billion (WA 2002, p. 23). This led to the establishment of a working party to develop a 'branding campaign' and establishing overseas offices for WA (WA 2002, p. 25).

Universities had widely differing objectives in teaching languages, according to a review in the early 1990s (Baldauf and Djité 2000, p. 241). Whereas some language teachers were literature-orientated, others (notably Japanese and Chinese) considered oral proficiency far more valuable (Baldauf and Djité 2000, p. 241). The students who were surveyed mostly reported 'future employment' as a motivation for learning languages, most strongly for those studying Japanese (Baldauf and Djité 2000, p. 243). Use of the language at home as a motivating factor was reported by less than 3 percent of the students, and most language students had already started that language at school (Baldauf and Djité 2000, p. 242). The medium of instruction was the target language in less than half the time according to responses given by the language teachers, despite student desire for proficiency to be prioritised (Baldauf and Djité 2000, p. 242). The survey also highlighted the higher expectations for aural and oral proficiency by Heads of Department, whereas students perceived written skills to be more highly prioritised in their Departments (Baldauf and Djité 2000, p. 244).

4.9 Summary of LOTE Teaching in Australia

4.9.1 Gender as a Factor

At the school level, there is a clear gender issue in learning LOTEs. Twice as many females as males study languages. This is evidently not only the case for languages – the bias for other subjects is evident too, as is the overall higher female participation rate in secondary education. The gender bias worries Victoria's language teachers (VIC 2002, p. viii), and Queensland wishes to increase the number of male teachers (QLD 2002b). Gender imbalance is an issue that will reappear as relevant to Scottish Gaelic in unexpected ways (Section 6.4.4).

4.9.2 Making Distinctions According to Ethnicity

Some of the arguments for multiculturalism stress that the ethnic backgrounds of the pupils need to be 'acknowledged and appreciated', but that 'ethnic stereotyping' needs to be confronted (VIC 1997, p. 11). On the other hand, the use of terms that could lead to exactly

such stereotyping is not a straightforward issue. In some cases this seems to be avoided by the use of terms such as 'long-established settlers' which could be interpreted as equivalent to 'Anglo-Australians' who subjected the nation to the homogeneity of English as the only language (VIC 1997, p. 5). In other cases, teachers are urged to provide a balance of 'Aboriginal, European – including Anglo-Celtic – Asian, Middle Eastern, Africa, South American and Pacific Islander cultures' in their schools (VIC 1997, p. 12). The juxtaposition of term 'Anglo-Celtic' and 'European' presumably implies a danger of the terms being mutually exclusive. The term 'Anglo-Celtic' is certainly one that can be contested by some SoSGA respondents and used as motivation for some of their linguistic actions. Only two terms in the last quote, Aboriginal and Anglo-Celtic are not based on geographical regions, and both apply to groups in Australia. Are the rest to be grouped together as places where recent immigrants come from? If so, then this could yet again be interpreted as a tripartite division of ethnicity in Australia into Anglo/ Aboriginal/ Ethnic. The appeal here is not to a general grouping of other cultures: North America is omitted, for example. By appealing for an overt recognition of such a division of society, it could also be argued that this 'is the reduction of the other into a passive object of government' (Hage 1998, p. 17). Multiculturalism becomes a 'discourse of internal orientalism' (Hage 1998, p. 17). Importantly, the discourse of orientalism contains a subtext of ethnicity. In an environment where ethnicity becomes a reason for having a language in educational institutions, then it is little wonder that stressing the ethnic associations of Scottish Gaelic becomes important. This is examined in Chapters 5 and 6.

4.9.3 Rural/ Urban and Conservative/ Progressive

The rural-urban divide visible in LOTE teaching in Australia may not only reflect the difficulty of providing resources in more remote areas. The consequences of political changes from the 1960s in Australia

> 'were more visible in the cities than in provincial centres and the countryside. Many people – thinking of themselves as simple battlers – were therefore disconcerted to find their society committed to cultural diversity, non-discriminatory immigration, and the dismantling of tariff protection.' (Denoon, Mein-Smith et al. 2000, p. 466).

The 1996 election campaign 'more explicitly than usual canvassed questions of national identity' such as multicultural and Aboriginal affairs and 'Asia' (Denoon, Mein-Smith et al. 2000, p. 466). The Liberal leader, John Howard, soon to become Prime Minister, was 'the most socially conservative leader in a generation' and was seen as wishing to dismantle a number of policies (Denoon, Mein-Smith et al. 2000, p. 466). He was 'caricatured as yearning

for the Australia of the 1950s' (Denoon, Mein-Smith et al. 2000, p. 466). The rapid rise of Pauline Hanson also indicated not just discontentment with similar issues, but also economic rationalism leading to 'the grievous difficulties of provincial towns' (Denoon, Mein-Smith et al. 2000, p. 466). Pauline Hanson's party 'astonished everyone' by gaining eleven seats in the 1998 Queensland state election (Denoon, Mein-Smith et al. 2000, p. 467). (Federal) Government policy moved in directions which were seen to counter this threat: 'Australia offered temporary asylum to (white) Kosovars but not to (black) Congolese or Rwandese' [sic] (Denoon, Mein-Smith et al. 2000, p. 467).

In this context, national images were important for referenda in 1999 on whether Australia should become a Republic, by abandoning a constitutional monarchy (Denoon, Mein-Smith et al. 2000, p. 467), and on a preamble to the constitution defining Australians and recognising Aboriginals as 'the nation's first people' (Otmar 2001, p. 46). Both were rejected, 54% and 60% against respectively (Otmar 2001, p. 46). The debate had also hinged on how Australians viewed themselves.

> 'The Prime Minister's distinction between Australians and Aborigines […] and the implicit dichotomy between Australians and Asians, endorsed 'the authentic Australians' as Europeans, whose lineage stretched back via the diggers of two world wars to the bushman and perhaps to the convict.' (Denoon, Mein-Smith et al. 2000, p. 467).

Under such circumstances it becomes easier to understand why the teaching of LOTEs can be seen as part of a wider threat to identity. Using languages to call into question the 'Anglo' image of Australia makes language learning one of the sites for struggle. It may be easier to understand why Victoria feels the need to promote the ideology among conservative ('Anglo') and rural sectors where language teaching is 'particularly fragile' (VIC 2002, p. 18).

4.9.4 English - First Among Equals

English is also part of the debate on identity. Formulations of multiculturalism reflect the continued acceptance of English for the 'nation'. But now instead of the language being an aspect of domination, it becomes part of the framework, of a system that contains shared values (VIC 1997; Smolicz and Secombe 2003). Some language policy reviews and submissions dealing with English indicated a sub-text of the fear of 'deposing' the language (Ozolins 1993, p. 226). Here, perhaps, is the way in which this fear is allayed by the end of the century: it becomes a vehicle for shared values, acknowledging its pre-eminent status, but removing the associations with (bad) colonialism. It is now a language for everyone and the arguments that advance fluency in English as a means of access can continue, safe in the

knowledge that monolingualism is out, and multilingualism is in. Learning English as an immigrant is presented as a civic duty, and a route to full participation. English can thus safely be part of the fabric of Australian society without necessarily threatening other languages.

Unfortunately this is too simple: for many SoSGA respondents, English is still a language that presents threats to identity. For some it is due to globalisation and English, for others due to subjugation of Scottish Gaelic in Scotland or in the Antipodes. English is still a killer language, dominant as it is. English as a signifier of the 'shared values' of Australia is also one that comes under scrutiny, because the ethnic associations of some SoSGA respondents clash head-on with terms such as 'Anglo-Celtic'. It can be seen as an oxymoron, and a re-negotiation of such categorisations is evident in their discourse. Furthermore, language learning for SoSGA respondents is not a civic duty in order to make Australia more politically acceptable. Their own identity is at stake, as will be discussed in the Chapters 8 and 9.

4.9.5 Internal Versus External

Although Smolicz and Secombe (2003) herald the 'eventual acceptance of a curriculum focus upon Australia's own plurality of languages and cultures' (Smolicz and Secombe 2003, p. 11), this is perhaps more true of the variety of LOTEs rather than the actual numbers of students studying them. A 'competition for resources' is postulated between 'languages that fostered relations with *other* societies' and those that might bridge 'the linguistic gap *within* Australian society' (Smolicz and Secombe 2003, p. 11, emphasis in original). These are not always opposite forces, as witnessed by the happy congruence of Mandarin Chinese as a NALSAS language, a language of the community[47] (ABS 2002), and as a trade language (ABS 2001). But in other cases, neither internal nor external seems to apply. Languages that account for little of the trade balance, and have no visible community status – such as French – take up a large proportion of enrolments at school and in adult classes. Here is an indication that language status, and teacher training, still play a strong role. French has been a part of the institutions of education for some time (Ozolins 1993, p. 184) and has remained there. Teaching languages is very much an internal aspect of multiculturalism, though. Teaching LOTEs is intimately linked to multiculturalism in State policy statements as well as in some historical analysis. Smolicz and Secombe (2003) are quite explicit in this respect, seeing the introduction of LOTEs as a 'major achievement of Australian multiculturalism' (Smolicz and

[47] This should not disguise the fact that there are more Cantonese than Mandarin speakers in Australia (ABS 2002), probably reflecting the greater presence of migrants from Hong Kong.

Secombe 2003, p. 12). They present the benefits as positive for wider society:

> 'The positive aspects of the 'multicultural focus' policies have resulted in making Australian society aware that children of non-English-speaking backgrounds do not come empty handed, but bearing cultural gifts, chief among them being their linguistic resources. There is a growing realisation that it makes sense to build upon the languages concerned and to utilise the great potential locked in over two million Australian bilinguals, rather than see those linguistic treasures squandered, only to try to painfully reconstruct them later from scratch through foreign language instruction.' (Smolicz and Secombe 2003, pp. 11-12).

This discourse presents a consistent thread of advantage – social, cultural and economic – by exposure to LOTEs. But advantage can only be claimed if the society is assumed to be comparatively deficient in some way beforehand. The discourse of the relative poverty of 'Anglo' culture, also identified by Lopez (2000), will reappear in Chapters 7 and 8. It is also identified as part of the consistent argument by promoters of multiculturalism in order to gain political acceptance (Lopez 2000). Institutions, such as schools, are prime sites for the introduction of multiculturalism. This ties with the views put forward in Federal government reports that a multicultural perspective should infuse all schools (Ozolins 1993, p. 176).

Scottish Gaelic fits neither the internal nor the external arguments for exposure to languages. It does not fit into the current 'genealogy of the nation' (Tsitsipis 1998, p. 12) partly because of its associations with a British ethnicity. It is more difficult to argue for Scottish Gaelic in the school system compared to languages of disadvantaged migrant groups or endangered Aboriginal languages, using the motivations advanced by educational authorities. It does not fit external arguments because it lacks importance for trade relations. Using such arguments, it is unclear how it would enrich Australian society. This will partly explain some of the linguistic and other actions of SoSGA respondents in Chapters 5 to 9.

4.9.6 State Versus Federal Priorities

There is a tension between State and Federal priorities for language education. State independence means that policies desirable at a Federal level do not necessarily get carried through. States may implement very different policies from one to another. Baldauf (2002) reports that different States in Australia have used their financial allocations for various projects in different ways. For example, NSW uses allocations to pay teachers directly, Queensland places the money in a general education pool, and Victoria allocates grants to schools themselves (Baldauf 2002). It may not be surprising if the implementation and approaches to language learning are therefore very varied.

The 1987 'Lo Bianco' report on language policy in Australia approached the issues at a national level (Smolicz and Secombe 2003, p. 10). The policy was adopted, reflecting the co-ordination of many lobbying groups (Ozolins 1993, p. 206). Many campaigners had lobbied central authorities in order to have greater language teaching, although decentralisation meant that schools themselves could be reasonably independent (Ozolins 1993, p. 191). Some administrative responses to the variety of languages run counter to States being independently responsible for school education. For example, a State might take on responsibility for exams and curriculum for a particular language (Smolicz and Secombe 2003, p. 11). A State then becomes responsible for assessment in particular languages across all of Australia for the final school years (Smolicz and Secombe 2003, p. 11).

Overall it is evident from Sections 4.3 to 4.5 that language teaching at school has differing priority from State to State. Some States have stronger multiculturalist ideologies, reflected in their positive arguments for the benefits of language teaching.

4.9.7 Differing Priorities for Different Groups

In the 1980s, ethnic groups had expressed their desire for education as a route to language maintenance, to important (Federal) government reports (Ozolins 1993, p. 174). Language loss was an issue in some submissions where it was hoped that the third generation in Australia might learn their grandparents' language (Ozolins 1993, p. 174). The school was perceived as a site for language maintenance as 'a right and an inalienable part of ethnic identity' (Ozolins 1993, p. 175). Conversely, reports in the 1980s indicated that most grants had actually gone to schools with a high proportion of NESB children (Ozolins 1993, p. 176), potentially at odds with the idea that multicultural education was for those of 'Anglo' background. The impression is that political thrust for change was at Federal level, with States being encouraged by financial incentives. There were also clear fault-lines, with the desire by ethnic community leaders for language maintenance not necessarily attuned to those of teachers (Ozolins 1993, p. 178). Teachers did not necessarily aim to produce bilingual students, but rather to promote tolerance (Ozolins 1993, p. 178). Equally, language programs were criticised for being unable to teach proficiency in the low contact hours in the school week, or for being superficial (Ozolins 1993, p. 178; VIC 2002). A hint that this may still be an issue is that some of the language statistics used in Figures 4.13 and 4.14 are for 'awareness'-based courses. The differing priorities for different groups are also clear when the teachers' unions and the make-up of the workforce are taken into account. Existing teacher bases were already strong in European languages, making rapid changes more difficult to

implement (Baldauf 2002).

Smolicz and Secombe (2003) see the support for languages in mainstream schools as 'rather grudging and vacillating' and acknowledge that LOTEs are unpopular at senior level (Smolicz and Secombe 2003, p. 16). They also see it as a reflection of attitudes of many 'students from the majority English speaking background' who see no benefit in learning a new language, or who see it as related to immigrant groups (Smolicz and Secombe 2003, p. 16). The relatively low importance of language learning for most people is indicated by a Victorian survey of teacher, parent and other groups in 2001 (VIC 2002, p. 14). The survey showed that 'communication skills' came first as motivation for the provisions of LOTEs, but 'vocational and career purposes' came last (VIC 2002, p. 14). The results are completely different to some findings in tertiary education where career paths were the major motivator (Baldauf and Djité 2000, p. 243). Overall, learning languages because it is good for understanding and tolerance is perhaps not a prime motivator for students, teachers or parents.

The discourse of communication in the community is also at odds with revivalist ideas that wish to increase the speaking of small languages. In the case of those wanting Scottish Gaelic in schools, it is clear that 'roots' and heritage play a role, not the ability to speak to living family members, as these no longer exist. The argument that school is an appropriate setting for teaching Scottish Gaelic is clearly accepted amongst SoSGA respondents. The Scottish Gaelic association setting up a trust fund encountered practical difficulties, but was not abandoning their idea (Section 4.7). Language education was still an important part of their philosophy. The members of that organisation see access to culture and language as valuable and the school is one pathway – a pathway licensed by discourses that permit language learning based on heritage.

Chapter 5 - Scottish Gaelic, Language Learning, Public Presence

This chapter examines the position of Scottish Gaelic in the public domain, and to aspects of learning. The discourse of those who have learned the language as adults is examined in order to better understand the relationship between beliefs about Scottish Gaelic and learning it. The domains in which people learn Scottish Gaelic are explored. For many SoSGA respondents, having public spaces for Scottish Gaelic is crucial – not just so that the language is spoken, but also because of how it fits wider debates on ethnicity and belonging within Australia. This will be related to Scotland in Chapter 6. Throughout Chapter 5, it will become evident that there is an examination of mechanisms of institutionalisation of Scottish Gaelic.

5.1 That Scottish Gaelic is Difficult

The discourse of many respondents demonstrates their experience that Scottish Gaelic is a very difficult language to learn. For some, it is a case of the language being different from others, but most frequently issues of orthography are raised in relation to difficulty. Comhachag relates why she has found it difficult to get as far as she had hoped when she first set out to learn the language. As she knew other languages, she had expected to find it easier:

Extract 5.1 'I Thought it Would be a Breeze'

Comhachag: 'That's what I've found so distressing in a way, was that I pick up other languages so easily, and I thought it would be a breeze and I've found it so difficult, you know.

SS: What do you think it was […] that you found so difficult?

Comhachag: No, I just can't get my mouth around it. It sort of sounds incomprehensible and I look at all the consonants and half of them aren't pronounced, you know, and so I can hear that there is this nice, liquid, flow to the language. But when you look at it, it just seems stilted. So I have to learn how to make it liquid and not pronounce all the consonants. But at the same time, when I hear someone talking – erm – I'm beginning to get the gist of it. If I got a bit more involved in it- but I think I just found it difficult. I just couldn't get my ear or my tongue around it. It sounds so foreign, where all the other languages are so comfortable, you know' [MD24.02].

Scottish Gaelic presented Comhachag with an emotional shock because she was not prepared for the details of it. She presents the language in positive terms here but as something with which she can't cope. The flow is interrupted by consonants, in her attempts to speak it. Intriguingly, a very similar analogy is used to describe the process of learning sounds by a Welsh choir in the United States where the pronunciation becomes 'more smooth' (Wray, Evans et al. 2003, p. 62).

5.1.1 Difficulty in the Public Domain

The perception of Scottish Gaelic as difficult is not one that is necessarily restricted to small groups of interested parties. One SoSGA respondent told me of a television advertisement then running that used Irish. In response, in her capacity as office-holder for a Scottish Gaelic organisation, she had written a letter to the company concerned, thanking them for raising the profile of minority languages like Irish and Scottish Gaelic. I contacted the advertising agency that had made the advertisement. The representative told me that it was one of a cycle of four, fifteen-second advertisements using humorous scenes to depict potentially simple situations that had been overcomplicated. The marketing strategy was to represent their product as simple to use without recourse to 'very confusing jargon' [MD11.68]. Irish was used in a scene where a learner was listening to a teach-yourself recording, learning how to buy food. On hearing the translation, the learner appeared confused by having such a complicated-sounding phrase for an apparently simple request. The representative of the company who had made the advertisement described how they decided on choosing the language:

Extract 5.2 A Language With Humour

Respondent 215: 'Then with regards to the language script which is the Gaelic script, that ad actually started […] off as Swahili. 'Cos what we wanted to do was to demonstrate a really difficult language that had kind of humour within it, and I think with Swahili like you've got that 'bink bonk bloonk' like that kind of language would come across quite funny […] But there was a reason why we couldn't use Swahili. So then we started looking at lots of other different languages to see which had the most complicated yet the most humorous kind of language […] because it was a complicated language […] [Then we chose Gaelic] it was one of the first choices. I know there were two other languages that we were looking at […] when we started doing interpretations […] Gaelic came out as the best out of all of them.' [MD11.71-72].

So Irish is not only difficult, it also sounds funny. Further, Irish can be categorised along with other languages that sound complicated. The translation had apparently been accurate, for legal reasons, although they had added a few words to heighten the effect [MD11.73]. The company that had commissioned the work had apparently been happy with the public and product response [MD11.72] [48]. Language learning as a complex task seemed to strike a chord with the viewing public. Respondent 215 described how they had recruited an Irish speaker.

Extract 5.3 A Dodgy Pub

Respondent 215: 'Actually it's quite funny, when we um were going to present this to

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[48] The other three advertisements commissioned had similar themes: a police sketch artist struggling to prepare an identikit picture from contradictory descriptions; a director giving contradictory stage directions; and a satirical one based on the children's 'Skippy' series where a kangaroo is given complex medical instructions.

> *the client and um, we'd kind of filmed the- the ad but didn't have any sound or anything on it and we're like 'OK, we'll put some really rough sound on it and we'll record it at our work'. Um, and so we're going 'OK, who knows how to speak Gaelic?', you know! And obviously it's not such a common language. So we have a pub across the road [...] which is quite a dodgy old pub full of English and Irish people and um we walked in there and said 'Does somebody know how to speak Gaelic?' Straightaway somebody knew! And they came across right back to our work, said the Gaelic version [...] and we paid them 50 bucks and I think they went back off to the pub to drink it!' [MD11.72]*

The absurdity of finding a speaker in a 'dodgy pub' is not lost on Respondent 215, given the plethora of stereotypes involving pubs, drinking and English and Irish. The advertising company still had the problem of obtaining a real script. In a move that was to prove ironic given subsequent events, the actual language and script used was obtained with help from the broadcaster, SBS (Section 5.4). Respondent 215 commented on positive public reactions to the advertisement, mentioning the Scottish Gaelic organisation's letter commending the company for helping to keep Gaelic in the 'mainstream' [MD11.74]. A negative reaction had been received from an individual who had telephoned to complain about Irish being ridiculed [MD11.74]. It is the apparent difficulty of the language - in contrast to (plain) English - that makes it worthy of use in advertising. But what makes the advertisement commendable for the Scottish Gaelic organisation is that these languages actually appear in the public domain.

5.1.2 Linguistic Difficulties

Another aspect of 'difficulty' is vital to understanding the learning of Scottish Gaelic. This is one commented on by Trudgill (2001) about the relative ease in learning languages that have a high degree of complexity. Scottish Gaelic is probably a 'low-contact' language in the sense that relatively few people have tried to learn it (Trudgill 2001, p. 373). It shows complexity and 'historical baggage' (Trudgill 2001, p. 372). There are a 'large proliferation of pronominal forms' as the language is synthetic and fusional (Lamb 2003, p. 22). For example: *air* 'on'; *orm* 'on me'; *ormsa* 'on me', emphatic (Lamb 2003, p. 22). There are some morphophonemic processes that are radically different from English, such as palatalisation in case marking (Lamb 2003, p. 20). Passives can be inflected with an impersonal suffix, or else periphrastic, using a past tense form of the verb 'go' (Lamb 2003, p. 66)[49].

There are also sounds such as pre-aspiration that are uncommon in the world's languages[50]

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[49] Lamb (1998, p.158) traces changes in Scottish Gaelic broadcasting showing how the previous standard of impersonal passives has been replaced by the periphrastic constructions.

[50] Faroese, Icelandic and Ojibwa also show this feature (Ladefoged and Maddieson, 1996, p. 70-72).

(Lamb 2003, p. 21). The variation is also dialectal, varying anywhere between /ʰ/, /h/ and /x/ (Ladefoged and Maddieson 1996, p. 72; Lamb 2003, p. 21).

Comhachag compared her difficulties to those she experienced in learning her husband's minority language, which she had learned when they first met. She reported that she had learned it within social groups of speakers of the language, and laughingly related it to her desire to be *'a good daughter-in-law'* [MD24.02]. She learned Scottish Gaelic a number of years later at adult classes. In Extract 5.4 she comments on her difficulty with orthography.

Extract 5.4 Too Many Consonants

Comhachag: '[...] but the thing is, even in the [other minority language] [...] they don't have any superfluous consonants or vowels. They don't have no diphthongs or anything. It's very pure – pure vowel sounds and- and there's no extraneous consonants. Actually they've cut out a lot, their alphabet only has, I don't know how many, but it's only 21 or something consonants' [MD24.03].

In fact, Scottish Gaelic has only 18 letters in its alphabet (Dwelly 1993 (1901), p. ix), but of course it is probably not the number of letters that Comhachag finds confusing rather than their combinations. Scottish Gaelic orthography developed from Classical Irish, incorporating some features specific to Scottish Gaelic, but leaving others unrecognised – thus the orthography 'bears a complex, though basically regular relationship to the language' (Gillies 1993, p. 147). Some major spelling discrepancies between sound and spelling involve combinations of letters. For example digraphs are common, such as where <h> is used to indicate fricatives (e.g. <bh> for /v/) (Gillies 1993, p. 147). This is regular, because pairs of homorganic stops and fricatives are in morphophonemic opposition in word-initial position (Gillies 1993). Therefore orthographic <c> is in opposition to <ch>, <d> to <dh>, <g> to <gh>, <p> to <ph> and so on. These represent fricativisation, for example <c>, /k/ becomes /x/. Additionally, digraphs can also represent lost or intervocalic fricatives, (such as in 'comhachag', pronounced /kõaxak/), or Vowel + Vowel combinations, hence *fitheach*/ *fiach* as mentioned in Chapter 1 (Gillies 1993, p. 147). Spelling can therefore appear to be strange, especially to beginning students as mentioned by Iona in Extract 5.5 who also relates her experiences to other languages.

Extract 5.5 'The Spelling's Quite Bizarre'

SS: What about the actual language learning? What have you found difficult at this stage?

Iona: It doesn't fit into anything I've learned before. No, the spelling's quite

> *bizarre.* [laughs] *Um, it's not phonetic spelling like German and Italian. It doesn't – I suppose in a way I'm a bit lucky because some of the things in Doric*[51] *are a little bit similar so sometimes I can work things out. And also we read the Scots magazine and some of the place names in Scotland you get the Gaelic as well. And I've learned that* d u b h *is 'dark', and things like that just from the place names. Um, but I want to learn a bit more. I don't know if I'll ever be good enough to read any of the literature or anything.' [MD01.15]*

Iona claims that Doric has similarities to Scottish Gaelic, although she may be attributing this to the presence of phonemes that are not in English, rather than any linguistic similarities. Like Comhachag, Iona portrays Scottish Gaelic as entirely different. German and Italian are understandable as *'phonetic'* by Iona, and Comhachag describes the minority European language that she knows as not having *'extraneous'* elements as Scottish Gaelic does. Although Comhachag sees the writing system as impenetrable, this is not entirely the case for Iona who had previously tried to learn Japanese. Iona was more aware of some of the difficulties that she would face. She related her ability to distinguish words to her direct experience of learning other languages, sometimes by listening to them on the radio.

Extract 5.6 'You're Starting From Scratch''

Iona: *'It'll take a while to be able to break it up and because- I mean Italian's very close to French and I learned French from the age of eleven for five years and- and I guess that I had something to hang it on and English and German are similar so I had something to hang the German on. I don't really have anything to hang the Gaelic on because it is different. Like I had nothing to hang the- nothing to connect the Japanese and the English and that was very difficult. So maybe I might be finding the Gaelic hard. As I say, I've only had a couple of lessons, but it- it hasn't gone in as easily as the French and the Italian and the German and I think it's because I don't have the connections. And one of the first things you learn when you're teaching little children is that there have to be connections and you lead them from one thing to the other. And those little connections have to be made in the brain as well. Um, so if you haven't got a connection there to start off with, you're starting from scratch. I mean my brain cells are getting a bit old now so it might take me a little bit longer! Children pick things up a lot quicker than we do. But I think - I think that's why I found Japanese very difficult um 'cos I had to make the connections for myself. There was nothing in me already there that would help. So I think I'll have the same with the Gaelic but probably not as much because it's got the Romanised alphabet and also with my husband's background with Doric and having heard his parents speak Doric and being able to understand it and even use it a little bit and having read quite a lot in Scots [magazine] and having looked at quite a few of the place names- I mean I couldn't say the words to you but I can see them written down and I can say 'oh well, that means dark and that means big' and get a bit of an idea that that mountain means something-or-other big, something-or-other dark. I didn't have any of that in Japanese so that*

[51] Iona uses this term for a dialect of Scots spoken in a geographical area, although it is more usually used in reference to the style used by some nineteenth-century Scots revivalists (Crystal 1995, p. 330).

might be a little beginning.' [MD01.23].

Iona's experience as a language teacher is evident from her understandings of language similarities, of writing systems, as well as her use of place names as learning material. Her conviction that children had an easier time learning a language was motivated partly by her experience with teaching, and partly by having done Japanese classes with her daughter who learned it a great deal faster than she did. She questions whether she will be able to become good enough to read in Scottish Gaelic, displaying her doubts about her ability to learn it. Comhachag and Iona's lack of confidence is more widely seen in the survey as a whole.

5.1.3 Confidence in Ability of SoSGA Respondents

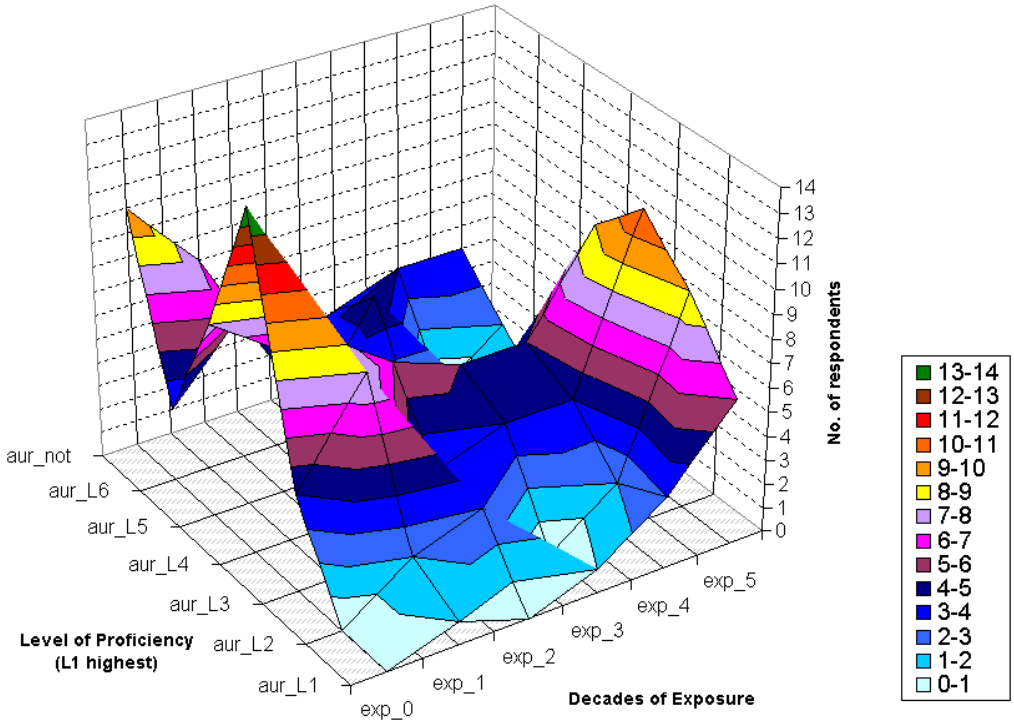
The general lack of confidence in ability in Scottish Gaelic is clear from the responses to the survey questionnaire. I divided the respondents into cohorts according to 'decades' of exposure. I then plotted a three-dimensional graph showing the contours of reported ability, against reported time of exposure, according to the number of people. I labelled the first decade 'exp_0' for those who reported exposure to the language for 10 years or less, all the way up to 'exp_5' for those who reported more than 50 years of exposure.

The questionnaire asked respondents to report level of ability on a Likert scale of 1 to 7, indicating strength of agreement in ability to read, write, speak or understand Scottish Gaelic (see Appendix 3). Speaking and Understanding were grouped together to reflect 'Aurality' (Figure 5.1), and reading and writing grouped together to reflect 'Literacy' (Figure 5.2). Category 'aur_L1' represents the strongest measure of confidence, and 'aur_L6' the lowest. 'Aur_not' indicates those who chose the 'Don't Speak/ Know' category. Note that a number of respondents expressed ability in one skill (such as speaking) when they had none in another (such as reading), which is why it was important to have a null category. These are not measures of actual ability, as there was no testing involved, so the results reflect confidence levels.

Figure 5.1 shows the results for oral and aural proficiency. The graph shows some notable 'peaks' corresponding to clusters of people who classify themselves similarly. The biggest cluster is in the 'exp_0', 'aur_L4' column. This meant that 14 people, who had been exposed to Scottish Gaelic for less than ten years, expressed disagreement that they could speak well enough to hold an informal conversation or to understand a Scottish Gaelic video language programme. Naturally, this figure will include a number of beginners, and the youngest segment of the respondents. This seems to be an unsurprising result, although I had initially

expected more people to express stronger (mild) disagreement that they could speak or understand at this stage in their exposure. There is, however, a smaller cluster of people with recent exposure who report complete inability.

Figure 5.1 SoSGA Respondents' Confidence in Oral/ Aural Proficiency



There is also a 'trough' in the middle years reflecting a generally smaller number of people with medium length of exposure. To conclude that this distribution shows a recent resurgence of interest in Scottish Gaelic would be unwise, however. It may merely show that my sampling of those interested in Scottish Gaelic managed to capture largely two groups: those recently exposed, and those within the community for a long time. There may be many more whose interest has faded and who did not respond to the questionnaire at all. This conclusion was drawn by one of the organisers of Scottish Gaelic courses. During a meeting with a representative of another organisation, when they were discussing what courses they should collectively offer, she commented on her perceptions (Extract 5.7).

<u>Extract 5.7 They'll Come to One</u>

Eagaraiche: 'My instinct now is that everyone says, 'Yes, yes, yes, I want to learn Gàidhlig', but after about one term they give up because it's too hard! But they are still interested in Gàidhlig things. So they come to the choir and they come to any ceilidhs *and things. So I'm thinking in terms of enrolling people in a systematic process of doing [a] course and finishing it and then coming to a residential workshop here - they'll come to one but they won't come to another' [MD22.13].*

One of the Scottish Gaelic teachers comments in Extracts 5.8a and 5.8b in similar terms, based on her experience.

Extract 5.8a To Be Entertained

Flathal: 'No well anyway the [...] classes packed up – adult classes always do - it used to worry me, and then somebody told me 'No, I go to another class and they've got even less'. They dwindle as the season goes on. They start with 30 but by the end of the session- end of the year they all fall away. Well [...] well, with a language you've got to work at it: people don't want to work at it. They treat it as a lecture, you know, you go to a lecture to be entertained.' [MD04.11]

Extract 5.8b Just Passing Through

Flathal: 'Oh, so many people went- I just counted them up one day, I used to get the names and addresses of the people. And in all about 300 passed through - but passed through is the operative word – adult [...] Gàidhlig classes, you know. Some of them were good too.' [MD04.14].

So in Flathal's experience many people were not remaining in the classes, even if they had initially intended to. She attributes this to the intellectual input required. There may be other factors too, such as the initial motivations for learning discussed in Chapter 6.
What is more surprising is that those who have been exposed to Scottish Gaelic for a number of decades express little more ability than the beginners – just mild agreement. The peak for people agreeing that they can hold an informal conversation or understand a TV programme (n=11) is at Level 3, equating to simple 'agreement' that they can do so. Nine respondents 'strongly agree' and fewer 'very strongly agree' (n=6).

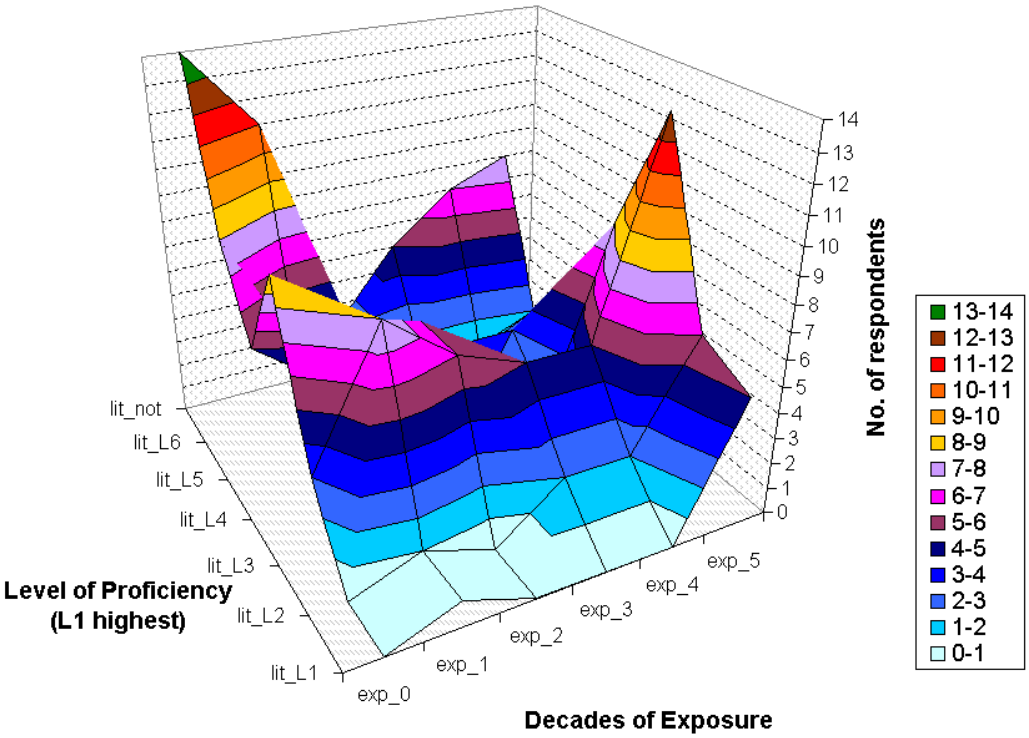
When literacy is examined, extremes are even more evident. In Figure 5.2 decades of exposure and levels of literacy are plotted on the same scales as in Figure 5.1. Respondents had to express their agreement to being able to read modern poems or songs, or to write a short passage without a dictionary. The largest peak in Figure 5.2 represents those new to the language who say that they are unable to read or write at all (n=14). Interestingly, they could have replied 'strongly disagree' if they had at least some ability, but clearly chose to present themselves as completely incapable in literacy. The next highest peak is those who have been exposed to the language for more than 50 years, but who nonetheless do not feel confident enough to express anything more than simple agreement to their ability (n=13). Of these 45 respondents who reported exposure of 50 years or more, a similar number expressed overall agreement (n=24) to those who expressed overall <u>dis</u>agreement (n=21) in their ability in literacy. Those who expressed disagreement included some who reported no literacy at all

(n=8)[52] despite oral/ aural ability. This was the case for one of the anonymous questionnaire responses.

Extract 5.9 Conversations Only

'After having advertised in the local paper to form a conversation group [...] I did not find anybody. I'm unable to read or write, only make conversations.' [SoSGA_Q043][53].

Figure 5.2 SoSGA Respondents' Confidence in Literacy



In comparison to the aural/ oral proficiency question, the spread of confidence was much narrower for the reading/ writing question. There was a greater cohesion around the mid-range of ability. In the speaking/ understanding, this had been much more spread out. This matches research into the domains of use of Scottish Gaelic where letter-writing was lowest (MacKinnon 1993, p. 513). The likelihood of needing to write in Scottish Gaelic is 'miniscule' (Lamb 2003, p. 15). It is too simple, though, to say that individual respondents generally reported higher skill levels in speaking and understanding than in reading and writing, as illustrated in Figure 5.3. Although more people did indeed rate their speaking and understanding better than their reading and writing, there were nonetheless a large number who had the opposite opinion.

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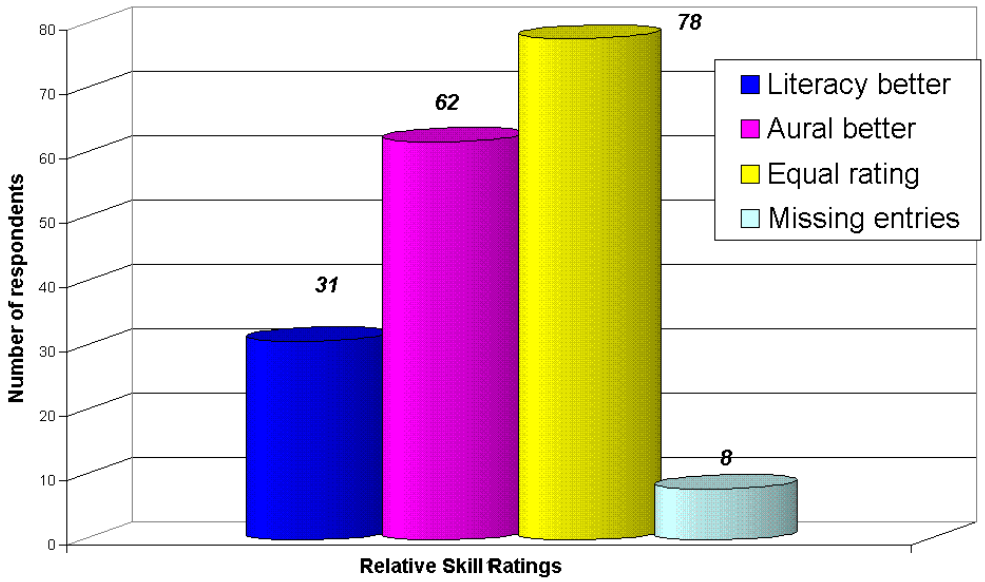
[52] This group of 8 also contained respondents who expressed themselves positively able to speak and understand (n=3) possibly reflecting their lack of opportunity to learn to read and write.
[53] This respondent reported having learned the language as a child.

Figure 5.3 SoSGA Respondents' Relative Language Skills Ratings



Overall, the data indicates that there is a lack of confidence in ability for all respondents irrespective of their length of exposure to the language. This clearly reflects a number of factors, probably most obviously the lack of community exposure to the language in Australia and New Zealand. It also probably reflects that, even for those who have grown up with the language, there is an element of language attrition in an English-dominated environment. One respondent commented to me, after we had participated in group email exchanges partly in Scottish Gaelic, that he often didn't write emails in Scottish Gaelic because it took longer, even though it was his first language [SoSGA_N4]. His entire professional life had occurred in English.

In another respect these results are surprising. Interpreting this data as merely reflecting lack of opportunity ignores an important aspect of who SoSGA respondents are: most are regular participants in Scottish Gaelic activities – either cultural, or else narrowly linguistic such as language classes. These people could be expected to be the keenest and the most able, particularly if they have been exposed for more than 50 years and still wish to respond to the survey. So even in these groups who presumably have maximised their exposure, either as teachers or students, there is a broad lack of confidence.

5.2 Structured Learning

5.2.1 Classroom Learning

Table 5.1 summarises the adult classes which were studied closely. These classes were run on a semi-formal basis, with a regular time-slot and either weekly or fortnightly. All of these

classes had taken place at least twice in the period studied, even though occasionally with intervals of many months[54].

Table 5.1 Selected Examples Providing Scottish Gaelic Tuition in Australia.

Class	Class Size	Class Location/ Affiliation	Fee Structure	Description
A	6 - 10	Adult Education Centre; City.	Fees paid before start of course.	After-hours. Regular classes over specified periods. Offered under the auspices of an educational institution.
B	Up to 6	Community Centre; Large town.	No fees. Voluntary donation for use of classroom.	After-hours. Semi-regular classes offered by individual using room in community centre.
C	5 – 8 (Two)	Ethnic Centre; Large town.	No fees. Use of classrooms for nominal donation.	Day-time. Regular classes offered by individual associated with Ethnic cultural centre.
D	3 - 4	Cultural Organisation; City.	No fees. Offered by individual using own resources.	After-hours. Regular classes according to need, related to a specific cultural activity.

In all classes, there were more females than males and overall the gender ratio was slightly less than 2 to 1. The numbers involved were small, suggesting caution about a comparison to school-level ratios. Couples attended some classes. All classes used at least one of two teaching guides, both produced in Scotland, and of the 'teach yourself' type. The course book or video was not routinely used in all of the classes, but every class used one for reference. All classes used supplementary material supplied by the teacher.

Only in Class A was the teacher provided with remuneration by the institution. Class A was also structured in such a way that students could potentially progress in levels. The institution awarded certificates, demonstrating that the student had completed the course, based on their attendance and the satisfaction of the teacher. This was the only such class that I knew of that had such a formalised structure. Class B was organised and run entirely by an individual who had an (unrelated) affiliation to the location of the classes. This was attended irregularly by some students, but regularly by about half. Class C was divided into two streams run by the same person and differentiated according to the teacher's assessment of student ability. This class followed the outline of the teaching book, but made diversions into other areas. Class D was the only class that occurred in someone's home and was closely associated with the

[54] A number of identifying details are left out in order to preserve anonymity.

cultural organisation to which the students and teacher belonged. This therefore also gave them common purpose, as the aim was to achieve a particular level of fluency, tested under the auspices of an external (Scottish) authority. Classes A and B were taught by people who considered themselves native speakers and C and D by people who described themselves as fluent learners. Only class C took place during working hours and so students were either retired or not working, with one exception who worked part-time. All of the other classes had a mix of ages with no obvious pattern discernible except the dominance of adults. One class had a school student, none had young children.

5.2.2 Informal Learning

The wide variety of informal learning groups was quite surprising. As many of these were either short-lived or else continued to evolve, they are only commented on in general. Some were organised into 'conversation circles', occasionally centred on a fluent or native speaker. The membership overlap was often with a cultural organisation, such as a choir, but this fluctuated. Many groups contained individuals who had no organisational affiliations, either because they had no interest in related cultural activities, or else because they were unable to commit to the time requirements of a cultural activity. All of the conversation circles and self-help classes of which I was aware, took place outside of working hours. Beyond this, I knew of a number of individuals who had learned from recorded materials or self-help books. One of the self-help groups had originally started with a native speaker teacher who later could no longer commit to the classes. She had encouraged them to continue, and was still available for advice. She supports their independence in Extract 5.10.

Extract 5.10 Gaining Independence

Respondent 065: 'This is adults; this is the only access of any Gàidhlig learning in [this area] that I know of. […] And eventually they approached the headmaster at [the school] and the headmaster was from [Scotland] and I knew him quite well and so he said 'yes, of course' he was happy because he was Scottish and half Highland so he was more than delighted to let them have a room at [the school]. So they've got two classrooms there, so sometimes I'll take some into one classroom and get them doing other things. But this past year they've been doing it themselves because I haven't been able to keep going and they've done- they've been working erm- a television- a- a video erm, like a programme- been listening to videos […]. So they've been doing that for the last almost twelve months […] they've kept going very well. And now and again I'll go up and recap with them and you know see how they're going and that. But hopefully when this term starts again I'll go on a more regular basis. But I don't want to take away that independence from them now because I was finding I was doing the whole class and they were listening and they were enjoying it but they weren't going home and doing any for themselves they were just coming back the next week and getting

> *more. So this has been good because they haven't had me all year so they had to do their own- [one of them] is quite independent he would do it anyway [...] so that's the stage they're at with the class and I think there's about maybe ten go regularly now and one or two drift in or out a bit.' [MD02.09]*

Respondent 065 is very encouraging and quite certain that they are able to help themselves in learning. She believes that being present too much would make the students lazier – but importantly does not see herself as indispensable to their learning. This contrasts sharply with what other respondents feel about the need for authentic language teachers (Section 6.5.2).

5.2.3 Special Events

Some Scottish Gaelic organisations in Australia hold classes or events annually, or are organised when people are available. These can take the form of a 'Gàidhlig Day', for example, or a weekend away with a number of classes over consecutive days. These involve a large amount of planning, especially as the organisations do not generally own locations themselves for this sort of event. This means that those planning the events not only have to prepare the lesson plans and curriculum, but also pre-book and pre-pay the accommodation and sometimes help to arrange transport to the venues. These tasks have to be performed outside of their professional lives. This is above and beyond, of course, the time donated by the volunteer teachers.

5.2.3.1 Gaelic Weekends and Gaelic Days

One of the cultural organisations I studied, 'Organisation 1' was primarily involved with language and general cultural matters. They had an official membership of about one hundred (in 2002), but were closely linked to two or three other organisations with overlapping remits. They were also linked via the people that held office in the organisation, as a number of them were also members of other organisations. Therefore they had resources to call upon beyond merely their own membership. They were also able to call upon the help of a small number of people who were not officially members, but who were sympathetic to the general aims of using and preserving Scottish Gaelic. This meant that Organisation 1 was able to organise a number of events that could call on a slightly wider group than just their own membership for participation. It is important to note, however, that for many of the events that I attended under the aegis of Organisation 1, it was usually the same people who were at the forefront. Organisation 1 prepared a weekend programme for the purposes of intensive language classes. It attracted 32 people and involved five teachers – where 16 students had originally been expected to attend [MD10.50]. The costs were A$195 for members and A$220 for non-

members of the organisation, although those who were non-members received a year's free membership of the organisation. The same rates were applied the following year when the event was repeated. This covered the accommodation and food for the entire weekend at a conference centre on the outskirts of one of the larger cities. I was later informed that a slight profit had unexpectedly been made, thanks to the number attending.

The weekend was divided between a number of whole-group activities interspersed with classes in smaller groups. The classes were structured according to self-reported ability, with four to eight students per class. Eagaraiche herself drew up the curricula for each class in consultation with the teachers. These were largely based on learning grammatical or phonological principles. (Detailed discussion of class content is examined further in sections below.) Group activities included a quiz, and a *cèilidh* (concert) on the Saturday night at which people performed music, songs, sketches or recitals in Scottish Gaelic. Although more formally structured, this was somewhat reminiscent of the sort of *cèilidh* that might stereotypically have happened in the Western Isles in previous generations where everyone performed their 'party piece' (Lamb 2003, p. 9). A semi-professional fiddle group was also hired to provide further musical content. According to conversations I had with the principal organiser, Eagaraiche, the feedback forms were very positive and almost all of the students expressed their desire for a similar weekend the following year.

5.2.3.2 Gaelic Days as Support for Other Groups

An important point about intensive weekends is that they are complementary to other events. The majority of the people who attended the weekend also participated in other organisations such as the choir, or radio broadcasts or other regular classes elsewhere. Therefore only a small number of the students were unknown to the other attendees. The intensive weekend described in 5.2.3.1 did seem to focus a number of issues both for those who were beginners, as well as those who were more proficient. Some students had never been exposed to Gàidhlig at all, but managed to learn something and then use it during the weekend, for example at the *cèilidh.* Fingal talks about this at the last meeting of the weekend in Extract 5.11.

Extract 5.11 'Grab This Stuff and Go With It'

Fingal: ' ... I want to thank firstly everybody for attending – it's just been spectacular. Thank you for bringing your interest and your enthusiasm and your talents, everybody, it was really exciting to hear people blossoming and growing, just grab this stuff and go with it. I was really impressed last night with everybody who jumped up and did stuff. Particularly with people who've never either got up in front of people before or never opened their mouth to speak a word of Gàidhlig. It was really exciting to have you do that, so everybody, give yourselves a pat on

> *the back, it's just fantastic. I especially want to thank the teachers for your time.* [applause] *We probably could never put it into words but it really means a lot to us, so thank you very much.' [MD10.47-48].*

The general tone and the praise leave the impression of a very positive occasion – not just linguistically, but also in terms of personal development and self-confidence, as expressed by Fingal. In the following year, the event took place again, with a 'workshop' format. Some of the feedback comments were published in a follow-up newsletter[55]:

> 'The encouragement given to the beginners made me want to learn more'.

The environment was felt to be very conducive to learning:

> 'The number and variety of workshops at the basic level gave me wide exposure to many aspects of the language. Although some of these I was familiar with from books, the experience of using them and hearing others use them was the special benefit I gained […]. The fun we had also helped make it a very positive experience. The worksheets taken away from each workshop are spot-on for studying at home. They come to life compared to text from books that I've not had first hand experience with. I can remember so much more about pronunciation and the flow of words after having used them successfully in the workshop environment.'

One aspect of this comes across very clearly, and is one that I see as general for the learners that I studied – the lack of opportunity for conversing face-to-face. Some learners who came to such events for the first time had only ever been exposed to Scottish Gaelic through teach-yourself style tapes and books, with variable success. In this context it is easy to understand how important such events are. However, the very nature of it being a weekend may also mean that positive benefits are short-lived, or that issues arise which are never resolved. An example of this is discussed a couple of weeks after a Gàidhlig weekend. Some of those involved meet again, and Extract 5.12 Glaschu discusses their ability to improve their Scottish Gaelic sounds in relation to the likely success of such dedicated classes.

Extract 5.12 'A Barrier We'll Never Overcome'

Glaschu: *'And as to individual events and classes, I thought the one run by [Organisation 1] two weeks ago was excellent. It was very constructive. It hearkened back almost to the comments – not just to us but thinking about Gàidhlig and the adjudicators [at an international competition] if they were stuck – haha – how should I put it? I always felt that, if indeed it were a very close-run thing and it was really hard against it, they would say 'well, it's the Gàidhlig 'L' that makes the difference'* [laughs]. *And we had some examples of that – um - two weeks ago and, er, after listening to that, I doubt very much – I mean I thought I knew how to make the sound but when you hear one, two, three-- four, five, six native speakers saying their version of a word, including the Gàidhlig 'L' – erm, one which happened to be very neutral - put it that way - I doubt very much*

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[55] Reference suppressed for anonymity.

> *whether* *<u>anyone</u>* *can claim that they know precisely how to say it to the satisfaction of everybody else. Erm, so I'm just saying that we do- we do the best we can but this is a barrier we'll never overcome!* [laughs] *'Cos it'll get you probably every time… ' [MD11.16].*

I believe that there are actually two issues at work here. Firstly, and probably more importantly, is the difficulty for learners of Scottish Gaelic acquiring the distinction between a velar and an alveolar, lateral approximant: /ɫ/ vs. /l/. This phonemic contrast is absent in English, but Glaschu may have a point regarding individual variation. I was present at the same meeting where this was demonstrated, and I can attest to both the confusion amongst the learners, as well as the individual variation from those demonstrating the difference. My instinct would be to attribute this to a combination of actual phonetic variation, as well as the fact that the native speakers came from different dialect areas. It was clear that the distinction was a difficult one for learners to grasp.

In terms of production, phonemic collapse is a problem that many learners struggle with in the classes which I attended. This is particularly apparent in specific cases. Table 5.2 shows common cases of phonemic collapse amongst the early learners where I attended classes [SoSGA_N4]. Some of these are probably due to lack of a phoneme in English, such as /x/, but many beginners generally reduce fricatives to stops. Others, such as /ʃ/, are probably related to orthographic issues: a typical orthographic representation in Scottish Gaelic is <-si-> or <-se-> where <i> or <e> mark consonantal quality. Hence <-sa-> is /sa/ and <-si-> is /ʃ/ and this is something which escapes learners for some time. It may also be a particular case of a more general problem of difficulty in acquiring palatalisation as a grammatical rule. It is almost certainly intensified by the overlap with the digraph <-sh-> in English for /ʃ/. Palatalisation is an important morphophonemic process in Scottish Gaelic, appearing in case and number marking as well adjectival declension (Lamb 2003, p. 20), and therefore these distinctions are not trivial[56].

Other examples include consonant-cluster reduction, often associated with fricative-stop combinations, and a lack of pre-aspiration [SoSGA_N4]. Geminates present a problem, with the name 'Anna', providing an example of both reduction of diphthong to simple vowel and an inability to distinguish /nn/ from /n/ [MD36.37]. Prosody was often inappropriately based on that of English and sentence-initial question forms were frequently omitted [SoSGA_N4].

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[56] Although I have concentrated on sounds here, there are other important errors that occur, such as the failure to produce fusional forms of pronouns – commented on by a number of teachers.

Table 5.2 Typical Examples of Phonemic Collapse in Beginning Students

Target	Realisations	Orthography
/x/	/k/; /h/	<-ch->
/ɣ/	/g/; /j/	<-dh->; <-gh->
/ʃ/ Palatal	/s/ Non-palatal	<-si->; <-se-> <-Ci->; <-Ce->
/ɫ/	/l/	<-ll->; <-l->
/t̪/; /d̪/ Dental	/t/; /d/ Non-dental	<-t->; <-d->
/ʰC/; /hC/; /xC/ Pre-aspiration	/C/	<-VC-> <-c->; <-p->; <-t-> C= voiceless stop

In a similar vein to Wray *et al.* (2003), sound errors can be classified as falling into three categories: sounds not occurring in English, graphemes representing different sounds to those in English, and those with multiple pronunciation (Wray, Evans et al. 2003, p. 61). But I believe that there is another crucial factor contributing to the types of errors: that many of those learning were acquainted with text well before learning spoken forms. The learners are almost universally English L1 speakers, therefore English understandings of orthography may predominate. Recall that Comhachag and Iona both faced this problem (Extracts 5.4 and 5.5). This was also true of the choir studied by Wray *et al.* (2003) who report that they annotated their texts with mnemonics and pseudo-phonetic transcriptions based on English orthography (Wray, Evans et al. 2003, p. 61). Pseudo-phonetic transcriptions were widely used by SoSGA respondents in classes, and extensively in the choirs.

5.3 Learning in a Choir

Learning as part of a choir is one of the strategies that some SoSGA respondents report as a route to better fluency. Comhachag describes it in terms of rhythm and language.

Extract 5.13 Singing Helps Fluidity

Comhachag: 'The choirs! Now this is interesting; music, I think, gives you an added ease, or fluency. Because I noticed, the few [Gaelic learning events] that I went to, um, some of the old folk tunes, the traditional tunes, and um, to music you found that it was very easy to-… to get this- liquid fluidity in the language, whereas, you know, reading it, I found it difficult, and in speech. And I don't know what it was because- the tunes, of course, were familiar because I knew the tunes from my childhood and of course then, because then you're keeping up with the rhythm you get involved with the rhythm and I think you- it's a different part of your brain that operates, or something, and I found that – hey- this is- I can get into the feel, my mouth can get into the feel, because your mouth has to feel comfortable. You know, every language, I have noticed that you have to set your

mouth in a different way […] and I even found that when I used to go down to visit my parents in [town name] and would get into the- […] start speaking in the dialect […] and I'd come back and it was- it was difficult then to sort of set my mouth […]. And even, I notice, in [the other language] if I haven't spoken for a while, I find it awkward to get into it, but the afterwards, you know, and it just seems that your tongue, or your mouth, you're set in a different way. […]
And so I found that singing […] you're instinctively going into the next phrase and so you're sliding over all these awkward bits that would stop you when you're trying to speak. […] And I've heard a lot of people say that: that when you're singing you […] seem to be able to mimic – I don't know if it's mimicry or not. You mimic the original sound, so you find that it's very easy, you're not conscious of trying to sound like it, it's just an automatic thing.' [MD24.34-36]

Comhachag evidently perceives a different brain activity as part of the process of creating fluidity. Mouth and brain are involved – physical and mental changes, in her view. Mimicry was also an aspect that the United States Welsh choir appealed to as part of the process of learning (Wray, Evans et al. 2003, p. 62). This technique was regularly used by the choirs that I studied during almost all rehearsals where a fluent or native speaker would read the line and the choir themselves would repeat it. This occurred either before or after singing the song. Some care was taken to make sure that individuals were not struggling silently, but generally the lines were read and repeated as a group.

Some members of the choirs were aware of different strategies that they could use, but most were resigned to just having to learn things by rote. The first step was often to learn the lyrics of the song as text – a feat of memory that was not dependant on understanding meaning. Thereafter the pronunciation was learned as a second step. Two choir members describe this just after one of their performances.

Extract 5.14 Learn First, Pronounce Later

Clatho: *'[I] should enunciate better! Well, I've been feeling like that for a few days. I should be able to enunciate a bit better, which I can't do unless I learn the words, let alone learn how to- the refinements of starting and finishing the words.*
SS: *You need to learn the words before you can pronounce them?*
Morna: *Yes*
Clatho: *Well, you need to get-*
Morna: *Well, as I have found, you really actually need to learn how to pronounce them as you go otherwise old habits stick in, like [tœːv t̪œːv][57] – I wish you'd picked me up on that before [tʰ, t̪]. I think today it was probably nerves that brought me unstuck because I did actually know that my [tœːv t̪œːv]shouldn't be [tʰɐːv]. [t̪œːv], [t̪œːv], oh well.*
Clatho: *I was very impressed with Y's capacity to- she'd been saying [faliəs] the whole thing, and it's very hard to try and correct someone when you're sort of*

[57] 'taobh', side.

> *two and a half weeks or months or whatever it is down the line. I said I don't think it's that and eventually I did sort of broach the subject and she'd been singing it like that all the way through the song and she managed to change it in a couple of days. I was very impressed with that, you know once you get something locked in–' [MD36.46].*

Morna shows evidence of having acquired an ability to produce dental consonants in word-initial position, although the stress of performance makes her revert to previous articulations. Clatho is convinced that there is a stage at which elements of the language get 'locked' or in place after which changing them is harder. For both of them, self-awareness of sounds is an issue, and other speakers have to be relied on for correction.

5.3.1 The Use of Recordings

One innovative strategy used by the choirs to learn pronunciation, was the recording of tapes. One of the fluent speakers would recite the lyrics and record it. Copies of these tapes would be made and distributed to the members so that they could listen to it at home and practise. In this way, there was the availability of exposure on demand. In some cases this was also done for individuals who were trying to learn songs, as one respondent reported.

Extract 5.15 Speaking the Words into Tapes

Respondent 065: *'So I taped that one as well so if he likes the tune I'll speak the words into the tape for him and he can work it out. But last weekend, or the weekend before, [we] did 15 or 16 tapes […] one after the other for, you know. I did one and spoke the words slowly onto it and then […] the conductor played the music and then we spoke the words again and the music and so each person in the choir now – or a couple, there are some husbands and wife groups, couples – so they've all got a copy of that now so that's what they're working on for next [week]' [MD02.05].*

Of course this is in effect a standardisation, according to the speech of the person doing the recording. It also often meant that one person worked very hard at the task, not necessarily a rewarding one. In some cases the choirs started asking themselves if it was worth the effort [MD11.17]. In other cases, performers had learned songs and lyrics from commercial recordings, as Eagaraiche did at one of the events. She had picked a song that she particularly liked and learned it to perform at the next appropriate occasion [MD08.23].

5.3.2 Language and Song

An indication that meaning is a different issue altogether is highlighted by the fact that some words are never learned for their meaning. It is the orthography and pronunciation that are crucial. As part of the same exchange in Extract 5.11, Morna and Clatho emphasise how they

concentrate on the pronunciation aspects rather than the meaning.

Extract 5.16 Opaqueness of Meaning

Morna: […] I don't know if it's 'gold' just that its 'o.r.'
[…]
Clatho: Half the time I can't get to the end of the word 'cos I'm just sort of mouthing the general sound of the middle. [MD36.47]

Meaning can therefore remain opaque, despite an ability to pronounce the words adequately for performance. Pronunciation is also a dynamic process that for Clatho that doesn't necessarily need to be pre-prepared before she starts speaking a word.

The vocabulary used in songs is potentially a difficult issue for learners, as it may be different to conversational vocabulary. At a competition in Scotland, Morna asked a nearby audience member about the title of a song performed by one of the competitors. After some explanation of the meaning, the audience member commented on the vocabulary used.

Extract 5.17 'Not a Word You'd Use Every Day'

Anonymous: 'It's not a word you'd use!
Morna: But a lot of them are not, are they?
Anonymous: It's not a word you'd use every day. You'd have some other slang word to use, or a swear word! [laughter]
Morna: They're the bits our teachers never teach us. The only teachers we can get […] they tell us there's no swearwords in Gàidhlig.
Anonymous: I'll tell you this, when you say something in Gàidhlig it's very expressive. It loses a lot in translation' [MD36.07].

Morna is aware that she is not using everyday language, and that she does not know some linguistic registers. She knows that singing in Scottish Gaelic does not necessarily give access to the full range of the language and that it is an artistic endeavour. Such an analysis is also part of the discourse of the experts in the field. During an adjudication of one of the competitions in Scotland (Extract 5.18), the adjudicator discussed the prescribed song.

Extract 5.18 'I have never heard these words used.'

Adjudicator1: '[I]t was one of the favourites of its time. It's now back in favour […] but I have to make this criticism because I can see there are difficulties created for choir conductors and teachers of Gàidhlig in the choice of verses that you have confronted – and this is not a good choice of three verses. There are apparent contradictions to- The flow of words is simply not reminiscent of what I regard [the poet] at his best – or even at his worst. Some of these phrases were giving you difficulty: [phrase][58] *I have never heard these words used!* [Another phrase] *which gives you a great flow of vowel sounds which is what a Gàidhlig song is all about. Well, we've lost that in this sort of interpretation. And it is perfectly correct to say in Gàidhlig* [this phrase] *and drop the 'n', forget about the*

[58] Suppressed for anonymity.

> *'n' you don't need it […] in order to give you the proper flow. There are other things:* [another phrase]. *To my mind that is simply the poet taking a little bit of liberty with the 7-day week and reducing it to a six-day calendar in order to get the effect...' [MD37.56].*

The adjudicator is here quite adamant that the language is a deviation or an enhancement for the purposes of artistic endeavour. The words are not the real language. But it is also important to comment on what he reveals in his adjudication about the likely participants: 'choir conductors and teachers of Gàidhlig'. He knows that it is not people who have unfettered access to the language that are singing in that competition – many of them will probably be learners. That the adjudicator feels compelled to comment in this way reveals his understanding that the language may sometimes be opaque to those singing it.

5.3.3 Enough to Sing With

Complete access to language may not be crucial for all choir participants. Some members commented to me that they were learning the language only well enough to be able to better enjoy their singing. They wanted to reach a minimum level of proficiency. For one of the major competitions, choir members have to achieve a certified standard. This is judged by an accredited member of an organisation in the U.K. that has language jurisdiction for such competitions. Gealmhìn had undergone language-testing in order to take part in the competition.

Extract 5.19 'It was the hardest thing I've ever done'

Gealmhìn: 'It was the hardest thing I've ever done! It was so nerve-wracking! […] We went over to [the examiners']. They took us alphabetically […] Just a conversation – Respondent 218 said 'They'll stretch you until he thinks you've had enough' so we all did that […] and we came out and for the first time ever we got a written test. Just a little translation. It was in Gàidhlig and we had to translate it.

SS: Orally or … ?

Gealmhìn: Automatically, yeah. […] Then she gave us afternoon tea and we still didn't know if we had passed. M was going off so she had to leave and she was saying 'Madness, this is madness putting ourselves through this!' ' [MD35.11-12].

Gealmhìn had previously commented to me that she had no illusions about her ability to learn the language but had really wanted to learn more in order to participate in the singing more fully. This testing was the culmination of about one year's weekly lessons.

While preparing for one of the Gàidhlig Days, Eagaraiche commented that people wished to learn just enough Scottish Gaelic in order to participate in some of the culture [SoSGA_N1]. She was very concerned to provide enough language input so that people could learn, but was aware that for many of those attending, only a minimal input was required. This therefore

affected how she prepared the curriculum, being careful not to make it too intensive or grammatically orientated.

5.4 Scottish Gaelic Radio Broadcasting

5.4.1 Some Background to SBS Broadcasting in Australia

Australian broadcasting policy changed dramatically in the 1970s. Almost no foreign languages had been broadcast on Australian television since its introduction in 1956 up until 1972 (Ozolins 1993, p. 126). There was a gradual increase in 'community' radio stations from the 1960s but by the 1977 federal elections both major political parties (Labor and the Liberals) had committed themselves to establishing 'ethnic' television (Ozolins 1993, p. 126). This era is also seen as the culmination of the formative phase of Australian multiculturalism by Lopez (2000). The background to changes had been political, with growing pressure to provide broadcast provision for Australia's immigrant communities (Ozolins 1993, p. 121). One change came in 1974 with the removal of the 2.5 percent limit on total foreign language broadcasting imposed on the Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC)[59] (Ozolins 1993, p. 121). The Board of the ABC nonetheless insisted that foreign language broadcasts would have to be followed by an explanation in English (Ozolins 1993, p. 121). By April 1974 there were some 'access' broadcasts in Italian and by 1975 the Commissioner for Community Relations (Al Grassby) proposed the creation of ethnic radio stations (Ozolins 1993, p. 122). Ozolins (1993) discusses how aspects of (Labor) government policy were regarded as an 'imposition' on the ABC, but by May 1975 station 3ZZ was 'broadcasting four days a week in 35 LOTEs' (Ozolins 1993, p. 124).

Lopez (2000) discusses how 'the well-organised ethnic rights activists and ethnic organisation leaders' gained key positions on a media campaign committee that lobbied the ABC (Lopez 2000, p. 402). This also had the consequence that broadcasts 'reflected a broader spectrum of political opinion than in mainstream Australian politics' (Lopez 2000, p. 404). The proponents of multiculturalism involved with the running of 3ZZ regarded it as proof that Australia had made multiculturalism work, in the shape of 'the first publicly funded institution to reflect multicultural values' (Lopez 2000, p. 406).

In 1977, the Liberal government closed 3ZZ after its election victory (Ozolins 1993, p. 124). But the pressure to provide ethnic broadcasting was still there, and the new government set up

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[59] By 1981 it had become the Australian Broadcasting Corporation Australia, C. o. (1981). The ABC in Review. National Broadcasting in the 1980s. Canberra, Committee of Review of the Australian Broadcasting Corporation..

the Special Broadcasting Services (SBS) as an independent statutory body in 1978 (Ozolins 1993, p. 126). In 1979 the government commissioned a discussion paper to 'set out the broad objectives of ethnic television' (Ozolins 1993, p. 165). These were that communities should have broadcasts in their own language as well as providing an 'educational and informational television service for all Australians' (Ozolins 1993, p. 165). Against the background of criticisms of the politicisation of 'ethnic' broadcasting, references in later government reports changed to 'multicultural' and 'multilingual' broadcasts (Ozolins 1993, p. 166). The SBS service was launched in October 1980 although initially restricted to Sydney and Melbourne (Ozolins 1993, p. 166). Opposition to the service continued to surface in parliament where it was described as wasteful of taxpayers money, and criticised for its small audience share[60] (Ozolins 1993, p. 167). But Ozolins (1993) also highlights that the ABC's submissions to government committees displayed their own desires for multilingual airtime (Ozolins 1993, p. 167). The ABC also expressed concerns that ethnic communities would not learn about Australian life 'nor contribute to it if they remain located in their own language groups' (Australia 1981) quoted in (Ozolins 1993, p. 168). By 1981, the SBS suggested a role for itself as helping to develop multiculturalism in Australia through ethnic radio by developing a national network instead of a collection of local community (EA, 'Ethnic Affairs') stations (Australia 1981, p. 170). English, in this conception, was to be encouraged 'alongside community languages and attract and service the descendants of migrants' (Green 1984, p. 36; Ozolins 1993, p. 171). This was strongly opposed by the Connor Report of 1985 which maintained that LOTEs should be used in radio broadcasts: 'The main means of maintaining the different cultural traditions is through the use of the community language' (Australia 1985, v.1 p. 331) quoted in (Ozolins 1993, p. 172). In this conception, LOTEs were a medium for cultural maintenance for those who were not English speaking. The differences between SBS radio and television were also becoming apparent: 53 percent of all SBS television programmes were already in English by the mid-80s (Ozolins 1993, p. 172). Exposure to non-English television programmes was presented as a means of Australians overcoming their isolation (Ozolins 1993, p. 172).

Overall, Ozolins (1993) interprets this period as reflecting a gradual move away from 'ethnic' towards 'multicultural', and of the 'mainstreaming' of such broadcasts (Ozolins 1993, p. 173). This meant a desire for less language-specific content, and the presentation of a multicultural

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[60] Ozolins (1993, p.167) quotes an extract from a 1980s parliamentary debate where Ian Cameron, an opposition National Party member claims that it was only the 'trendy' Australians and the 'socialists in and around Canberra and those sorts of people' who watched the service.

Australia having transcended specific migrant and ethnic interests – not to mention the opportunities for cost-cutting for lesser-used services (Ozolins 1993, p. 173). This was also the case for education, where 'multilingual education should become part of the responsibilities and operations of the school systems' rather that a separate, federal program (Ozolins 1993, p. 177). Despite various budget threats (Ozolins 1993, p. 178) the SBS has continued providing a national broadcasting platform for LOTEs.

5.4.2 Starting Scottish Gaelic Broadcasts on SBS

By the late 1980s, there were some moves to obtaining provision for Scottish Gaelic within the SBS radio services. Diùranach commented on the beginning of the broadcasts in one of the large cities. In the original conception, broadcasts in Scottish Gaelic had come from one of two large cities in alternating weeks. Each week, a small group (three to four people) would arrange an hour-long broadcast in Scottish Gaelic which included news, music and a round-up of events in the Antipodes and elsewhere, sometimes Canada and Scotland, for example. After some years they had to find a new presenter as the original members retired. Importantly, for Diùranach this person was a highly regarded native speaker and therefore would have broadcast in good quality Gàidhlig in his native dialect. Unfortunately the arrangement did not work, and the broadcasts were centralised in the second location when Diùranach's group *'failed to find an adequate successor'* [MD09.52]. Henceforward, the broadcasts came from one of the cities only.

Extract 5.20 A Success Story

Diùranach: ' ... in the meantime the man whose name escapes me at the moment – he's probably still doing the broadcasting in [city X] [...] he's not a Gaelic native speaker but has acquired himself some Gaelic - I'm not sure about his accent, but that's something else – has taken it over and it comes in the main, if not totally, from [city X]. [...]

SS: And [the SBS] supplied you with all the materials for recording and all the studio time, and they also paid you as employees of the SBS, did they in the beginning, or not? Or was it largely on a volunteer basis?

Diùranach: Do you know, I can't remember! I can't remember getting any money. I probably did, wasn't much if they did – I'd remember it.

SS: When you initially started did you feel they were supportive?

Diùranach: Yes, they were quite willing. The opposition came, well, mainly, I guess, from other ethnic communities. It's been a success story on the whole.' [MD09.52]

Diùranach is positive about the usefulness of the broadcasts despite his commenting on the accent of the presenter. He also places the broadcasts in the context of a group of ethnic languages, into which the Celtic languages fit. Diùranach had told me in Extract 5.21 that as

part of the process of starting the broadcasts, they had lobbied the SBS alongside the Irish speakers. I asked about the nature of the co-operation between the groups.

Extract 5.21 Essentially the Same Languages

Diùranach: 'Well we never really had any real co-operation thereafter. They had their monthly broadcast and we had ours. The Welsh acquired one, which is still going, I believe. We know the Irish, we co-operate with them on [a regional council C], of course, […] and the Irish are well represented to this day on the [council C], but co-operation in detailed programming and the like, no. They are two languages, of course, and though essentially the same language, have diverged in the last two hundred years for a variety of reasons. They're recognisably the same language but they're not mutually intelligible now except, I'm told, between the fishermen of Islay and the fishermen of Donegal. How true that is, I don't know, being neither.' [MD09.54].

A story about the start of the programme also appeared in print in issue 51 of *An Teachdaire Gaidhealach*[61]. The author described how the programme had been started some twenty years beforehand after an article had appeared in a national newspaper:

> 'An article appeared in the Sydney Morning Herald indicating that the attractive and well-known actress of Irish origin – Clare Dunne – had organised an Irish program on SBS. This was part of the magnificent, still continuing, Australian Government initiative of broadcasting in the languages of origin to the many post-war migrants. A group of four Australian Scots noticed this and decided there should similarly be a Scots Gaelic program. […] They approached and interviewed [the] then head of SBS Radio, who was helpful. Clare Dunne sat in with us supportively. The proposal had to go to the Board of SBS where one immigrant spokesman objected that SBS was not in the business of reviving dead languages. […] He was overruled and the program started.' (MacAlasdair 2000, p. 5).

So despite the separation of two groups on the basis of nationality, MacAlasdair (2000) asserts that the languages are very close[62]. There was clearly no intention to combine the two broadcasts under a general rubric of 'Gaelic' – and during our discussion Diùranach had expressed his disagreement that previous Australian censuses had not distinguished between Irish and Scottish Gaelic (1991, 1996, 2001 censuses do). This indicates that for Diùranach, the representations are more important in terms of national origin than they are in terms of linguistic divisions. This is also strengthened by comments elsewhere on the erection of Celtic monuments, discussed in Section 5.5.

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[61] The newsletter of Commun Gàidhlig Astràilia.

[62] Gillies (1993) notes that a distinctive Perthshire Gaelic, at least, is evident in texts from the sixteenth century, and other features separating Scottish Gaelic may go back further to the eleventh century. Many surviving texts are written in a pan-Gaelic Classical Irish, however, possibly obscuring local vernaculars (Gillies 1993, p 145). Schmidt (1993, pp. 78-79) discusses possibilities that 'Eastern' and 'Western' Goidelics separated anywhere between the eighth and thirteenth centuries.

5.4.3 Inherent Contradictions?

Overall, there are two potentially contradictory issues involved in the broadcasting of Scottish Gaelic in Australia. On the one hand, there is the ensuring of the presence of LOTEs on air in Australia – something seen as having been met as far as Diùranach is concerned. For him this is linked to adequate representation of one's ethnicity – and this fits with Australia presenting itself as a multicultural nation with a collection of harmonious ethnicities. On the other hand, there is the perceived role of broadcast media to provide information to immigrants in their native language when they have little English. This is, of course, exceedingly unlikely to apply to speakers of Scottish Gaelic. Diùranach is aware of these different purposes.

Extract 5.22 An Open Question

Diùranach: There's always a question, of course, and nobody ever forced it to the end, as to whether the purpose of the SBS broadcast – not just in Scotch Gaelic – was to keep people involved in their native language of what was happening, or to use English and their native language in order to improve their English. I think in practise it's been seen as giving people with an overseas language the chance to hear that language and the teaching of English has been something else. […] But it was always a question as to what the intention of the original legislation was.' [MD09.53b].

Nonetheless, through effective lobbying, the programme was allowed to continue for about twenty years until other pressures intervened, as discussed in Section 5.4.7.

5.4.4 Dealing With the Organisation

In the other city which had Scottish Gaelic broadcasting, Muc-mhara explained that in the 1980s they had started separately under the auspices of the SBS and had run the program for at least twelve years. There were three other people working in the team, all native speakers, and they had put together an hour-long program to be broadcast weekly. This had initially been transmitted in the local area before a national network had started. They had continued until they felt that the bureaucratic pressure from the SBS, as well as some of the team reaching retirement age, made them unable to continue. One of the difficult issues to cope with was operational changes within the SBS leading to their being tested in Gàidhlig.

Extract 5.23 So Far Removed from Gàidhlig

Muc-mhara: 'I couldn't be sure but I think it was the early 80s that it started. We had three [other] members […] and we started humbly in a little box studio.
SS: And were you actually paid by SBS at that stage as well?
Muc-mhara: Yes [as] broadcasters, yes. And then later on they started trying to streamline it by having everyone at the same level and having to sit exams and so on. [They were] just trying to get everyone on a par.
SS: But then you said the translation they gave you [to do] was a bit of prose abou-

Muc-mhara: Something about oil and the Gulf. It was something totally obscure – something so far removed from anything Scottish or Gàidhlig it was just ridiculous trying to translate it. You were allowed to take a dictionary into the exam which was good because a lot of the words we'd never even heard of – well, you did in English but not in Gàidhlig – and so you just had to do the best you could.

SS: The idea was to try and make sure that everyone had the same language ability, do you think?

Muc-mhara: I think so, and this was going to be assessed by people unknown. We weren't quite sure who was going to assess this! [...] I mean there are a few people in [another city] who would have probably been capable of doing it, but no more capable than we were ourselves and this was a little bit insulting, I think, in a way and it just showed the lack of understanding and the ignorance of-- the powers that be at that time.

SS: So do you think their interest was genuinely in any of the language broadcasting, do you think?

Muc-mhara: I think it was more to streamline it, to get everyone on to this- it was more of a personnel project, I think, to establish everyone as-

Ss: So do you think it was more a bureaucratic-?

Muc-mhara: I think so. Well, there was very little understanding of the language needs, that's for sure, it was more a public service venture' [MD02.01-02].

Firstly, Muc-mhara emphasises what she feels are the organisation's economic priorities over language issues. She clearly has the impression that the language issues were secondary to improving the SBS' efficiency. Muc-mhara elsewhere reported having held senior positions in human resources and personnel administration in a different large organisation, so she is unlikely to be naïve in this respect. Secondly, Muc-mhara noted what she saw as insensitivity to the language issues and *'needs'* for broadcasting. She mentioned some needs as being research materials and made it clear that she did not believe that the SBS saw this as important. Thirdly, it is clear that she feels the need to be tested in one's native language somewhat absurd. During the same interview she mentioned that another team member who joined them later, had excellent spoken Scottish Gaelic, but because he had never learned it at school was not very proficient in writing or reading. Testing a person's written translation skills under such circumstances seems to be unlikely to have had a positive effect on the team.

5.4.5 Recent Programme Content

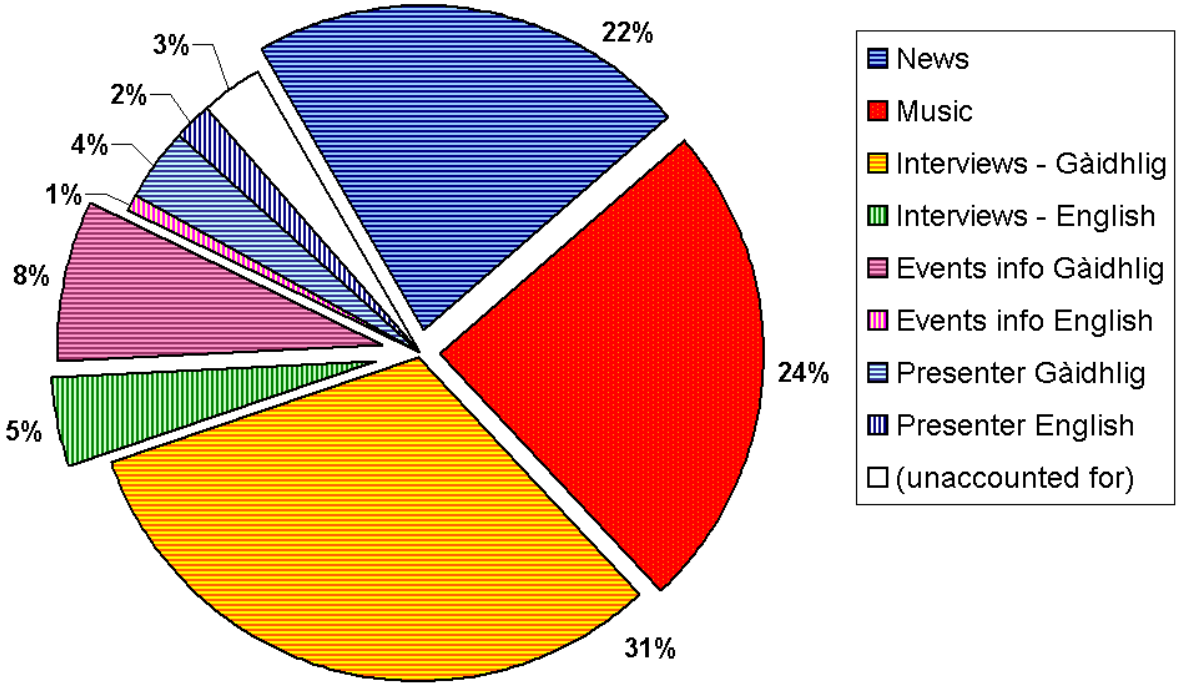
Muc-mhara reported that they then declined to bid for the airtime when their slot came up for renewal. It was at this stage that another presenter stepped in and offered to take over the program, as referred to by Diùranach in Extract 5.20. I had briefly asked the new presenter about this and he reported that he had sat an exam to prove his linguistic ability. He had applied to do the broadcast partly motivated by fear that no one else would - and despite his

being in full-time employment elsewhere [SoSGA_N1]. There were also restrictions under which he had to work. He said that the organisation imposed a format, so that he had to broadcast a news bulletin. He also mentioned that by early 2002 there would have been 400 broadcasts of the Scottish Gaelic hour on SBS since its inception [SoSGA_N1].

In all of the programmes that I listened to, some 33 in all between May 2001 and August 2002, there was a reasonably predictable format. The broadcast would always start with a news bulletin, usually followed by a short musical piece, and then mostly followed by community announcements. Thereafter there would either be interviews, interspersed with music, and occasionally a short report of an event. I analysed the content of 17 of the programmes in detail. This is shown graphically in Figure 5.4.
The total Scottish Gaelic speech content of the programs was typically between thirty-five to forty minutes (roughly half of which was the presenter alone). Of course the average hides an important aspect: that some of the interviewees sometimes code-switched between Scottish Gaelic and English. Generally the interviewees who spoke in Scottish Gaelic tended to use only that language[63]. Some of the presenter's *'stringers'* (Extract 5.25) were also clearly aware of the need to speak Scottish Gaelic. The presenter himself only switched to English during interviews if his question was not understood after being repeated in Scottish Gaelic – but this was rare. The average for the interviews in Scottish Gaelic (one-third of the total broadcast time) hides that one particular interviewee appeared four times, and that he was an experienced journalist fluent in Scottish Gaelic. The overall averages also mask the significant variability between programmes; music, for example could account for anywhere from 12 percent to 48 percent of a programme. Interviews varied between 24 percent and 45 percent.

[63] I did try and measure what I had thought was one extreme case of glossing where the interviewee seemed to say every sentence in Gàidhlig and immediately repeat it in English. However, a detailed analysis of the 'time spent' in each language revealed it to be at least two-thirds in Gàidhlig. The information content of the Gàidhlig sentences was sometimes greater – as if he was offering a shortened version in English. Such functional bilingualism is mentioned by Mackinnon (1993, p. 529) in relation to the phenomenon of constant calquing - for effect - referred to by Macaulay (1982).

Figure 5.4 Breakdown of SBS Gaelic Programme Content in 2001-2002



In general, the first quarter of an hour is taken up with a news bulletin – although the length of this was reduced from about 15 minutes in the 2001 broadcasts, to 10 to 12 minutes in the 2002 broadcasts[64]. On the occasions when I also made a point of listening to the main bulletins of news from SBS radio in English, they were almost an exact translation of news that day or of salient issues that week. One interesting feature was also the style used in presenting recorded snippets. A few seconds of the original English speech was heard, followed by the presenter's spoken Scottish Gaelic translation while the original faded out. The translation of news bulletins highlights similar inherent contradictions in such an exercise. Was the aim to provide information, or to provide language exposure? Certainly, Muc-mhara did not see it in a positive light. In Extract 5.24 I asked her if she thought the organisation had changed its outlook since she had left the programme a few years beforehand.

<u>Extract 5.24 'It Takes Him Absolutely Hours'</u>

SS: Do you think that has changed nowadays? In what they're doing?
Muc-mhara: I'm not sure, because I know that [the new presenter] still has to broadcast news which I think a couple of times he has tried to get away from. Because it takes him absolutely hours to translate into Gàidhlig – the modern news - because it's just so out of context.
SS: […] Some of the other things, like 'York Nuadh'*, you'd probably just say 'New*

[64] I was informed by another respondent that this was apparently due to the presenter being allowed to do this by the management of the organisation.

York'?

Muc-mhara: That's right, that's right.. And some modern words - Taleban *I suppose is the same in every language – but words like that have just come into English - they've never come into Gàidhlig and they never will. So it's a bit obscure and people really don't get anything out of that. It's just a lot of work for [the new presenter] and with little reward, I would think' [MD02.02]*

Muc-mhara did mention to me elsewhere that she still helped on an unofficial basis with translations and materials for the new presenter. She knew him personally quite well and therefore continued to play a supportive role in the broadcast. She also had crucial roles in many of the other organisations linked to Scottish Gaelic.

Muc-mhara may be highlighting an issue that is wider than just this example. In discussing changes in the BBC broadcasting of Scottish Gaelic in Scotland in the last 40 years, Lamb (1999) highlights similar issues. As the broadcasting of news increased in output on the BBC, changes took place that meant more 'vocabulary-centred' rather than 'idiom-centred' programmes in line with a greater demand in professionalism (Lamb 1999, p. 147). Presenters commented that they felt under greater time pressures, so that 'translation became a very rushed affair and sometimes presented a barrier to the very attempt to be idiomatic rather than literal' (Lamb 1999, p. 147). The presenters also felt that they needed to use a more conservative form of the language because of public expectations (Lamb 1999, p. 149), leading to increased use of neologisms, borrowings and calques[65] (Lamb 1999, p. 152). Overall, the context of news-gathering has changed over time as have the demands of the job (Lamb 1999, p. 162). Similarly, in Australia as the SBS grew and acquired a different status, it would not be surprising that the organisation's demands on the reporters have changed. These were probably more in line with the interests of the organisation as a whole than any concerns for particular languages. This will become evident in discussing subsequent important events in SBS broadcasting.

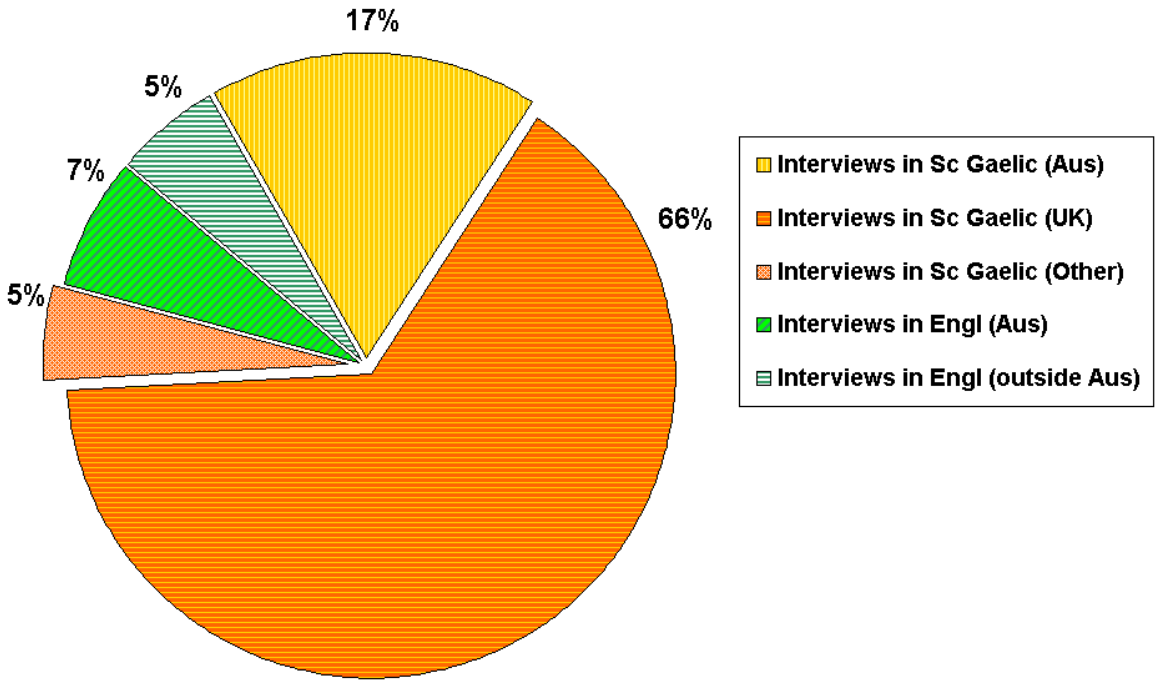
5.4.6 Interviews and Native Speakers

The interviews broadcast on the SBS Scottish Gaelic hour were mostly conducted with outside fluent speakers elsewhere (although on one occasion the interviewees were in the studio). The breakdown of the location of interviewees was generally announced, or was clear from the interview content itself. This is shown graphically in Figure 5.5 for the broadcasts examined in detail (n=17). The strong bias towards the U.K. is clear, as is the dominance of Scottish Gaelic

[65] Glossing decreased as time went on, presumably as presenters became more confident that items in Gaelic were understood (Lamb, 1998: 156).

as the language for interviews. Interviewees were occasionally in Canada or New Zealand, and about 17 percent of the interviewing time was devoted to Gaelic-speakers in Australia (about 6 percent of the total broadcast time).

Figure 5.5 Interviewees on SBS Scottish Gaelic Hour by Location, 2001-2002



U.K. interviewees were telephoned in Scotland, accounting for two-thirds of the interviewing time conducted in Scottish Gaelic. Muc-mhara comments favourably on this aspect of the new presenter's broadcasts in Extract 5.25.

Extract 5.25 Adding Interest to the Programme

SS: You had a researcher, you said - so does he have a researcher as well, or not?
Muc-mhara: I'm not sure whether he has any help. He does have a lot of stringers, he rings Scotland a lot. He rings Gàidhlig speakers, and he's done very well there. […] We were just starting to be allowed to have stringers when we left the programme, before that we just had to use our own books and resources and records and tapes […]. I think that has added a bit of interest to the programme. […]. But one of the problems is that it's sometimes hard to understand his Gàidhlig. A native speaker finds it hard to understand a learner's speaking, sometimes. And probably his Gàidhlig is more pure than the vernac- sort of, vernacular, you know, the vernacular language, and that can cause a few difficulties.[…] So I think he's had that problem with stringers too. You can sense […] they're almost willing it to be finished, but he does very well, he does try hard […].' [MD02.02].

Muc-mhara is not being hyper-critical, in my understanding of the situation. Notwithstanding the large amount of work to produce an hour-long programme in a second language, some

features of the presenter's speech which I interpret as potential barriers to understanding. Some are typical of many learners' difficulties with pronunciations. Some errors are the same as in Table 5.2 showing phonemic collapse, notably /x/ -> /k/, as well as numerous consonant cluster reductions. Muc-mhara's comments on 'vernacular' and 'pure' will be discussed further in relation to *'new Gàidhlig'* in Chapter 6.

5.4.7 Threats of Closure

The broadcasts were not always safe, once established. There had already been some amalgamation referred to by Diùranach in Extract 5.20. In discussing audience response to the broadcasts, Muc-mhara comments on a threat that their programme faced.

Extract 5.26 Audience Response

SS: 'And how much feedback did you get about the programmes?
Muc-mhara: 'Very little except when we sought it. At one stage it was looking as if SBS was going to close curtains on a few of the smaller minority groups and we let this be known to our listeners and we got quite a bit of response then. But normally you don't get much response - but all of a sudden you meet someone and they say 'Oh, I heard the programme the other night' or 'Oh, are you the one who does the Gaelic programme?' [...] They were listening but they just didn't communicate that way. And there was a bit of disappointment when we left, when the three of us left.' [MD02.03].

The threat re-surfaced in 2002 when the Irish programme's presenter was not replaced, and the programme cut from once per week to once per fortnight. Those who supported Scottish Gaelic broadcasting on SBS realised that this might impact on them too. A number of efforts were made to show support and to lobby the SBS. But some respondents saw hidden motives behind the management's changes.

Extract 5.27 A Hidden Policy

Cumhal: '[T]he trouble with SBS is that there seems to be a "hidden" policy that Scots, Irish & Welsh are really only English in a thin disguise or alternatively that to qualify a group must only speak the language of their ethnicity and never in English - this then leads into all sorts of problems.' [SoSGA_E_Cumhal, 12-Aug-02a].

In Extract 5.27 Cumhal voices very strongly his feeling that the SBS categorises ethnicities inappropriately. He is also convinced that bilingualism counts against Scottish Gaelic in this respect. Cumhal's image of the SBS is that it is unsupportive.

Extract 5.28 The Lack of Contribution by SBS

Cumhal: 'If I gave the impression that I was throwing my hands up in the air and saying forget it - I must apologise, nothing could be further from the truth. I was trying to portray the real situation at SBS - I've never believed in giving up yet

when I felt strongly about anything, and I feel very strongly about SBS and their lack of contribution to all things Scots, Irish, Welsh etc etc.' [SoSGA_E_Cumhal, 13-Aug-02].

Cumhal's view is that he is being pragmatic in the face of greater powers. It is clear that many SoSGA respondents do not feel that they have much power in the face of this organisation, and that it is difficult to fight it. In a later email from one of the leaders of one of the Scottish Gaelic organisations, it is described as a *'leviathan'*. In Extract 5.29 Cumhal predicts certain arguments that the SBS might use to justify the ending of a programme.

Extract 5.29 No Staving off the Inevitable

Cumhal: ' [...] what I also meant to say re SBS that if they have their sights set on your program all the letters underneath the sun will not stave off the inevitable. They not only use the usual Public Service methods but also tried and true ones of insufficient meaningful content (the definition of that, changes more often than you can change your socks) and lack of resources and changing priorities and so on and so on.' [SoSGA_E_Cumhal, 12-Aug-02b].

As it turned out, Cumhal correctly predicted some of the arguments.

5.4.8 SBS Cuts Four Languages

In 2003 the Scottish Gaelic programme was axed. One of the organisations of which I was a member, sent a circular email asking people to write to the programme in order to put pressure on the management for a re-instatement.

Extract 5.30 A Plea for Help

'This is a plea for help to save the SBS Scottish Gaelic radio program. We have just heard that it is being cancelled (along with the Irish, Welsh and Belarusian programs).
Whether you listen to the program or not, it is a vital element of our effort to maintain the Gaelic language and culture in Australia. [The presenter] does a superb job each week, presenting the news of the world, community announcements, interviews with native speakers, updates on the Highland scene, Gaelic music and songs – and the majority of it in Gaelic, a huge boost to learners and native speakers alike.
[Organisation 1]'s predecessor organisation fought hard to get this program up and running many years ago [...]. We must not let it fall away now through lack of commitment.
Please write a letter of protest to the Head of SBS Radio [...].
I'm sure an overwhelming number of letters, no matter how short, must have an impact.
SBS's justifications for cancelling the program appear to run along these lines:
(1) Scottish Gaelic speakers are a small group and their information and education needs are less "acute" than those of some growing communities.
(2) There was no increase in funding for SBS in the latest Budget.
(3) There is not enough programming time to accommodate all the languages in Australia.
If you can take the time and trouble to send a copy of your letter to us, we'd be grateful.' [SoSGA_E_Org1, 15-May-03].

Among the justifications for writing was the need for the language to be in the public domain.

Extract 5.31 A Public Face

'It would be a pity to lose the "public face" of Gaelic in Australia, as well as the opportunity of listening to interviews etc in Gaelic. Please do your best to help.' [SoSGA_E_Org1, 29-May-03].

The responses from the SBS were compared and it emerged that they had some consistency.

Extract 5.32 SBS Responses

'Replies are starting to trickle in, and […] the ones we have been made aware of present the usual arguments (ie. number of speakers according to the last Census; criteria such as recency of arrival in Australia; "culture" can no longer be a determining factor; integration into Australian society; lack of SBS resources; etc), and do not address the fact that the larger language groups have what seems to us to be a disproportionate amount of air time.
*We […] still feel that a constant flow of letters will have an impact on their eventual decision - particularly as other groups have also been hit with cuts, and the more *noise* we make the more likely we are to get a favourable result.*
Therefore, if you have the time and energy, we'd be grateful if you would write again, pointing out (in your own words, of course) that:
** we are not suggesting anybody *miss out* on programming time - all language groups are equal (and should therefore have equal access to this government service)*
** we only want one hour a week, which could be achieved by reviewing the proportion of air time given to each language group, and re-allocating some of the larger groups' hours to those threatened with a cut. Some language groups have two hours a day, seven days a week.*
[…]
Incidentally, SBS Radio's slogan is "the many voices of one Australia" !
With thanks again for all the help and support you've given us so far' [SoSGA_E_Org1, 18-Jun-03].

The lobbying power is here portrayed as being linked to both numbers of letters as well as the force of rational argument and the reasonable nature of Organisation 1's demands. Other members are cynical that the organisation has any intention of changing its priorities.

Extract 5.33 Buck Shifting Exercise

Allaid: 'It's not obvious to me that frequency is the issue, I think that is just a buck shifting excuse. Frequency is very expensive, and to put extra public funds to provide services to such a small audience (I mean SBS's entire audience not us) would be hard to justify. In the meantime, private operators are obtaining frequency and broadcasting with it in a number of languages. Using the existing SBS frequency better is the go, and [the head of one of the other languages cut] puts in all the arguments that I would have given on that score, apparently to no avail' [SoSGA_E_Allaid, 08-Jul-03].

At the time of writing (January 2004) there was no indication that the SBS intended to reverse its decision. I had written a letter in May 2003 asking on what basis the cuts had been made.

The reply that I received (Ingram 2003) justified the cuts based on a number of grounds. The letter quoted figures from the 2001 census indicating that '2.7 million Australians' spoke a LOTE and SBS Radio allocated airtime proportionately to these – Scottish Gaelic having only 815 registered users. The letter also highlighted budget restrictions, and services to other language communities that were deemed more in need. Specific reference was made to communication needs within Australian society:

> 'SBS recognised the depth of feeling people of Celtic background have for their languages, but considerations of factors such as a language's decline or regeneration overseas cannot be a decisive factor for SBS Radio which is an Australian domestic broadcaster. The fact remains that SBS Radio is essentially a language broadcaster and if it is to continue to meet the needs of Australians who speak a LOTE in 2003 and beyond, some languages which are not widely spoken here and whose speakers have a high level of English fluency may have to make way for new and emerging communities with needs of our services. The people speaking the four languages new to the Radio schedules – Somali, Amharic, Malay and Nepalese – are not only more numerous but they have greater social-and-economic need for our services. We will try to serve their needs as we have the Celtic language communities over many years' (Ingram 2003).

So the availability of airtime here is quite firmly placed on social need that language groups are deemed to have. The radio service is presented as a public service for immigrant groups that need wider access to Australian society. Further, the Scottish Gaelic community is seen as one that has to 'make way' for others, as 'newer' immigrant groups grow in size. Exactly such reasoning was also used in the early 1990s when SBS changed its language schedules (Ozolins 1993, p. 255). At the time this caused friction with the ethnic radio stations who were requesting more frequencies (Ozolins 1993, p. 255). Disadvantage is seen not in terms of language need by the SBS response, but social need. There was no specific mention of the domestic preservation of culture and language, and foreign language decline was categorically ruled out as a factor in the decisions. Scottish Gaelic is apparently foreign in a way that English (presumably) is not.

5.4.9 Local Radio Stations

The concentration on the national SBS network should not hide the fact that there are a large number of local radio stations that contain at least some Scottish Gaelic content. Of the ones that I was able to contact or visit, who broadcast in Scottish Gaelic, it was generally as part of a wider 'Scottish' remit. Some of the radio stations in the larger urban areas were already well known to SoSGA respondents and the connections were used effectively. One of the representatives of a cultural organisation, Fingal, reported that he had appeared on a Scottish

programme to promote their activity [MD11.54]. Appearances of this type could bring a wider audience by publicising the group as well as being aimed at a likely target audience.

5.4.9.1 Community Broadcasting in a Regional City

I visited a community radio station in a city of over 1 million inhabitants where the State supplied the infrastructure in return for basic fees. Mostly volunteers with a minimal number of paid staff ran it. This was a shared station with airtime allocated according to a weekly timetable. Each community was given a particular time slot – Scottish being one of these. The costs for the broadcasting time were reported by one of the presenters, Daorghlas, as being low. They paid a contribution to the station of A$104 per quarter, whereas he estimated that the market rate was then probably about A$60-70 per hour of airtime.

Daorghlas explained that the allocation of time-slots followed a general scheme which divided the day into 'ethnic' and English chunks: 6 - 9 a.m. and 3 - 11 p.m. were for ethnic languages, leaving the 9 a.m. – 3 p.m. section for English-language broadcasts. Broadcasts between midnight and 6 a.m. consisted of a 'musical interlude' according to the newsletter for the station. This newsletter also detailed the languages broadcast in a typical week, divided into 47 groups and about 43 languages – some groups were presumably multilingual ('Swiss' perhaps?) or else distinctions were national and regional (e.g. 'Latin American', 'Austrian', 'German') or religious ('Jewish'). A small number of groups/ languages had much more airtime than the others and were broadcast more frequently during the week: Italian (10 hrs.), Dutch (6 ½ hrs.), German and Austrian (10 ½ hrs.), Greek (9 hrs.), Ukrainian, Russian, Polish, Croatian, Filipino, and Serbian (all 3 hrs.). Most of the others had 1-hour, weekly slots.

I spoke to the presenters about the Scottish Gaelic content in the Scottish hour. Although they did not feel under threat, they felt aware that certain time-periods were allocated to non-English languages. They had a daytime slot which they wanted to keep and were careful not to appear to violate the language aspect too blatantly. Therefore even though much of their program content was actually in English, they ensured that there was a regular slot which included Scottish Gaelic (and some Scots) cultural material. This is how the other presenter, Malmhìn described it to me when she had first written to me:

Extract 5.34 A Lot of Interest

Malmhìn: ' We […] have a Scottish Radio Hour every [certain week day] where we give an 'everyday' Gaelic lesson and play Gaelic music (as well as Scots). There is quite a lot of interest in this 5 min[ute] segment. I also give short talks on other Gaelic subject matter such as – Where the Gaels came from, place names etc.' [SoSGA_L_Malmhìn, 12-Jan-02].

Daorghlas and Malmhìn appeared to have a regular and communicative audience, many of whom were known to each other or to the presenters. I sat in on one of the broadcasts and some announcements were made concerning significant events in listeners' lives – to which other listeners reacted on air by telephoning in during the broadcast. The impression I had was certainly one of interaction with the audience.

A leaflet available in the entrance hall of the radio station was a flyer, the *'Ethnic News Digest'* which advertised a web-based service for news presenters of community languages (www.nembc.org.au):

> 'The Ethnic News Digest […] caters to the community radio sector by providing free, ready made Australian news in a number of community languages. The Ethnic News Digest provides up-to-date news on the major issues in Australia, with a particular emphasis on issues affecting ethnic communities. […]
>
> It gives listeners to ethnic community radio programs reliable and up-to-date information about Australian events and issues **in their own language**.
>
> It allows people from non-English speaking backgrounds to understand and participate in current social and political debates.' (Ethnic News Digest Flyer; date unknown, emphasis in original).

Sixteen languages were listed as available on this service, and the flyer was illustrated with small black and white cartoons. One of these showed three characters of different skin colours holding surfboards. In the first frame they were under an enormous wave with exclamation marks above their heads, clearly about to be swamped. The caption under the frame was 'Mainstream media airwaves'. In the second frame, the same three characters were now each on a smaller wave, surfing smilingly on top of it, and on each of the surfboards was written a language name. The caption of this frame was 'Ethnic News Digest Airwaves'. Another cartoon showed customers in a restaurant – one of whom was having difficulty biting into a giant word: 'English'. Two other diners at a nearby table were being served a large pile of much smaller words on a platter, with the caption 'Making news more digestible'.

On the one hand, the flyer presents the usefulness of the translated news as providing participation in Australian society. On the other the cartoons clearly separate 'ethnic' from the 'mainstream', as well as implying the difficulties of understanding English. Although there is some iconography suggesting small languages being 'swamped', the flyer does not make specific mention of language or cultural preservation.

However, an official submission to the government by the producers of the Ethnic News Digest, the National Ethnic and Multicultural Broadcasters' Council, mentions cultural maintenance as a crucial justification for its continued existence and appeal for further funding

(NEMBC 2001a; NEMBC 2001b). In the submission to the government by the NEMBC, the third recommendation specifically ties language in education to language maintenance, by requesting funding for ethnic broadcasting to provide this role, thereby leading to financial savings elsewhere (NEMBC 2001a, p. 3). The presentation of a multicultural Australia through this medium is clearly important. The very first recommendation of their submission requests recognition for the 'contribution to the development of multicultural Australia' that ethnic broadcasters have made (NEMBC 2001b, p. 3). Ethnic broadcasting is presented as the very embodiment of multiculturalism.

> 'Ethnic community broadcasting is dynamic multiculturalism in action. It brings together Australians from over a hundred different cultural backgrounds to produce programmes and manage a public broadcasting network that is unique in the world.
>
> Ethnic community broadcasting each week provides in excess of 1600 hours of locally produced programming in 98 languages across metropolitan, regional and rural Australia. This programming comes out of 87 stations, 48 of which are in regional Australia and 39 in metropolitan Australia.
>
> This is three times as many hours of original programming as SBS, in 50% more languages than SBS, and comes from 87 different locations compared to two locations for SBS. It involves 4000 Australians of diverse cultural and linguistic backgrounds in the production of this programming.
>
> These figures demonstrate the breadth of ethnic community broadcasting and its important role as an avenue for cultural production and expression for the community. Ethnic community broadcasting is the major avenue for Australians of diverse backgrounds to participate in, produce and showcase the diverse cultural make up of Australia.
>
> Community Cultural Development
>
> Community cultural development has been defined by the Australia Council as being where "communities are assisted to maintain or reclaim their culture, to address issues of concern to them and to create contemporary artistic works which reflect the richness and diversity of Australia communities [sic] and their cultural life"[66]. They go on to stress the importance of the local, of diversity, skills development and access and participation' (NEMBC 2001b, p. 4).

Not only is the NEMBC presenting itself as more wide-ranging than the SBS, but also as more cost-effective. Importantly, it suggests that it has the major role as a 'showcase'. So ethnic broadcasting is not just a public service, it is also a visible, public demonstration of Australian diversity. The document is presumably produced for consumption by government, so the authors might have specific target audiences of decision-makers in mind. Nonetheless, portrayal is important: multiculturalism is presented as overwhelmingly positive. This may

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[66] Reference given: 'Australia Council, Community Cultural Development Funding Guidelines'.

also be the case in print media, commented on by Luchtenberg and McLelland (1998). Although using only a small sample base, they interpreted the coverage of multiculturalism by two widely-read Australian newspapers, in a typical week to be mostly positive (Luchtenberg and McLelland 1998). Multiculturalism in Australia was generally presented as normal (Luchtenberg and McLelland 1998, p. 197).

5.4.9.2 Community Broadcasting in a Regional Town

Respondent 182 told me about her experiences of broadcasting from a community radio station in a town of over 50 000 inhabitants. She had presented a Scottish hour in one of the more remote towns. She commented that she had received little direct feedback to gauge what listeners thought, giving her complete freedom over program content. She therefore chose music that pleased her. Her choices tied in with the bulk of the type of music played on the SBS Scottish Gaelic programme (Section 5.4.5). In analysing that content I impressionistically divided the music into three types: tattoo-style bagpipe music; traditional or unaccompanied singing; and modernised or contemporary music[67]. Contemporary (Celtic) accounted for over half of the overall musical content on SBS Scottish Gaelic programmes.

Respondent 182 had eventually stopped doing her programme when it took up too much of her time. During the few years when she had run it, she reported that it was mostly Scottish content, although she herself did have some Gàidhlig. I had asked her if she had used her Gàidhlig in the programmes and whether any Gaelic groups had been known of in the town.

Extract 5.35 Cyclone Warnings in Welsh

SS: Did you know any Gàidhlig groups in [the town]?
Respondent 182: No, no – we were it; and we're now no longer it!
[...]
I'm definitely it in [the town]. There's a Welsh guy who does the Welsh part ... and he's a fluent Welsh speaker and he even gives the cyclone warnings in Welsh. I expect [?] they're all waiting for Welsh [Freddie]'s warning! [...] I was just saying 'feasgar math a chàirdean' *['good afternoon friends'] and things like that. [MD 37.22-23.]*

Her sense of humour and the obvious amusement value of having cyclone warnings in Welsh were quite apparent. While she herself was supportive of Scottish Gaelic, she clearly felt that there was an element of absurdity in what they were doing if judged by usual broadcasting demands. The underlying assumption, it seems, is that broadcasting is partly for informing people. In a society where the audience is known to be fluent in English the instrumental

[67] Signature tunes were ignored.

reasons for using a minority language are absent. Nonetheless, Respondent 182 had considered the broadcast worthwhile.

5.5 Monuments

There are a number of monuments in Australia and New Zealand which contain some Scottish Gaelic (e.g. gravestones). However, only two are discussed that I consider to be particularly visible and public. One monument contains a bronze plaque in Scottish Gaelic and the other is included for its relevance to wider issues of Celtic representation in Australia.

5.5.1 The Mosman Cairn

The Mosman Cairn (Figure 5.6) is situated in Rawson Park, east of the Sydney city centre in the mainly residential suburb of Mosman. The park is approached from the west by a small street, signposted 'SRAID na h-ALBAINN – STREET OF SCOTLAND'. According to a plaque on the pavilion, the park and rugby oval were officially opened in 1927. The view out towards the east is of the main sea entrance to Sydney Harbour, and a Celtic cross stands nearby. Close to the cairn is an arrow-shaped signpost with the inscription:

Edinburgh
Capital of Scotland
DISTANCE
16,873 km at 330º

The Cairn stands approximately two to three metres high and is made of a collection of multi-coloured stones. Some of these have engravings on them, for example the name of a parish, or a location (Figure 5.7). A small plaque on the sandstone surroundings of the monument commemorates the placing of a time capsule at the time of the Australian bicentennial celebrations (1988). Other plaques commemorate the activities of the Mosman Council and of the official dedication of the cairn by the Duke of Argyll on St Andrew's Day in November 1988. On one of the other low walls around the monument is a bronze plaque with an inscription in Scottish Gaelic.

Figure 5.6 The Mosman Cairn looking Eastwards *(ph. Author)*

5.5.1.1 The Mosman Cairn Inscription

CARN NA H-ALBA IS ASTRAILIA
A-nall às a h-uile àird, gach clach air cloich
'Nan cumail comhla a dh'aindeoin dìle 's doinnion,
Cuimhne na h-alba a b'uair ar dùthchas.
Tha iomadh Càrn-chuimhne ann an Albainn agus iad a'comharradh tachartasan Cudthromach, gaisgeach, no àiteachan eachdraidhean.
Thogadh an Càrn so gu chur an cuimhne an latha dà cheud bliadhna bho teachd-an-tir ann am baile mór Sydney de Chaiptein Artair Phillip an 1788. Bha na clachan air an tional leis na minisdearan anns a h-uile sgìre feadh na h-Alba. Gu fiùghantach chruinnich am Posta Riaghail na clachan uile, agus ghiùlain esan gu Astràilia iad. Tha iad a'tai[s]beanadh talamh ioma-ghneitheach na h-alba. Tha clachan anns a'chàrn so a thàinig à céithir àrd-eaglaisean ann an Albainn.
Thàinig clach-mhullaich a'Chùirn às an Eilean Ulbha, teann air taobh siar Muile, far an d'rugadh Lachlann MacGuaire, cóigeamh Fear-Riaghlaidh Cuimrigh a

Deas Uir: is tric a cuirear far-ainm "athair Astràilia" air-san.
Is e toradh oidhirp saor-thoileach sluaigh mhóir a tha anns a'Chàrn. Thogadh e le Comhairle Baile-mór Mosman le cùl-taic Coimiotaidh a'Chùirn Dhà Linn Albannach-Astràileanach.
A nis tha an Càrn 'na sheasamh mar fhiannis shiorriudheach aoibhneis a tha eadar sluagh na h-Alba agus sluagh Astrailia.

[Translation: 'The Cairn of Scotland and Australia. / To[wards] here from all points of the compass, each stone upon stone preserving in them, despite flood and storm, the memory of Scotland that was our country. / There are many memory-cairns in Scotland marking important, heroic events, or historic places. / This Cairn was erected to commemorate the day two hundred years ago of the coming ashore of Captain Arthur Phillip in the city of Sydney [sic] in 1788. The stones were collected by the ministers of every parish throughout Scotland. The Royal Mail generously collected all the stones and transported them to Australia. They demonstrate the many soils of Scotland. There are stones in this cairn that come from the four cathedrals in Scotland. / The top-stone of the cairn is from the Isle of Ulva, just to the west of Mull, where Lachlan Macquarie, the fifth Governor of New South Wales was born: he is often called [nicknamed] the 'father of Australia'. / A lot of people have willingly put effort into this Cairn. The Council of Mosman erected it with the support of the Committee of the Bicentennial Scotland-Australia Cairn. / Now the Cairn stands in eternal witness of the joy between the people of Scotland and the people of Australia'].

Figure 5.7 Detail of the Mosman Cairn Showing Engraved Stones *(ph. Author)*

There is an indication that the typesetting of the plaque was not a straightforward matter.

There are two cases of an accent as well as a dot on the letter 'i': 'dìle' and 'sgìre' – and the

penultimate 'a' of the last 'Astràilia' has no accent. I could locate no English translation of the plaque in the park or elsewhere.

Diùranach described to me his involvement in the establishment of the cairn.

<u>Extract 5.36 From Every Parish in Scotland</u>

Diùranach: 'I've had a hand in most of the things that have happened in the last twenty years in the Scottish and Celtic communities. As far as Glen Innes is concerned, the 200th anniversary of the settlement of Australia the Scots were very organised and we were successful in getting a cairn in Rawson Park. […] It consists allegedly, though not correctly, of a stone from every parish in Scotland. A Scottish cairn mason was brought out and he built it. It's there looked after by Scottish Australian Heritage Council which organised it and maintains an interest in it and it was installed there and officially opened by […] the Duke of Argyll and a number of people were set up as wardens' [MD09.54].

There are some principal issues that I wish to highlight about this cairn. Firstly is the clear display of national heritage. Diùranach describes the cairn as representing a 200-year presence of Scots in Australia. Secondly, the link to Scotland – and specifically Mull off the west coast of Scotland – in the person of Lachlan Macquarie, has crucial bearing on such a historical presence. Macquarie was Governor between 1809 and 1822 and was the first to consistently use the term 'Australia' which only became the official designation of the continent upon federation in 1901[68] (Day 2001, p. 50). Many of the respondents to this survey commented that Macquarie was a Gaelic speaker. This is plausible, given his birthplace in what was then a Gaelic-speaking area, but nonetheless is unknown historically[69]. An anthropological view might comment on the importance of Macquarie as a progenitor figure – especially given the highlighting of his title of 'Father of Australia' (Clark 1963, p. 53). Thirdly, authenticity is important. The stones are themselves meant to be from Scotland – although Diùranach doubts this. According to another plaque it was the Duke of Argyll who dedicated the cairn, historically a Gaelic-speaking area and the administrative district in which Mull is placed. Macquarie is buried in Mull, and his tomb is actually the property of the Australian government[70]. It was clearly important that the cairn-builder was Scottish and the use of Scottish Gaelic as a truly Scottish language adds to the impression of a desire for authenticity.

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[68] Day (2001, p. 56) also describes Macquarie as a nation-builder for his use of convict labour on civic construction schemes and notes the doubling of the European population in New South Wales from 13,000 to 30,000 between 1815 and 1822. Macquarie is also, however, known as an emancipist of convicts (Clark, 1963, p. 38). About a third of the colony's population was convict at this stage (Clark, 1963, p. 47).

[69] I have found no researched reference to Macquarie's ability in Scottish Gaelic.

[70] Another one of the Scottish societies to which I was invited in 2001 happened to have had a member who specifically went to Mull in order to report on the state of the tomb. Based on his observations he suggested an approach to the governmental agencies charged with its upkeep in order to prompt them into improved action.

Fourthly, I wish to emphasise the use of institutions in this venture. It is councils, royalty and authorities who are involved in the dedication. Here is another example of institutionalisation – this time in monumental guise.

5.5.2 Glen Innes Standing Stones

Diùranach talked of the cairn in connection with efforts to find an appropriate memorial in Glen Innes in NSW. The website of the tourist office describes the area: 'It's different - it's Celtic Country...' (http://www.gleninnestourism.com/); (Glen Innes 2004). According to this website the first (Scottish) settler arrived in 1838, the population is 6 000 and Pitlochry in Scotland is a sister-city. The welcome page mentions the monument:

> 'The first settlers were predominantly Scots and the town is the site of Australia's only official monument to the nation's Celtic pioneers and venue for the annual Australian Celtic Festival.' (http://www.gleninnestourism.com/pages/welcome.htm).

The monument is a circle of granite standing stones based on surviving Neolithic stone circles in Europe. The site is one of great interest for some SoSGA respondents. It is used for clan gatherings, for example, one of which was organised by another respondent, Calligary. He had described the attendance of his clan chief (from the U.K.) at one of these gatherings, and it clearly acted as a focal point for many such related activities [MD01.06]. The monument was one where Diùranach mentioned his involvement in Extract 5.37.

Extract 5.37 'There Ought to be Something for the Celts'

Diùranach: ...[T]he mayor and tourist officer from Glen Innes council came to see if they could have the cairn put up in Glen Innes – well they didn't ... [...] The Irish talked for a year and did nothing. The Welsh talked a bit and certainly didn't agree on anything, so nothing happened. And it seemed to me - and I use the singular advisedly because it seems to be correct - that there ought to be something for the Celts as a whole, even if it was a little after 200 years. And [Council C] agreed and we looked around for a site. Glenn Innes put in a good submission and we looked at the sites and chose one. We got a design from John Read, an architect who won the prize for the Australian tartan [...]. He did a design, designed to fit in with the first ray of the sun [...] at the equinox – shines through the central stones and so forth and it was given to Glen Innes. [...] It was officially opened by the then Governor, [...], wearing a kilt for the first time in his life, everybody was there including the moderator of the Presbyterian Church who previously said we were raising a heathen stone, but was persuaded it wasn't. It went well and every first weekend in May there's a gathering at the stone. [...] They agreed to have the main streets named in the Gaelic names – Grey Street is Sràid Liath *and so on – and we decided there ought to be something for the Manx some years later [...] and there's a small hill there and we decided to call that Tyndall Hill and the Manx are very pleased about that. They had two separate stones: the* Gorsedd *Stone which the Brythonics use for a ceremony each year, and the Gaelic stone which has inscribed on it some Ogham [...] and they're both there and they're*

used each year.' [MD09.55-57].

Diùranach is quite clear about the different groups who make up the wider Celtic appellation: those associated with the British Isles. Despite the emphasis on the Scottish settlers by the tourist website, there is a wider Celtic festival held at the stone circle every year. Again a number of elements of authenticity and representation are present, linked to distinctions in either national terms ('Manx') or essentially linguistic distinctions ('Brythonic'). Language is again used, firstly in the Gaelic street names but also the use of Ogham. This was an (Old Irish) writing system associated with the period 400 – 600 A.D. and the vast majority of inscriptions have been found in southern Ireland (Schmidt 1993, p. 79)[71]. Culture is referred to in the form of Bardic ritual and the *Gorsedd* stone. Understandings of the significance of the standing stones also appear by the design around a solstice date. Diùranach had also mentioned the construction of a *taigh dubh,* a traditional Highland dwelling, on the same site. One level of interpretation might involve this as a local scene setting. Following Goffman (1959), for Diùranach it may be a case of being able to present oneself and one's ethnicity on the present stage. This reading might see symbols of Celtic mythology as being relevant and important props in the new country. The recreation of a landscape by implanting elements that have been brought with the immigrants is easily discernible.

Another interpretation should also be considered, however, and that is the importance of visibility within the modern society. Many of the items chosen have symbolic significance of some magnitude, and also require a large amount of effort. They are not mere signposts, but large, physical items that populate the physical landscape. Diùranach had also commented on how people driving past stopped and saw them and became curious. I think for him it was an important way of establishing the visible presence of an ethnicity. For other SoSGA respondents, Scottish Gaelic has to be publicly established and perhaps awakened in others. It is also clear that Diùranach sees the overall Celtic group as something importantly distinct.

Extract 5.38 An Incidental Influence

SS: 'And do you think the standing stones have helped the language as well?
Diùranach: Language? I don't know. They've certainly given the various Celtic communities something and have induced the Celtic communities to be conscious that they are part of an overall Celtic community. Even the Irish, who are a bit stand-offish see that now, and the Welsh see it – I hope the Scots do. But the direct influence on language would be incidental' [MD09.59].

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[71] Most of those found in Britain are in south-western Wales and tend to be bilingual Latin-Ogam (Schmidt, 1993, p. 79).

Diùranach's viewpoint and his membership of particular committees indicate that it is primarily ethnicity that is important for him. His support for language matters is part of this, and language revival would derive from raised consciousness in this view.

5.6 Conclusion

5.6.1 Institutionalisation

A crucial factor highlighted by Sections 5.4 and 5.5, is that of institutionalisation. For many respondents it is important that the language is preserved within institutions and seen or heard publicly. This is perhaps clearest in the protracted battle with the SBS in order to keep a 'public face' for Scottish Gaelic on radio. It is also evident in the importance of commemorations such as in plaques and in the stone circle – even if all Celtic languages appear telescoped in time and geographical space by their enactment. Scottish Gaelic becomes part of the remit of organisations of interested parties with a variety of aims. Scottish Gaelic becomes part of the responsibility of choirs, education systems and other institutions.

An institution may be a means to achieve life and representation for the language beyond the simple number of speakers. Therefore for a language which has a declining number of speakers institutionalisation is important to SoSGA respondents. Presence in an institution such as the school or the radio does not guarantee life, but does give the language a structured position within bounded frameworks. I perceive this as related to the main thrust of arguments outlined in Chapter 2 on LHRs in that such positioning allows a focus on the language's rights. If the institution itself is protected, placing a language within it potentially protects it from the dominant language.

However, significant consequences may follow from such a strategy. In the particular example of the SBS, the institution itself probably was only a temporary shield, or a display area. In the longer term it did not protect Scottish Gaelic from the institution's internal imperatives. Equally, institutionalisation in this environment means that gate keeping practices may become much more important. An organisation might evolve in particular directions that alter its aims and make it adopt fixed procedures. Muc-mhara felt pressured by an organisation's demands that she did not deem relevant to her language and presentation of it. Infrastructure is needed for growing organisations, such as radio studios, or recognised translators for written documents, or teachers in order to judge correctness. Some of these activities may not be considered possible at all without native speakers if they are at the apex of a value hierarchy. Other activities may continue, such as musical ones, but might be open to criticism for that

other important feature: authenticity. So institutionalisation may serve to exacerbate precisely some of these problems that minority languages face instead of protecting them from outside influences. Institutionalisation might make some language activities harder to perform if certain conditions are not met. I suggest that these conditions may be varied, such as the presence of native speakers, adequate numbers (such as in choirs, or language classes) and perhaps even adequate ethnicities.

External demands might be made that are entirely unrelated to the activity at hand, such as insurance and legal requirements demanded by legislation. This was the case both for one of the choirs and one of the other cultural organisations. They spent an enormous amount of effort coping with the collapse of their insurers[72] and the ensuing attempts to find a new one in a difficult economic climate [MD11; MD12]. For a number of language activists the effort required to maintain the institutional position may thus be enormous and potentially debilitating. These are factors that have little to do directly with the language itself, but are a reflection of wider forces within the society.

5.6.2 Subversion and Ethnicity

Some SoSGA respondents (but importantly, not all) make it very clear that issues of ethnicity are at the forefront of their concerns. For Diùranach this is most clearly associated with countries of origin. Diùranach also uses a super-ordinate term of 'Celtic' as an ethnicity and identifies cultural elements that belong within it. Having visible and audible monuments contributes to demonstrating not only to the outside world, but also to the Celts themselves, that they have a common ethnic and cultural heritage. The symbols can therefore act as a rallying point and are important in themselves for this feature. So too might Scottish Gaelic act in symbolic value, rather than necessarily as a language to be used. This occurs in other languages: the symbolic function of the language replaces the communicative function for some Russian second-generation migrants in Australia (Clyne 1991a, p. 220). Within a discourse of multiculturalism, this is permissible.

The complete lack of Aboriginal languages in the forms of broadcasting that I examined is also illustrative of the tri-partite separation into Anglo-(Celtic), Aboriginal and ethnic. I suggest that in these radio-broadcast forms of social space, Aboriginal languages are absent precisely because they are not 'ethnic'. I do not examine whether it is imposed or chosen (see

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[72] In 2001, the insurance company HIH collapsed in Australia, leading to a number of small organisations struggling to find an alternative source of insurance. Legislation had made liability insurance compulsory for associations that were 'incorporated' in order to provide accident insurance for public events.

Ozolins (1993, p. 226 ff.) for some discussion of this; also (Smolicz and Secombe 2003)), but this heightens the impression of a social space reserved for languages of non-British immigrants.

The discourse of SoSGA respondents shows that ethnicity and the minority status of Scottish Gaelic allow them to be associated with a different set of language parameters. This is perhaps most obvious in the case of the radio stations where the field is opened up to Scottish Gaelic within the 'ethnic' domain. Scottish Gaelic is broadcast alongside other immigrant languages where space is deliberately set aside for them outside the mainstream. But this is also an essentially subversive activity. One 'purpose' of allowing such spaces was to permit, by giving access to information, the integration of (NESB) immigrants into Australian society. Some readings of the situation (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988; Hage 1998) might suggest that these spaces are even deployed as supervisory in promoting assimilation. What is potentially disturbing about Scottish Gaelic in this scheme is that this language community is supposedly not in need of such help in integrating as they are already able to speak the dominant language. Pressure to allow Scottish Gaelic within this can therefore be interpreted as subversive because activists are using existing resources not out of social need, but for a language-revival purpose. This is exactly the opposite of integration if it reflects a desire to dissociation.

5.6.3 Visibility and Audibility

Daorghlas commented that he saw the use of the radio medium as a way of showing and enjoying his own culture [SoSGA_N3]. As a migrant, he said that a sense of his own culture was heightened by being in a foreign country, and that it became more important to display it than might have been the case in Scotland [SoSGA_N3]. The presence of Scottish Gaelic within the pantheon of languages and ethnicities that form part of multiculturalism is therefore partly logical. It is a claim of presence in Australia and it is contrastable to English in a similar way to other LOTEs. Scottish Gaelic may form part of a display, and its visibility and audibility indicate its continued presence. Having a public voice is one way of overcoming the language decline. This is not to say that it is merely a display, as I believe that language revival really is at the forefront of many SoSGA respondents' actions. But the society in which they live may make them feel that they need to claim particular social spaces, and social rights derived from them. Therefore the very claims made, take on an importance in their own right.

In a slightly different way, Diùranach's efforts with the standing stones display claims of

presence and a claim on the continent. In one obvious sense, it is cultural symbolism. Rutherford (2000) discusses the acts of colonisation in Australia and the European naming of places as enacting 'a process of cultural construction' (Rutherford 2000, p. 31). On one level this creation or placing of Celtic things in the landscape is a continuation of the same process. But there is also a sub-text that I think must be considered here, which is of great importance. The ethnicity missing from the Celtic representations is 'English'. This is no accident. It is quite clearly not British colonialism as a whole that is being granted visibility, but a Celtic element that pre-dates the post-medieval empire of England. The formation of such a 'cultural symbolic' (Rutherford 2000, p. 32) is crucial to the representation of Scottish Gaelic as outside the sphere of English colonialism. The Celtic groups are portrayed here as subjugated peoples themselves, rather than invading colonisers who (illegally) declared Australia as a 'terra nullius'[73] (Roberts 1994, p. 278). It is clear that the representations are important in manifesting a separate ethnicity which is therefore entitled to social space in its own right in modern Australia.

5.6.4 The Awkwardness of Scottish Gaelic Within Multiculturalism

Smolicz and Secombe's (2003) view is that the ideal form of multiculturalism 'sought to uphold and develop an overarching framework of Australian values in which the right of individuals from minority ethnic backgrounds to maintain their ethnic identity was assured' (Smolicz and Secombe 2003, p. 8). There can be little doubt that for groups such as Cambodians changes in policy have been an advantage (Smolicz and Secombe 2003, p. 12ff.). The non-presence of Indigenous (Aboriginal) languages within this framework is attributed to a 'lack of rapprochement between the multicultural drive' and the view that indigenous inhabitants saw it as inappropriate to be put in the same category as migrants (Smolicz and Secombe 2003, p. 8). Nonetheless, Smolicz and Secombe (2003) feel that 'multicultural policy has provided an over-arching framework which includes English as a shared language for all' without excluding other languages (Smolicz and Secombe 2003, p. 9).

But in many ways, Scottish Gaelic may occupy an uncomfortable position within such language ideologies in Australia. In terms of language education and multiculturalism, the desire to have it as a recognised language is at odds with the ideology of providing children with the ability to communicate with their community. There is no large community of Scottish Gaelic speakers of previous generations with whom grandchildren might wish to

[73] The legal case against the declaration of Australia as 'terra nullius' is known as the 'Mabo' case named after the plaintiff who took the case to the High Court in Australia.

speak the forgotten language (Ozolins 1993, p. 174). There is no recent, large, immigrant group which might want to allow their children to use their language as an alternative to English, as all migrants who speak Scottish Gaelic are presumably fluent in English already. There is little justification in arguing that Australian children should learn Scottish Gaelic in order to communicate with newcomers, because there are exceedingly few of them. There are probably no arguments for the economic importance of the language, as there is no Scottish Gaelic trading partner. All of these factors make any positioning within educational frameworks potentially awkward.

Further, arguments concerning language maintenance apply less to Scottish Gaelic than do desires for language revival – something not necessarily even considered by many education authorities in the face of arguably more pressing claims for 'Koorie' (Aboriginal) languages (Roberts 1994). This is also related to another argument which hinders Scottish Gaelic in multicultural Australia: the claims for particular languages as symbols of national identity. Associations with ethnicity for Scottish Gaelic are linked to wider issues of Scottish identity. Scottish identity is linked to British identity and thereby to aspects of Australia's colonial past. If 'ethnic', or community languages in multicultural Australia are believed to be in opposition to English, 'Anglo' and 'British', then so too could they potentially exclude Scottish Gaelic – no matter how un-English the language is claimed to be. No wonder that some SoSGA respondents feel obliged to position themselves according to such factors (Extract 8.1).

5.6.5 Authenticity

Authenticity in language and culture is very important to many SoSGA respondents. Many cases of the public presentation of Scottish Gaelic involve elements deemed to be accurate representations. This is the case for recordings made for choir members to be able to accurately reproduce sounds in the language, or by using stones from Scotland to make an authentic cairn. Choirs and their repertoires are viewed as an authentic element of culture. Those elements that are chosen to be deployed in public indicate which aspects are considered salient with respect to the society. This is clearly the case for the language itself, and why it is therefore important to have it in broadcasting and education. Authenticity, however, derives from what is considered accurate representation. Therefore it is important to know how particular elements are viewed. One important aspect of authenticity is the status of the native speaker as a true representative of language and culture. Chapter 6 examines the relationship between language learning, authenticity and native speakers.

Chapter 6 - Scottish Gaelic, Ethnicity and Belonging

6.0 Introduction

This chapter examines some identity claims made by the SoSGA respondents and how they relate to Scottish Gaelic and ethnicity. Some consider themselves as part of a Scottish Diaspora or as strongly belonging to the cultural heritage of Scotland. Diùranach comments that he *'always felt Scottish'* [MD09]. Others make no such claims but highlight their love of Scotland. Iona, for example, although not firmly claiming any Scottish ancestry, says that as soon as she crossed the border into Scotland, she felt a different state of mind [MD01]. Many learners comment on their desire to go to Scotland, and some have actually moved there, occasionally permanently. This chapter also examines the interaction between Scottish Gaelic, authenticity and the promotion of the language in Australia and New Zealand.

I examine context as the way in which people understand things around them. For Dilley (2002) context is a 'claim … concerning a set of connections' (Dilley 2002, p. 454). Context can be both the area for interpretation, as well as the 'condition which shapes knowledge' (Dilley 2002, p. 442). Importantly for SoSGA respondents, it is not necessarily their immediate physical surroundings that may be relevant. Many interactions are with Scotland, for example. For Dilley (2002) in the contemporary world it is 'travel as the locus of human experience' that is important (Dilley 2002, p. 449). SoSGA respondents' reactions could also be examined in the light of movements of people between 'intersecting contexts' (Dilley 2002, p. 450). Their contexts may also include texts or ideas that are available and so we may need 'a more unbounded sense of what the contexts must be' (Dilley 2002, p. 450).

An important reason to relate SoSGA respondents' activities to Scotland is because of the location of authenticity. Stroud (2001) criticises Bourdieu (1991) for a rigid view that the legitimacy of language is linked to power (Stroud 2001a, p. 254). As will be seen below, much legitimacy for SoSGA respondents derives from native speakers-ness or other elements of authenticity, and not from elite status. They do, it is true, form a 'group' that has a desired form of linguistic capital, and in this respect Bourdieu (1991) may be correct. But it is not obvious that native speakers of Scottish Gaelic have 'power' in the sense that they do not form an elite within the society. Legitimacy for many SoSGA respondents comes from very different sources. I also consider that 'language legitimacy may be located away from the dominant class … and outside of state institutions' (Stroud 2001a, p. 269).

6.1 Belonging and Celtic Ethnic Kinship

A principal motivator for many respondents to learn Scottish Gaelic is to do with heritage. This may be manifested in a number of ways, as kinship has a number of different facets for SoSGA respondents. Appeals are made to Scotland as well as wider Celtic affinity. This does not necessarily preclude an Australian identity. An example of this is Amun, in Extract 6.1 why he feels in a position to participate in his cultural heritage.

Extract 6.1 I am a Gael

Amun: 'I think this is important: I'm not Irish, nor am I Scottish, I'm Australian. I was born and raised here – but I am a Gael. And I'm very proud of both sides of the family where I come from. So to that end I'll be learning Irish too over the next few years. I want to learn both, there's no reason why I can't.' [MD26.67].

'Gael' is presented as encompassing three different nationalities and is based on ancestry. This makes an interesting comparison to identity work done in Scotland where English migrants to Scotland saw a powerful connection between ancestry, territory and claims of nationality (Kiely, Bechhofer et al. forthcoming, p. 7). In that context, some migrants believed that their English birthplace and lack of ancestry precluded any nationality claims for Scottishness. Similarly, Amun use birthplace as his major identifier in Extract 6.1, but in contrast he does feel able to use ancestry as a link to 'Gael'. For Amun, Irish and Scottish Gaelic are therefore open to him as targets for learning, as they are by a number of respondents. This is clear to one of the organisers of classes in Extract 6.2.

Extract 6.2 Touching Roots

Respondent 184: '[I]t seems that certainly the Irish and the Scottish feel the need to touch their roots through language.' [MD22.01].

Respondent 184 was an experienced organiser for one of the studying organisations and had to continually find teachers to provide for the demand for classes. But he was also aware that there were other factors than just language learning.

Extract 6.3 Looking for Roots

Respondent 184: 'What I like to think people are looking for, is some way of coming together. I mean what is the use of a language in isolation? Probably even work at it with a book in one hand and perhaps something cultural such as poetry or plays in the other. But what are people looking for? I think they're looking for roots [...]' [MD22.02].

These roots, however, are complex and varied. The theme of this section is how language relates to roots that people might report to seek. It will also examine what people gravitate towards, if it is not roots that motivate them.

6.1.1 Use of the Term 'Celtic'

The term 'Celtic' is potentially problematic. It is a term directly linked to Australia's colonial history via 'Anglo-Celtic'. Some respondents are keenly aware that it can mean different things. Glaschu comments on archaeological and modern contrasts in Extract 6.4.

Extract 6.4 'It's a convenient term'

Glaschu: 'And when they talk about Celtic invasions […] there were no Celts to invade, there were groups of people. Some of them had already been here [i.e. U.K.] anyway, they didn't actually invade they just came across, they were farmers and doing things. […] At that time there were never anybody called the 'Celts'. It's not even archaeological – it doesn't belong there – it's a convenient term but it doesn't even have any real meaning at the time. […] It was very patchwork. There was no, as I say, 'Celtic' invasion.' [MD28.44]

Nonetheless, despite this term having a vague, descriptive role for an ill-defined population, 'Celtic' is still used very productively. Eagaraiche illustrates this during a conversation while relating her experiences of visiting a museum in Scotland that seemed to have been very disorganised (Extract 6.5).

Extract 6.5 The Celtic Mind

Eagaraiche:'It was a fabulous centre and they went bust or something. But the management of it was shocking. […] And I constantly tried to email them from Australia. I took all their email addresses about buying stuff, nobody ever, ever answered an email, […] and we tried and tried to sort it out and they just said 'Oh, somebody's coming to fix it'. The whole thing was a shambles so I don't know if it's the Celtic mind - which I can say because I'm Celtic - or what! But they just couldn't manage to organise themselves out of a wet paper bag!' [MD22.35].

The key phrase in this analysis is Eagaraiche stating her membership of a group that supposedly has a *'Celtic mind'*. Here is a specific linguistic construction of identity. She can further allow herself to be critical because she is an insider. It is a criticism that can therefore be defended as not being prejudiced. But as will become apparent below, privileged access to a Celtic grouping is not straightforward in all contexts. In Scotland, for example, it will become clear that who is an insider and who is an outsider may be much contested.

6.1.2 Varying Motivations and Outsiders

Although some SoSGA respondents report ethnic motivations to learn Scottish Gaelic, there are other, unrelated reasons. One teacher, who had many years of experience, believed that for some people the lure of the exotic aroused their curiosity.

Extract 6.6 Foreign Coins

Flathal: 'That's another thing that Gàidhlig learners do and all the people who

> *write Gàidhlig lessons in magazines, they talk for ages- they look at words as if they were foreign coins and they don't know how to put five of those words together, you know.' [MD04.22]*

What frustrated her was that she did not perceive students to be trying to gain communicative competence. She is evidently angry about the objectification of the language.

For some, though, it is a whole range of motivations, such as the anonymous respondent in Extract 6.7 who did not necessarily understand all of their reasons.

Extract 6.7 An Irrational Attraction to the Topic

> *'I have only been learning Gàidhlig for a short time - but a mixture of study interests, ancestry and heritage and 'impulse' have provided an absorbing subject. I feel an inchoate, irrational attraction to the topic that is only increased by my exposure to idiom, etymology and cultural viewpoints.' [SoSGA_Q088].*

This Australian-born respondent was a choir member and also reported using the language to friends. Studying was clearly also stimulating in its own right – it is described as a *'topic'* and a *'subject'* rather than as allowing access to something internal.

Other motivations can be deeply personal, and based on life experiences. The respondent in Extract 6.8 explicitly states that it is not the language itself that made her join a choir.

Extract 6.8 'It made me weep'.

Respondent 125: *'I had not sung Gaelic music since leaving school […] and then I attended [a] festival here in [this city] about three years ago and heard [the choir] sing - It just made me weep! I felt homesick and it reminded me of my Dad (long since departed). Anyway, I […] joined them, kind of getting back to my roots so to speak. I've always been into Capercallie and Runrig so may be I have an ear for it. I have no interest whatsoever in learning it as a language.' [SoSGA_E_R125, 21-Mar-02].*

This personal motivation was despite a very clear Gaelic-focused output from the choir itself, as well as the respondent's father having sung in Scottish Gaelic.

Regret can also figure amongst the reasons for more involvement in Scottish Gaelic in later life. The anonymous respondent in Extract 6.9, a member of a different choir, expresses exactly this.

Extract 6.9 'I'm at the start of my journey'

> *'I am at the start of my journey into learning the language of my birth, and I regret not having had the opportunity or exposure to Gàidhlig in Scotland.' [SoSGA_Q089].*

Even though this respondent was a long-term resident in Australia, he did not feel that this excluded him from learning the language. This was also clearly the case for Diùranach, and in fact kinship was exactly one of his motivations. In Extract 6.10 he reported how he answered

the census question on language in a way, which might help to promote the presence of Scottish Gaelic in Australia.

Extract 6.10 Thoroughly Deceptive

Diùranach: 'Every ten years in the census I always put myself down as speaking Scots Gaelic. It's true: I address a few phrases to my wife who has not a word of it. At least I've spoken them, so it's not an outright lie, even if it's thoroughly deceptive!' [MD09.62]

The desire for the continued presence of Scottish Gaelic in Australia is a strong one. This is most obviously the case in public for many of the organisations that take on such a task. At a personal level, this can also come across as a strong desire, even if the task is sometimes very difficult.

6.1.3 Subsequent Generations

Regret at lack of exposure for their children is sometimes expressed for those who have had children in Australia but who never had the opportunity to teach them Scottish Gaelic. Sometimes this can also mean that they blame themselves for the language's decline; one respondent described it as 'our generation's fault' [MD15.58]. There are various reasons that many respondents gave for their not teaching their children, such as their partner not being a Gàidhlig speaker, or that resources were not available in the community, or even the pressures of trying to establish oneself in a new country. Respondent 065, whose children had been brought up in Australia, mentioned a number of reasons.

Extract 6.11 You Never Push Your Own Language

Respondent 065: '[I] tried to do a little bit of it but it was very difficult they were […] pretty full on[74] at school and pretty full on, when they were little. They know a lot of the words but they can't converse in Gàidhlig. They know a lot of the Gàidhlig songs because I play them a lot so they're very familiar with the music and […] dancing, and so they've had a bit culture but I'm hoping one day they'll come back to it themselves.

SS: Have they made noises as if they're going to?

Respondent 065: I think they're too busy with their own lives at the moment. They've got so much else- my older daughter is a quite a linguist. She did [two major European languages] at school, she's a natural with languages and I think she might. […]

SS: Do you think if the time had been- the facilities or perhaps the time set aside or if the funding had been set aside, your [children] might have learned Gàidhlig as well?

Respondent 065: Oh they certainly would have, yes. Certainly would have. It was probably partly my fault too because in their growing years too I [was working]

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[74] 'Extremely busy' or 'strongly committed'.

> *quite a lot of the time that they were growing up – I mean that's not an excuse that's how it was, you know. And probably, looking back, I should have been a bit more- I think if [my husband] had spoken as well it would have been easier. We would have conversed in Gàidhlig. […] But even when visitors came- you can't speak in Gàidhlig, it's rude, you know, and this is sort of the way we are. You never push your own language, you defer to them.' [MD02.09]*

So societal factors played a part for this respondent, not just family environment. This did not mean, however, that she imposed Scottish Gaelic on her children, although it meant a great deal to her personally. Another respondent whose parents were both speakers commented that she had wanted to increase her own ability but that having children, and other pressures, had always made it more difficult to pursue [SoSGA_N1]. For that respondent it was something that had been interrupted by other aspects of her life. Conversely, for Respondent 065, the challenges of the society might have made a positive difference, related in Extract 6.12.

Extract 6.12 With Grim Determination

Respondent 065: *'And I've found, since coming to Australia I've held on with such grim determination to the language because for years I had very few people to speak it to. But I would read or I would play Gàidhlig songs. I'm almost as fluent now probably as when I was at home especially when I go back after a couple of days I feel as if-. And yet out here I've met people who've been out here a shorter time than me and […] people who've had a smattering of Gàidhlig and they say 'Oh I've lost the Gàidhlig' and I don't think that's necessary to lose it if you've got it all, you can keep it. […] Two of my very close friends are from [the island] - he probably speaks more Gàidhlig now than when he was back there because they never- their parents spoke Gàidhlig but they never did. And so when he's with us he'll make jokes in Gàidhlig and just a few introductory words in Gàidhlig and that, which is probably more that when he was on the island because it was looked down on and they wouldn't speak it.' [MD02.20]*

So Respondent 065 reports that she has used Gàidhlig more in her new country – as an issue of personal identity. She has made opportunities to speak the language, and friends of hers have apparently done the same. She had reported that when she was a child it was frowned upon to speak the language where she came from, but had the impression that might be changing now [MD02].

6.1.4 A Legacy to Bequeath

Capull grew up with the language and was very involved in many of the events and organisations. He believed the language was very important to maintain, but he was also very concerned in the face of the dwindling number of speakers. In Extract 6.13 he expresses his conviction about what he does and what he believes for the language.

Extract 6.13 To Keep it You Have to Give it Away

Capull: 'I am truly honoured to have been asked here today as a teacher and have been involved with you here especially those who are learning the language for the first time. And it's a wonderful language to learn - it's a language of music of poetry and of song. I am in the fortunate, or in the blessed position of having been born with this language and it was given to me as a gift and I believe it is a gift and it was left to me as a legacy by my parents and their parents before them and I'm part of a threatened species in this town, I believe – a native Gàidhlig speaker. There's only [a few] of us in this room tonight and it's very hard to find any more in this town but there must be hundreds of them out there if only we could find them. But yes, I do believe that our language is a legacy and it was passed on to me and they told me 'to keep it, you've got to give it away' and that's why I'm here tonight, to give it away.' [MD08.20].

Capull apparently demonstrates the antithesis of boundary marking by wanting to pass the language on to those willing to learn. It is also testament to the extraordinary patience that this teacher showed towards learners. As an object-like legacy, the language will outlive him if he manages to pass it on. Using an ecological metaphor, Capull identifies himself as one of a *'threatened species'*. This extract shows him as generous and inclusive of learners into the Gàidhlig world. But on the other hand, it also displays elements of a 'contradictory discourse' (Tsitsipis 1998, p. 119) precisely by identifying native speakers as holders of such a legacy. It indicates Capull's own identity defined in relation to the parameter of native speaker.

6.2 Personal Identity and Language

Many activities organised around Scottish Gaelic in Australia can be interpreted as a way of enhancing identity and solidifying language use in certain contexts. This is clear enough for Scottish Gaelic classes, but the choirs and other cultural organisations organise regular events at which people can use Scottish Gaelic. The choirs can also act to maintain group cohesion for those who are not active members. One respondent comments that it was useful as a way of reaching out within the community.

Extract 6.14 Drawing the net

Respondent 065: '[W]e've probably covered most of the Gàidhlig speakers - we've drawn the net around them, but there could still be some that we don't know of in [this city] as well. But the choir is quite a good vehicle for- 'cos we go to nursing homes and we go to various places. And it's amazing some of the older people you think they're falling asleep and then all of a sudden their ears prick up and they remember something.' [MD02.04].

One of the choirs also had an explicit remit to perform within the community and occasionally applied for grants on this basis. Some of the successful grants were also won on the basis of

specific contributions activities within the local area – even though they were sometimes only partially related to singing activities. The choir therefore had to sometimes sing in English, or else had to work out ways in which they could work their music into the grant [MD35.78]. Overall there was an element of teamwork, and sometimes onerous 'duty' towards fellow members [SoSGA_N4; MD15]. Therefore the identity of the group was sometimes given primacy.

6.2.1 Names, Ethnicity and Belonging

One discursive creation of Gaelic ethnicity is demonstrated by the use of names. In many contexts people are called by the Gaelic version of their names. For some individuals, this is an entry of Scottish Gaelic into their everyday lives: Allaid stores the Gaelicised versions of names in his mobile telephone when he can translate them effectively [SoSGA_N3]. Many SoSGA respondents have surnames that can be Gaelicised for use in email addresses, meetings or events involving Scottish Gaelic. On a practical level, names may also be used as a teaching strategy, providing source material to demonstrate Scottish Gaelic grammar in the classroom. The vocative case, for example, involves the mutation of certain word-initial consonants (Lamb 2003, p. 32) and so may provide concrete examples for learning. In one sense this in unremarkable: it is a reflection of the original linguistic roots of many names.

An aspect worth comment in the Australian context is the use of Gaelicised names as a reflection of ethnicity. Using and understanding names in Scottish Gaelic is partly an indication of the need for shared knowledge. Knowing names in Scottish Gaelic is impossible without at least some rudiments of linguistic ability. As this knowledge is not available to the rest of society, it can therefore act as a marker of linguistic participation. This therefore also entails the need for what Wodak (2004) terms a group of 'knowers' who can recognise the participation (Wodak 2004). Learning one's own name in Scottish Gaelic may also signal personal development and may function to others as a marker of belonging. One respondent, satisfied with the initial progress made from her first few lessons, had commented on her satisfaction at being able to pronounce her own name in Gàidhlig [MD13; MD08].
The appearance of stereotypical Gaelic names in passing is also useful to some respondents. Eagaraiche (amongst others) commented that whenever she saw a (new) Scottish name in her workplace she felt that she should approach them to find out if they had any interest in Scottish Gaelic. This strategy relies on the knowledge of what constitutes an appropriate name. One obvious example is the 'Mc' or 'Mac' prefix to a surname. In one sense this is

clear use of a stereotype by using a marker to denote a set even if it does not necessarily apply – but Eagaraiche could be confident that such an approach might nonetheless occasionally identify others who might broadly support Scottish Gaelic.

On the one hand, this use of names is inclusive – people with appropriate names can be identified as likely to have a particular heritage, which might then predispose them to supporting Scottish Gaelic. Conversely, it is exclusionary by implication: a non-Highland name supposedly makes it much less likely that someone wishes to be actively involved with Scottish Gaelic. Names are a possible marker of group membership, even if not foolproof. In one way it may be interpreted as a linguistic construct that helps to create an intra-group sameness, and difference with outside groups (Wodak, Cillia et al. 1999, p. 188). Not having a Highland name makes a stranger less likely to be approached. A name can thus be a linguistic token, used to highlight likely group boundaries.

Maryon McDonald (1986) described her work in Brittany amongst Breton language activists, and commented on subjects' desire to not be seen as 'English' (McDonald 1986). The Breton activists that McDonald (1986) describes sought to emphasise the links between various Celtic nations, and to emphasise their differences with English language and ethnicity. Worth highlighting here, is that in supposedly very different political and social contexts, similar methods of alignment are brought to bear, and similar oppositions are made. Links to one group are de-emphasised (on grounds of one or more of ethnicity, culture and linguistic traits), and links and similarities to others are highlighted. A linguistic and cultural heritage that is 'not English' is advanced as a contrast. Such categorisations are being employed for the purposes of definition by SoSGA respondents in their re-negotiation of positioning in Australian national space. This is an aspect of their understanding of the meanings and investments in ethnicities, and in response to the society around them.

Celtic nations are sometimes grouped together on the basis of language. Amun attended Scottish Gaelic classes because of his interest in the language. His mother, Gealmhìn, regularly attended classes, and had initially introduced him to them. Amun and Cridhmór had been discussing how hard it was to find Scottish Gaelic classes, and how little information there seemed to be. Cumhal had been telling Amun about his impressions of Gaelic associations, and of high demand for Scottish Gaelic in the past.

Extract 6.15 Learning Irish

Cumhal: '[A]t one stage there was about 120 people on the waiting list to learn Gàidhlig and who all went by the wayside.

Amun: Well, I'll tell you they might have gone where I went, to the Irish club and started to learn Irish!' [MD26.61].

Amun explicitly names Irish as part of his heritage, further highlighting the near-equivalence of the languages for some respondents. It is not always a matter of picking and choosing, because Irish and Scottish Gaelic are in the same category for Amun, and deployed as part of his cultural heritage. Whereas for Scots-born Cridhmór it is perhaps a matter of not being pigeonholed as English (Extract 8.2), for Australian-born Amun it is two strands of a common, non- English heritage. In the absence of Scottish Gaelic, therefore, Irish can fill the gap if heritage reasons are used. Heritage also needs defending. In Extract 6.16 an Australian-born respondent felt oppressed by Australian society.

Extract 6.16 A Different Community

Respondent 133: 'I grew up between the Scottish and Irish communities both in [City A] when I was young, and later in [City B]. As a lad at school, having an accent was not good, nor was having cultural traditions that were different to the community you were living in. To this day wearing a kilt on an every day basis earns you a lot of trouble from young folk. On a different note, despite being born here my work with the SNP[75] has upset immigration. I currently hold a British passport but not Australian. I have been advised that should I leave Australia, I will not be allowed to return to this country as I will become a U.K. citizen - no visa will be issued' [SoSGA_Q133].

Respondent 133 feels that a dominant norm still oppresses his 'difference'. He reports oppression by the *'community'*, and by officialdom, apparently because of his political outlook. His legal position is made difficult by the bureaucracy. Australia is not a comfortable place for this respondent's identity.

6.3 Scotland as a Locus for Action

In Extracts 6.15 and 6.16 ancestral heritages, emanating from the British Isles, is strongly present. Many questionnaire respondents saw action in Scotland on behalf of Scottish Gaelic as necessary. Action applies to public, cultural and political domains. Organisation 1 circulated a petition, calling on the Scottish Parliament to grant Scottish Gaelic official status in Scotland. Emails had previously been circulated when the Scottish Executive had invited submissions to an official report on the status of Gàidhlig (Meek 2002). In Extract 6.17 members are urged to participate in a lobbying campaign.

Extract 6.17 From Far-away Places

'We encourage everyone to take action quickly. We are sure that input from far-away places like Australia will be noticed and add weight to this vital campaign to achieve

[75] Scottish National Party

recognition, support and secure status for our much-loved Gaelic language.' [SoSGA_E_Org1, 11-Aug-02].

This is a desire for a voice in Scotland. The very fact of appealing from Australia is believed to have an effect in itself. This illustrates that not only does the organisation sees itself as potentially remarkable in Scotland, but also that they feel that they will be heard there. Scotland is as much a site for political action as Australia, in this understanding. This commitment to Scotland's linguistic heritage is partly a justification for Organisation 1's existence. It also shows how interaction with Scotland is important as a (group) claim of identity. The position of Scotland is dynamic because it works both ways: it is seen as a source of the language as well as an end-point for action. As a source of culture and language it can be a magnet. Respondent 185 moved to the Hebrides, from where she replied to the survey.

Extract 6.18 Making a Fool of Myself

Respondent 185: 'I wish you'd been doing this survey a few years back – I was passionate about the role of the Gaelic language and heritage in Australia and made a complete fool of myself by writing to a local newspaper' [SoSGA_L_R185, 15-Jan-02].

One implication is that she felt that her interest was not completely normal in Australia, echoing Iona's description of language teaching as her *'eccentricity'* (Extract 4.1). Respondent 185 felt that she would be mocked for her passion, as if admitting something shameful. For her, true participation later derived from living in the Hebrides. One of the choirs was founded partly to promote Scottish Gaelic. According to a newsletter, it was an attempt to *'ensure that the music of the Scottish Highlands would have a decided presence here in Australia'*[76]. Extract 6.19, from a choir report, celebrates their success.

Extract 6.19 Prestige and Recognition in Scotland

'The choir and its efforts have gained a great deal of prestige in and recognition in Scotland, it's a pity that such is not the case in this country' [SoSGA_E_Org2, 26-Nov-03].

Scotland was apparently more appreciative than Australia, a justification in itself. Recognition is clearly considered important, justifying performances in Scotland. As a choir member expressed in Extract 6.20, performances were proof of vitality.

Extract 6.20 Alive and Kicking

Anonymous: 'If nothing else, it has put on notice the simple fact that Gàidhlig music at the bottom of the world is alive and kicking' [MD11.04].

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[76] Reference suppressed for anonymity.

Another choir reportedly sold more of their recordings in Scotland than in Australia, after having appeared on Scottish radio there [MD12].

6.4 Acceptance and Rejection in Scotland

6.4.1 Being Welcomed

Participation in specific events in Scotland is a way in which SoSGA respondents can express their belonging to a wider community. It is important, though, to highlight that this is not the primary motivation for those whose interests are in singing itself. Cultural participation is a factor, sometimes separate from ethnic kinship. Therefore reception in Scotland to performances there may be important on more than one level.

The public discourse of one particular competition, the Royal National Mód, reflects the gathering of an imagined community of Gaels. Of relevance for SoSGA respondents, is a discourse of the return of the Diaspora. The choirs from outside of the U.K. are often given a warm welcome at such competitions and the Master of Ceremonies makes special mention of this in Extract 6.21.

Extract 6.21 Relations you Didn't Know About

MoC1: 'Do give them a warm welcome on behalf of us … and they might be some of your relations – relations you didn't know about!' [MD38.02]

This discourse reinforces the image of genetic and ethnic belonging. Such competitions can act as a forum for expressing ethnic belonging. There are a number of ways in which respondents can be made to feel part of a wider network and praised for their participation.

Extract 6.22 A Special Greeting

Adjudicator2: 'I would like to take this opportunity to greet in a special way the [overseas] choirs who sung for us today. I've said in Gàidhlig the further away we are the more, I suppose, it comes to us that our traditions are so precious. […] You sang with good Gàidhlig sounds. Very difficult to find fault with them' [MD38.08].

The musical traditions are described as shared – not necessarily described as learned, for those who are not Scottish. The culture is presented as something valuable to far-flung communities. In some cases the adjudicators describe how unique the art form is.

Extract 6.23 That Magical Moment

Adjudicator3: ' … and the hairs go up at the back of the neck and you know you've got a magical moment with your audience. And that's what this music is all about: that magic moment that is in our culture and that we want to share with one another and the world. Tonight there were some sensational moments and I want to thank you for the joy .. and for sharing them with us – well done' [MD36.58].

6.4.2 Participation in Uniqueness

Scottish Gaelic culture is presented as unique and as something that can be revealed to the outside world. The audience and participants, to whom the adjudicator in Extract 6.23 was addressing her remarks, are presumably already aware of this. The impression of participation in something select and unknown to most of the world is also satirised in comments during a concluding event for all competitors. In Extract 6.24 the presenter describes the song they are about to sing.

Extract 6.24 Gaeldom's Second National Anthem

Presenter: 'We're going to start with the usual: Gaeldom's second national anthem – I think you can guess what it is: Sìne Bhàn*. I don't think you don't need any books for this one. […] There's a story - you probably all know it – about two* bodach's[77] *walking along the esplanade […] and they saw a number of people going about in kilts. And one of them turns to other and says: 'What's on here?' and he says 'I don't know'. 'Well we'll ask this man coming along the road' and he said 'Excuse me sir, what's going on in town today?' 'Oh, there's a Mód on.' 'Oh! Well what's a Mód?' 'Well, it's what they say: people drink a lot of whisky and sing* Sìne Bhàn*'* [general laughter] *[MD38.24-25].*

Of course, there is no nation for which the song would be a national anthem, but this distinction reinforces a sense of a coherent land with a recognisable culture. The presenter's joke also implies a small canon from which the songs are taken in this sort of event. Furthermore, the use of stereotypes such as kilts and whisky are core elements of the satire. Humour also derives from the contrast to the adjudicator's comments in Extract 6.23: this is not the presentation of the event as a serious and artistic attempt to preserve and transmit the culture. Insiders to the event are presumably allowed to share in this form of satire. This also comes across in a competition when one of the adjudicators makes light of the anticipation felt by the competitors:

Extract 6.25 Not Real Life

Adjudicator3: 'I just don't want you to think this is real life – it's just the Mód! So, in reverse order, as with Miss World, and appropriately with the Gàidhlig marks first and music second […]' [MD37.05].

The adjudicator here lets slip the unspoken knowledge that this event is one where the participants have agreed to suspend reality for its duration. They are all complicit in this as insiders to the process of what is happening: the promotion of Scottish Gaelic language and music – language being the more important. The implicit comparison to the *'Miss World'* contest may be interpreted in a number of ways. It may imply that the competition is seen as a

[77] 'Old man' with English plural '-s' marker.

meaningless beauty pageant, that it is merely display, or simply that it is international in scope. In any case, it is a highly contrastive image.

There are a number of subtle elements that can mark out difference between participants, indicating that the presentation of a competition for scattered Gaels should not necessarily be taken at face value. During a final rally where the choirs sang together, one of the Scottish organisers introduced a song favoured by a renowned singer.

Extract 6.26 Although Born in the Central Belt

Organiser: '[He was] a marvellous man. Although born in the Central Belt[78]*, his heart was Highland and his glorious voice was heard up and down the country. He retired to [a particular island] and still sang, even up in [this island].' [MD38.27].*

The implication in Extract 6.26 is that the singer managed to overcome his disadvantage in not being born into the culture, by learning to sing well. This also implies that this learning was unusual or difficult. In Section 6.5 on Authenticity, the relative fortunes of birthplace will re-appear as a theme. Understanding of the culture also extends to knowing that the organiser in Extract 6.26 was making reference to an island with a reputation for religious fervour, where musical forms were restricted to those used in church. The play on stereotypes needs to be known for the humour to be apparent.

6.4.3 Boundary Marking

Some other comments are less subtle, and while welcoming, nonetheless mark boundaries. In the preamble to one of the other competitions in which an Australian choir took part, the Master of Ceremonies was explaining a slight delay.

Extract 6.27 Getting Themselves Turned Upside Down

MoC2: 'They've just arrived so we're giving them a few minutes to get themselves sorted out and turned upside down and that sort of thing. [mild laughter] *[...] I hope you'll give them a warm welcome when they arrive because it's good to see dispersed Gaels, as it were, coming back to the homeland to sing.' [MD37.46]*

So the choir is simultaneously accepted as Gaels but separated out on the basis of nationality. Of course the element of the separation of SoSGA respondents works both ways. The Welsh choir studied by Wray et al. (2003) were not attempting to 'pass' themselves as native speakers. They were not making a pretence, 'for they were not masquerading as native speakers. It was *not* being Welsh that made their Welsh performances significant' (Wray, Evans et al. 2003, p. 60). Similarly, SoSGA respondents were remarkable for this reason –

[78] Roughly between Edinburgh and Glasgow.

their Australian-ness marked them out as both separate and special.

There is little question that a trip to Scotland for many SoSGA respondents presents a learning opportunity as well. Many take the opportunity to visit family, do some touring and occasionally to study short courses. Visiting Scotland itself is important, and although not new to many of the respondents, is sometimes revealing. Appeals may be made to an improved understanding of what initially appeared as mysterious. In Extract 6.28, Ronan reports on a discussion about a winner of one of the competitions.

Extract 6.28 This Celtic Silence

Ronan: '[He said] 'You know why he's won? He's married to [a well-known personality]. I said [...] 'What's that to do with his singing ability?' and there was just this Celtic silence. I've learned to recognise it now – this Celtic silence at the end of the sentence.' [SoSGA_N4].

Ronan attributes a cultural trait to the Celts, which he then uses to explain behaviour. This as with Extract 6.5 is the linguistic construction of a group identity.

6.4.4 Rejection, Criticism and Gender

For some SoSGA respondents, attending and competing in events is an important aspect of why they use Scottish Gaelic. It is the culmination of a great deal of preparation. Although particular, big competitions might be annual events for many Scottish-based choirs, the travel costs and distances involved, as well as the difficulty in organising a choir in Australia, make them more challenging propositions for SoSGA respondents. Participation is far less frequent, one choir having participated three times in twelve years at the most prestigious competition. Scottish-based competitions are therefore much more important occasions for overseas choirs. Morna commented that she felt that local choirs were comfortable, and on home territory in this sort of competitive environment, whereas for many Australian choir members it could be very intimidating and unfamiliar [SoSGA_N4]. Therefore reception by those in Scotland can be very keenly felt. For the most part it is extremely positive, and there were a number of occasions where members of the audience would comment that an Australian choir's presence in Scotland was *'brilliant, brilliant'*, or similar encouraging sentiments [MD35.73]. However, they were also allowing themselves to be judged in the same forum as other choirs. This therefore exposed them to criticism with which they might not have been familiar. One occasion was particularly upsetting. The adjudicators at one of the competitions discussed the voice dynamics of an Australian choir.

<u>Extract 6.29 Aren't There More Men?</u>

Adjudicator3: *'[…] Now I just want to scotch any rumours that the winning choir is where [the other adjudicator] wants to go for her holidays!* [audience laughter] *[…] It was lovely to see such enthusiasm and such joie-de-vivre in the choirs that we saw today. To come all the way from Australia […] I'd be so jet-lagged for six months I wouldn't be able to perform at all. We felt the songs you chose were really good. We felt that the [Australian] choir, you need to get some more men.* [audience laughter]. *I can't believe that in the whole continent of Australia there aren't more men! The problems arise when you're asking ladies to have that kind of sex change. When it gets down to that low C-sharp – hmmm – we're just not there girls. […] And I think you're obviously so talented as a choir you could have re-arranged things a little differently. Take the arrangement and make it more user-friendly for your forces. Either that or go and kidnap some men!* [audience laughter]. *[…] But overall it was really lovely to see such enthusiastic and enjoyable performances and such a sense of us all being part of the one Gàidhlig family. Thank you for coming' [MD38.09-10].*

Although this adjudicator amused some in the audience, many SoSGA respondents reacted extremely negatively. Participation in that particular competition had had to be registered a number of months in advance – at which stage there had indeed been enough male participants. Unfortunately, some talented singers had subsequently dropped out due to illness, lack of funds or other changes in their circumstances. Of course the adjudicator could not have been expected to know this, nor how hard it is to organise a choir in a very different cultural context to Scotland. The pool of prospective participants is, unsurprisingly, a great deal more limited in Australia – it is not just a matter of men, but of people interested in this activity. The people who had been persuaded to take part at the last minute reported that they had made a great many sacrifices to support the choir [SoSGA_N4]. Therefore what might have been intended as amusing comments, turned out to be extremely negative.

This is also where the gender aspect of language learning in Australia might play a part. Recall that in secondary education many more girls than boys studied languages (Chapter 4). Apart from comments that indicate that Scottish Gaelic is considered a *'fuddy-duddy'* thing to do [MD06.26] or that it is hard to find men to take part in such activities [SoSGA_N1], this may actually be an aspect that touches at the very heart of Australian society. It may have to do with the historical ideal of conformity or exclusion of difference. For Rutherford (2000), the exclusion of difference is important in the historical context of an Australia wanting to present a coherent whole. It is an aspect of defining what is 'other' and what is 'Australian' and is part of historical nation building.

> 'It is this expulsion of the object-as-something-Other that we see set in motion and accelerating in speed as the Australian imaginary consolidates. If we recognise that the logic of this expulsion is to be located in its identificatory structure […] then we can

> begin to understand the pattern of exclusions that has typified Australian cultural history. If the policing of the ideal requires that all signifiers that bespeak the Other, that bespeak a constitutional lack, are subject to expulsion, then it is no surprise that femininity is aligned, for example, with the intellectual; whereas in European tradition, the feminine and the intellectual are opposed. In the same way, we can recognise the logic of Australian racism; we can see the systematic destruction of Aboriginal culture, the appropriation of Aboriginal children, and the White Australia policy as all being driven by the need to expel Otherness in order to sustain the fantasy of wholeness' (Rutherford 2000, p. 120).

So perhaps we have a partial answer to the difficulties with language study and gender – it might be because it is an intellectual activity that is not masculine within Australian culture. So too, might SoSGA respondents have difficulty in recruiting males for what is an essentially intellectual, and therefore female, pursuit in their cultural milieu. By criticising the lack of males, the adjudicator highlighted a specific issue that the choir had worked very hard to address by trying to recruit members in a difficult environment. In a society where their activities are not generally positively viewed, and they already have difficulty recruiting males (and young people), criticism of the sex ratio might appear to ignore their extraordinary efforts just to keep the choir going.

The choir might also have felt the criticism particularly keenly because it was an important realm of performance. It is a participation in what is presented as a shared ethnohistory, and a 'display of communicative competence to an evaluating audience' (Tsitsipis 1998, p. 66). Singing may provide an environment where their use of Scottish Gaelic is clearly defined: the performance is time-limited, it has a predetermined content, and their status as learners is acknowledged without barring them from entry. The sung medium itself may also serve to reduce the dangers of appearing less competent in Scottish Gaelic. Sung vowels can be distorted, but may be heard as elements of accent rather than as faulty (Wray, Evans et al. 2003, p. 58). Intriguingly, in the adjudications that I witnessed, it was faulty consonants that the adjudicators commented on. As these are already known to be a problem by SoSGA respondents who are learners (Extract 5.12), this is less of a shock. Therefore to be criticised for a reason that was not directly related to the other aspects on which they had agreed to be judged, was probably harder to cope with. This particular criticism contributed greatly to the choir deciding not to perform in a nationally broadcast finale. Despite the generally very positive welcome and expressions by choir members that they were the 'people's choice' in some competitions, the negative aspects could still weigh heavily. One of the choir members summed up the difficulties and trials faced by the choir in taking part: 'It takes a long time to get over the hurt' [SoSGA_N4].

6.5 Concerns for Authenticity

If Scottish Gaelic culture is to be represented in public, then what exactly is it that should be a true reflection of the culture? In SoSGA respondents' discourse there are clear fracture-lines separating true representations from false ones. I now turn to an examination of what constitutes authenticity in the view of some SoSGA respondents.

6.5.1 Linguistic Authenticity

The choirs' use of tape recordings to recreate accurate sounds is one illustration of a wider concern for linguistic authenticity. Recall that this was worthy of comment by Diùranach regarding the radio presenter's accent (Extract 5.20). Amongst SoSGA respondents there are some striking examples of attempts to overcome exactly this issue. Dubhmór had recently started learning Scottish Gaelic and particularly liked a regional accent.

Extract 6.30 Slender 'R' and Slender 'T'

Dubhmór: 'I love the slender l's and r's and d's and t's and things like that. I try to copy the way they were done. So I've- Like there's no way I'd do a /dʒ/ sound, it's always a [d̪]. /d̪jãnəv/.

SS: So what do you think you're doing with your tongue?

Dubhmór: I'm pressing it up against the back of my teeth. And /t̪ʲiːɹ/; 'tír' – 'se tír mhath - 'se tír math a tha ann an seo'[79]. *'tír' and things like that with a slender 'R' and slender 'T' – I love that word. I see people saying /tʃiːr/ and things like that I think it doesn't sound as nice.' [MD03.44-45].*

Authenticity in speech for Dubhmór meant being able to produce an accurate version of this dialect. He managed to borrow some tapes, which had examples of the dialect to use as a model for his own speech. He thus began to produce dental coronal consonants and identify a need for palatalisation where others produced fricatives. His justification was accuracy in producing a coherent speech pattern, with pleasing aesthetic results.

Dardulena had a similar a motivation for learning Scottish Gaelic in the first place. Her interest had been sparked when she had read a romantic novel, set in eighteenth-century Scotland, in which Scottish Gaelic was used by one of the characters.

Extract 6.31 'I wanted to know how it was said'.

Dardulena: 'I didn't know how to pronounce it, that's why I wanted to do it. One of the things was 'cos I was reading it er, 'keemar a thathu[80]' what?! [laughs] *Um so I sort of wanted to know how it was said. And I ordered – [...] they got my order wrong and they just ordered me in the book and the book doesn't- well the book*

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[79] 'This is a good land'.

[80] '*Ciamar a tha thu?*'; /kɪmər ə ha u/; 'How are you?'.

has a pronunciation guide […] it's got, you know, how to say it, they've got like um how to say the words, but I still couldn't get it. So I said yeah, 'I'm sorry you got it wrong, I want to order the whole thing'. So they had to order the whole […] thing in, plus the tape […]. But the tape was very informat- I couldn't have done it without the tape, no. Just reading it was too hard. […].' [MD09.05].

Dardulena's motivation was, initially, correct pronunciation. The text alone was unsatisfactory and this was strong enough motivation to kick-start her learning. Thereafter she became involved in a number of other cultural activities and had recently enrolled in a Scottish Gaelic class. She did not claim any particular heritage reasons for learning the language, and had explicitly mentioned that she did not feel 'Scottish'. She was, however, further motivated to learn Scottish Gaelic by a desire to keep the language alive [MD09].

6.5.2 The Importance of Native Speakers

It is clear that native speakers, as authentic models for learning Scottish Gaelic, hold a privileged position amongst SoSGA respondents who are learners. Many of the events that are narrowly directed towards language learning cannot occur without native speakers and are thus dependent on their time and goodwill. Some organisations, such as the choirs and the teaching organisations, see them as essential. They may function without them, and then fluent learners are used as guides. Native speakers are often the ultimate arbiters of correctness and supreme judges of ability. The impossibility of learners ever reaching fluency is discounted by many, as in Glaschu's comments in Extract 5.12 and expressed quite forcefully by Diùranach.

Extract 6.32 Unbridgeable Differences

Diùranach: 'As for the difference between learners and native speakers, it's unbridgeable. None of the learners will ever be native speakers […]. I spent - er - several years learning Gàidhlig […], but I'm losing it, one doesn't get the chance to speak it now, the vocabulary fades. My pronunciation – who knows? It's probably, if anything, it is Lewis, since [my teacher] was a Lewisman. [Another teacher] teaches Gaelic up in [smaller city name] […]. How good his accent is I wouldn't know, but it doesn't matter greatly.

SS: When you say it's unbridgeable, do you think that's more in terms of their interests, or do you think the lang-

Diùranach: Not their interests, their abilit- unless you grow up with a language like Gaelic you never really get the opportunity or the practice to speak it fluently – in my view.' [MD09.61-62]

Learning without native speakers is a hopeless cause, it seems. It doesn't matter about the teacher's accent, apparently, because the students will never manage to bridge the gap. When I asked what would help people to achieve fluency in Scottish Gaelic in Australia, Diùranach stressed the importance of native speakers:

Extract 6.33 The Single Most Helpful Thing

SS: 'What sort of things, do you think, would help learners in this country becoming more fluent? In- In-- If there were things that could be done?

Diùranach: More availability of teachers, particularly native speakers. Teaching of the language – though not inescapably so – but very largely so, must depend on having a native speaker of a language like Gaelic with its variety of difficult pronunciation. You're doing three things: you're learning a language which is neither Latin nor, neither Romance nor Teutonic, but Celtic. You're learning to spell it, which is one thing and to pronounce it, which is another. […] Oh it's also the question of having the time and determination and it helps if you've got people to guide you. I think if there's one single thing that would be most helpful, it would be if the [Australian] Commonwealth government's a) centres and b) immigration statistics to separate Scotland from the British Isles, or whatever they call it […] and ideally to ask immigrants if they speak Gaelic. That would be the single most helpful thing.' [MD09.63].

So it is not teacher training or materials and resources that Diùranach values most, but people who have grown up with the language. This was also the case for Dubhmór whom I asked what would help him most in improving his fluency.

Extract 6.34 Ten Native Speakers

Dubhmór: 'For ten native speakers to move in across the road' [MD03.27].

Native speaker background is seen as an unassailable advantage. Learners whom I met during the research almost universally expressed this. During one of the choir competitions in Scotland, two choir members were discussing this with two audience members whom they had met. They commented how a particular competitor would have an advantage, as the competition was aimed at learners.

Extract 6.35 One More Than We Have

Morna: 'Was her Gàidhlig good? Was it good?
Aud1: Yeah, her mum's from Lewis
Morna: See it's a bit of an advantage, isn't it, when you've got it in the family. How can you call yourself a learner?
Aud2: Well, if you've only got one parent with the Gàidhlig.
Morna: It's one more than most of us have! [laughs]
Clatho: Still, if you haven't lived- learnt to speak it at home-' [MD36.20-21].

One of these audience members went on to relate how she herself was from a Gàidhlig-speaking household, but having married an Englishman, didn't use the language at home.

Such competitions were also used as a potential recruiting ground for native speakers who might be prepared to help learners in the societies or choirs. Morna used this approach a number of times with varying success. This was effectively a way of increasing the network

connections, relying on people from Scotland in exactly a manner suggested by Diùranach in Extract 6.33. Historically this had sometimes worked, with people from Scotland with Scottish Gaelic, appearing at functions or events, or on the radio in Australia. This strategy also, of course, relied on members being outgoing enough to approach strangers with what might be seen as a bizarre reason. This was evident when Morna discussed contacting a family member of someone to whom she had been introduced.

Extract 6.36 'We're Desperate for Gàidhlig Speakers'

Morna: *'Here's a contact number*
Anon3: *Excellent*
Morna: *Can you please make sure she gets in touch with us? Because we're desperate for Gàidhlig speakers.*
Anon3: *[…] All I've got is [a] mobile number.*
Morna: *Oh, I'll take that!* [laughs] *Can I take it? And I'll ring her? I've got to go home with a list of people I can contact! […]*
Anon3: *I mean, I'd say her Gàidhlig is pretty rusty*
Morna: *[But] she's got it.*
Anon3: *But she'd certainly appreciate a chat with anybody. […]*
Morna: *She'll get a shock, won't she! […] Tell her we're lovely!' [MD36.51-53].*

The organisations that see native speakers as important therefore benefit from having people who are able to perform recruiting services. It also reflects the ability of SoSGA respondents to potentially organise and expand a network. This strategy was much more pronounced in Scotland because of the greater potential for recruits.

It was also expert discourses that described how being a native speaker was fortunate. At a choir competition, an adjudicator explicitly commented on his good fortune during the summary of a competition for learners. Language and music were judged separately and the marks compiled for the final result.

Extract 6.37 Those Not Fortunate Enough

Adjudicator4: *'[In a particular] year, if you remember, this particular trophy was not handed over and the adjudicators had felt that the standard up to the required standard had not been reached and I'm delighted to say, in the opinion of [the other Adjudicator] and myself tonight that the standard was in many cases surpassed. These people, remember, are learners. They have not had the good fortune to be brought up in Gàidhlig-speaking households like B and myself. They are learners of the language – they are learning to pronounce different sounds. Sounds that are totally alien to many of them. If you are to ask C could you give a broad 'L' as in [bɫɑ:][81] and she'll sing [bɫɑ:][….]. These are alien sounds for many of them and it takes time and it takes effort and a lot of endeavour to get these sounds that are natural to the Gàidhlig speaker to become natural to you as learners. But I'm very, very grateful for that.' [MD36.60].*

[81] 'blath'

The adjudicator appears to accept the relatively higher status value of Scottish Gaelic compared to English – hence the self-description of *'fortunate'*. Secondly, he accepts that his upbringing grants him power as a judge in this environment. Judges are here protecting the language and deciding if learners' standards meet criteria determined by them. Learners are implicitly subscribing to this scheme by taking part.

The non-award of the trophy had, in fact, been to one of the SoSGA respondents. Although the respondent had obtained the greatest number of points, the trophy was withheld and no prize awarded based on their Gàidhlig abilities. The respondent wrote that a judge seemed to have *'an axe to grind'* [SoSGA_E_R009, 14-Nov-02]. Separately, anonymous audience members commented that they had considered the decision harsh [MD35.92].

The adjudicator makes it abundantly clear that the difficulties are immense for those *'less fortunate'*. There is also an underlying assumption hinted at by the adjudicator's example of a velar 'L'. This is an issue precisely because of who the learners are expected to be: English-speaking monoglots who do not have such a phoneme distinction.

In these discourses, there is an implicit recognition and reinforcing of otherness based on native speaker status. For all concerned, native speaker-ness disappears with intergenerational breaks. It is not something that is presented as being retrievable. The break is permanent. This is beyond Fishman's (1991) Stage 8 on the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (Fishman 1991, p. 88).

6.6 Non-Linguistic Authenticity

Some reported uses of Scottish Gaelic are less tightly bound to attested historical and ethnic heritage. There are some instances where productive and creative use of Scottish Gaelic takes place in separate spheres from that in which the bulk of SoSGA respondents take part. An office-bearer of a language organisation comments in Extract 6.38 on people who are interested in Scottish Gaelic for other reasons.

Extract 6.38 'New Age Types'

Respondent 214: 'I wouldn't dismiss that at all, we've got, over the years, quite a few people who read- who are new age types, or who read kind of fantasy novels and there's some Scots Gaelic words, or synthetic words that look like Scots Gaelic words in some of those things and they've become very keen learners. There's a few cult things about it' [MD22.21].

Respondent 214 picks out elements of fantasy and cult, in which he does not participate. I believe that he is correctly noticing uses dissimilar to his own experiences, of wanting to learn

the language in itself or as an access to song and literature. This also illustrates that there are sometimes quite distinct areas where Scottish Gaelic can be used that relate to each other only because of the language itself. This section will briefly explore this aspect.

6.6.1 Religious and Cognitive Authenticity

Dubhmór's initial motivation for learning Scottish Gaelic was indirect. It was partly motivated by his general understanding of language as a cognitive system. This was commented on by one of the other participants, in Extract 6.39.

Extract 6.39 'It's all subjective'

Respondent 071: 'Your original reason for learning – you know you said you were interested in the pagan – Dubhmór wanted to see the world in the way people did see it once and it was through language, you know, constructing the world through the language. So that really is what kicked you off, wasn't it? It seemed to be the only way he thought he could actually reach in-.

SS: That's very interesting […]. Do you think it's just different meanings?

Dubhmór: A different world - entirely. Structuring and different world. 'Cos l think, anyway – well I don't know if it's true but it's a nice theory – I think the world's all about thought and that's all it is. There's no objective, it's all subjective and language is either all thought, entirely or most of it. And so the language you speak is the world.

SS: Do you think the way in which – because you've now had- you've learned so much Scottish Gaelic - do you think you think differently?

Dubhmór: If I'm thinking in English I'm probably thinking the same as I did but if I'm thinking in Gaelic it's different.

SS: So do you definitely associate ways with thinking with languages?

Dubhmór: Oh yeah, definitely, yeah. And I'd go so far as to even say that if I was thinking in Gaelic and I was asked for a coffee I might not want one, whereas if I was thinking in English I would, or something like that, you know what I mean? It's actually different structure of thought- different mind almost and you can sw- flick from one to the other.' [MD03.47-48].

Therefore he had started to learn Old Irish after which he moved on to modern dialects (Extract 6.40).

Extract 6.40 'Then I Fell in Love with the Modern Dialects'

Dubhmór: Well I was interested in Gaelic paganism and I wanted to be able to speak the language that they spoke and so I started learning with Old Irish and then attacking it in a way with a grammar. Sort of teaching the way schoolboys in England would have been taught Latin at one stage or something like that. Like I've got Old Irish grammars and things like that so I thought I can learn a modern Gaelic dialect and that would help me a lot. But then I fell in love with the modern dialects anyway and then I forgot about Old Irish. But then recently I've been going back and having a look at it. Early modern Irish I'm interested in - the classical, without English influence, but still not too dissimilar from the modern dialects to be unreadable. I've got a few things in that as well, it's really

interesting […] Etymology's one of my hobbies I just love to look at things like that […]' [MD03.32].

So there are a number of aspects of authenticity that are important, not least of which is being able to understand ancient religions. The cognitive systems that are in place for Dubhmór affect the way in which he views and does things. Language is an integral part of this for him. Scottish Gaelic and Old Irish are a way of accessing this and to be able to reach deeper understandings. A druid group who use the language within meetings expresses a similar motive.

Extract 6.41a Generating Mysticism

Respondent 186: 'Another outlet for Scots Gaelic is in the […] Druid Group […]. The group (or Grove) […] has some 15 or so regular attendees who study Druidry […]. A lot of the mysticism of the group is generated by the use of Scots Gaelic of which [one of the leaders] is self taught and almost fluent.' [SoSGA_E_R186, 17-Mar-02].

Extract 6.41b Ritual Use

Respondent 141: 'I've been studying Gàidhlig for a few years (although I still consider myself a learner), and we use it a great deal in our rituals and ceremonies.' [SoSGA_E_R141, 08-Apr-02].

Language use here is one that is important in helping links and understanding within such a domain, in a similar way that Dubhmór reported. Links with ancestral aspects are also important. The website of the group describes it as follows:

'The Order […] maintains strong ties with our ancestral lands and culture (that of Scotland and Ireland), whilst working with the energy and power of our adopted home. It is our belief that a connection to one's ancestry is important and the study of the Gaelic language and culture forms an integral part of Bardic studies. This connection is not to be confused with living in the past; the intention is to provide a foundation for the future, both individually and as a group. People of all racial backgrounds are welcome. Those of Gaelic descent can find a connection to their heritage, whilst "non" Gaels can use the Order as a platform from which they can discover their own roots. Our aim is to help develop the spiritual potential of the individual whilst working with Nature. It is a very exciting time for Druidry in the Southern Hemisphere, just as it must have been when our ancestors first settled in Alba. We have new energies to explore, and new "Spirits of Place" to work with' (Order 2002).

In all of these situations, particular Celtic languages are a way of gaining access to something authentic, and spiritual. These are also very personal and interior uses, not necessarily public display. The language is linked to personal development and discovery. Within that there are connections to ancestry and places. Neither Scotland nor Australia is excluded as sites for this. Dubhmór would even go further. He ties his understanding of paganism to forms of language

revival. One of the other people present during this conversation asked how Scottish Gaelic could be revived in Extract 6.42.

Extract 6.42 Breathing Life Back Into Gaelic

Respondent 072: Let me ask you guys this: how do you think we're going to breathe life back into Gaelic?
SS: Well, what's happened here, you've picked up a couple of words despite yourself! [general laughter].
Dubhmór: The Jews are the perfect example of a people that-
Respondent 071: The religious-
Respondent 072: This is leaning to what I'm talking about. You need an engine of sorts there needs to be a compulsion now what's it going to be?
Dubhmór: There has to be a separation from the old, as well. There has to be a separation from um, certain ways in which Scots are seeing the world and things like that where they don't like it if you're speaking Gaelic and they can't. So you separate it from Scotland and separate it from Ireland, don't have them as important and have the language now as a vehicle for a religion or something like this and it comes back to life.
SS: And what should the religion be?
Dubhmór: I personally think it should be some sort of new age reconstruction of Old Gaelic stuff where you have to speak Gaelic to be in tune with it, or something like that, even if you don't really, you just have the people think that.' [MD03.46].

Dubhmór was quite certain that a strategy such as embodying Scottish Gaelic in a religion, just as he saw Hebrew intertwined with Judaism, would produce successful revival. It is interesting that he believes Scottish Gaelic should be 'separated' from the current speakers and provides an interesting counterpoint to his own strong sentiment regarding accurate production of sounds based on those of native speakers. It is belief systems that are important for Dubhmór, and this is what he sees as able to carry the language along further.
Notably, the religious affiliation which Dubhmór supports is not Protestant Calvinism, which previously had a strong association with the Highlands of Scotland (Whithers 1989, p. 110). In one sense, Dubhmór wishes to go back in chronological time to something that he sees as pre-dating this version of Scotland. This might be interpreted as a desire for authenticity. It also serves to illustrate the different parameters for Scottish Gaelic in different sections of the community. Gaelic-language church services were reported to be held once per year, where attendance was approximately thirty people [MD09; MD15]. At a religious service that I attended during one of the language events, learners generally stayed away [MD08]. It just isn't one of the aspects of Scottish Gaelic that most learners are interested in, whereas it is an important part of the lives of some of the native speakers with whom they interact.

6.7 The Rejection of the Inauthentic

6.7.1 Authenticity and Reality

During one of the informal meetings that had a fluent speaker as a guide and teacher, the issue of month names in Scottish Gaelic was raised.

Extract 6.43 Can You Say it? Most People Do!

Respondent 187: *[…] I've forgotten the months - what's November?*
Eragon: *Nov-* ann an November.
Respondent 187: *Oh, can you say that?*
Eragon: *Can you say it? Most people do!* [laughter] Ma theid thu gu na h-eileanan*, you know, if you go to the islands and you say* 'san Damhainn' *or* 'anns an Dùbhlachd' *then they'll say 'Oh is that the same as-' because they do things in the English months. So it's not a problem things like that putting in English.' [MD13.20].*

This is a good example of the expectations of learners regarding the coherence and homogeneity of the Western Isles. Learners are often surprised to discover that dates and times can be in English even for what are regarded as native speakers. One of the teachers, who had grown up in the Islands, explains this to his class during a lesson.

Extract 6.44 Words I Hardly Ever Use

Borbar: *You can't say that you're going in August because no one would know the Gàidhlig for August. The Gàidhlig for August is* an Lùnasdal. […]. *I would say that it would be* tha mi a'dol dhan Eilean Sgitheanach anns an Lùnasdal. *That's August.*
Respondent 130: *But did you say that no one would know the word for August?*
Borbar: *Well, yes, Gàidhlig speakers would, but I try to memorise all these Gàidhlig words that I hardly ever use and sometimes I could read- memorise every one of these months and the traditions of every one of them at one time. I can't do it any longer! […] Because I don't use them often I have to remind myself of how the spelling is […] I've got a Gàidhlig calendar every year […]. Strangely enough I hardly ever look at it I don't know why!' [MD29.22-23].*

The differing perspectives of Eragon and Borbar are interesting. Whereas Eragon concentrates on communicative competence, Borbar concentrates on language learning. Borbar knows very well that he and other native speakers do not use the months, but they are still held up as something to learn, along with the traditions that went with them. Every book that was used as a teaching aid introduced month names to be learned in early sections so the contrast to what the students are learning in classrooms from their guides is quite evident. The idealised version of the language is not one that their teachers use. It is also firmly rooted in the past and linked to traditions now remote. Some clearly do not know the extent to which English has influenced everyday life in Gàidhlig-speaking communities and aspects of register where English is always used (Lamb 1999, p. 142).

The past state of the language may also relate to views of language purity. There is an underlying desire to separate the languages quite distinctly. Dubhmór expresses this in Extract 6.45.

Extract 6.45 Concerns with Language Purity

Dubhmór: 'I don't like influences from one language on another. I like languages to be evolving in themselves. I don't- I want them to be pure and representing pure ways of thinking and pronunciation and things that are in themselves evolving, none of this-!' [laughs] *[MD03.45]*

Dubhmór actively wants to prevent cross-language influences. He wants to learn something purer that has not affected how reasoning and thought are expressed. It is a desire for language purity. There is no presentation of the language as one that has been in constant contact with other languages for more than a millennium (Gillies 1993, p. 145). His deep interest in a past state of the language is part of his motivation.

6.7.2 Disinterestedness

Muc-mhara and MacCodrum related their experience at a Scottish fair to which they had been.

Extract 6.46 They Know Nothing About Gàidhlig

SS: Muc-mhara you also said its quite a 'kilty' thing to do, meaning that it's-?
Muc-mhara: I think the kilty thing is quite different from the Highland thing.
MacCodrum: Yes, yes.
Muc-mhara: That's how I see it. I think that's a perception that's-
MacCodrum: I'll- I'll be wearing my kilt on Sunday! [laughs] *But erm, I think this- that in Australia particularly [we're] more Scottish than the Scots in lots of ways because we sort of try to over-compensate for our lack of presence in the- in the homeland, I suppose. But um, what that means often is that people, er, don't understand or know much about the Gàidhlig in fact, which is a shame. So they're prepared to put on the tartans or whatever – dance and pipe-*
Muc-mhara: But they know nothing about Gàidhlig
SS: But there are plenty of clan societies and a lot of them still have-
Muc-mhara: But nothing to do with Gàidhlig.
MacCodrum: Not much.
Muc-mhara: Very little to do with Gàidhlig.
MacCodrum: But it's a hard thing to get people to get involved in. Because they often still see it as a bit of a fuddy-duddy thing-
Muc-mhara: I think its ignorance a lot of it, I think. It's a totally separate thing the Gàidhlig culture, and the clan tents and the dancing and all that, are totally separate.
MacCodrum: We- […] you know, it's seen I think as a bit of an oddity still. It's not only ignorance perhaps, I think people are often so fully engaged in what they do - mad enthusiasts you know – they haven't really got room for much else. They're not really interested in us so much. Like if you told someone that that piping tune you're playing was actually a Gàidhlig tune they'd say 'oh, really? So what'. At the games recently we saw a chap selling Scottish things – he'd made up

a McDonald shield of all things. And he'd made- what had he had some spelling mistake in Gàidhlig. And I pointed this out to Muc-mhara

Muc-mhara: Eilean fraoch, Eilean an froach *he had spelt wrong Instead of* Eilean an fhraoich[82]*, something like that.*

MacCodrum: *He had* Froach Eilean

Muc-mhara: *That's what it was, he had* 'Froach Eilean – *Heather Island'!*

MacCodrum: *I pointed this out to Muc-mhara and of course Muc-mhara couldn't stand it and she had to go and tell him and he said 'Oh that's interesting' but he didn't really care! To me that's a shame. But what can you do about that, I mean you've got to start thinking about promoting things in a different way or, I don't know.*

Muc-mhara: *he was selling the shield and he didn't even know what was on it, really. That's what I mean, it's a total separation of-'. [MD06.26].*

What makes this instance worth commenting on for SoSGA respondents is not the lack of grammatically correct genitive case. What irked them more was the apparent disinterestedness of the mug-seller. Here Scottish Gaelic is used in a purely iconic form, as far as they can see. The separation to which Muc-mhara refers is that between (commercial) representation and their reality. MacCodrum knows the history and culture where pipe tunes and other elements originated, which is where reality lies for him. For MacCodrum it is not just ignorance that the mug-seller displays, it is disinterestedness in his and Muc-mhara's reality. This therefore puts it in the same category as the iconic wearing of kilts and other elements that are merely display. Such display is rejected. What Muc-mhara and MacCodrum are also demonstrating is that authenticity is highly contested. Although authenticity is important for these two respondents, other people whose interests are not linguistic or who are content with icons might not be concerned with accuracy.

6.7.3 The Contestation of Dialects

An important point made by Trudgill (2002) and by Milroy (2001a), is that linguists should be very wary of assuming that languages are bounded, rather than fluid and fuzzy entities. Some SoSGA respondents, who do not necessarily draw prescriptive distinctions, understand this. They are very careful to claim their local identities in line with their dialects – while nonetheless placing their dialects in the category of Scottish Gaelic. Recall that Muc-mhara expressed this in terms of language purity and 'vernacular' in Extract 5.25, concerning a learner. Of course, this may be politeness in the face of learner errors but I do believe that this goes further. A respondent who distinguishes between different versions of Scottish Gaelic illustrates this.

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[82] Lit: 'The Isle of Heather'; i.e. Skye.

Extract 6.47 It's Wasted

Flathal: 'They get all these European dollars ostensibly for the maintaining of ethnic languages but in Scotland it's all going into the New Gàidhlig coffer, so that's wasted.' [MD04.11]

The 'they' referred to, was a vague, European authority involved with language maintenance – not a specific group that the respondent identified. In Extract 6.48 she talks about the different books she used for teaching.

Extract 6.48 'New Gàidhlig' and 'Ethnic Gàidhlig'

Flathal: 'Yes, well I've never been involved with teaching New Gàidhlig – it's only recently I've discovered the extent of this New Gàidhlig. When I taught […] that was ethnic Gàidhlig all the time. But Gàidhlig is difficult – you can't learn Gàidhlig in six easy lessons. […] Long ago when I had a small class […] and we used a book – somebody brought it in – […] I complained about the book because there's nothing there. Oh, and he said 'it's very skeletal Gàidhlig', you know. And there's another book called 'Gaelic Made Easy' […] well, that must be the silliest book out: Gàidhlig is not easy, but that's been a long, long time ago, that's an old book, I think it must have been the forerunner of the New Gàidhlig, or maybe inspired people to invent New Gàidhlig. Oh it's a Gàidhlig book but it's silly.' [MD04.02-03].

Her own form of Scottish Gaelic is not presented as the only one, even if we are to understand that she sees it as more valid. There clearly are intellectual discrepancies between the two dialects in this respondent's view, as demonstrated in Extract 6.49. The respondent was emphasising how hard an intellectual task it was to learn in evening classes after having used one's brain at work all day.

Extract 6.49 Concentration

Flathal: 'Because you must concentrate on Gàidhlig – on Ethnic Gàidhlig, I don't know about the New Gàidhlig. You must give your mind to Ethnic Gàidhlig, if you're learning it as an adult.' [MD04.11].

In an aside, *'New Gàidhlig'* was clearly put in the category of impoverished. Importantly, it is not portrayed as merely a learner's variety. It is described as a dialect that she notices people using. Not once did this respondent describe it as 'wrong'. One should not discount the possibility that Flathal is being polite, but it may be because she sees it as having been accepted in certain sectors of society. She had mentioned magazines, some learner's books, and people studying it as *'dabbling'* in it. It does, however, become part of an identifier that correlates to other behaviours.

Extract 6.50 Those who Collect Emblems

Flathal: 'Oh that's another thing that annoyed me. He had rather a large car […] and it was stacked full of emblems. That's what I can't stand, the people who

> *collect emblems and then call themselves […] Gaelic scholars. Yes, 'cos he told me once 'I'm not a Gàidhlig learner'. […] And it's because he'd already studied this New Gàidhlig and he was a Gàidhlig scholar!' [MD04.22].*

The respondent was angered by what she perceives as the inappropriate positioning of this person with respect to language. It is not language ability in itself that she attacks, but rather what she sees as the person having adopted a particular attitude as well. The person's positioning is inauthentic for Flathal.

6.7.4 Respect and Appreciation

Other cases show the rejection of imperfect Scottish Gaelic because of sensitivity to native speakers. One anonymous respondent was quite adamant that learners 'shouldn't be touching' the language because they produce such 'abortions' [SoSGA_N1]. This respondent was also particularly distressed about a grammatical error in the title of one international newspaper aimed at the Scottish Diaspora: *The Scottish Banner* has a Gàidhlig sub-title of *'A'Bhratach Albannach'* [/…pə̃nəx/]. The respondent complained that this should be *'A'Bhratach Albann**aich**'* [/…pə̃nɪç/], the <i> marking genitive case by palatalisation in the postnominal adjective [see (Ó Maolalaigh 1998, p. 96)]. However if the title is in the nominative case, the Scottish Gaelic subtitle would be correct, because the definite nominative only induces lenition of the initial consonant – where relevant – and not palatalisation of the final consonant (Dwelly 1993 (1901), p. xii; Lamb 2003, p. 33). It is in the Dative and Genitive cases that palatalisation would occur [see (Lamb 2003, p. 33)][83].

This example may, however, also reflect the wider changes in Scottish Gaelic. Lamb (1999) comments on the increasingly inconsistent use of the genitive in radio broadcasts that 'are readily found, more frequently even, in the Gaelic speaking population at large' (Lamb 1999, p. 157). Macaulay (1986) discusses this sort of error as part of 'New Gaelic' (Macaulay 1986). Respondent 174 reported their own difficulty in conversing with friends, whether native speakers or not, because of the grammatical incorrectness of their interlocutors who were 'massacring' the language [MD15.55]. It became an effort to cope with incorrectness and they reportedly initiated the move to English either by code switching, or suggesting their interlocutor continue in English [MD15.55]. Tsitsipis (1998) comments on the lack of puristic stances as corrective mechanisms in small societies. This causes a relaxation of corrective constraints allowing the 'emergence of agrammatisms' (Tsitsipis 1998, p. 62). By choosing

[83] If the title was to be read as 'The Banner of Scotland', in order to produce a genitive, this would be *Bratach na h-Alba* [See (Ó Maolalaigh, 1998, p. 98)].

English, Respondent 174 has given up any corrective mechanisms altogether, so that corrective constraints are entirely absent. Some learners are very conscious of not offending the native speakers they know by their own mis-use of the language.

Extract 6.51 Butchering the Language

MacCodrum: 'I've decided I don't expect to be perfect or anything like that but I still enjoy it enormously and in some ways- […] it's probably better in a way to have a good appreciation of the language and relish that, rather than trying to – you know - butcher it, [laughs]*, by doing your own version, or you know not having – sort of stomping around and not really having the sensitivity that one should perhaps have over the language and the music and stuff too, I think. And so I'm sort of re-assessing where I should aim for with my Gàidhlig perhaps if I can listen carefully and read and enjoy that and write and- you know. And speaking might be much down the list in the sense of communicating if I need to catch a bus or post a letter or something rather you know, than being fluent in Gàidhlig in a sort of authentic way. […]*
There are two extremes it's like a spectrum, like a continuum, I think, and that's the thing. I'm just talking about emphasis here. When I first started out, I thought this is terrific I really want to get hold of this and do a really good job! But now I'm finding out that it's really difficult to do a good job on the pronunciation side, but also is it a good thing to be, you know, um doing a really bad job at pronunciation and stuff like that too? Is it going to be an insult to the locals or whatever, too? That's the thing I've started to think about. I've read some stories of people in the islands and stuff like that and visitors coming in and conking the Gàidhlig supposedly!' [MD06.05-06]

MacCodrum became very aware of his inability to progress and his *'re-assessment'* indicates that he scaled back his ambitions. In his case he did not lack opportunities to use Scottish Gaelic, but he was acutely aware of offending those around him whom he knew personally.

Extract 6.52 'There Are Extremes'

MacCodrum: 'It's just I think you've got to be sensitive about things and sometimes I feel sorry for poor [Respondent_X] […] having [their] music and language murdered in some ways - that's an exaggeration in a way, but I think as a learner you have to be sensitive about what you're doing in a way too. You don't want to grasp at knowledge per se only, at the sake of chopping up someone else's culture and language and music and stuff just because you want to know all about it and do it, sort of thing. […] It's great to be attempting to find out about it and learn it and I mean I'm really enthused about the language for its own sake but you know sometimes there are extremes too you can set about as a challenge, if you like, to conquer this thing and in doing so you might be insensitive to the locals or whatever.' [MD06.07].

Although in the previous extract he expressed concern for unknown 'locals' in the 'islands', here he is quite specifically addressing the issue for someone whom he knows. He does not want to lose sight of the effect on other people for the sake of the intellectual challenge that it offers. He is also wary of claiming an identity based only on a desire to *'do'* another language

and culture.

6.8 Conclusions

6.8.1 Contested Authenticity

Amongst SoSGA respondents there is evidently concern about what is authentic. The concern reflects how many different elements might gather around expressions of language and culture. This has implications for group rights if they are conceived as depending on a community of speakers - but what is the community here? People do not necessarily see themselves linked by the language, sometimes differentiating according to multiple criteria ('New Age', 'pagan', 'learner', 'those fortunate enough' and so on). Any community also extends across national boundaries: the Diaspora and the homeland interact. So the community is not necessarily coherent or well defined, and a multitude of language learning and maintenance motivations are simultaneously present. Heritage is one reason amongst many, albeit a strong one. The indexical linking of language and ethnicity is indeed still relevant (Fishman 1991; Fishman 2001; May 2001b). If heritage reasons were to be given primacy for granting LHRs, this might discriminate against those who use languages for entirely different purposes. Scottish Gaelic may not be a 'core value', as is claimed for other surviving immigrant languages in Australia (Smolicz, Secombe et al. 2001), but SoSGA respondents nonetheless strongly wish it to be kept alive. A number of elements are used in representing Scottish Gaelic culture. Amongst SoSGA respondents many of these are contested as not being true representations. With such contested authenticity, it is not necessarily clear to whom rights should be granted.

6.8.2 Non-Native Speakers and Native Speakers

The distinction between native speakers and learners is presented as unambiguous in both learner and expert discourses. Some elements of being a native speaker are presented as essential: upbringing (and probably birth) in a Scottish Gaelic-speaking household, itself implying native speaker-parents, and Scottish origins. Others are clearly not quite so essential: literacy in the language, for example. Learners can sometimes be placed in the category of speaking *'pure'* versions (Extract 5.25), or *'New Gàidhlig'* (Extract 6.48), and any existence of a standard is perceived as a created one. Equally, communicative competence is hardly ever used as a measure, probably for two reasons: first and foremost is that speakers are bilingual and therefore switching to English can rectify misunderstandings. Secondly, comments or judgements of ability almost always concentrate on lack of phonemic contrasts, most

prototypically 'broad L'. The suggested difficulty is accepted as a barrier by most parties – despite examples where speakers have acquired some features (dental consonants, palatalised consonants) that are occasionally presented as almost impossible for learners.

For Davies (1991) the native speaker/ non-native speaker distinction can be socially constructed rather than linguistically real. For example, agreement on intelligibility can be based on attitude (Davies 1991, p. 114). In the case of SoSGA respondents, some learner features – while certainly not grammatical – may not necessarily hinder understanding. But communication in Scottish Gaelic is not always encouraged. MacCodrum re-assesses his identity in relation to his perceived ability. Flathal is able to draw distinctions between 'ethnic' and 'new' that seem to avoid judgements of correct and incorrect. Learners are sometimes forced to re-assess their understanding of linguistic boundaries. Realising that a native speaker might use English month names, for example, violates the separation of English and Scottish Gaelic. The divides are clearly as much about identity as they are about native speaker status. Ideologies influencing some distinctions are examined in Chapter 9.

6.8.3 Ethnicity as a Defining Feature in Australia

Ethnicity is a defining feature into which interest in Scottish Gaelic has to fit, in Australian society. For many SoSGA respondents, ethnicity is a way of categorising Australian social space. For some Scots-born respondents, their discourse shows how they have had to adjust their own positions relative to dominant discourses by occupying spaces that exclude 'Anglo', 'British' or English', but that include 'Gaelic' and 'Scottish'. Some respondents born in Australia claim identities that are 'Celtic' or 'Gael' without excluding 'Australian', thereby sidestepping, but retaining a link to 'Scottish' or 'Irish'. Dominant discourses thus force SoSGA respondents to portray their own ethnicities in terms that do not encroach on those of others. It is clear that many SoSGA respondents feel they need to be highly aware of ethnic positioning, and the sorts of categorisations that are made within Australian society. Why this should be so important, is explored in detail in Chapters 7 and 8. Ethnic positioning has important implications for Scottish Gaelic: it means that people may feel obliged to show their ethnic affiliation in order to participate in Scottish Gaelic language and culture. Reference is therefore also made to the most saliently ethnic Scottish Gael, the native speaker. That the native speaker is an ethnicity in its own right is also heightened by the perceived need to find and include them.

Whithers (1992) describes the romanticisation of the Highlands in the eighteenth century. The Gael sometimes fitted the role of the 'contemporary ancestor', with stereotypes of the noble

savage brought to the fore (Whithers 1992, p. 147). Although it should not be taken too far, this idea may have a modern analogy in SoSGA. It might be that native speakers represent the quintessence of learners' heritage, and are therefore highly valued as bearers of authentic culture and ethnicity. This might go some way to explaining why native speakers are so highly sought after in some quarters. In the Australian context, ethnic links are clearly heightened, for which explanations are sought in Chapters 7 and 8.

6.8.4 Linguistic Caging and Institutionalisation

In Scotland, participation in particular competitions means that the performers are judged within a specific framework – an institutionalised one where native speakers are expected to judge learner ability. Interaction with native speakers in Scotland may therefore be bounded by the rules of engagement. This feature of Scottish Gaelic learning is also one that appeared in Chapter 5, where interactions between native speakers and non-native speakers occur in institutions. Authenticity for a choir, for example, is partly dependent on approval of their ability by a linguistic authority (Extract 5.19), and on their reception in Scotland (Extract 6.19). This has the effect of channelling energy into performing in competitions in Scotland. The discourse in institutionalised settings can simultaneously reinforce the feeling of belonging, as well as exposing the choir to their 'difference' as Australians. This is ironic because it is just such ethnic affinity that they may need to stress in Australia. In Scotland they become sufficiently different for comment. In the case of learners, their language ability is held up to scrutiny and sometimes judged very critically. Their very participation is an additional challenge. Therefore rejection in Scotland is keenly felt.

Chapter 7 - Political Context, Immigration and Multiculturalism

7.0 Introduction

This Chapter examines wider social and political contexts surrounding Scottish Gaelic in Australia. I focus on how immigration has shaped Australian society and contributed to perceptions of culture and civilisation. I discuss principal strands of immigration policy and illustrate how these might affect representations of, and beliefs about ethnicity. Some publicly expressed fears concerning immigration are discussed in relation to policy.

The relationship between multiculturalism and the discourse of ethnicity is reviewed. SoSGA respondents' discourse about Scottish Gaelic in Australia can be strongly affected by their response to how society, politicians and writers view ethnicity and multiculturalism. I show how ideologies of homogeneity have resulted in particular representations of ethnicity and heritage. This may help to explain why the licensed forms of Scottish Gaelic are those bound to ethnicity. Perceptions of ethnicity may also contribute to beliefs about a legitimacy hierarchy.

7.0.1 Anglo-Celtic Heritage

The term 'Anglo-Celtic' is discussed in relation to identity in Australia and examined further in Chapter 8. Some discussion is motivated by points raised by Dixson (1999), and arguments by Hage (1998) and Rutherford (2000) concerning white supremacy. I illustrate how Anglo-Celtic has significance as an identity term and as a descriptor of mainstream Australia. I explore how some of the underlying significance of the term has been built on understandings of settlement patterns in colonial Australia, and perceptions of migration over more than two centuries. I relate similar terms to the discourse of identity by some SoSGA respondents to show how contrasts are made and how these terms help to construct the boundaries of identity.

7.0.2 Multiculturalism and Immigration

The interplay of immigration and multiculturalism is examined in relation to mainstream Australian society. I pay attention to how ethnicity and languages might be portrayed in this context. I draw on Denoon *et al*. (2000) and Anderson (2002) for analysis of representations of ethnicity, race and identity. The relationship between identity, ethnicity and immigration is advanced as an important factor in the positioning of Scottish Gaelic. Burnley (2001) and Jupp (1998) are useful, detailed sources for the discussion of immigration to Australia. I examine

how multiculturalism is linked to immigration policies, and how it is sometimes portrayed as an enriching process for Australian society. The discourse of enrichment is further linked to constructions of whiteness. I examine how Scottish Gaelic fits into such demarcations of ethnicity. In this chapter, I examine how the ethnicity of migrants (perceived or otherwise) has been a consistent feature in Australian immigration policy, and of expectations placed on immigrants. I highlight how various forms of 'whiteness' are important in shaping the discourse surrounding movement of people to Australia.

This chapter also uses Lopez (2000) as an important source of information about the history of multiculturalism in Australian politics. Discussions of language and multiculturalism also draw on Ozolins (1993), Romaine (1991), Smolicz (1992) and Clyne (1991a, 1991b, 1997). Multiculturalism will also be examined in the light of nationalism and as a response to demographic changes viewed critically in Castles *et al*. (1988) and Hage (1998).

7.1 Immigration and Australia

7.1.1 The Importance of Immigration

Jupp (1998) writes that 'immigration lies at the heart of the Australian experience' (Jupp 1998, p. vi) as it is a country that has witnessed extraordinarily high levels of immigration in the last two centuries. In modern times, a high proportion of Australians are born outside of the country - four million people according to the 1996 census figures, compared to the 14 million born in Australia (Burnley 2001, p. 39). Burnley (2001) ranks Australia 'as the fourth largest country of immigrant settlement in terms of numbers in the last 150 years, after the USA, Canada and Brazil, followed closely by Argentina' (Burnley 2001, p.4). In that period, a total of 9.5 million people are estimated to have immigrated to Australia, and in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries these were mostly people from the British Isles and Europe (Burnley 2001, p.4). Approximately 33 percent of the overseas-born in the 1996 census stated their birthplace as 'United Kingdom and Ireland', and almost 27 percent 'Continental Europe' (Burnley 2001, p.39). In terms of immigrants as a proportion of existing populace, Burnley ranks Australia second in the world after Israel since 1945 (Burnley 2001, p.39).

7.1.2 Overview and Historical Background of Migration to Australia

This section examines the historical background to migration to Australia, starting as a late eighteenth century penal colony, and moving to an important place of settlement for British migrants from the middle of the nineteenth century. In terms of absolute movements of people, some periods have comparatively larger flows of immigrants. Between 1788 and 1850

approximately 150 000 convicts were transported to Australia, accompanied by smaller numbers of settlers, including 40 000 Lutheran Germans, between 1836 and 1860 (Burnley 2001, p. 43). Between 1850 and 1860, one million immigrants arrived, followed by another million in the period 1860 to 1914 (Burnley 2001, p. 43). In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, there was some British rural settlement and between 1920 and 1940, some Greeks and Italians immigrated to the major cities (Burnley 2001, p. 43). Substantial numbers of refugees arrived from Europe after the Second World War, and after 1970, the numbers of people arriving from Asian countries significantly increased – although this included substantial proportions from ex-British colonies (Burnley 2001, p. 43).

7.1.3 Pre-Twentieth Century Migration

Settlement in Australia was started as an extension of the British Empire in the late eighteenth century, and the colonies were established with the purpose of settling members of its own population (Jupp 1998, p. 1). Australia was famously declared *terra nullius*, based on the view that it consisted of uncultivated 'wastelands', rather than there being no population present (Jupp 1998, p. 2). European settlement began with British ships transporting settlers, many of whom were convicts taken to Australian penal colonies. Initial eighteenth century European immigration to Australia was therefore partly forced, with convicts transported there to the early settlements of Port Jackson in 1788 (later to become Sydney) and Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) in 1806 (Burnley 2001, p. 28). By 1850, there were approximately 400 000 non-indigenous people in the colonies, of whom 145 000 had originally been convicts (Burnley 2001, p. 29).

In the 1830s, forced transportation ceased but there was deliberate encouragement of 'permanent British settlement by mass, publicly assisted immigration' (Jupp 1998, p. 3). Early settlement was primarily by English, urban (male) convicts, notable from a country which was itself still predominantly rural (Jupp 1998, p. 5). Many early settlers were young, adaptable and literate, and Jupp (1998) cites this factor as creating an 'English' stamp to early Australia (Jupp 1998, p. 6). This is in contrast to 'free' settlers who were often illiterate and from rural areas. By the 1880s, though, most settlers were literate reflecting the impact of public education in the U.K. (Jupp 1998, p. 7). During the convict period, immigration was tightly controlled, with permission needed to settle permanently (Jupp 1998, p. 9).

There have been considerable inducements to encourage settlers to Australia, dating back to the 19th century. Hewitson (1998) comments that by the mid-1800s, 'immigration fever' had taken hold in Scotland (Hewitson 1998, p. 19). Immigration societies were established to

assist people to emigrate and to channel information (accurate or otherwise) to those tempted to leave Scotland encouraged by descriptions of a better life available in the Antipodes (Hewitson 1998, p. 19). Australia was financially promoted via assisted passages. Advertisements in English and Gaelic were printed in newspapers, asking people to contact agents for information on how to obtain assistance (McLeod 1996, p. 4). Sometimes passages were paid by the parishes of the originating people (Jupp 1998, p. 12), or by the colonies themselves, through bodies such as the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission (Jupp 1998, p. 14).

From the earliest days of colonisation, particular types of settler were seen as desirable. Assisted passage was one means of encouraging people with particular skills that were perceived to be of benefit to the colonies. The colonies themselves demanded skilled labourers, rather than unskilled poor (Jupp 1998, p.16). There were also deliberate policies to try to address the gender imbalance as there were far more men than women in the early years of colonisation (Jupp 1998, p.16). This was a result of convict transportation and later gold rushes (Burnley 2001, p. 29).

Gold rushes between 1850 and 1860 led to a near trebling of the population in Australia from 405 000 to 1 145 000 (Jupp 1998, p. 21; Burnley 2001, p. 29). The great gender imbalance led to concerns for the exploitation of Aboriginal and poor women (Jupp 1998, p. 23). Jupp (1998) points out that many of the employment possibilities for women available in England, such as in the textile industry, were unavailable in Australia. Thus many women were 'relegated to a secondary role, as dependants of men, to an even greater extent than in Britain or Ireland' and this was 'very important in shaping gender relations in Australia for several generations' (Jupp 1998, p. 23). Many male Chinese migrants tended to remit their earnings back to families rather than assist them to come to Australia (Burnley 2001, p. 29). This was partly because of discouragement by Australia; although the White Australia Policy was not yet fully articulated, family migration for Chinese was discouraged by official policy (Burnley 2001, p. 29)[84]. Race-based immigration policy was already part of the political outlook of Australia by the middle of the nineteenth century.

The view of immigrants as poor and destitute is not supported by passenger details. Jupp (1998) addresses this issue, taking into account socio-historical conditions:

'Emigration is usually evidence of the frustration of rising expectations, combined with

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[84] This led to extreme gender imbalances. In 1901 there were 7 491 male Chinese-born for every 100 females, and the ratio for the Philippine-born was 5 642 male to 100 females. By 1991 this had changed to 93 to 100 for the Chinese-born and 53 to 100 for the Philippine-born (DIMA 2001a, p. 29)

> a level of knowledge sufficient to be able to take some action. Most nineteenth-century emigrants to Australia, whatever their origins, were not paupers or completely illiterate. Many were quite well off in their homeland while others improved their situation very rapidly on arrival' (Jupp 1998, p. 39).

This extended into the twentieth century, as the 'typical immigrant was from the more ambitious working class' (Jupp 1998, p. 84). The costs of transport should be put into perspective: first- or second-class passage was more than the average yearly wage in England until the end of the nineteenth century (Burnley 2001, p. 30). Those not receiving assistance must have had considerable motivation, or inducement, to move.

Immigration to Australia should be seen in the global context. The nineteenth century witnessed large movements of people from the British Isles within the British Empire, and to former colonies. Burnley (2001) compares immigration to the USA and to Australia in the nineteenth century (Burnley 2001, Ch. 3). He draws particular attention to the emigration of people from the British Isles: between 1830 and 1914, seven million people from England emigrated, four million of whom went to the USA, 1.8 million of whom went to Australia and the remainder mostly went to New Zealand, Canada and South Africa (Burnley 2001, p. 29). From Ireland, four million people went to the USA after the 1845 famine, and 200 000 to Australia (Burnley 2001, p. 27). Numbers of German and Chinese immigrants to the USA were also much greater, leading Burnley (2001) to conclude that

> 'in contrast to the USA and Canada, immigration to Australia during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was more culturally homogeneous, although there was considerable diversity within the Anglo-Celtic migration flows' (Burnley 2001, p. 28).

7.1.4 Early Twentieth Century Migration to Australia

Early twentieth century migration reflected changes in the industrialisation of the world economy. Prior to 1914, the three largest immigrant occupations – for those who were given assisted passages - were labourers, agricultural workers, and domestic servants (Jupp 1998, p. 88). British-paid assisted passages had ceased in 1870 but re-started in 1918, reflecting changes in employment prospects, and that Britain again feared overpopulation in areas of industrial decline (Jupp 1998, p. 90). England continued to supply the bulk of migrants: Scotland's Highlands were emptier than in the previous century, Ireland had by now been depopulated, and Cornwall's population was also at a low point (Jupp 1998, p. 90).

The 1920s marked an era of industrial decline in the U.K., encouraging people to migrate, although those too poor to be attractive to the colonies, or to pay their own fares, were unable to emigrate anyway (Jupp 1998, p. 85). Between 1920 and 1929, nearly two-thirds of all emigrants were assisted by the British government, amounting to about 221 000 people (Jupp

1998, p. 91). More than three-quarters were from England, but numbers of Scots increased because of declining Scottish industries (Jupp 1998, p. 91). Jupp (1998) highlights the economic difficulties of the pre-Second World War era, and comments on the hostility of Australians to the 'Poms' (Jupp 1998, p. 92). This was also an era in which many people returned to the U.K., rather than stay in Australia (Jupp 1998, p. 89). The worldwide depression meant that Australia was not as attractive for skilled workers, and the net effect of population movements between the U.K. and Australia was that more British left than arrived during the 1930s (Burnley 2001, p. 31).

7.1.5 Post-Second World War Migration

After the Second World War, Australia attempted to recruit migrants more aggressively, using such slogans as 'Populate or perish' (Jupp 1998, p. 102). This slogan was used in response to a perceived threat of invasion or domination of the country, in particular from Asia and Japan (Jupp 1998, p. 102). The desire for rapid population growth and increased industrial development meant that most occupations of worker were acceptable, rather than the previously dominant preferences for agricultural workers (Jupp 1998, p. 85). Attempts to settle migrants and returned First World War soldiers in rural areas had often proved disastrous or uneconomical – despite the appeal of the idea of rural immigration to political groups such as the (conservative) Country Party (Jupp 1998, p. 87).

The trend between 1947 and the 1970s was towards migration from a greater number of source countries than the U.K. and a greater desire for skilled workers on the part of policy makers (Jupp 1998, Ch. 7). This was called the 'long boom': continual economic growth and mass migration (Burnley 2001, p. 126). Unemployment, political changes and social concerns led to an eventual change in policy from the 1970s. Initially migration was drastically reduced by the Whitlam government in 1972, from a planned 140 000 to 110 000 (DIMA 2001a, p. 8). This fell to 50 000 by 1975 - the lowest level since the Second World War (DIMA 2001a, p. 7)[85] - but later increased again (Jupp 1998, Ch. 8). Levels by the end of that decade averaged 70 000 (DIMA 2001a, p. 9). Changes instituted in 1979 included the priority given to 'skills' rather than country of origin (DIMA 2001a, p. 10), such as the 'Numerical Multifactor Assessment System', which supposedly determined how easily a family would be able to settle in the country (DIMA 2001a, p. 10). This was changed in 1982 to a system that assessed skills (DIMA 2001a, p. 11).

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[85] The name of the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs (DIMA) was changed in 2001 to The Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA).

By 1989, immigration peaked at about 145 000 before decreasing again to 110 000 by 1991 (DIMA 2001a, p. 12). In 1992, assessment methods for migrants were re-examined, with English language and business skills increased in importance. This was in tandem with an envisaged reduction of immigrants to 80 000 per year (DIMA 2001a, p. 13). By 1996, migration levels were down to 74 500 with the 'business skills' section making up half of arrivals by 1997, and 54 percent by 2001 (DIMA 2001a, p. 15). Two other factors have been important in recent years. Firstly, permanent departures (of Australian-born) in 1998 reached their second-highest recorded, and their highest level since 1973 (DIMA 2001a, p. 15). Secondly, long-term visas issued for stays of more than 12 months also reached their peak of over 100 000 (DIMA 2001a, p. 15). This indicates not only the international mobility of population, but also that the significant population flows apart from permanent migration. Prior assessment of migrants is still in place at present (2002). Immigration is still largely divided into streams of family reunion, humanitarian and skill-based, even though these have undergone redefinitions with changes of government (Jupp 1998, p. 184). The increase in numbers arriving in the 'skills' section is probably a reflection of the desire to be as selective as possible about immigrants – consistent with past policies and economic concerns. Since the recession of the late 1990s, Australia has actively limited immigration (Burnley 2001, p. 348). This is in contrast to both Canada and the US, which still accepted approximately 280 000 and 900 000 immigrants respectively per year at the end of that decade (Burnley 2001, p. 348).

7.1.6 British-sponsored Assisted Passages

Post-Second World War assisted passages schemes allowed British migrants to emigrate for nominal fares (e.g. the 'ten pounds tourists'), following a scheme agreed by the governments of Australia and the U.K. in 1947 (Jupp 1998, p. 92). This meant that by 1965, 80 percent of British migrants were being assisted, and because children travelled free with their parents, many families migrated (Jupp 1998, p. 92). These were still predominantly urban dwellers, often in professional or clerical occupations (Jupp 1998, p. 93). It is also unlikely that British migrants were particularly motivated by economic aspects, as some small surveys showed in the 1960s (Jupp 1998, p. 94). Therefore, although financial assistance made migration possible for large numbers of people, it was not necessarily the primary motivator. Jupp (1998) summarises some longitudinal studies indicating that during the 1960s a majority of British people were happy to have migrated, concluding that they 'mostly improved their general situation without changing their class' (Jupp 1998, p. 94). Specific encouragement of British migrants was embodied in such schemes as the 'Bring out a Briton' campaign, initiated in

1957 (DIMA 2001a, p. 6). At that time agreements between Britain and Australia resulted in British migrants receiving the same welfare benefits as Australian citizens, in contrast to non-British Migrants (DIMA 2001a, p. 6).

Some emigrants returned to their countries of origin or moved on elsewhere before the 1970s, causing severe concern within various government departments in Australia. The rates of return of migrants were examined within the Department of Immigration by 1962 and estimated that it was highest 'among the most desired categories – the British and Northern Europeans' (Lopez 2000, p. 61). The return rate did not diminish in following years: an official report published in 1975 examined the return rate in the previous decade and concluded that it was between 21 and 24 percent (Lopez 2000, p. 235). This was clearly troublesome to policy-makers who wished to keep what they perceived as their most valued migrants, the British.

Although up until the 1970s there were increasing employment opportunities in the manufacturing sector, these declined again in both the U.K. and Australia in the 1980s (Jupp 1998, p. 86). Economic disparities between the U.K. and Australia correspondingly decreased in the latter half of the twentieth century, so that the economic 'incentive to migrate was quite marginal' (Jupp 1998, p. 86). The reverse was equally true for those wanting to return to the U.K. Economic factors are reflected in some of the discourse of SoSGA respondents in conversations regarding their own motivations for leaving and how they felt about their links to the U.K. Some of those to whom I spoke had originally emigrated as skilled migrants with assisted passages by the 1970s. They commented on how they felt that even in the late 1980s they could have migrated back to Britain with their savings, and had a higher standard of living there. This had become reduced in the 1990s by either their (lower) earning potential in the U.K., or by the relative fall in the value of the Australian dollar. Daorghlas, for example, commented that he might have considered returning to the U.K. if he were economically able to do so. It was not that he felt 'trapped' in Australia, but rather that he was no longer in a position to choose whether or not to return. If he were to return, he would not be able to enjoy the same standard of living as he had achieved during his thirty years in the Antipodes [SoSGA_N3]. Therefore financial reasoning played a part in tipping the balance, although it had not initially been a primary motivation for Daorghlas.

7.1.6.1 Policy Changes and SoSGA Age Distribution

In the 1970s propaganda to attract British migrants ceased, in line with changes in policy (Jupp 1998, p. 95). During the Whitlam government (1972 - 1975) migrant intake was

severely reduced, and by 1982 assisted passages had been abolished (Jupp 1998, p. 95). During this period, the greatest bulk of British migration, 44 percent, was from the South-East of England, with about 20 percent from Scotland. A high proportion of these people were from professional classes (Jupp 1998, p. 95) and they continued to concentrate in urban areas of Australia (Jupp 1998, p. 97). By the 1996 census, English-born migrants to Australia accounted for more than 80 percent of those born in the U.K. (Jupp 1998, p. 98). The English were 'structurally' and 'culturally assimilated' by the 1990s (Jupp 1998, p. 98). For example the proportion of English-born who lived in rural areas (10.3%) was close to the national average (13.4%) implying greater urbanisation and less involvement with agriculture (Jupp 1998, p. 98). This slightly exceeded the proportions of Scots- and Northern Irish-born in rural areas, and there was a greater proportion of men than women for the Welsh-born (Jupp 1998, p. 98). The English-born average annual salary level (A$ 16,749) was almost identical to the Australian average (A$ 16,490), and all four British groups could be considered to be close to the 'norms' for Australia (Jupp 1998, p. 98). English-born immigrants differed in average, adult age: English-born mean age was 45, compared to the national average of 32 (Jupp 1998, p. 97). Although it might be initially tempting to relate this to the higher age-range of my own respondents, this may be only partly relevant.

The overall higher age bias is evident from the questionnaire responses. Of the 178 questionnaire respondents, 152 are over 40 years of age (85%), although this statistic ignores birthplace. I conclude from my data that although the age range of respondents is higher than the national average, it does not seem to be significantly different for people with different places of birth. If one were to hypothesise that older, British people were involved with Scottish Gaelic, this might be reflected in age distribution patterns. For example if there were fewer Australian-born respondents in the oldest age ranges than in other age ranges, this might indicate that birthplace was a factor in determining interest in Scottish Gaelic. Conversely, if the spread of age ranges is similar, irrespective of birthplace, then there are likely to be other factors reflecting interest in Scottish Gaelic.

Is interest in Scottish Gaelic narrowly associated with older, U.K. migrants? SoSGA data does not convincingly support this idea. Although far more British-born than Australian-born placed themselves in the oldest age category (60-plus), the trend to older age categories was also present in the Australian-born. This reflects that birthplace alone is probably not a major determiner of interest in Scottish Gaelic in Australia. Figure 7.1 shows age distribution for all respondents, and Figure 7.2 shows age distribution by birthplace.

Figure 7.1 SoSGA Respondents Age Distribution, All Birthplaces

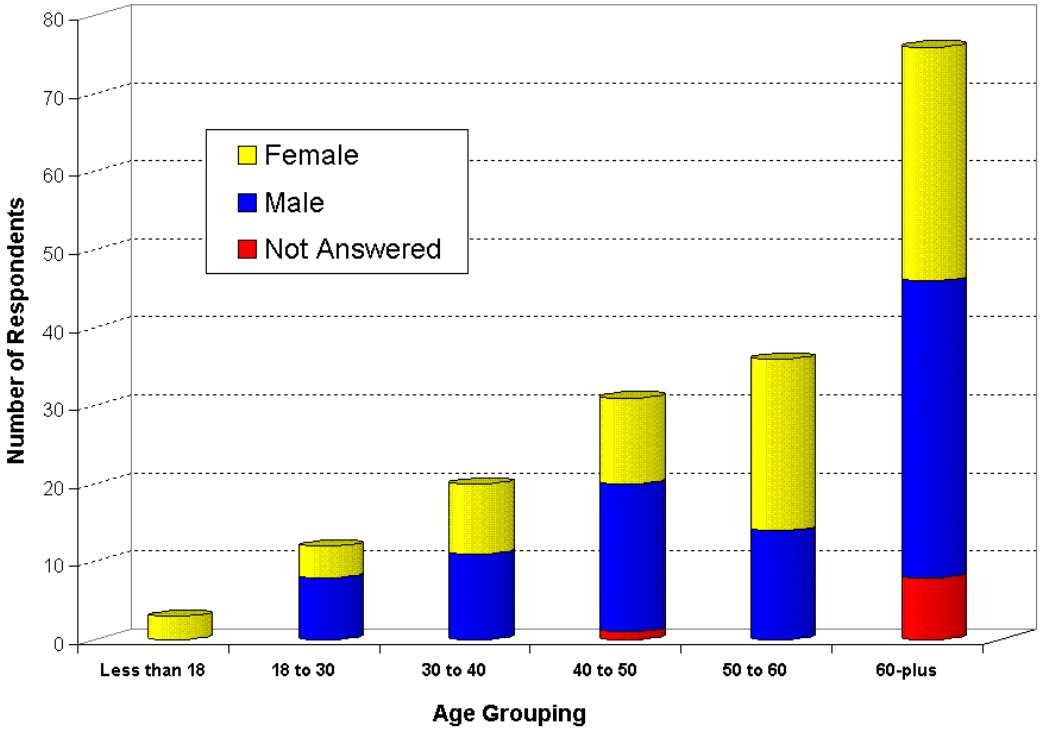
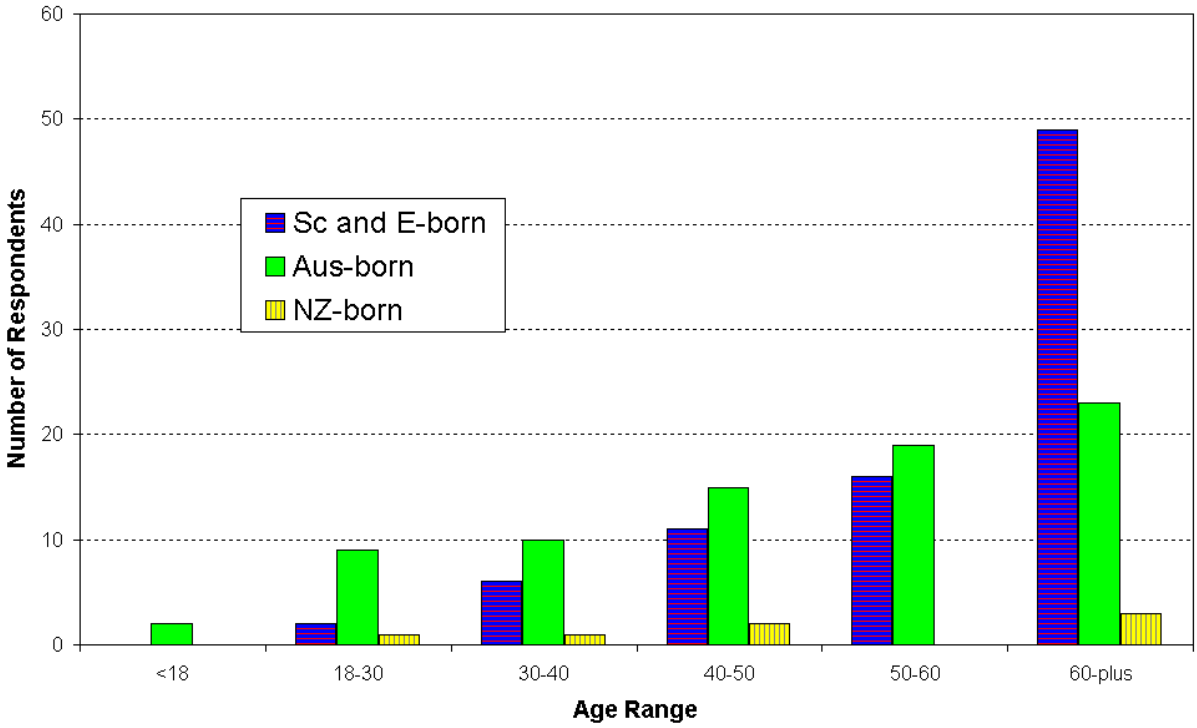


Figure 7.2 Age Distribution by Birthplace



In Figure 7.2 the Scots-born (n=75) are added to the English-born (n=9) for clarity. Only in the 60-plus age group are there more British-born than Australian-born. The numbers of Scots-born (n=45) and English-born (n=4) are cumulatively higher than for the Australian-

born (n=23). Direct conclusions about the relative interest in Scottish Gaelic according to birthplace are thus difficult to make. However, age in itself is a significant aspect of the responses to the SoSGA survey. Figures 7.1 and 7.2 show clearly that Scottish Gaelic is of greater interest to older people than to younger. This fits with the discourse of most SoSGA respondents. During one of the Scottish Gaelic events, I told a focus group of language-learners that my data showed a distribution pattern towards the over-40 age range. They did not seem surprised.

Extract 7.1 Tastes Change

Respondent 179: 'That's when music tastes change into the folk music.
Cridhmór: That's what it is, yeah. […] But it's also probably a part of- People mebbe in their late 30's 40's are probably a little more settled in their careers, they've quite possibly had children. Their lives are at a point where they're looking for more things to do. Education, personal growth.
Respondent 011: Maybe all the things you wanted to do earlier on but didn't get ...[inaudible]
Cridhmór: Yes, maybe get to that age bracket. 'cos for me it's certainly been- [I'm] established, I'm focusing more on those personal things that I've always wanted to do, and that I've never had the time to do that. So that's the main reason I've started doing all the things past 18 months that I've started doing, so…' [MD08.42].

Therefore, for these respondents it was not just age in itself, but also a reflection of the stages of their lives. For Cridhmór this was stated to be the case as well, as she had indicated that she wanted to pursue wider aspects than her initial years in Australia had allowed her to do. Australian-born Respondent 029, whose parents were native speakers, elsewhere expressed the same sentiment. She wanted to increase her fluency now that she had more time after having had children [SoSGA_N1]. In similar vein, Muc-mhara expressed her hope that her children would come back to Scottish Gaelic now that they had more time (Extract 6.11). Therefore, we should consider that it is not age in itself that is a factor, but aspects of lifestyle and life choices. As discussed in Section 7.3, Burnley (2001) points out that the migrant nature of Australian society has an influence on life choices.

7.1.6.2 Policy Changes and SoSGA Citizenship

One reason to consider birthplace criteria for analysis, rather than only nationality, is that people may be allowed to hold dual citizenship. In 1984, due to legislative changes, many British-born residents applied for Australian citizenship (Jupp 1998, p. 99). This no longer restricted their settlement rights in the U.K. due to 'patrial' laws enacted at the time (Jupp 1998, p. 99). Overall, British-born residents are unlikely to have taken out Australian

citizenship: in 1990, it was estimated that a majority of British-born residents had not applied (Jupp 1998, p. 99). Some British-born who do not hold Australian citizenship may still be entitled to vote – dependent on their arrival and settlement before changes in legislation (Jupp 1998, p. 99). In 1997 approximately 500 000 British-born residents were still entitled to vote in elections (Jupp 1998, p. 99). In 1999 a government citizenship 'issues' paper claimed that there were approximately 960 000 permanent Australian residents in total who were entitled to take out citizenship but had not yet done so (AMC 1999, p. 9).

Figure 7.3 Citizenship of SoSGA Respondents

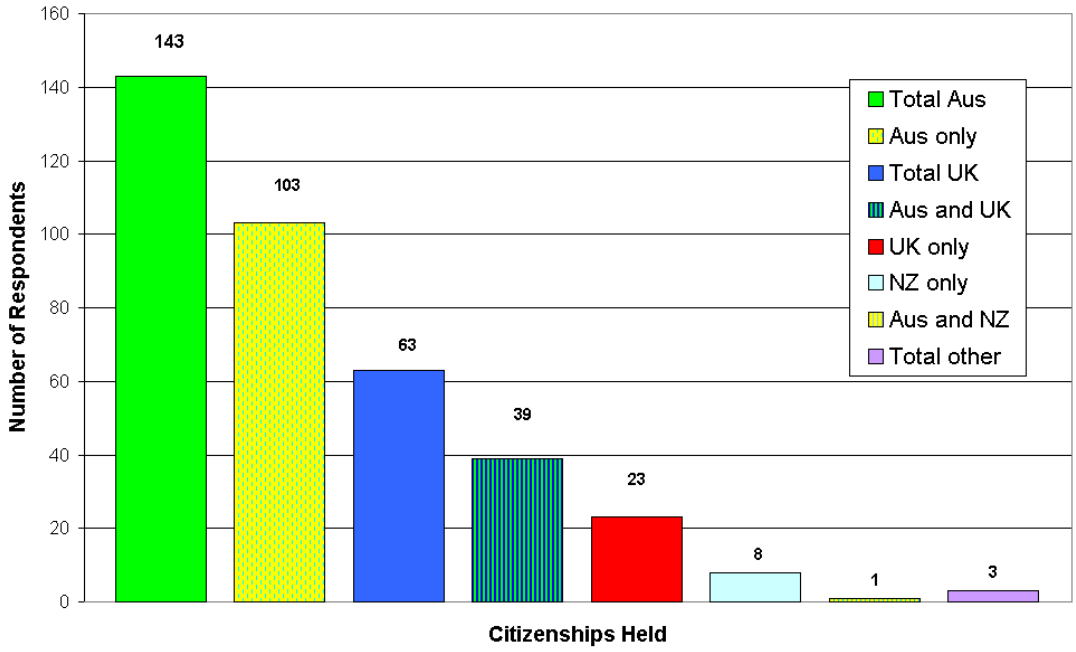
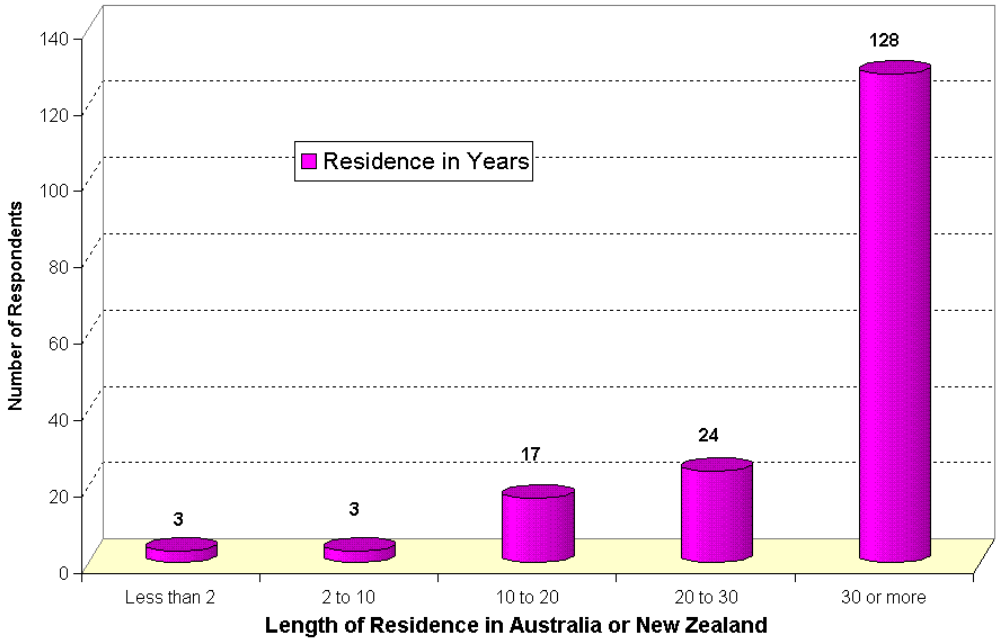


Figure 7.3 shows the nationalities of SoSGA respondents. Of the 143 who are Australian, 103 of those hold only that citizenship (72%). Of the 63 that hold U.K. citizenship, 39 hold dual Australian and British citizenship (62%). Therefore the majority of SoSGA respondents have taken out dual citizenship, even though a substantial number who maintain purely U.K. citizenship (23 of the 63 U.K. citizens). SoSGA respondents are also very long-term residents of Australia. Figure 7.4 indicates that they are permanently settled in the country. This is self-evident for the Australian-born, but the overall pattern of permanent residents probably reflects patterns of British migration after the Second World War, as well as the higher age-range of respondents. This clearly represents a stable group, permanently in Australia (n=165) or New Zealand (n=10). There is no sense in which this is a transient population with weak links to Australia or New Zealand. The importance of this will become clear in discussions of enforced civic identity for SoSGA respondents (Section 8.9.7; Extract 8.13).

Figure 7.4 Length of Residence in Antipodes of SoSGA Respondents



7.1.7 Scottish Emigration

Two early governors in New South Wales between 1810 and 1825, Lachlan Macquarie and Sir Thomas Brisbane, were Scottish, leading to an increase in Scottish migration from then onwards (Burnley 2001, p. 55). The total number of Scots-born immigrants to Australia between 1788 and 1981 was estimated at over half a million (Prentis 1983, p.33). Burnley notes that Scots were 'proportionately over-represented in Australia relative to their share of the United Kingdom and Ireland home population' (Burnley 2001, p. 28). Nevertheless, emigration from selected parts of the British Isles is not particularly strong. Some aspects of unofficial immigration policy, or even requests by the colonies, reinforce the impression of Australia as a replica of Britain in the making. In some of the nineteenth century assisted passages schemes, the proportions of English, Scottish and Irish settlers were kept 'the same as in the home population' (Jupp 1998, p. 15). The Colonial Land and Emigration Office produced figures in 1850, on request by South Australia, to show that the proportion of the people that they had assisted was consistent with recommendations: '59.6% English, 9.8% 'Scotch', and 30.6% Irish as the correct measure' (Jupp 1998, p. 16).

Nineteenth-century Scots who took assisted passage were generally better educated than English or Irish emigrants, except for the few Gaelic-speaking Highlanders in the early nineteenth century (Burnley 2001, p. 56). While there were some Gaelic-speaking ministers and churches in the 1840s within Australia, due to dispersion they did not last long as

communities (Burnley 2001, p. 56). In a few areas, groups of Highlanders moved *en masse*, such as in Geelong in Victoria in the 1850s, where a Presbyterian church was established (Burnley 2001, p. 56). The Northern Tablelands of New South Wales in the 1860s and 1870s attracted people from the Western Highlands and Ross Shire and there was some internal migration to the Wollomombi Highland community from other parts of New South Wales. By the 1911 census, New South Wales was the state with the highest proportion of Scots, at 34 percent of the population. (Burnley 2001, p. 57). None of these communities has survived to the present day.

Victoria had initially been the preferred colony for many Scots, but there were emigrants to all parts of Australia, some destinations dependent on having agents in Scotland (Jupp 1998, p. 49). The Highlands and Islands Emigration Society was active from 1850 and sent emigrants mainly to Victoria (Jupp 1998, p. 48). The colony of Queensland had agents stationed in the (non-Gaelic speaking), agricultural east of Scotland, which contributed to a near doubling of the population in that colony between 1881 and 1886 (Jupp 1998, p. 49).

Unlike many Irish immigrants, nineteenth century Scottish immigrants often came in family groups (Burnley 2001, p. 56). The vast majority of Scots, even in the early era of immigration, were from the Lowlands, and were literate (Jupp 1998, p. 49; Burnley 2001, p. 56). Prentis (1983) and Jupp (1998) comment on the presence in politics of Scottish-descended or Scottish-born Australians (Prentis 1983; Jupp 1998). In party political terms, Jupp (1998) sees a major influence on the conservative Liberal, and Country parties, reflecting the predominantly rural, early nineteenth-century patterns of prosperous Scots taking up colonial land (Jupp 1998, p. 49). In Victoria between 1865 and 1900, one quarter of overseas-born (State) politicians were Scots-born (Jupp 1998, p. 50). The appropriation of land was also a theme that underlies rural Scottish settlement in nineteenth century Australia. Burnley (2001) highlights how in areas where Scottish squatters had settled, they attracted yet more Scottish agricultural workers who were recruited via a bounty system, swelling numbers further (Burnley 2001, p. 56).

Prentis (1983) describes the Scottish contribution to the development of Australia as a 'vital ingredient' stressing that Scots 'generally subscribed to the same notions of social morality and ambition' (Prentis 1983, p. 161). The Scottish contribution to Australia is described in terms of a 'legacy', and he sees the Scottish influence as 'disproportionate' (Prentis 1983, p. 160). Jupp (1998), on the other hand, is wary of relying on their common geographical origin and points their very different <u>social</u> backgrounds:

'While the Scots coming to Victoria in the 1860s were primarily rural and included

> many Gaelic-speakers, those coming to New South Wales were predominantly urban and industrial. There is no reason to suppose they had common values or attitudes' (Jupp 1998, p. 50).

In between the two World Wars, the proportion of Scots increased as Scottish industry declined (Jupp 1998, p. 92). In the twentieth century, Scottish immigration was almost entirely urban and increasingly likely to be tertiary-educated professionals (Jupp 1998, p. 49). Between 1975 and 1981 about 20 percent of professionals were Scots (Jupp 1998, p. 95).

7.1.8 Non-British, Post Second World War Migration

A political demand for greater migration immediately after the Second World War meant that Australia had to attract migrants from a wider range of countries. Numbers of migrants from countries other than the U.K. gradually increased, although there were notable waves, some corresponding to political or regional instability in various countries. After 1945, when Department of Immigration was created, mass immigration programmes were implemented and assisted passage schemes extended to non-British migrants (Jupp 1998, p. 103ff.).

In the immediate aftermath of the Second World War, there were schemes to attract 'displaced persons' (Jupp 1998, p. 103ff.). There were many refugee camps in Central Europe with skilled people prepared to migrate. Australia, Canada and the United States all had schemes in place to attract them (Jupp 1998, p. 103ff.). Northern and southern Europeans increased in number, and by the 1970s, more Lebanese and West Asians were immigrating to Australia (Burnley 2001, p. 43). Until the establishment of more general policies in the 1970s, bilateral agreements between Australian and other governments were negotiated individually, such as that with Turkey in 1968 (Burnley 2001, p. 192). Other agreements were drawn up with the Netherlands (1951), with West Germany, Austria and Greece (1952), with Finland, Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark and Norway (1954), with Spain (1958), and with Yugoslavia (1970) (Jupp 1998, p. 109). Yugoslavia was the only communist state to have an assisted-passage scheme with Australia (Burnley 2001, p. 209).

Castles *et al.* (1988) interpret the immediate post-1945 policy as driven by Keynesian economic motives, in a deliberate government attempt to counter wage demands by unions. Increasing the supply of labour would supposedly lower wages (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 47). The assurances by immigration minister Calwell that migrants would only take less desirable jobs, and a deliberate campaign promoting the economic benefits of migrants, is interpreted as a placatory discourse (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 49).

Migrant intake was cut severely in the mid-1970s (Jupp 1998, p. 119). But refugees from Asia

were admitted, such as Vietnamese after the 1975 fall of Saigon, and Timorese after the Indonesian invasion of East Timor in 1976 (Jupp 1998, p. 120). With political changes in the 1970s, skill-based migration was instituted (Jupp 1998, p. 119), although these included an English proficiency element. Thereafter, Asian migration increased as a proportion of the total, to between 35 percent and 40 percent (Jupp 1998, p. 119). In the 1990s, there was a shift towards greater proportions of people from Northern Asia such as China and Hong Kong (Jupp 1998, p. 120). Smaller numbers also arrived from South America, North Africa, South Africa, and the Middle East (Jupp 1998, p. 122). By 1996, New Zealand had overtaken Britain as the single biggest source of migrants, and is currently the second-largest birthplace group (7.5 %) of the overseas-born population (DIMA 2001a).

7.1.9 Settlement and Modern Urbanisation

Images of Australia in tourist brochures are often of a rural nature, and may emphasise the Outback remoteness and the unusual fauna. Tourism is an important industry and accounted for 4.5 percent of Australia's GDP in 2000-2001, with 4.76 million visitors (Otmar 2001, p. 49). However, such an image of the country may not reflect the everyday experience of the vast majority of its inhabitants, who are urban dwellers.

Denoon *et al.* (2000) highlight the continued urban, coastal nature of Australian settlement so that '49 percent of white Australians were urban in 1891, more than in any other New World country' (Denoon, Mein-Smith et al. 2000, p. 89). This urban feature is seen as a crucial aspect of identity, as a 'distinctive trait' (Denoon, Mein-Smith et al. 2000, p. 89). The high proportion of coastal, port dwellers is also seen as important in Australasia as a whole:

> 'This 'urban frontier' existed in more than economic terms. The former convict port towns and the new 'grasslands' towns whose hinterlands were committed to commercial farming and pastoralism – and mining, in Australia – metamorphosed into commercial cities. […] This is crucial to identity: the Australasian 'urban frontier' provided entrepôts to the world, ensuring in the context of late settlement that globalisation began early. Indeed the urban frontier began as a global phenomenon. As communication hubs, Australian capital cities and principal towns, and New Zealand's four main centres, were pivotal to the frontier as a zone and thus in fashioning identities' (Denoon, Mein-Smith et al. 2000, p.89).

Urban settlement continued despite attempts to deliberately settle inland areas at various stages in Australia's history. People migrated to cities rather than rural areas, or re-migrated to cities once gold rushes ended (Burnley 2001, p. 30). Australia is 'essentially a producer of primary products' (Otmar 2001, p. 49) and the major capital cities function as important 'break of bulk' points (Burnley 2001, p. 61). Modern Australia is highly urbanised, with just

13 percent of the population living in rural areas (Jupp 1998, p. 98). This matches the urban residence of SoSGA respondents. The overwhelming majority of contacts from people who were interested in SoSGA were from urban dwellers: 164 respondents whose postcodes were known, out of a total of 216 postal contacts (76%). Only one respondent was conclusively known to live in a highly remote area, and the remainder remained unknown or anonymous. This may simply reflect the paths of contact, but is in line with the urban nature of Australian society as a whole. One reason to highlight this aspect of the survey is that many Scottish Gaelic activities involve regular, co-ordinated events to which urban living is conducive. Typically choir singing, conversation circles, weekly lessons and musical activities involve regular, time-determined meetings, with a group of people who live within a reasonable distance of each other. These activities are much easier to sustain in urban settings.

7.2 Overview of Immigration

Migration to Australia since 1788 has seen large flows of people with a substantial British contribution to the present population. Throughout the twentieth century, the largest overseas-born group has been from the U.K., although this is now in decline. In 1901 it was 58 percent, and by 1996, it was 27 percent (DIMA 2001a, p. 16). From the very outset, the principal pattern of settlement was urban, with the hinterland acting as a supply area to the growing cities in each of the colonies. The current average age of the population has remained young, reflecting the migration of mobile people (Burnley 2001). This is in contrast to the, generally, older SoSGA respondents. The SoSGA respondents are also permanently settled in the country. The vast majority of British migrants to Australia have been English-born, but SoSGA respondents tend to be born in Australia or Scotland.

Late nineteenth century Scottish migrants tended to be more highly educated than the average, and were more likely to be professionals. This is reflected in the high proportion of tertiary-educated SoSGA respondents, who are unlikely to be in the lower socio-economic sectors of society. At all stages in Australia's history, the need for labour was linked to immigration policies. Castles *et al.* (1988) highlight the continuing importation of labour (from convicts, to indentured labour, to refugees and to modern migrants), that was integrated into the Australian economy (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 19). They assert that many immigrants came in at the bottom of the labour market 'causing upward mobility for Australians', and that in times of economic growth they were not an employment threat (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 38). Therefore, the acceptance of large numbers of immigrants by the populace is perhaps not due to political management, but to economic growth. Continued acceptance of migrants may

owe more to the 'continued economic role for migrants' during economic downturns to bear a 'disproportionate share in the burden of unemployment' (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 38).

7.3 Settlement Patterns and Identity

7.3.1 Introduction

In this section, I examine settlement patterns of migration to Australia and how these might have affected the social landscape. Beliefs about the organisation of Australian society in earlier generations may be linked to modern pressures within Australian society to conform to some notion of 'Anglo-Celtic' identity. Pressures to conform may be expressed either via concepts of race and whiteness, or via concepts of culture and civilisation. These may be expressed in racist terms or with reference to the preservation of ways of life. I examine claims of identity linked to homogeneity, either of an Australia in times past or associated with dominant discourses of society.

7.3.2 Patterns of Settlement

Patterns of settlement are seen as having an identity-shaping effect on Australia. For Jupp (1998) it is the 'English' stamp to the earliest European settlement of Australia, due to the presence of a high proportion of literate, young, English convicts with a bias towards people from the London area (Jupp 1998, p. 6). Nevertheless, there was diversity in immigration and in demographic terms it had a marked effect (Burnley 2001, p.39). Nineteenth and early twentieth century immigration was a key element of Australian identity 'because many migrations have been *sequential* and also because some of the images Australians have had of 'outsiders' or immigrant strangers were formed in the late nineteenth century' (Burnley 2001, p. 3). Burnley (2001) notes the diversity of immigrants from within the United Kingdom despite similarities of 'laws and customs' (Burnley 2001, p. 4). The selective nature of migration, especially age-selective factors, allows Burnley (2001) to question the view of Australia as homogeneous. The overwhelming predominance of people who are at a 'family formation stage' of their lives 'renders conceptualisations of immigrant groups as minorities questionable' (Burnley 2001, p. 4). Patterns of settlement lead Burnley (2001) to conclude that there was a 'socio-cultural mosaic' to Australia's society, rather than widespread homogeneous settlement (Burnley 2001, p. 4). He strongly suggests that nineteenth century U.K. immigration 'did not result in one monolithic 'Anglo-Celtic' block to which all other immigrant groups had to relate' (Burnley 2001, p.66). This interpretation is based on the examination of other factors important in identity formation within an immigrant context.

Factors include region of origin (for example Scottish, Welsh, Cornish, English regions), culture, social class, dialect or language, world outlook, age ('life-cycle stage') and religion (Burnley 2001, p. 68). These were unlikely to be identical for all U.K. immigrants, irrespective of their era of migration. Religion, and language or dialect differences were certain to have been important aspects of identity within the U.K. Jupp (1998) emphatically states that '[v]ery little bound the Celtic migrants together and religion kept them apart' (Jupp 1998, p. 55). Importantly, Burnley (2001) sees an absence of a single 'immigrant condition' for Australia, in contrast to Canada (Burnley 2001, p. 347). It is therefore unlikely that immigrants to Australia form a common identity in response to the host society.

7.3.3 Macro-Socio-economic Factors and Local Effects

In this section, I consider economic and political forces that have substantially shaped settlement patterns in Australia. This is a prelude to discussions of ethnicity in Chapter 8, where SoSGA respondents react to discourses of *'cultural ghettoes'* (Extract 8.7) and perceptions of ethnicity.

Forces that are applied at a national level or at an international level not only affect the migrants, but also the resultant settlement patterns. This has occurred with overt financial assistance on an international scale, such as with assisted passages initially only available to British migrants, and gradually extended to other countries after the Second World War (Jupp 1998, p. 91). This meant that people who wanted to migrate had to finance themselves or obtain sponsorship. One option available was through family reunion visa schemes, used by Greeks and Italians (Jupp 1998, p. 109) and more recently by Vietnamese, Filipino and Chinese (Jupp 1998, p. 180). This therefore resulted in settlement – at least initially – near kinfolk who might have been the supporting parties (Jupp 1998, p. 109). Such constraints did not necessarily apply to those receiving assisted passages, or migrants from countries benefiting from bilateral agreements. Concentrations of ethnic groups might therefore depend far less on ethnic solidarity, but much more on their migration category, itself possibly dependent on changing visa conditions.

Initial place of settlement might also be influenced by migrants' English proficiency and whether or not they were refugees (Burnley 2001, p. 263). Burnley (2001, Ch. 7) surveyed small businesses in metropolitan areas in Australia and highlighted that, in many cases, the family was the economic unit (Burnley 2001, p. 161). It also indicated how 'individualistic responses […] nevertheless had cultural significance' because the establishment of many small businesses led to concentrations of ethnic-specific services. It is not necessarily ethnicity

per se that might lead to concentrations of ethnic groups (Burnley 2001, p. 161). Macro-economic forces may therefore affect settlement of individuals and family groups. Macro-economic aspects may thus also contribute to settlement patterns that affect perceptions of ethnicity. Burnley studies the examples of the Latrobe Valley in Victoria and of Wollongong, a city about 70 kilometres to the south of Sydney that is also an important industrial centre (Burnley 2001, Ch. 6). Wollongong is described as 'the most cosmopolitan non-capital city in Australia' (Burnley 2001, p. 105). Big (manufacturing) industry contributed to the shaping of immigration policy in a time when its advancement was 'essential to industrialisation and natural security' (Burnley 2001, p. 106). It had a 'preference for a single, young male workforce' and influenced immigration policy accordingly (Burnley 2001, p. 107). Many skilled workers were allocated employment in these industrial centres – in particular post-Second World War Displaced Persons (DP's) who, until 1953, had to work where they were directed for up to two years (Burnley 2001, p. 101). Non-compliance would mean deportation (Jupp 1998, p. 104). This also meant that DP's 'were allocated jobs, wages, locations and working and living conditions that Australians would not accept' (Burnley 2001, p. 105). Manufacturing industry employment also meant that many were employed in shift work, and so unable to attend English classes that were predominantly provided in the early evenings (Burnley 2001, p. 110). Housing and social issues were not addressed for up to twenty years in some areas, and 'outside stereotyping' of particular neighbourhoods took place. The effect on perceptions was notable: 'Externalisation – 'othering' – led to neglect by the media, urban policy-makers, and in the 1950s and 1960s there were widespread views that the immigrants were obligated to Australia for giving them a home' (Burnley 2001, p. 109). Macro-forces therefore indirectly had an effect on the perceptions of immigrants and ethnicities in Australian society.

In more recent waves of migration, similar factors may still apply. Restructuring of the Australian economy away from manufacturing from the 1980s onwards has placed 'constraints' on social mobility. In the 1990s when manufacturing jobs were being lost, many recent arrivals turned to small business opportunities (Burnley 2001, p. 20). Factors that block mobility are lack of capital, non-recognition of (non-Australian or non-British) qualifications, lack of English proficiency, and discrimination (Burnley 2001, p. 22). In the 'restructured' economy welfare benefits were cut for recent immigrants for the first two years after arrival (Jupp 1998, p. 167; Burnley 2001, p. 20). Burnley (2001) takes a 'political economic' perspective on the restructuring of Australian industry, highlighting the opening of the economy in line with encouragement by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

Labour-intensive tasks were relocated (for example textile industries moved to Asia), and methods of production changed away from the specific skills of industrial workers (Burnley 2001, p. 22). This led to the view that an economic crisis was turned into a social crisis (Burnley 2001, p. 20). Many immigrant entrepreneurs saw opening small businesses as 'a way out of factory work' (Burnley 2001, p. 22). Therefore, during the 1980s when there was a net loss of manufacturing jobs, there was a corresponding increase of 12 percent of the self-employed (Burnley 2001, p. 22). Immigrants were part of this process so that even though the 'choice of *type* of business venture might have a cultural dimension' it is actually 'more strongly influenced by other factors: capital required, absence of barriers such as licensing requirements, market opportunities, and possession of necessary skills' (Burnley 2001, p. 22). Therefore, structural economic analyses suggest that migrants fit into society according to forces that are perhaps beyond their control, rather than ethnicity. Resultant patterns of settlement may lead to social stigma, social immobility and significantly contribute to the view of migrants as 'other'. An important reason for analysing perceptions of 'ethnic concentration' in Australia is that it has been seen as an important factor in determining the cohesiveness of society. During some periods of immigration policy, the production of a homogeneous society, that would be united, was considered important. Aspects of this debate form part of the discourse of some groups like the nationalist One Nation party (Jupp 1998, p. 147), discussed in Chapter 8.

A 'post-modernist' paradigm would argue that 'ethnic concentration processes' depend less on mode of production and social class structure and more on the 'reorganisation of everyday cultural life' (Burnley 2001, p. 23). We are perhaps in an era 'dominated by *industrial* capitalism' and in a 'culturally cosmopolitan world' where 'diversity is normative and is likely to increase as migration continues' (Burnley 2001, p. 23, emphasis in original). Therefore, 'diversity' in this sense becomes 'mainstream', and ideas of assimilation and integration become even less relevant to analysing differences within society (Burnley 2001, p. 23). Temporary ethnic concentrations may be part of the immigration process, although Burnley (2001) concludes strongly that there is no evidence of 'ghettoes' in Australia – where groups of people are trapped (Burnley 2001, p. 295).

Burnley's (2001) and Jupp's (1998) analyses strongly indicate that migrants themselves do not primarily determine settlement patterns. Belief that <u>ethnicity</u> is a factor in determining living location or social behaviour, is therefore very questionable in the Australian context. Popular belief held that immigrants congregated in 'Metropolitan 'ghettoes'', whereas most were in fact employed in rural or development areas in post Second World War years (Jupp 1998, p.

63). The view was that 'southern Europeans did not assimilate to the same degree as the English, Germans or Scandinavians' (Jupp 1998, p. 63).

7.3.4 Conformity and Assimilation

Assimilation to the majority society is a key element of Australian society and immigration for Jupp (1998):

> 'Although Celts made up almost half the Australian population in the nineteenth century, they were always liable to assimilate towards the English' (Jupp 1998, p. 55).

Jupp (1998) cites the appeals made to nationalism and the predominance of school textbooks reflecting English history, as part of the difficulty in claiming a 'Celtic' influence on Australia. This is despite the view that '[m]uch Australian egalitarianism probably originates in the less hierarchical and deferential rural societies outside England' (Jupp 1998, p. 56). Accordingly, there was already a dominant portion of the society that would affect views of conformity. It is plausible that authorities who continually assessed the value of newcomers would have an effect on ideas of conformity because of criteria that they used to permit entry. Whether the colonies were merely reflecting views of the present populace, or attempting to manipulate the types of immigrants, it was nonetheless a society where selected characteristics of people were important. Immigration was selective and some characteristics were valued more highly than others. As will be seen below, the particular characteristics also changed over time as ideologies changed, but at any one moment, there was likely to have been pressure to conform within Australian society since the early days of colonisation.

Within the twentieth century, important events such as world wars have led to reactions on the part of government or citizens to 'difference' (Denoon, Mein-Smith et al. 2000, p. 368). Amongst language groups, this was the case in the aftermath of the First World War with the German-speaking Lutheran community in South Australia, for example. Between the 1830s and 1860s, there had been settlement of Lutherans near Adelaide (Burnley 2001, p. 69). There were also settlements in Victoria and New South Wales where German was maintained until the First World War (Burnley 2001, p. 75). The initial settlement in South Australia in the 1830s had been part of a movement of a congregation of people following their pastor (Burnley 2001, p. 69). This was a 'conservative' movement, in that the motivations were in order to preserve their way of life (Burnley 2001, p. 69). Although the Lutheran church split into various groups within the next few decades, the early groups retained a degree of solidarity (Burnley 2001, p. 72). Later arrivals, however, tended to be more motivated by economic and political reasons. By the early 1900s, German was taught within Sunday

Schools, the government school system being in English (Burnley 2001, p. 71). With the outbreak of the First World War, German was either abandoned, or else the schools attached to Lutheran churches were closed. After 1914, specific measures were enacted against Lutheran churches and German place names (Jupp 1998, p. 101). Some settlement names were changed from their original German to the names of Allied commanders (Burnley 2001, p. 72). Notably, the coherence of these groups was based on an allegiance to the Lutheran faith, and not to the German (or Prussian) nation (Burnley 2001, p. 77).

Semi-official measures of discrimination should not be seen as the only form of pressure, however. Burnley (2001) quotes Perkins (1988) who suggests that anti-German feelings were more pronounced and persisted longer in Australia than elsewhere in the British Empire (Perkins 1988; Burnley 2001, p. 72). There were also a number of riots where racial conflict was to the fore, such as in Kalgoorlie[86] in the 1930s (Burnley 2001, p. 91) which will be discussed in the context of the White Australia Policy and immigration (Section 7.4.2). The riots should also be seen in the context of massacres of Aboriginal people in the Northern Territory around the same time (Burnley 2001, p. 91).

During and after the Second World War, a number of 'aliens' were interned in camps because of perceptions of wartime danger (Burnley 2001, p. 91). This was despite many of the internees being naturalised citizens, such as the 6 000 German-speaking internees, one-sixth of the total German-born population at the time (Burnley 2001, p. 91). After 1940, 4 727 Italian-origin migrants were interned, about 19 percent of the then Italian population of Australia (Burnley 2001, p. 92). These included Jewish-Italian refugees, as well as people who had left Italy many years beforehand and 'not roused by Fascist propaganda' (Burnley 2001, p. 92). By any measure, these are sizeable numbers of people, imprisoned for their ethnic origins or linguistic background, and not their political views.

7.3.5 Colonial Legacy and Modern Echoes

Jupp (1998) sees the 'dominant theme of nineteenth century immigration as one of assimilation' whereby immigrants assimilated into the majority society and became English-speaking (Jupp 1998, p. 67). He highlights the gender imbalance as a factor, in that most European [i.e. non-British] immigration was of single men, 'who could only form families by marrying someone of another background, usually Anglo-Australian if Protestant, or Irish-Australian if Catholic' (Jupp 1998, p. 66). Thus assimilation 'developed from being a fact to

[86] Kalgoorlie is an inland mining town.

being an ideology', leaving only religious affiliations and surnames as significant markers of a 'varied past' (Jupp 1998, p. 67). Burnley (2001) terms concern about assimilation since the 1880s a 'tension' about the homogeneity 'of the body politic', seeing it as stronger at times than others (Burnley 2001. p.4).

The social development of an ideology of assimilation in Australian society is examined in psychoanalytic terms by Rutherford (2000) who develops ideas centred on the social 'levelling' of society. In an interview with a One Nation party worker, the 'good neighbour' and 'fair go' discourse is analysed, and interpreted as a 'touchstone of Australianness as it has been imagined traditionally by the white Australian community':

> 'It is what has been called on … to distinguish Australians from other nationalities: a neighbourliness, a generosity to the other in times of need, coupled with a spirit of equality and the rejection of visible hierarchies' (Rutherford 2000, p. 7).

The rejection of visible hierarchies is a dominant theme in Australian literature that Rutherford (2000) examines, and is portrayed as part of Australia's moral code. Rutherford (2000) sees One Nation <u>and</u> their political opponents as simultaneously laying claim to the moral code of neighbourliness and tolerance – a moral code which One Nation interprets as being 'under attack from foreigners, Aborigines and the intellectual, professional and urban elites' (Rutherford 2000, p. 7). The electoral success of One Nation in the 1990s perhaps also indicates the appeal of beliefs about such an attack, as well as indicating the depths of belief in the ideal of a homogeneous Australian society (Denoon, Mein-Smith et al. 2000, p. 467). In such a society, any cultural values or attributes that differ from the ideal were felt to threaten society's homogeneity. A unified society can be portrayed as strong and cohesive and efforts to maintain cohesion may therefore be linked to preservation of the nation. Ideas that the populace of a nation should be homogeneous are also linked to nationalism. Around the time of the 1991 Gulf War and thereafter, there were reports of assaults in Australia on Muslims involving the pulling off of their head-scarves (Hage 1998, p. 27). This is part of the nationalist motivation that Hage (1998) sees in such attacks – it is a feeling of empowerment to maintain the society as it is ideally conceived. Attempts to eliminate difference in such a way is therefore a form of nationalism, and of management of the Australian territory (Hage 1998, pp. 27 - 32).

In the light of such analyses, it is easier to understand the multiple rôle of Scottish Gaelic. On the one hand it is possible to portray Scottish heritage as Australian. This was, I suggested, partly the motivation behind the establishments of Scottish monuments in the Australian landscape. On the other hand, Scottish Gaelic can be presented as non-normative within

Australian society. Some respondents see it is a distinctive part of Scottishness that cannot be subsumed within other brackets of 'Scottish'. It is perceived as a vital part of heritage that is not to be lost or hidden. From this point of view, it is anti-homogeneous, and the diversity accrued by involvement with Scottish Gaelic culture is highly valued.

7.3.6 Pre-Federation Settlement and Investment

Prentis (1983) highlights land investments by many Scottish settlers, particularly from the farming areas of the Lowlands of Scotland, before 1820 (Prentis 1983, p. 21). They benefited from many land grants, and only a very small proportion of these people were from Highland areas (Prentis 1983, p. 21). These farmers were a predominantly 'middle and upper-class movement' and many had brought their own capital with them (often more than 2 000 pounds), some arriving in their own ships with families, employees and helpers (Prentis 1983, p. 21). Many went to New South Wales before the 1850s (Prentis 1983, p. 24). Such large capital investment by Scots continued into such areas as industry and sugar refining, with implications of a 'Caledonian network' (Prentis 1983, p. 50). There was also a hereditary component in some of the industries, with descendants of the founders remaining as board members (Prentis 1983, p. 61). Scottish immigration was therefore accompanied by large capital investment in the colonies – and not by the arrival of predominantly poor Scots. Burnley (2001) highlights the large land grants, often for relatively small sums, allowing people with moderate capital to invest in Australia (Burnley 2001, Ch. 4). There were some deliberate attempts to re-create class systems in Australia, such as that based on 'yoemanry' by the wife of the Tasmanian governor, Lady Franklin (Burnley 2001, p. 50). This was a deliberate attempt to transplant idealised versions of English village life to Australia (Burnley 2001, p. 51). Edward Gibbon Wakefield tried to create a model of settlement that would lead to a class-based system of settlement, with land available only to those who were able to afford it (Burnley 2001, p. 49). Ideally, this would lead to larger landholders leasing to farmers, and a supply of labourers available to work for them (Burnley 2001, p. 49). Although inland settlement in New South Wales became dependent on pastoral leases in 1847, by the end of the nineteenth and early twentieth century a number of farms had to be amalgamated because of low soil fertility (Burnley 2001, p. 50). Closer settlement was also not possible on the English model as larger areas were needed – therefore the family farm model became dominant (Burnley 2001, p. 51). There was accompanying massive environmental damage created by the introduction of many species of plants and animals that were supposed to aid in making the land more 'productive' (Burnley 2001, p. 52). Settlement

in Australia was often accompanied by capital investment, and claims that Australia was colonised by lower-class workers would be simplistic.

7.3.7 Overview of Settlement Patterns

Capital investment, establishment of trade and industry in Australia, and the urban nature of the society, are all factors that have affected the social landscape of Australia. Manufacturing industry has had an effect on immigration policy and on settlement patterns. From early periods of migration, there has been large capital investment by individuals in the society, and many land-owning early migrants were already relatively wealthy on their departure from the United Kingdom. The formation of ideologies of conformity may have been significantly influenced by the patterns of migration – whether families or individuals migrated, for example, and whether or not they had state assistance. The entry of migrants to the country has not been in a steady incremental pattern, but has rather come in successive waves, with significantly larger numbers in some periods such as during gold rush eras. Ideas current at the time of settlement may have had effects in periods of nation building and treatment of race and ethnicity. Ethnicity is not an independently determining factor in location of settlement for migrants, and there are no 'ghettoes' of ethnicity in the geographer's sense of the term (Burnley 2001). Disadvantage in migrants has been associated with their recent arrival, and to the lack of appropriate community safeguards against barriers to mobility (Burnley 2001). Such factors are beyond the control of migrants, particularly if they have not been included in political processes.

7.4 Twentieth Century Politics of Immigration in Australia

7.4.1 Introduction

The political importance of immigration in twentieth century Australia cannot be understated. Immigration policy was an important aspect of the White Australia Policy for most of the century until the last elements of legislation were removed in the 1970s, and after a post-Second World War economic boom (Burnley 2001, p. 4). The late 1970s and early 1980s 'resulted in a growing visibility, in the large cities, of culturally diverse groups, with varying physical characteristics' (Burnley 2001, p. 5). In the late 1980s, population growth in Australia was the highest in the industrialised world at 1.8 percent (Burnley 2001, p. 5). Changes in immigration policy led to widespread debate. Burnley (2001) mentions objections raised regarding environment, increased migrant disadvantage, and increased unemployment, as well as what has been termed 'the Blainey debate' named after a prominent historian who

questioned the admission of more immigrants (Burnley 2001, p. 5). The Blainey debate was characterised by the term 'the black armband view of history' referring to the feeling that people were unduly critical of Australia's history, particularly with reference to past injustices such as Aboriginal issues (Jupp 1998, p. 147). In the 1990s with the creation of the One Nation Party, and election of the Howard governments in March 1996 (Otmar 2001, p. 44) and November 2001, immigration has also been linked to national unity. In perhaps the most dramatic demonstration of ideas about homogeneity and assimilation in recent years, the leader of the One Nation party, Pauline Hanson, specifically linked immigration to the preservation of the Australian nation (Jupp 1998, p. 148). Jupp (1998) quotes her 1996 maiden speech in Parliament expressing her belief that 'we are in danger of being swamped by Asians' (Jupp 1998, p. 148), in an echo of views in Australia a century beforehand (Burnley 2001, p. 4). It is often portrayed as an extremist party, but One Nation had achieved support that rose as high as 13 percent in opinion polls (Jupp 1998, p. 128). In Queensland, it won 25 percent of the primary vote in the state elections in June 1998 (Burnley 2001, p. 5)[87]. Hanson's maiden speech had prompted a parliamentary motion condemning racism in October 1996 (Otmar 2001, p. 44). Perhaps as a further sign of how seriously this was taken in Australian political circles, the 1999 report on multiculturalism by the National Council for Multicultural Australia included a specific response to claims of the 'swamping' of Australia by 'people of any particular origin' (Australia 1999b, p. 21). This was a full-page, information box-style insert into the main text, and argued that 'Australia will always be Australian' and that migrants were chosen according to a 'non-discriminatory immigration policy' (Australia 1999b, p. 21). The report claims to use the 'United States' definition' of 'Asian'[88] (Australia 1999b, p. 21), and continues with an analysis of the demographic changes that would follow an 'Asian' intake at current levels. It concludes that by 2041 the 'Asian-born population of Australia will rise to about 7.5 percent' from the present 5.4 percent (Australia 1999b, p. 21). The Council dismisses the idea that one should include Australian-born children whose parents were of Asian origin in such an analysis, as 'inappropriate',

> 'as it seems to label Australian-born children with their parents' origin rather than the country of their own birth which is Australia. This runs the risk of classifying

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[87] One Nation has more recently shown signs of severe fragmentation in 2000 and 2001. By August 2003 Hanson and her erstwhile deputy were sentenced to three years imprisonment for electoral fraud on the basis that they had illegally registered their supporters as members of their party. *BBC (2003d). Hanson Jailed for electoral fraud, BBC.* ***2003***.

[88] The United States' definition of 'Asian' is contrasted to the 'United Nations' definition which is reported to have included the Middle East. The change was made in 1991, according to this report, and there is no mention for the reasons for such a change in categorisation.

> Australians according to their appearance which would be both offensive and dangerous as well as contrary to our democratic system which does not discriminate between Citizens or permanent residents on the basis of appearance, origin or parental origin. In particular, Australian-born children, whether their parents were born here or overseas, are all born equally into the Australian community. Australia's future will largely be in their hands' (Australia 1999b, p. 21).

Such an apparently laudable response nonetheless seems to accept a type of categorisation ('Asian') against which it argues. Whereas the response begins with a discussion of culture, most of it in fact tries to demonstrate the minimal presence of 'others', thereby hoping to counter racist prejudice. This seems to be along the lines of pacifying fears by demonstrating little change, rather than attacking prejudice. The claim is that the current version of Australia will remain largely unmodified. Such a response to publicly voiced-fears of change created by immigration is not new. Jupp (1998) notes that restrictions on post-Second World War Jewish migration were partly a response to public opinion and fears of anti-Semitism in Australia (Jupp 1998, p. 104). Burnley (2001) indicates that

> 'Australians overall have been tolerant of a moderate to strong immigrant intake, but over time a diversity of view points against immigration has emerged on the left, centre and right of the political spectrum' (Burnley 2001, p. 6).

Some counter-arguments appeal to the preservation of the nation, themselves opposed by appeals for tolerance from the 'Anglo' majority (Hage 1998). This background is important in understanding some motivations regarding immigration policies in the twentieth century, as well as the important place that ethnicity holds in Australian daily life. In the remainder of this chapter, I outline how persistent concerns with race and ethnicity have permeated Australian society, and how they continue to be an important element in determining belonging.

7.4.2 The Racial Background to the White Australia Policy

Racial ideas have played an important part of identity in Australia, with concepts of the 'Anglo-Saxon race' being interpreted as scientifically based (Anderson 2002). Such ideas were not confined to Australia, having been part of racial ideology throughout the British Empire (Jupp 1998, p. 100). Up until the 1940s, such terminology and ideas were a part of public discourse and endorsed by school textbooks in Australia (Jupp 1998, p. 100). Anderson (2002) reports Theodore Roosevelt in 1910 expressing his satisfaction in seeing the 'ethnic conquest' of the American and Australian continents by the white man (Anderson 2002, p. 244). By the beginning of the twentieth century, the purity of the white race seemed natural, and there were admonitions by social commentators on any racial mixing (Anderson 2002, p. 244). 'Purity' was seen as an important element of preserving the Australian 'race' and

therefore the community (Anderson 2002, p. 244). Thus, whiteness was a crucial part of identity for an Australian and 'the very word 'Australian' presupposed the biological qualifier 'white' ' (Anderson 2002, p. 244). Similarly, Denoon *et al.* (2000) comment on the use of particular terminologies in Australasia: 'Australian' was a term reserved for white Australians, unlike the term 'Aborigine'. Similar oppositions were created in New Zealand with Maori/ Pakeha, and Canaque (or 'Kanaka') as a term for Pacific Islanders in New Caledonia (Denoon, Mein-Smith et al. 2000, p. 3). A dominant discourse developed in Australia reflecting the nation as the 'apparently predestined place of the working white man' (Anderson 2002, p. 244).

7.4.2.1 Colour, Whiteness and 'Civilisation'

Many influential people in early twentieth century Australia claimed correlations between (their own) whiteness and concepts of civilisation (Anderson 2002). Anderson (2002) examines the work of various medical and academic personalities in institutions and research fields. One of these was the influential professor of Geology at Melbourne (and later at Glasgow University), J. W. Gregory. In the early 1900s, Gregory became famous for a popular book *The Dead Heart of Australia* (1909) exploring whether parts of Australia could be colonised by the white man (Anderson 2002, p. 171). This was followed, in 1925, by *The Menace of Colour*, in which he saw civilisation 'endangered by the rising tide of colour' (Anderson 2002, p. 171). According to this view, Australia was the last place that the white man was to civilise and the approach reflects the medical and geographical framework in which Gregory and other academics were working (Anderson 2002, Ch. 6). This framework had established a hierarchy of race and civilisation (even if ill-defined and fluid), where the white man was clearly at the pinnacle and, by extension, everything that the white man did or owned was considered civilised (Anderson 2002, p. 171). This was during the high point of Imperialism in global politics, and beliefs about the 'natural' superiority of the white man were expressed in evolutionary and Darwinian terms (Anderson 2002, p. 161). For Burnley (2001), ideas of racial superiority were partly associated with the 'civilising mission' of British colonialism in a crude equation of civilisation and the British 'race' (Burnley 2001, p. 4).

The ideal Australian 'was of English culture and Nordic racial origin' (Jupp 1998, p. 100). Racial mixing was thus anathema to Australian society for long periods. Non-European wives of Australian ex-servicemen were excluded from Australia until 1948, although intermarriage was legal (Jupp 1998, p. 76). Visible difference was clearly considered unacceptable by policy

makers, and categories of race were still considered justifiable up until the 1966 census, the last to ask respondents such classifications (Jupp 1998, p. 115). Aborigines were excluded from the official count until 1967 (Jupp 1998, p. 115).

7.4.2.2 The Importance of Race to Immigration

Even before Federation in 1901, a number of labour and immigration restrictions based on race were in place in Australia (Jupp 1998, p. 101). Restrictions on the Chinese in the nineteenth century protected white labour but were also partly a response to the fear of 'race wars' (Jupp 1998, p. 71). Only after the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 did immigration from the Mediterranean (of 'Southern Europeans') to Australia begin to increase (Jupp 1998, p. 60). Southern Europeans were not assisted to immigrate, and groups such as the Lebanese ('Syrians') were denied social services, although they were allowed to settle (Jupp 1998, p. 60). There were other barriers, such as alien landing charges applied only to non-British immigrants without family members already in Australia (Jupp 1998, p. 62).

In the first century and a half of immigration, immigration of non-British was specifically discouraged (Jupp 1998, p. 100). Many non-U.K. immigrants were from Northern Europe, such as Germany and Scandinavia, and considered 'racial cousins', although numbers were very small compared to British immigration (Jupp 1998, p. 100). Perceptions of racial proximity did not prevent the temporary banning of German immigration from the start of the First World War up until 1925 (Jupp 1998, p. 101).

By the 1890s, trade unions had become very organised and contributed to pressure against immigration (Jupp 1998, p. 89). There was also open discrimination. Non-Europeans were excluded from membership to the Australian Workers Union – membership of which was a prerequisite for certain types of employment (Jupp 1998, p. 72). From the beginning of Federation in 1901, racial issues were openly used for political purposes. The first Australian Labor Party (electoral) manifesto included preservation of 'racial purity' in their campaign (Jupp 1998, p. 80). The 1903 *Naturalisation Act* prevented 'non-Europeans' from becoming naturalised until its repeal in 1957 (Jupp 1998, p. 81).

Restriction on immigration was also claimed to protect the white race from other races harbouring 'vile eastern diseases' (Anderson 2002, p. 91) where Chinese were the 'obvious suspects' (Anderson 2002, p. 93). Whites were thus protected from inter-racial contact 'behind a thin line of quarantine' (Anderson 2002, p. 99). Immigration restrictions were justified at the beginning of Federation by politicians claiming scientific proof that other races were incapable of mingling with whites - biological thought and national policy became intertwined

(Anderson 2002, p. 90).

7.4.2.3 Early Twentieth Century Economic and Social Pressures

Immigration contributed significantly to the doubling of the Australian population between 1900 and 1945 (Lopez 2000, p. 43). This was an important demographic change in a period encompassing major social upheavals. The rate of population change should also be placed in the context of xenophobic opposition to refugees, 'openly expressed by public figures' in the early part of the twentieth century (Jupp 1998, p. 62). Although there were only 44 000 'southern Europeans' in Australia by 1933, they were the 'major target for racial prejudice' (Jupp 1998, p. 63). Returned servicemen were involved in incidents such as the 1928 bombing of Italians who had supplied labour during dock strikes in Melbourne (Jupp 1998, p. 63). There were also race riots in Kalgoorlie in 1934 directed against 'southern Europeans' (Jupp 1998, p. 63). The worst riot was sparked by the death of an Australian in a fight with an Italian Hotel owner, following which a mob burned and destroyed property belonging to non-English speaking migrants (Burnley 2001, p. 91). The severity of that riot led to the death of three people, and a further sixty received gunshot wounds (Burnley 2001, p. 91).

The unemployment rate contributed to race tensions in the 1930s and quotas were set in north Queensland, guaranteeing employment for a proportion of 'British' workers, by the Australian Workers' Union (Jupp 1998, p. 63). Fear of labour competition had previously led to restrictions on Chinese workers – there were landing taxes levied on Chinese arriving in Victoria from 1855, for example, and they were restricted to particular protectorates in the goldfields (Jupp 1998, p. 71). In Western Australia in 1886, Chinese participation in gold digging was declared illegal altogether (Jupp 1998, p. 72). There were also particular cases where employers were encouraged to displace 'Asiatic' workers in favour of British labour, such as in the pearl-diving industry in the early 1900s (Bailey 2001). This aimed partly to prove that whites were adaptable to life in the 'tropics' despite their supposed evolutionary adaptation to Europe (Anderson 2002, p. 153). But by the 1920s, the medical fraternity concluded that the white race was able to cope with the 'tropics' in such places as Queensland, and therefore white labour would not necessarily need to be replaced with people native to the tropics (Anderson 2002, p. 153).

Jupp (1998) stresses that White Australia was more than an immigration policy because it extended to control over Aborigines and other races. There were restrictions on places of residence, and they were considered 'protected persons' rather than citizens of a State (Jupp 1998, p. 101). State involvement in oppressive welfare provisions for people of Aboriginal

descent can be contrasted with the supportive attitude towards refugees in another domain: that of displaced persons in European camps after 1945. Jupp (1998) discusses the acceptability of the fair-haired and fair-skinned Slavic DP's to the policies of the Australian government. These were considered more 'assimilable', and the choice of people was under the personal supervision of Arthur Calwell, the first minister in the newly created Department of Immigration (Jupp 1998, p. 103). There were programmes specifically created for these refugees, including welfare provision (Jupp 1998, p. 104). However, those of Jewish origin were specifically excluded between 1947 and 1953, and thousands of (Allied) Asian refugees were deported in 1946 (Jupp 1998, p. 104). Legislation specifically prohibited entry to 'Former enemies' such as Germans and Italians (Jupp 1998, p. 104). The *Immigration Restriction Act* of 1901 was 'part of the legislative armoury of White Australia' (Jupp 1998, p. 73). Such legislation formed part of a 'consistent campaign' to exclude non-whites from the 'process of nation-building' (Jupp 1998, p. 73). Expulsion of Chinese had also been seen as a 'Republican' behaviour (Jupp 1998, p. 79).

The maintaining of boundaries around the white nation was in line with ideologies that considered the 'race' of white Australians (Jupp 1998, p. 100) as having some form of inherent coherence. Anderson (2002) quotes the writer E. J. Brady (circa 1918) promoting the view that:

> 'a new type of colonist had come into being, evolved over a century of new conditions. It represented the best of the Anglo-Saxon, the Scot and the Celt, with a dash of the best of Europe and America to give it tone' (Anderson 2002, p. 163).

This race had to be protected from others that supposedly had lower 'morality' and 'social development' (Anderson 2002, p. 100). Parliamentary inquiries, such as that in Queensland in 1925, concluded that Mediterranean racial stock would not benefit Australia (Anderson 2002, p.148 ff.).

Jupp (1998) points out that no legal definitions of race were required for immigration purposes. The 1958 *Migration Act* gave the immigration ministers, or their officers, absolute powers of discretion to issue or withhold permits (Jupp 1998, p. 81). The *Naturalisation Act* of 1903, though, had specifically denied naturalisation to non-Europeans until 1957 (Jupp 1998, p. 81). Other laws with race-based criteria were specifically aimed at Aboriginal people (Jupp 1998, p. 81). For immigration purposes the overt use of racial criteria was specifically spelled out in regulations and administrative instructions within the Department of Immigration, issued for example in 1956 (Jupp 1998, p. 82). A criterion of '75% European origin' was applied, and the applicant was ineligible if one of the parents was 'fully non-

European' (Jupp 1998, p. 82). Many influential groups such as the Returned Services League supported the explicit racism in immigration policies, almost right up to the 1970s (Jupp 1998, p. 80). Jupp (1998) quotes the example of Arthur Calwell, first immigration minister, in 1972 expressing fears of 'Australia becoming a chocolate-coloured nation' and objecting to 'the mass importation of people who will form "black power" groups' (Jupp 1998, p. 80).
Racist thinking still implicitly dominates the political agenda. In the 1990s, Jupp (1998) compares Pauline Hanson to early twentieth century politicians, discussing immigration by using the analogy of not inviting Asians into the (Australian) home (Jupp 1998, p. 80). Ideas of management of the nation in racist terms are discussed at length by Hage (Hage 1998, p. 15ff.). Such attitudes are racist by the very nature of categorisations of groups according to race, even if not necessarily recognised as such – highlighting the 'total confusion' over 'what is racist and what is not' amongst makers of policy (Jupp 1998, p. 81).

7.4.3 Integration and Assimilation as Immigration Policies

'Assimilation' and 'Integration' were important features of Australia's immigration policy right up until the 1970s (Jupp 1998, p. 105). The changes of policies through the twentieth century can be characterised as moving from policies of Assimilation up to the 1960s, to Integration until the 1970s, and thereafter to Universal, skill-based entry under multiculturalism (Lopez 2000).
Refugees accepted in the immediate post-Second World War period were expected to assimilate rapidly, and to conform to Australian norms (Jupp 1998, p. 105). There were specific programmes to teach English, public relations campaigns to try to encourage tolerance (Jupp 1998, p. 104). Concepts of race were openly involved in the choice of 'assimilable' migrants, even if partly an attempt to make it acceptable to the Australian public at the time (Jupp 1998, p. 105). But the inherent bigotry of such a stance cannot be ignored: it had less to do with any characteristics of the migrants themselves, and more to do with the prejudices of the people receiving them (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 46).
Immigration policy after the Second World War was subject to opposing forces. There was a policy desire for greater numbers of migrants to increase the country's population, but a low availability of the 'ideal' British migrant (Jupp 1998, p. 103). Despite inducements to attract British migrants - such as assisted passages schemes - socio-economic changes in Europe and the U.K. made it harder to attract them (Jupp 1998, p. 103). The U.K. was undergoing post-war reconstruction and had full employment, forcing policy-planners in Australia to cast a wider net (Jupp 1998, p. 101). The 'populate or perish' doctrine was revived as a response to

the perceived needs of Australia (Jupp 1998, p. 102). These were the need to industrialise rapidly and become less reliant in primary industry; fear of attack from Asia (Jupp 1998, p. 101); and the need for a steady labour supply for the large schemes such as Hydro-engineering work in the Snowy Mountains (Jupp 1998, p. 105). British migrants often came as families, incompatible with the needs of large industry for a 'mobile workforce' (Jupp 1998, p. 103). The reaction was therefore to recruit DP's who would supposedly assimilate rapidly (Jupp 1998, p. 104). The result was a 'change in the ethnic character of Australia that cannot be underestimated' (Jupp 1998, p. 104). A government discourse presented this as non-threatening. Burnley (2001) quotes Arthur Calwell: 'It is my hope that for every "foreign" migrant there will be 10 people from the United Kingdom' (Burnley 2001, p. 32).

A value system based on 'race' was involved in the formulation of policy. When the ideal migrant was not available, the next best option was chosen. Assimilation was strongly promoted, and particular countries were perceived to be able to provide migrants of an appropriate type. Jupp (1998) quotes A. Downer, immigration minister in 1959, speaking to a citizenship convention expressing his belief that 'Holland is one of the few countries in Europe with people to export of a type that can quickly merge with the Australian community' (Jupp 1998, p. 109). Assisted passages were therefore initially extended to countries that fitted the desired requirements. Castles *et al.* (1988) interpret post-war immigration policies in relation to 'short-term labour market interests' in which Australia was similar to other industrialising countries (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 11). They reject the argument that the goal of such policies was the creation of a multi-ethnic state (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 11). The goal of assimilation had been to maintain the perceived Australian cultural and ethnic homogeneity by assimilating new migrants to make them indistinguishable from the majority population (Lopez 2000, p. 44). By the 1960s there were many internal contradictions in the policies (Jupp 1998, p. 115) and official recognition that assimilation was 'impracticable' came in 1964 (Jupp 1998, p. 138). The 'Assimilation' branch of the Department of Immigration was renamed the 'Integration' branch in response to public criticism (Jupp 1998, p. 138). However, the move towards policies of integration did not reflect new ideology (Lopez 2000, p. 56). It was aimed at avoiding the 'prejudice' associated with the term 'assimilation' as well as no longer forcing newcomers to fit into 'Australia as it used to be' (Lopez 2000, p. 57). Newcomers were ideally to be allowed greater access to their own cultures, but simultaneously integrated into Australian society by facilitating access to social services, for example (Lopez 2000, p. 57).

7.4.3.1 English Language Proficiency and Entry to Australia

Ozolins (1993) correlates language policy responses to changes in immigration policy. The desire to assimilate migrants who did not speak English led to the early establishment of adult English classes by the Department of Immigration (Ozolins 1993, p. 69). A comprehensive program of English language classes was established by 1950, first in European transit camps then aboard transport ships, and finally in receptions centres in Australia (Ozolins 1993, p. 70). English proficiency was linked to assimilation. A report issued by the Office of Education emphasised the need to teach 'New Australians' English to prevent 'pockets' of national groups unable to mix socially or work effectively (Ozolins 1993, p. 70). Ozolins (1993) describes the recommended methodology of teaching as being 'situational English' (Ozolins 1993, p. 71). Students were to be taught entirely in English and aspects of Australia with which the students were supposed to be familiarised had to be emphasised (Ozolins 1993, p. 71). In practice few of the DP's had previous exposure to English, and some teachers used their own knowledge of other languages to aid in communication (Ozolins 1993, p. 72). But the bilingual nature of some of the teaching was 'played down' in Office of Education reports (Ozolins 1993, p. 72).

Teachers of English were offered a journal that suggested situations where English was considered particularly useful (Ozolins 1993, p. 71). However, over time, the contents of the journal became vaguer and Ozolins (1993) suggests that the teaching of Australian culture was not straightforward:

> 'This optimistic venture in teaching of Australian culture seems however to have presented difficulties in detailing its content and finding the right description of Australian society and mores: by 1957 the 'Australianization Activities' suggested in the journal consist only of a list of cryptic headings, leaving it up to the teacher to adapt suitable material' (Ozolins 1993, p. 71).

There were also substantial programs to teach English to migrant children as their assimilation was seen as a 'crucial test of the success of the immigration program' (Ozolins 1993, p. 73). Funding the programs was a State responsibility, and immigration policy the responsibility of the Commonwealth [of Australia] (Ozolins 1993, p. 73). This remained the case for two decades, although state school infrastructure was inadequate to handle the increase of children with differing backgrounds (Ozolins 1993, p. 73). Education authorities developed a consensus that special facilities were generally not needed, with reports appearing in the media and journals of the ease of schoolchildren overcoming language barriers (Ozolins 1993, p. 73). This was called into question by later research and surveys, especially in the light of children being placed according to age rather than English ability (Ozolins 1993, p. 76).

The home environment of the children solicited great concern after the 1960 Dovey report, based on a survey of 1 000 teachers (Ozolins 1993, p. 77). Although 97 percent of the children assimilated without any (academic) concerns, the remaining 3 percent were seen as 'problems' and believed to come mainly from homes where English was not spoken (Ozolins 1993, p. 77). The report therefore called for a national campaign to encourage parents to speak English in the home 'for the childrens' sake' (Ozolins 1993, p. 77). The report was criticised for being unrepresentative of migrant interests, as well as misrepresenting them (Ozolins 1993, p. 78). The media postulated potential 'tensions' in homes where children are not taught the mother tongue of their parents (Ozolins 1993, p. 78). There was also academic criticism of the report for attempting to 'whitewash problems' in migrant education, as well as criticism of the methodology (Ozolins 1993, p. 78). The crucial importance of English as route to a non-divisive society around this time was often expressed (Ozolins 1993, p. 70). Criticisms of the language program were more likely to be couched in terms of cultural difference, value to the country, or as an issue of cultural maintenance (Ozolins 1993, p. 76). Increasing 'concentrations' of urban speakers of languages other than English were, by the 1960s, linked by commentators to social issues (Ozolins 1993, p. 79).

7.4.4 The Dismantling of White Australia and Establishment of Multiculturalism

7.4.4.1 A Changing Political Climate

In the 1960s, there was still a policy of selective migration, but by 1965, there was enough impetus within the Australian Labor Party (ALP) to change the wording of its national policy away from openly race-based criteria (Lopez 2000, p.65). The wording was reformulated to propose immigration of those who were considered able to 'assimilate' to the Australian society – thus introducing an ambiguity depending on the interpretation of 'assimilate' (Lopez 2000, p.66). Lopez (2000) comments on the struggle between reformers and traditionalists in the ALP. Whereas the original motion had been moved in an effort to continue to ensure that predominantly British (white) people would be allowed to immigrate, it became a victory for the reformers who could argue that immigrants from many different places were able to assimilate (Lopez 2000, p.66).

Further aspects of change within the ALP contributed to different voices being heard within the party. In 1970, Gough Whitlam and the Federal Executive of the party intervened in the Victoria and New South Wales branches, leading to the effective increase of power for local branches to the detriment of Union representation (Lopez 2000, p.127). This shift in power

worked to the advantage of those who supported multiculturalism. Lopez (2000) identifies specific branch members as being very supportive of multiculturalist ideas, partly enabling promotion of such policies. Furthermore, the Whitlam government campaigned on a platform of 'social justice and quality of life policies', helping to advance a 'logical place' for multiculturalism (Lopez 2000, p.128). In the late 1960s, migrant issues were not dominant within the ALP: the principal 1969 election campaign issues had been those surrounding disadvantaged groups, such as Aborigines, women and the poor (Lopez 2000, p. 127). However, academic research had narrowly linked migrants and poverty, thereby linking migrant issues to the changing political approach to injustice (Lopez 2000, p. 126).
Right through the 1960s and into the first years of the next decade, the Department of Immigration had pursued 'integrationist' policies (Lopez 2000, p. 128). This reflected continuity of policy, which Lopez (2000) attributes to key players and advisers (Lopez 2000, p. 128). He quotes Brian Murray, senior policy adviser to three successive [Coalition] ministers in this period, as seeing his own influence reflected in a speech written for Philip Lynch, Minister from 1969 to 1971[89]:

> 'Murray believes that the essence of his own views was best captured in several lines of a speech he wrote for Lynch: 'People Make Nations' (April 1970). These lines express the notion of 'give and take' between migrant and host that was at the heart of integrationist thinking. Murray had written that migrants were not expected to 'forget the land of your birth', but they were expected to 'forget the old enmities' and 'ancient battles' because 'these do not belong here'. Meanwhile migrants were expected to be proud of their origins and bring what was 'good' and 'share it with us' ' (Lopez 2000, p. 129).

A continuing fear of disintegration of the nation is apparent, tied to notions of conflict that migrants might bring with them. This was also one of the fears advanced by Arthur Calwell, framed in racist terms regarding 'black power' groups (Jupp 1998, p. 80). Conversely, there was the element of the nation benefiting from migrant input.

7.4.4.2 Australian Labor Party Election Victory 1972

The 1972 elections brought the ALP to government in an environment that heralded many changes. Australian troops were immediately withdrawn from Vietnam, and free universal healthcare was introduced via the Medibank agency (Otmar 2001, p. 43). The People's Republic of China was recognised, and conscription was abolished (Lopez 2000, p. 197). The Labor government was the first in 23 years and lacked a Senate (upper house) majority (Lopez 2000, p. 195). Gough Whitlam, the new Prime Minister, perceived social democracy to be the

[89] Lopez (2000) interviewed Brian Murray in 1994.

key element of his party's program (Lopez 2000, p. 197). Goals were 'greater social justice, equality of opportunity and access to community services' (Lopez 2000, p. 197). Aboriginal land rights were to be examined, and improvements in urban services and greater access to the legal system were envisaged (Lopez 2000, p. 198).

The new Immigration Minister, Al Grassby (Fig 7.5), announced the removal of the last elements of the White Australia Policy in January 1973 (Lopez 2000, p. 221). Much of it was removed rapidly because the Department of Immigration had held discretionary powers (Lopez 2000, p. 221). Therefore, new legislation was not needed, and the issues did not need to be subjected to parliamentary debates (Lopez 2000, p. 221). Racism was to be directly tackled with the introduction of a Racism Bill, which became the *Racial Discrimination Act 1975*, and the eventual ratification of the United Nations International Convention on Discrimination (Lopez 2000, p. 417). The Bill was initially opposed on the grounds that it restricted free speech and that the proposed legislation was not needed because Australia was 'singularly free of racial discrimination' according to one senate opposition speaker (Lopez 2000, p. 413). However, this claim was seen as a weak link in the opposition arguments (Lopez 2000, p. 413). John Howard, at the time an opposition spokesman, (later to become Prime Minister in 1996) had initially opposed the Bill and put forward a number of amendments reducing the power of the laws, which were accepted (Lopez 2000, p. 413).

The dismantling of overtly racist aspects of Australian policy may also have had an important international audience. Castles *et al*. (1988) point out that the policies became an embarrassment in relations with other countries as trade in the Far East grew (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 53). Therefore, the abandonment of the White Australia Policy could also be interpreted as 'a carefully-controlled exercise in international public relations' (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 65). Day (2001) and Lopez (2000) do not discount the importance of international relations. Equally, political changes may be seen in the context of wider social changes, with similar reforms in the United States, as well as the 1967 referendum granting Aboriginal rights (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 54).

7.4.4.3 The Introduction of Multiculturalism

The rapid pace of reform of the Whitlam government was accompanied by promoters of multiculturalism gaining more influential positions from which to effect change. The year from July 1973 was a key year in which changes started to be implemented (Lopez 2000, p. 232). Multiculturalism emerged around the government rather than through it (Lopez 2000, p. 233) and was not introduced in a planned or preconceived way (Lopez 2000, p. 274). Lopez

(2000) sees the successful introduction of multicultural policies as the result of lobbying by activists in incremental steps. A key aspect had been shifts in ideological advice given to the Department of Immigration, resulting in a 'significant change in the cognitive environment in favour of multiculturalism' (Lopez 2000, p. 274). There was also a turning point when Al Grassby officially endorsed a version of multiculturalism in a speech (entitled *'A Multi-Cultural Society for the Future'*) written by Jim Houston, an advisor and key activist within the Department of Immigration (Lopez 2000, pp. 245, 274). Although the speech is described as 'vague', it was a clear rejection of assimilation (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 59), and marked the acceptance by a politician of many of the ideas contained in multiculturalism.

Figure 7.5 Al Grassby (in white suit), 1970s Immigration Minister, Unveiling the Black Stump[90], Merriwagga, NSW *(ph. F. S. Burgess, late 1960s)*

Crucially, Opposition parties also accepted multiculturalism, particularly Malcolm Fraser, then Spokesman on Labour and Immigration (Lopez 2000, p. 444). He went on to use such ideas within his own party and subsequently government when he himself became Prime Minister (Lopez 2000, p. 444). Further, there were specific measures implemented within the Department of Social Security, translating policies into actual government programs (Lopez 2000, p. 274). In the public realm, multicultural ideas developed independently of federal government (Lopez 2000, p. 275). Lopez identifies academia, social services, the trade unions

[90] The 'Black Stump' is an iconic figure in Australian mythology, representing the remoteness of agricultural Australia and commemorative of the colonisation of the interior. In general folklore, the 'Black Stump' recalls the story of a farmer who returned to his homestead to discover nothing remaining of it and his wife but the charred stump.

and ethnic rights campaigns where these were prominent (Lopez 2000, Ch. 8).

The introduction of multiculturalism into Australian politics may potentially be interpreted as a response to the developing portrayal of Australia as a multi-ethnic state. Castles *et al.* (1988) consider that it 'was an attempt to modify existing concepts of the nation to match up to the new realities' (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 12). Once multiculturalism was accepted by the major parties by the end of the 1970s, it became 'the dominant discourse in an attempt to define the nation' (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 13). Castles *et al.* (1988) interpret the policy as simultaneously 'progressive' and 'regressive' within nationalist discourse (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 12). It is 'progressive' as an 'attempt to define the nation in non-nationalistic and non-ethnocentric terms', but 'regressive' because it 'trivialises more serious issues of social inequality' and contains an element of 'structural racism' (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 13). Further, it can act as 'a frequent cloak for deep-seated racism' and the continued exclusion of women and Aborigines (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 13). Castles *et al.* (1988) comment on the legitimisation of an 'ethnic' political voice:

> '[the] doctrine of integration had legitimated for the first time the entry of groups organized around a common ethnicity into the political arena' (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 60).

It was precisely to <u>groups</u> identified as needing social welfare, that policies such as those of Whitlam, and successive governments, directed attention (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, pp. 61-62). For Castles *et al.* (1988) it was:

> 'a short step to construing these groups as 'communities' whose participation in the political process was to be encouraged and whose internal solidarity was to be promoted through a process of 'community development' ' (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 62).

Thus the Whitlam years are interpreted as providing two crucial linked concepts: 'that of migrants as a constituency and that of ethnic group as a community' (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 65). Hage (1998) interprets the introduction of multiculturalism as having stolen the voice of the 'ethnic'. In similar vein Castles *et al.* (1988) quote multiculturalist activists' interpretation of government formulations of multiculturalism as reflecting that no major changes to decision-making processes were introduced, but rather that ethnics were incorporated 'into the existing game but only after the rules have been established, and the umpires decided upon' [(Faulkner and Storer 1982) quoted in (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 65)]. The ethnic re-division of the nation appears in much of the SoSGA data. This is often related to other policy changes. In Extract 7.2, during a focus group discussion, this is related directly to the presence of SBS as a multicultural broadcaster.

Extract 7.2 Hieroglyphics, Greek and Scottish Gaelic

Respondent 011: 'And there's also the influence from SBS and there's the- all the multiculturalism, you know, so instead of it being one nation now, it's all divided up and SBS does make it easier. Um, also there's a big interest in summer schools […] say hieroglyphics or ancient Greek, or Latin for two weeks, and people are interested – they're flocking to those courses so I'm wondering if they pick on maybe Scottish Gaelic as another sort of curiosity or something unusual.

Cridhmór: Flowing on from that I think is that these associations are becoming much more clever about the way they market it to people because of the multimedia opportunities that are available. There's magazines, email, internet. You know even over the phone, sometimes you get adverts for different things, so I think they're smarter about how they approach audiences' [MD08.42].

Respondent 011 was responding to the continuing discussion about Scottish Gaelic as an intellectual interest. But this is presented as being within a framework where cultures are identified within the nation. Intriguingly, it is *'easier'* because of the visibility of difference, now on display thanks to SBS. Cridhmór's response stresses that marketing people know how to tap into these discourses. Recall the advertisement using Irish discussed in Section 5.1.1, where the parameters of language difficulty were felt to be obvious enough to use in a marketing campaign. The description of Scottish Gaelic being a *'curiosity'* to some, along with Cridhmór's comments, certainly gives a strong impression that they consider that for others Scottish Gaelic is a fad, or a surface phenomenon. This echoes Castles *et al.*'s (1988) comment that some versions of multiculturalism trivialise differences (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 13). An important element of Respondent 011's discourse should not be missed, and that is what Tsitsipis (1998) calls 'implicational logic', in that mention of one feature brings with it associated elements (Tsitsipis 1998, p. 133). Respondent 011 groups together a number of classical and ancient world features along with Scottish Gaelic – presumably because this class of things to study makes a logical set as 'curious', *'unusual'* and presumably dead.

7.4.4.4 Opposition to Multiculturalism

It is important to note that multiculturalism has not been universally welcomed in Australia. This is not only amongst politicians, but also amongst the public, according to polls that measure the acceptance of policies (Lopez 2000, p. 27). According to Lopez (2000), policies were not introduced into the political realm because of public demand, but as a result of key activists (Lopez 2000, p. 7). There has been widespread support officially, though, and Jupp (1998) sees this as 'unbroken from 1973 to 1996' under four successive Prime Ministers (Whitlam, Fraser, Hawke and Keating) until the advent of Howard in 1996 (Jupp 1998, p. 139). Jupp (1998) sees the acceptance in state governments as a reaction to demand for it

'from immigrant communities' [cf. (Lopez 2000)] even though it would be wrong to ascribe the presence of the policies as based purely on attempts to influence the immigrant vote (Jupp 1998, p. 141). In the 1990s Jupp (1998) identifies 'growing scepticism' about multiculturalism in Canada as well as Australia (Jupp 1998, p. 146). In particular, Howard is quoted in a press interview as criticising the idea:

> 'Howard felt that 'multiculturalism is in effect saying that it is impossible to have an Australian ethos, that it is impossible to have a common culture. So we have to pretend that we are a federation of cultures and that we've got a bit from every part of the world. I think that is hopeless' ' (Jupp 1998, p. 147).

Jupp (1998) discusses the associations that Howard made between 'political correctness' and multiculturalism, and claims that intellectuals were driving such policies while ignoring the desires of 'ordinary Australians' (Jupp 1998, p. 147). Pauline Hanson of One Nation denounced the policies as 'divisive' and specifically presented Asian immigration, Aboriginal reconciliation and multiculturalism as threats to the nation (Jupp 1998, p. 148).

7.4.5 Culmination of a Process

The advent of multiculturalism and the final dismantling of the White Australia Policy in the early 1970s completed a process that had started some years before, ending a policy that had been in place for seventy years (Jupp 1998, p. 114). Australia had not been alone in having race-based policies, but they certainly attracted attention (Jupp 1998, p. 114). From the 1940s trade union power gradually decreased and by the 1960s the (conservative) Returned Services League had also decreased in numbers and influence. The racist basis for policy had been completely discredited and immigration policy shifted towards more universal approaches (Jupp 1998, p. 115). Multiculturalism has variously been seen as a pragmatic response to international affairs, as a social justice response to perceived ills in the society, as well as a political device that matched changes in government spending. For example the Fraser government (succeeding Whitlam in 1975) is interpreted by Castles *et al*. (1988) as balancing the courtship of 'leaders' of ethnic communities with reduced government spending on welfare, by targeting specific groups (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 68). Thus the Fraser government saw 'multiculturalism […] as an ideology to co-opt the leaders of ethnic organisations, while providing welfare on the cheap, through an ethnic group model' (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 71).

7.4.6 Immigration, Race and Language

Applicants for naturalisation in early Federal Australia could not be natives of Asia, Africa or

the Pacific Islands (DIMA 2001a, p. 1). The 1903 Commonwealth *Naturalisation Act* had legislated that 'aliens' would not be granted naturalisation unless they renounced their nationality, advertised their intentions to naturalise and learned to read and write English (DIMA 2001a, p. 2). So from the very beginning of Federation, language and entry to the country was closely linked. The policing of boundaries in this respect was sometimes achieved through direct legislation, or by the delegation of authority to immigration officers (Jupp 1998, p. 81).

7.4.6.1 Dictation Tests and the Kisch Case

Many twentieth century official immigration documents were not specific about race, and there was no legal definition of race for immigration procedures (Jupp 1998, p. 82). The immigration officers themselves could manipulate conditions of entry. The 1901 *Immigration Act* had set up a system whereby any arrival could be asked to undergo a dictation test, up to one year after their arrival, extended to 5 years from 1932 (Jupp 1998, p. 81). The test was originally applied with the use of 'any European language', and perhaps the most famous attempt to exclude someone, was the case of Egon Kisch, a Czech national, in 1934 (Jupp 1998, p. 75). Absurdly, he was tested in Scottish Gaelic, making the case strangely relevant to this survey. The basic threads of the story, according to Hasluck (1999) are as follows: the Australian government at the time attempted to exclude Kisch on the basis of his 'subversive' (anti-war) activities. The method used was the dictation test, but as Kisch was a noted linguist, many European languages would not have excluded him (Hasluck 1999, p. 28). Therefore he was tested in Scottish Gaelic. However, a 'full bench of the High Court went on to rule that Scottish Gaelic wasn't a European language as required by the *Immigration Act*' (Hasluck 1999, p. 28). Further, 'when the *Sydney Morning Herald* published the opinions of indignant Scottish patriots disparaging the High Court's ruling, the newspaper was prosecuted for contempt' (Hasluck 1999, p. 28). From this controversy

> 'was born the legend of the Kisch case as a paradigm of government ineptitude, a joke at the expense of xenophobia, a significant rent in the fabric of Australia's restrictive immigration policies' (Hasluck 1999, p.29).

The events also reveal at least one view of Scottish Gaelic in the eyes of Australian officialdom: it was evidently seen as an obscure language that was unlikely to be known even by a noted linguist. The incident illustrates two elements of importance to SoSGA. Firstly, the overt use of language criteria to exclude people from Australia. Secondly, although Scottish Gaelic was clearly considered to be obscure, at the very least by the immigration officials conducting the test, Australians nonetheless viewed it as a language that was permissible for

use in the light of British heritage. The legal definition was obviously another matter again, and clearly objectionable to some, at the time.

Some SoSGA respondents related different versions of the story to me. Scottish Gaelic was variously described as being used as part of a general dictation test for immigrants by one respondent, or as a language that could be used at will for immigration tests, by another respondent [SoSGA_N3]. At least two respondents knew that a specific incident sparked the controversy, and according to yet another respondent, the person applying the test was not even a Gaelic speaker[91]. Scottish Gaelic in Australia was at least tangentially involved in application of the White Australia Policy, via this particular 'Kisch' case. For two SoSGA respondents it served as evidence of the difficulty of Scottish Gaelic by being used in that manner.

7.4.6.2 Current English Language Requirements for Immigration

Language is still partly a determiner of entry to Australia with specific immigration requirements for competence in English. This has become codified in terms of 'IELTS' (International English Language Testing System) scores earning potential applicants a specified number of points (DIMIA 2003f). Immigration applicants earn points for various 'skills'. For example, the 'skilled' migration stream lists factors such as age, an occupation in demand in Australia, spouse skills, Australian qualifications and specific work experience, amongst others (DIMIA 2003f, p. 32). IELTS levels of 'Competent English' and 'Vocational English' earn 20 and 15 points respectively – a native speaker being considered 'Competent' for these purposes (DIMIA 2003f, p. 36). By comparison, an applicant holding a job offer for an occupation in demand earns 10 points (DIMIA 2003f, p. 38), being below 29 years old earns 30 points (DIMIA 2003f, p. 35) and having a close Australian, (financially) supporting relative earns 15 points (DIMIA 2003f, p. 44). A 'bonus' 5 points may be awarded for fluency in one of 55 listed 'community' languages[92] – although these may be awarded only in one of three categories: capital investment, Australian work experience, or knowledge of a community language (DIMIA 2003f, p. 32).

Applicants in the Employer-sponsored categories are informed that most cases 'functional' or 'vocational' English is required (DIMIA 2003e, p. 4). In the Skilled Business Migrant stream, applicants need to satisfy 'vocational' English requirements (DIMIA 2003g, p. 36). In the

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[91] Separately, Dr. Ingrid Piller's research indicated that the person administering the dictation test was not a Gaelic speaker, but did apparently speak Scots. [pers. Comms.]

[92] Needless to say, Scottish Gaelic is not one of these languages. There are no 'Celtic' languages on the list, Some of the smaller languages included are Afrikaans, Hebrew, Yiddish and Maltese.

migration streams involving family members or marriage partners, though, no specific reference is made to English requirements (DIMIA 2003a; DIMIA 2003c; DIMIA 2003h). Entry as an unmarried 'partner' to an Australian citizen requires judgements of English ability In form 47SP produced by DIMA in 2000, the applicant is asked to fill in the form in English. Question 34 asks: 'How well do you communicate in English?' to which the applicant selects from one of 'Better than functional', 'Functional', 'Limited' or 'Not at all' (DIMA 2000, p. 6).

7.4.6.3 Citizenship and English

English language ability is still a requirement for citizenship, and assessment has been codified. In responses to a report from the Australian Citizenship Council, the government of Australia specifically endorsed the report's recommendations to use English as a criterion. This was to be based on testing procedures by 'AMEP', the Adult Migrant English Program (http://www.immi.gov.au/amep/index.htm), (Australia 2001). Testing was to remain, and a specific number of teaching hours were recommended:

> **'Recommendation 33:** The Council **recommends** that the existing 'basic' English language requirement for grant of Australian Citizenship in the *Australian Citizenship Act 1948* be retained as well as the current arrangements for testing this requirement at interview.
>
> **Government Response:** The Government will retain the existing 'basic' English language requirement and testing arrangements for grant of Australian Citizenship and notes that the response to Recommendation 34 opens up a supplementary avenue for Citizenship applicants to meet the 'basic' English language requirement.
>
> **Recommendation 34:** The Council **recommends** that completion of either 300 hours of AMEP English language tuition or the Certificate in Spoken and Written English II (CSWE II) be accepted for the purpose of satisfying the English language requirement for the grant of Australian Citizenship.
>
> **Government Response:** The Government considers that completion of 300 hours of English language tuition through the Adult Migrant English Program or attainment of the Certificate in Spoken and Written English II would each be indicative of English language skills of a sufficient level to meet the 'basic' English language requirement for the grant of Australian Citizenship. The Government considers, therefore, that these achievements should be recognised as meeting the specified 'basic' English language requirement' (Australia 2001, p. 18, emphasis in original).

Recommendation 35 goes on to support English as a requirement for 'civic participation', and therefore migrants should be encouraged to participate in AMEP courses (Australia 2001, p. 19). English is also indirectly linked to 'responsibilities and privileges' as these are to be learned during an AMEP 'citizenship' course in recommendation 39 (Australia 2001, p. 19). The power of admission still vested in those who test the candidate and English thus remains a gatekeeper to the society.

7.5 Conclusion

Immigration policies in twentieth century Australia were initially aimed at restricting access to those who were not identified as being part of the 'white race'. The White Australia Policy implemented the policies and supported a protectionist labour market. The policies changed as ideas of race became discredited, but political preference for British migrants remained based on their ability to 'assimilate'. Other European migrants were gradually allowed entry to Australia, motivated by the need for skilled migrants. A significant shift occurred in the 1970s reflecting changing political ideologies. Migrants were thereafter assessed on the basis of their skills. The discourses of the desirability of 'assimilation' and later 'integration' disappeared as multiculturalism gained a place in official policy. English has been used as a marker of desirability in Australia from Federation. Policies in 1903 initiated the gate-keeping practice of dictation tests. Post-Second World War English teaching was systematically administered as part of assimilation campaigns. English ability (mathematically four times more valuable than 55 other specific languages in the 'points' scale) is nowadays expected of migrants, but free English-teaching programmes are available. Recent government publications specifically link English ability to civic behaviour and to a 'cohesive' Australian society. English has become a 'skill' and is thereby specifically enshrined a position within the demands made on potential applicants for migration to Australia. English ability is codified (via IELTS), and is tested by an authority under the auspices of DIMIA, via AMEP. Legitimacy of language is thus indirectly assessed by the state. Applicants for entry to the country have an advantage in knowing English. English tests are part of official, bureaucratic processes for citizenship. In some ways, immigration policy has shown continuity since the early twentieth century: only migrants with desirable characteristics are allowed permanent entry. However the criteria for what make a potential migrant desirable have changed. Racial ideology preferred 'white' migrants but this was eroded to include migrants that were slightly less 'white' as ideologies changed, and as pragmatic and economic reasons influenced policy. For many years British migrants had specific financial advantages - some of which have only recently disappeared. The English component in Australian immigration policies has remained, perhaps interpretable as a continued attribute of 'whiteness' and Anglo-Celtic identity.

Chapter 8 - Anglo-Celtic Identity and Australian Homogeneity

8.0 Introduction

There are two main themes to this chapter. The first is that of discourse surrounding homogeneity in Australia and how it is linked to imminent change and degeneration. The second is that of the presentations of culture and diversity within multiculturalism. I seek explanations for the positions adopted by SoSGA respondents in relation to discourses in the surrounding society. Some of the constraints that SoSGA respondents are forced to negotiate – whether perceived or real – will be presented. The context in which they operate will be shown to have a very real effect on the presentation of Scottish Gaelic-related activities. Changes in the racial or ethnic make-up of the society are discussed in the light of arguments concerning cultural dominance. Views of 'Anglo-Celtic' dominance, national security, and the links to concepts of a 'core' culture are examined. Claims of homogeneity in various forms are crucial to understanding the social positioning of SoSGA respondents.

8.1 Mainstream Anglo and the Homogeneous Past

8.1.1 Use of the Term 'Anglo'

The term 'Anglo' in Australia is generally used to describe the (white) majority population or culture, and is often associated with a contrasting term of 'ethnic'. Smolicz's (1992, 1995a, 1998, 2001) studies dealing with cultural diversity in Australia examine 'core values' of various groups, and seek to understand how language, or particular cultural traits are maintained. For example, Smolicz (1998) discusses research work amongst Anglo-Australian subjects whose 'personal cultural values were derived from only one (Anglo) cultural source' (Smolicz 1998, p. 9). Smolicz (1995a) refers to the Anglo-Celtic majority as consisting of 'numerous subgroups, such as English, Scottish, Welsh, Irish, Cornish etc.' (Smolicz 1995a, p. 6). It is a term also used to describe 'mainstream' Australian society by Dixson (1999) in presenting '[m]ainstream Anglo-Celtic Australia' (Dixson 1999, p. 1). In this scenario the dominant, white majority is presented as 'Anglo' and (non-northern European) immigrant groups are 'ethnics'.

Hage (1998) analyses how characterisations are made in a public, running argument written in graffiti. It had initially started with competing slogans supporting Greek versus Macedonian nationalism on a wall at a Sydney university (Hage 1998, p. 15). A third graffito had responded by telling the previous writers that they were welcome to bring themselves and

their culture to Australia, but to leave their 'bigotry and racism behind' (Hage 1998, p. 16). Thereafter, 'culture' was crossed out, and further additions telling the 'wogs' to go home were added (Hage 1998, p. 16). The next addition defended 'wogs' because it was 'their country too' as Australia was multicultural (Hage 1998, p. 16). This was followed by a vulgar condemnation of multiculturalism, followed in turn by condemnation of the previous 'racist' addition (Hage 1998, p. 16). Hage (1998) uses this example to illustrate how such terms are deployed in Australia, but also to support his analysis that the 'ethnic other' is seen to be allowed into Australia by a tolerant Anglo society. Both parties, supporters and opponents of multiculturalism, subscribe to the same view of the ethnic 'other', although supporters of multiculturalism claim to be more tolerant (Hage 1998, p. 17). The ethnic categorisation of society is shown, in this chapter, to be important to understanding how SoSGA respondents react.

The Anglo as a 'default' category may play an important role. McDonald (2002) comments on the use of such a contrast in discussing views of Australian ethnicity, where 'certain parts of Australian society are […] assigned ethnicity while others are assumed to lack it' (McDonald 2002). Further, terms such as 'Anglo-Celtic' are indicative of a change of meaning: the 'Celtic' part having previously been equated with 'Irish'. Dixson (1999) specifically uses 'Celtic' as an approximation of 'Irish', perceiving it as 'strongly dominant' in the Australian context (Dixson 1999, p. 34). But Dixson's (1999) analysis ignores the inherent complexity of the term, and fails to take into account both its fluidity, and related terms like 'Anglo-Saxon'. For my own respondents these are important distinctions and specific associations can be strongly rejected. There are also clear associations with whiteness and injustices implied by these terms. In Extract 8.1, some SoSGA respondents were having a discussion following an evening class. The subject turned to Australian social changes since some of them had immigrated.

Extract 8.1 'We've got to cop the lot'

Beltanno: 'You get stamped as an Anglo-Celt, and you get to the stage – and it's this Anglo-Celt
Cridhmór: Yeah
Beltanno: thing that's not allowed. It used to be Anglo-Saxon – when I first got here it used to be Anglo-Saxon, they used to have a go about Anglo-Saxon. Now it's about Anglo-Celts, so we all get it now.
Cumhal: Yeah, but that's just – again, it's a nice little term that some bod dreamed up which is absolutely and utterly meaningless.
Cridhmór: Yeah.
Beltanno: Well it means they blame us for the Aborigines,
Cumhal: Aye!

Beltanno: you know, we've got to cop the lot for all the injustice but- you know, anything that's come out more recently
Cridhmór: I find it's-
Beltanno: Well I've found it's more recently, but still I'm supposed to cop it.
Cridhmór: Yeah, I found it very negative in some ways. You know, your heritage is seen as a negative- a negative thing.
SS: But then […] why the distinction then between people who are … 'Australian' for many generations and the people who are not? People who are recent migrants who might fit into the stereotyped Australian mould of being ex-British?
Cridhmór: Because, again, I think it's this Australian need to distance itself from that past and that history.
Beltanno: Well it might be – but in fact a lot of the Old Australians[93] *still feel very much that, as though they're still part of … us.*
Cumhal: Yeah, yeah.
Beltanno: It- it's not widespread- I mean some of the younger generation, but the older generation are still around, the ones I know, of a British kind of background – still feel British - they're not as anti. It is more the newcomers and the younger generation that tends to have a go at you' [MD27.50].

Narrow association with 'Anglo-Celtic' for these respondents runs the risk of their being blamed for past injustices in Australian society. The term clearly includes them in ways in which 'Anglo-Saxon' didn't. As an indication that this is not a trivial issue, mention should be made of how land rights issues are sometimes presented. In a 1991 hit song, the popular musician, Paul Kelley, sang about the activist Vincent Lingiari (Kelley and Carmody 1991). Lingiari had led Aboriginal station hands and stockmen[94] in a walk off Wave Hill Station in 1966. This was seen as the beginning of the land rights movement in Australia (Martin 2003). Kelley makes explicit contrasts between the then owner of the station, 'British Lord Vestey', who is 'fat' and 'rich' with the 'lean' Lingiari who has no bank balance (Kelley and Carmody 1991). Martin (2003) points out the two individuals are unlikely to have actually been there together. The depiction is one where figures like Lord Vestey 'absorb individuals' as part of historical representations (Martin 2003, p. 206). For SoSGA respondents, the associations with such representations are very negative when they do not see themselves as directly involved.

For Beltanno there is no unitary force to the terms 'Anglo-Celtic'. Beltanno and Cumhal reject this term for inadequately representing their identity. Importantly, others apparently associate such terms with blame for past wrongs to *'the Aborigines'* and *'all the injustice'*. The

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[93] Terms such as 'Old Australians' and 'New Australians' do have common currency in Australia to describe different eras of migration. In this context, Old Australians can be taken to mean those who are also described as 'Anglo'. 'New Australians' (Section 8.6.2) imply migrants of recent Mediterranean or Asian origin.
[94] A 'station' is a large, cattle-grazing agricultural holding.

contested nature of terms such as 'Anglo-X' is ignored by writers such as Smolicz (1992, 1995b, 1998, 2001) and Dixson (1999). Any presentation of an Australia that has a coherent or unitary view of 'Anglo-X' does not show an analysis that is fine enough for the identity of many SoSGA respondents. To ignore these distinctions fails to capture important elements used in negotiating identities. Cridhmór reported racist comments she had been subjected to.

Extract 8.2 Why don't you go home?

Cridhmór: 'You see, I've been told –. When I first came out here, there's a lot of people who'd say to me "Oh, why don't you just go back to your own country!", you know, "Go back home where you belong." And, you know, I used to say – 'Now if I was Greek or Asian and you said that to me, there'd be an outcry.
Cumhal: Yep
Cridhmór: And when I applied - 'cos I've been naturalised - when I applied for my citizenship, when I was getting my certificate, the Mayor of [town B] at the time said to me: 'Oh, we don't get many of your type applying for naturalisation - nobody'll ever think you're Australian'! And I really, honestly, felt like…
Cumhal: Punching him one!
Cridhmór: - shoving that thing right – [laughs] *- back up his nose, because I thought: 'Had you-' Ok I was probably one of half-a-dozen Europeans in there, or, you know, kind of Brits or whatever, uhm, out of the 300 people there that was applying for citizenship […] I thought, nevertheless, I thought it was a pretty rough statement to make at something when it was supposedly welcoming you into the country' [MD27.47 – 48].*

Cridhmór was angered by the apparent double standards, because she was not a visible minority. Her discourse reflects her feeling that while her Britishness was a licensed target for attack, visible ethnicity was not. She also rejected what she saw as a clearly racist attitude on the part of the Mayor. She felt that he had inappropriately linked the ceremony to race by implying that it was something in which non-British immigrants participated. For Cridhmór, this seriously calls into question the very validity of the ceremony. These same respondents went on to discuss icons associated with citizenship (Extract 8.3). The impression of it being a showcase was clear.

Extract 8.3 Some Ceremonies are More Multicultural

Beltanno: […] and I think I got a tree as well – you know, in a little packet.
Cridhmór: When I went through-
Cumhal: We didn't have a bible at ours – now that was different – you had a public ceremony, didn't you?
Beltanno: Yes… … … yes.
Cumhal: I got mine at the immigration department up here in [town C] and the room was absolutely packed – and I think I was the only 'European', if you like, that was in that group.
Cridhmór: When we went through the public ceremony, we had 300 people there and we all were giv- you could choose whether or not to swear on the bible and we got our certificate, we got a little Australia pin and they invited us all to stay for

supper. But there was one Sara Lee chocolate cake and a carton of green cordial for 300 people and so I thought "I'll probably leave my crumb". [General laughter]

[…]

Cumhal: But some of them are a little more multicultural than others. It was -

Cridhmór: It depends on the Council.

Cumhal: It was about four or five years ago [the choir] was asked to sing, erm, at a naturalisation ceremony up there at the [town] theatres, and the place was absolutely packed. And we sang at the darned thing, and naturally enough we sang in Gàidhlig. And again, the majority of the people who were getting their naturalisation were from Asia or this, that or the other or of some description. We really sang very, very well indeed and we got paid for it! But we've never been asked back since! [laughs] *I don't know …!*

Cridhmór: Some of them probably thought you were a Russian group or something!' [MD 27.48 – 49].

Interestingly, Cumhal describes some ceremonies as *'more multicultural'*; presumably because there was a choir performance, and strengthening the impression that everyone knows the ceremonies are merely displays. Cumhal implies acquiescence to the display through the choir's participation, as it offered them an outlet for performance. These SoSGA respondents do not portray the ceremonies in a positive way, as they are by Hewitt (2001), discussed in Section 8.6.2. For these respondents, they are token representation – the absurdly inadequate amount of food being further proof of this. Cridhmór's *'Russian'* comment indicates her feeling that Scottish Gaelic is extremely unlikely to be known to the wider society, and perhaps difficult to classify. Citizenship ceremonies are not portrayed as crucial rituals in the passage to becoming Australian in Extract 8.3. There is no sense that such a ceremony enforces an Australian identity in place of any other. On the contrary, it is satirised as inept and as hollow. The gift of a tree (presumably as a symbol of new citizens being given some form of responsibility for agricultural management of the nation) was related with amusement. The naturalisation ceremonies did nothing to overcome the hostility that they sometimes felt in Australia. Cridhmór's negotiation of a comfortable place in Australian society is partly defined by the spaces that others do not let her occupy. She sometimes experiences an unwelcoming and uninviting attitude to her Britishness. Both Cumhal and Cridhmór are perhaps feeling 'ethnically caged', to borrow Hage's (1998) term.

8.2 Power, Violence and Concepts of 'Ethnic Caging'.

Hage (1998) uses an analogy of domestication of animals (de Saint Hilaire 1861, 1986) to introduce a concept of 'ethnic caging'. He briefly discusses Australia's mandatory detention of refugees in relation to views of the society as basically 'good':

> 'dealing with the illegal refugee seekers in this way does not reflect in any way the values Australians hold regarding how their society should be internally structured. … If we are willing to be nasty in protecting our nice nation, it does not mean we have stopped being a nice nation. […]
>
> Although the practice of ethnic caging is morally abhorrent, the government does make sense in stressing that illegal border crossings cause problems for the nation. […] What is questionable, however, is the neat separation between the internal problems of a nation (social organisation, social values) and its external problems (defence of borders, sovereignty) that is implied by this mode of argument. Can 'we' really be nice to ethnics in the internal organisation of the nation and cage them in the external organisation without their being any relation between the two?' (Hage 1998, p.107).

Jennifer Rutherford (2000) makes a similar point in discussing the story of a polling booth worker whom she recorded while researching the One Nation party.

> 'He is unable to put into one frame his own belonging to a history of genocide – a history he blithely recounts – and his passionate defence of a moral field that defines for him what it is to be Australian.
>
> While the aggression of his discourse, and that of other members of One Nation, has been identified and analysed in the public domain, what has escaped identification and analysis, is the linchpin of this aggression: belief in and defence of the good nation. One Nation's fantasy of defending a beleaguered moral universe – a good nation peopled by a good and neighbourly people – serves as a camouflage for aggression. […] For our Gatton polling booth worker, identification with and defence of the moral code of the good Australian provides a screen through which he is able to perceive both himself and his nation as quintessentially good. This is a characteristic he shares with the journalists who comment on his party, condemning it for wounding their belief in a good and fair nation. What remains invisible, and yet essential, in the shared discourse of One Nation and its critics is this belief in the good nation' (Rutherford 2000, p.9).

So for both Rutherford (2000) and Hage (1998), links should be made between protection of the nation, and aggression towards the 'other'.

> 'I want to argue that the mode of categorisation and dealing with national otherness in the process of defending the nation from external threats is intrinsically linked to the way national otherness is categorised and dealt with internally. Both emanate from the same structure of national otherness, but they are different deployments of this structure in different contexts. That is, as far as ethnic caging is concerned, the mode of categorising ethnic otherness implied in the context of perceiving it as an external threat to the nation is not at all unrelated to the way ethnicity is perceived internally within multiculturalism. In fact, I want to argue that ethnic caging is best understood [… as] a phenomenon which expresses a repressed structure that constitutes and underlies all of the reality of which it is a part. In this sense, the categories of ethnic caging express a structure of perceiving ethnicity which constitutes and underlies all of Australian society rather than being external to it. It reveals the whole construct on which the tolerant society is erected' (Hage 1998, p.108).

So for Hage (1998), ethnicity has been incorporated into the very structure of Australian society, along with multiculturalism. Tolerance of the other is manifested in the tolerance of

ethnicity – and multiculturalism is a way of expressing this tolerance. This is further traceable to a rejection of past versions of Australian society. I turn to how this was historically constituted, before returning in Section 8.4, to the claimed benefits of multiculturalism.

8.3 Australia Rejecting the Old World.

Rutherford (2000) examines works of Australian fiction which illustrate the rejection of British colonial power (Rutherford 2000). She scrutinises well-known Australian novels ranging from the mid-nineteenth century to the second half of the twentieth century. Rutherford (2000) concentrates on the fascination with levelling and equality, as rejection of British authority.

> 'In colonial Australian literature, we find a re-enactment of the murder of the father and his reinstatement in both the sons' and the daughters' law. This re-enactment is not identical to the one elaborated by Freud […] but it shares some essential features. Firstly, in each instance the articulation of the new law is accompanied by the ostentatious repudiation of the old law. The new order is defined as much by this act of 'murder' as by the new code – the new set of prohibitions – that enact the new law. British law, whether it be cast in class terms (*Clara Morison*[95]), in sexual terms (*Lady Bridget in the Never-Never Land*[96]) or juridically (*Robbery Under Arms*[97]) is symbolically annihilated. The new law erects in all three instances a new form of social contract and a new set of prohibitions structured around a code of equality. In *Clara Morison* a new class equality is realised coterminously with a new demand that the subject perform according to the codes of a new hierarchy' (Rutherford 2000, p. 74).

For Rutherford (2000), these examples reflect the building of a nationalist myth - a fantasy of a white Australia.

> 'All three novels, then, share a fantasy of Australia as the site of a new harmony and a new and more perfect sociality […] Here we see the beginnings of a new moral law emerge containing the essential ideological elements of the nationalist myth' (Rutherford 2000, p.75).

Rutherford (2000) goes on to discuss the fantasy of a new law in Australia producing not 'freedom, but an acceleration in prohibition' (Rutherford 2000, p.75). The re-telling of national myths is part of nation building, myths that drive Australia to see itself as 'likeable':

> '[T]he white Australian ego-ideal [is] the ideal starting point from which white Australians imagine themselves viewed as good when acting in accord with the Australian Good's triumphant historical view: the inexorable triumph of a New World code of levelling, equality and neighbourliness, the *'socialisme sans doctrine'* that is imagined as the distinguishing characteristic of a colonial being in the world. It is from the vantage point of this gaze that those interpellated by the ideal imagine themselves

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[95] Spence, C. H. 'Clara Morison: A Tale of South Australia during the Gold Fever', in H. Thomson (ed.), 'Catherine Helen Spence', University of Queensland Press, St Lucia 1987 (1854).
[96] Praed, R. 'Lady Bridget in the Never-Never Land', Pandora, Sydney 1987 (1915).
[97] Boldrewood, R. 'Robbery Under Arms', Lloyd O'Neill, Melbourne 1980 (1881).

> viewed, and viewed as likeable. In being for this gaze […] one is performing the self for an Other that is in fact of one's own manufacture' (Rutherford 2000, p.93).

So for Rutherford (2000) the symbolic identification of Australia as a good nation involves a violent rejection of the old (British) order. For both Hage (1998) and Rutherford (2000) there is also an element of self-denial, because the myth of goodness hides the implicit violence towards the other. The other is a creation of this belief in goodness and tolerance. In being good to 'ethnics', it is perhaps also permissible to reject Britons, the apparent source of colonial injustice, by telling individuals to *'go home'*.

8.4 Difference and 'non-whiteness'

Hage (1998) perceives a dominant discourse of a continued fantasy of a 'white' Australia. He draws on notions developed by Bourdieu (1990, 1991) to examine which elements of cultural capital are mobilised in order to construct national belonging – particularly in terms of accumulated capital. An important aspect of migrants' assimilation to Australia is an accumulation of enough attributes 'that can be converted into Whiteness' (Hage 1998, p.232). Such accumulated capital allows scaled national belonging, which Hage (1998) interprets as a form of 'whiteness'.

> 'Such an approach … also allows a far more subtle understanding of the dynamic of cultural dominance within the nation than that yielded by the 'Anglo-Ethnic or White-Aboriginal equals Dominant-Dominated' model often used in the analysis of national cultural dominance. With a cumulative conception of nationality, we can capture analytically, for example, the way the differences between 'Anglos' and 'ethnics' vary depending on what 'Anglos' and what 'ethnics' we are talking about. As importantly, we can better capture the crucial differences in the claims of national belonging that exist between 'ethnics' and 'Anglos' themselves' (Hage 1998, p.54).

So for Hage (1998), whiteness and Anglo are linked to national belonging. He specifically mentions attributes such as accent, the English language and cultural dispositions which are apparently important to accumulate (Hage 1998, p.54). The attributes, though, are not all of equal power, such as skin colour, for example (Hage 1998, p.55). Equally, the deployment of terms such as Anglo-Celtic 'mystifies the struggles of valorisation between Englishness and Irishness which characterises Australian history' (Hage 1998, p.55). I now return to how whiteness fits into elements of display in Australian society.

8.4.1 The Display of Difference

In a chapter entitled 'White National Zoology', Hage (1998) makes much of the importance of the presentation of different groups as part of Australia's projection of itself at an international

level (Hage 1998, pp.141 ff). Hage (1998) uses ideas developed by Goffman (1959) transferred to the Australian nation – in particular, concepts of the 'front region' and 'back region' where the self might be presented (Goffman 1959, pp.106 ff). Hage (1998) applies this idea to the nation, interpreting stage shows promoting Australia for the 2000 Sydney Olympics, as a form of display (Hage 1998, p.149). For Hage (1998), this type of show, presenting a culturally diverse nation, is a museum-like presentation of exhibits collected to demonstrate the power of the exhibitor as another form of 'white Australia'.

> '[I]n this White performative fantasy, 'ethnics' are not part of the national will, which remains essentially White. Multiculturalism here becomes an instrument used to special effect by a White Australian will in the process of presenting the Australian national body on the international scene. […] Here again we see the importance of the structuring effect of *having* rather than *being* on the White nation fantasy. In so far as it is an exhibition of cultural diversity, it is less an exhibition of a culturally diverse Australia than an exhibition of the cultural diversity that (White) Australia *has*. It is as such that multiculturalism is present within the dominant pro-Asian republican discourse' (Hage 1998, p.149, emphasis in original).

The 2000 Sydney Olympics and similar stage shows were fresh in the minds of many SoSGA respondents. 2001 was the centenary year of Australian Federation, also marked by shows and displays around the country. Dardulena had taken part in a local multicultural show celebrating Federation, with a Scottish musical band. She described how each ethnic group had a demonstration or performance in their native costumes.

<u>Extract 8.4 This New Multiculturalism Thing</u>

Dardulena: 'I just thought, you know how I was saying before how there isn't one Australian culture, there's the different cultures: I don't think that was always – you know how they had the White Australia Policy and all that, […] like there was the idealised digger-type Australian with his slouch hat coming back from the war, and he wanted to get, you know, the white - the fibro house with a fence – […]

SS: So the Australian digger typifies what is Australian, do you think?

Dardulena: Well it used to. That's why now they have this new multicultural thing, which is so wonderful! Great! And so the Australian culture which is dying out with its generation – well I suppose it is anyway …

[…]

Dardulena: Well, of course Scottish – people from Ireland and Scotland and all those places came with the first fleet I suppose […] but they've been integrated. They've had to learn to get on with what they're doing, and I think that they've kept those traditions alive. But, but the new – the new multiculturalism - ever since they've got rid of the White Australia Policy and it's been open to people from wherever they want to come from – you know, land of plenty, or whatever they say – you know, 'cos it sort of is! [laughs] *You know, new life, and you hear about all those boat people all the time. But yeah, they've brought their own cultures and they don't want to just assimilate in, they just don't want to become – they want to keep their identity – and kudos to them, you know? Good for them. And that's - they've brought along all their new- their new cultures, I believe, and that's what I saw at*

the sh[ow] – I keep going back to that example – it's 'cos it was
SS: The Federation one, you mean?
Dardulena: Yes, 'cos it was such a concentration! You had like Congo islands, and the Aboriginals, and you had the Hungarians, and the Russians, and they were all – and they all had their little thing, and they all their little s-set - little presentation. So they had some, you know, their different type of dance and their music up on stage.
SS: And the […] band, I assume, also performed a routine?
Dardulena: Yup, yes
SS: Did you find it ironic that you were part of the[…] band at the multicultural thing, or… ?
Dardulena: No, I didn't. Although I thought, if I were them – whoever was organising it – I mean what else could they get to sh- just as a Scottish icon – there's really nothing else. I mean they could have a bunch of highland dancers, but it might be a bit incongruous' [MD09.17 – 18].

For Dardulena multiculturalism is not a negative or oppressive creation. It is, though, something created by an outside authority ('*they*'). Dardulena sees multiculturalism as something that licenses a showcase for ethnicities. The band comes across as an obvious stereotype to use for this purpose – dancing would presumably not be recognisable enough. Dardulena's interpretation is that Scottish and Irish traditions have been kept alive in Australia despite arriving so long ago. For her, it is as if they lived alongside the dominant society rather than being part of it. These cultures are separable in Dardulena's interpretation. Similarly, for the newer arrivals, maintaining their cultures is seen as crucial to not *'just assimilate in'*. None of this difference would be exposed were not for the ordinariness of the bulk of Australia. Dardulena uses a very specific representation for the previous incarnation of Australia: the *'digger'*. It is, for her, a generation that is *'dying out'*, and being replaced by something very different indeed: '*this new multiculturalism thing'*.

8.5 Polarisation, Australian and Multiculturalism

Timothy Phillips (1996) used data from a major national survey to examine attachment to the symbolic boundaries in Australia (Phillips 1996). He asserts that there is space for research on 'national identity' rather than concentrating on deconstruction of 'myths' (Phillips 1996, p. 129). Some of his findings suggested that 'the aging 'Digger' generation are fighting a rearguard action to defend Australia's national symbols and boundaries' (Phillips 1996, p. 128). Using a straightforward, binary framework of 'internal' vs. 'external', and 'friend' vs. 'enemy', he constructed a four-cell matrix to examine attitudes to issues such as 'multiculturalism', 'aborigines', 'monarchism', 'Britain' and 'Aussie'. He concluded that there was a clustering effect of these issues into the cells of the matrix, and that issues such as

'monarchism' tended to be opposed to 'multiculturalism' (Phillips 1996, p. 128). Phillips (1996) concluded that a form of 'binary logic' informed views on these types of issues.

> 'Australians demonstrating strong attachment to the symbolic boundaries of the national community were more likely to reject multiculturalism, Aboriginal assistance, and republicanism. This […] tells us why debate on these issues has been so passionate. Because specific issues are tied to a wider symbolic universe, some Australians feel that the outcome of these debates is consequential for the very constitution of society. To give way on any of these issues would constitute for many Australians a collapse of the orderliness provided by deep seated symbolic boundaries and foreshadow the onset of anarchy […]. For others, however, reform on monarchism, Aboriginality and multiculturalism offers the chance to renew and revalorise the anachronistic and discredited moral fabric of the nation' (Phillips 1996, p. 128).

Dardulena is perhaps consciously positioning herself, embracing multiculturalism in opposition to other national symbolic boundaries. I think it is revealing that Dardulena aligns the elements representing Scottish culture <u>alongside</u> the other cultural groups. In the new version of Australia, they are <u>not</u> portrayed as part of the old (white) Australia, despite being there since the *'first fleet'*. Scottish Gaelic <u>can</u> be placed alongside cultures that are also described as external to a white Australia. For Dardulena these cultures do not make unnatural stage-fellows, being similarly external. Schech and Haggis (2001) comment on separateness as part of the Australian discourse of multiculturalism:

> ' [N]on Anglo-Celtic white migrants were positioned as peripheral additions to this national core who provided an interesting diversity of food, dance and custom to Australian life. In everyday multiculturalism, these non Anglo-Celtic migrants were able to access a place in the Australian multicultural edifice by overt adoption of aspects of Australian life such as accent and lifestyle (saying 'g'day' and drinking beer in the pub)' (Schech and Haggis 2001, p.149).

This analysis emphasises the nature of the ordinary 'core', and of the 'different' periphery. The ordinariness of the old Australia also comes across in Dardulena's discourse in Extract 8.5. This extract had led directly into Extract 8.4 as an opener to the issue of differences of culture. The other respondents knew her well.

<u>Extract 8.5 Forget Lamb Chops</u>

Respondent 213: *[The] Street's pretty good – it's very multicultural – yes – we like the Asian food best of all. We haven't had an Aussie meal in, oh, I don't know when!* [laughter] - *forget the lamb chops!*
Dardulena: *That's what it is! That's the difference, that's the culture thing!*
SS: *What's the culture thing?*
Dardulena: *The culture thing! The-*
Respondent 213: *That we don't have lamb chops any more in this house, we have noodles*
Respondent 212: *'cos lamb's gross!*
Respondent 213: *and coriander and chillies*

Dardulena: Lamb chops: that is so…
Respondent 213: disgusting – gross – urgh!' [MD02.17]

Particular food is unequivocally being associated with something external to the old Australia. It is quite clearly 'brought in' in some sense, as something new and exotic, in explicit contrast to the once typical lamb chops.

8.5.1 Antipathy to Scottish Gaelic

Scottish Gaelic can be seen as being in opposition to an Australian identity. Occasionally people expressed deep antipathy to Scottish Gaelic. This was sometimes related to issues of Australian identity. In Extract 8.6 Gealmhìn, who had recently begun to study Scottish Gaelic more seriously, reported the reaction of her daughter.

Extract 8.6 This Nonsense

Gealmhìn: 'And she told me on the 'phone the other night if I didn't-. She said 'Don't give me any of that nonsense, if you don't speak English' she said 'I'll hang up the phone'. She has this thing about being Australian' [MD06.33]

Scottish Gaelic is reportedly dismissed as *'nonsense'* and directly contrasted to being Australian. It seems that, for Gealmhìn's daughter, the presence of Scottish Gaelic does not mesh with being Australian. This fits with a polarised view that separates Australian from either the past, or of languages other than English. Unfortunately Gealmhìn's daughter refused to participate in the survey.

8.6 Local Concentrations of Ethnicities

Hage (1998) draws on interviews with his respondents who talk of enjoying living in 'multicultural' areas because it 'makes Australia such a nice place' (Hage 1998, p.97). Hage (1998) interprets this as a discourse of the positioning of other ethnicities, in both physical and psychological space, within the nation.

> 'Underlying this homeliness is a fantasy of a national order based on a clearly positioned otherness: Indians are here, Koreans are there … and in the centre of it all is the White Australian bestowing her tolerance' (Hage 1998, p.98).

'Ethnics' are thus positioned in relation to each other, and to tolerant 'Anglo' society.

8.6.1 The Problem that Scots are Dispersed

Some SoSGA respondents are very aware of the discourse of the separation of ethnicities. In Extract 8.7, Cridhmór mentions her experience of Australians discussing multiculturalism, and relates it to cultural and linguistic *'ghettoes'*.

Extract 8.7 Australia's Cultural Ghettoes

Cridhmór: Going back to what we were saying in [the] office – it's this thing in Australia: they all talk about multiculturalism, but there's still this need, particularly in [this city], to have cultural ghettoes of people who speak the same language, or collate together because of that language.
Beltanno: I think you've hit upon something there – it sort of goes against schools in that […] Scots have sort of spread themselves more,
Cridhmór: yeah
Beltanno: much more than the other communities. The other communities, they all go and live in one area or one town and all congregate. So there's sort of a lot of people in the one area so that all the Lebanese are over there […] and, you know, they tend to have enough people to actually start a school and –
Cumhal: But the Germans do virtually the self-same thing as the Scots, the Irish - and the English if you like – the Welsh –
Beltanno: Yes, they do, they integrate
Cumhal: So do the Dutch – there's that group of people. The Italians tended to congregate in Sydney; it's been … down in [a particular suburb]. But where do the Greeks congregate? There's an awful lot of Greeks-
Beltanno: There's a lot of them over around the [S] area
Cridhmór: Yes, yes, [suburb B] is a huge, erm …
Beltanno: You find that's where their churches are.
Cumhal: And you look at –
Beltanno: And Melbourne, you see.
Cumhal: Yes, Melbourne.
Beltanno: Melbourne's full of them, so Geoff Kennet[98] – he passed, erm, some laws that the Victorian government funds Greek schools.
Cridhmór: Actually the largest Greek community outside Greece actually resides in Melbourne.
Beltanno: So there's political incentive there
Cumhal: It's a major political thing because, by the same token in NSW they do the self-same thing – for Arabic schools.
Beltanno: They do, they do the same' [MD27.46].

For Cridhmór the Australian tendency to delineate 'ghettoes' of people doesn't match their talk of multiculturalism. Beltanno picks out elements (*'churches'*) that identify ethnicities. In their discourse, the scale of integration is believed to depend on ethnicity. This is in contrast to socio-economic analyses that, firstly, fail to identify significant ethnic groupings, and secondly, that migration patterns are responsible for any ethnic concentrations rather than ethnicity in itself (Burnley 2001), discussed in Section 7.3. These SoSGA respondents also feel that concentrations of particular ethnic groups provide a means of access to political power at a local level. Funding for schools is also determined by political opportunism on the part of politicians. Whether true or not, it is an important perception, and I believe that it

[98] Ex-Premier of Victoria.

reflects the wider discourse of the physical and psychological settings of ethnicity in Australia. It fits with the analysis by Hage (1998) that the physical positioning of ethnicities is important within the national order (Hage 1998, p.65). Difference, in Extract 8.7, and as in Hage's (1998) analysis, is not perceived as being evenly spread, but in local concentrations. This is important in relation to Scottish Gaelic, because SoSGA respondents can partly attribute their difficulty in establishing separate education to the ethnic shape of Australian society. Language teaching allocation is here presented in terms of allocations to ethnic group demands. It is not framed in terms of individual rights to education. Nor is it portrayed as a possible parental demand on individual schools. SoSGA respondents see it as a demand that can only be made as part of an ethnic group at local or governmental level. The importance of this perception cannot be understated within the context of the discourse of ethnicity in Australia.

Distinctions are made between *'Scots'*, *'Irish'*, *'Welsh'*, *'Dutch'*, *'German'*, noted as dispersed, separate groups by these respondents. There is one other group that is similarly integrationist: the *'English'*. But note the caveat given by Cumhal in extract 8.7, *'- and the English, if you like -'*. In a similar vein to that in Chapter 5 when they were not party to the Celtic monuments, the English are separated out from the Celtic peoples. This is further evidence of a 'default' category to which other ethnicities can be contrasted.

8.6.2 Identity Usurpers and English Dominance

In the immediate continuation of Extract 8.7, the discussion turned to how ethnicities are viewed in Australia.

Extract 8.8 It's Not a Good Thing to be British

Cridhmór: But I think that Australia still has this paranoia about its – I don't know if it necessarily comes from its White Australia policy or –. It's not necessarily a good thing to be British in Australia. In the sense of whether you're Scots or English or –. Scots and Irish and Welsh are a little bit more acceptable, because we by reputation we don't like the English – but there's still this kind of thing, it's not really quite a nice thing to be – it's not-

Beltanno: it's not 'P.C.', is it?

Cumhal: It's not! Yeah, well really it's something that's come into being over this best part of 25-30 years.

Cridhmór: Right

Cumhal: Beforehand it was A OK to be British. You would get the average Australian turning around and talking about 'home' and you'd turn around and say 'oh my god, he was talking about the U.K.!', and he was born and brought up here, his kids were born here – he's never been to the U.K. in his life, but he's been talking about 'home', and he's been talking about the U.K. – it doesn't matter if it was from the North of Scotland or the South of England. And

> *that was – but then - and it wasn't just a flood of migrants, it was a political attitude that when Whitlam came in, and Grassby came in, who started an awful lot of this darned stuff-'. [MD27.46-47].*

Cridhmór specifically links the rejection of British to *'paranoia'* about the White Australia policy. She places herself outside of this discourse: it was Australia's policy, not one of which she was a part. Cridhmór feels incorrectly positioned by the discourse that past wrongs are associated with Britishness. These respondents are reacting to categorisations with which they do not agree. Cumhal cannot reconcile his understanding of 'British' with some Australians' claims to the same identity. He clearly does not share their sense of sameness, feeling that such people encroach on his own identity. Perhaps it is what Blackledge and Pavlenko (2001) term 'identity vulnerability' (Blackledge and Pavlenko 2001, p.244).

Reaction to Anglo-Australian claims of a British identity extends into Beltanno's family. She had commented how her Australian-born husband seemed to be more pro-monarchist than she was. Other very prominent figures are prepared to identify themselves similarly. In December 2001, Patricia Hewitt (then MP for Leicester West and U.K. government Secretary of State for Trade and Industry) wrote an article in *New Statesman* magazine on being British:

> '[O]n a recent family visit to the Hebridean island of Islay, I discovered that my father's great-grandparents had been assisted migrants more than a century earlier, when Scottish landlords, determined to rid their lands of "surplus" population, helped thousands to travel to new settlements in the Antipodean colonies. This discovery changed my perception of my nationality. I felt both more Scottish and more Australian – and, paradoxically, more British too.
>
> I grew up British in Australia. Mine was a generation brought up on British history (I learned more at Primary school about the Norman and Viking invaders than I ever did about Australian Aborigines or the early white explorers). Our political and legal traditions were British, and so were our cultural reference points. We read British children's books, sang English Christmas carols and ate plum pudding in midsummer, with the temperature in the 90's. The national anthem was still "God Save the Queen", and this was long before Australia acknowledged the appalling wrongs done to its original people, let alone developed the self-confident national identity we saw at last year's Sydney Olympics' (Hewitt 2001, p. 50).

Aspects of British history are strongly linked to the author's self-knowledge. I think it is paramount to point out that Patricia Hewitt wrote this article in the context of a British government discourse of making citizenship applicants learn English. Subsequently, a public citizenship ceremony has been introduced (BBC 2004a). There is a political point being made about good civic belonging. A little further on, Hewitt (2001) wrote:

> 'As David Blunkett[99] has said, acquiring British citizenship should be more than a bureaucratic process. Australia has long expected "new Australians" to learn English and something of the laws and values of their new country; in return their new status is publicly celebrated in citizenship ceremonies. Requiring applicants for British citizenship to learn English should hardly be contentious; that it is so is a sign of how muddled we have become about multiculturalism' (Hewitt 2001, p. 50).

According to Hewitt (2001), only people who reject the obvious dominance of English are 'muddled'. Multiculturalism is advanced as a clear and obvious good, as in the case of Australia. Further, Hewitt (2001) believes that the same approach is applicable in both the U.K. and Australia. There is an explicit link here between (English) language, citizenship, and 'good' civic behaviour – and indeed English lessons have been touted as part of the eventual conditions of citizenship (BBC 2004a). Learning the dominant language is linked to helping migrants adopt good behavioural norms. There is no sense in which Hewitt (2001) sees a well-ordered society without the gate-keeping practice of learning English. It is presented as a way of reducing internal conflict and maintaining order in society.

8.6.3 Scottishness and 'Significant Difference'

It is worth considering distinctions made within the category of 'British' by some SoSGA respondents. 'Scottish' versus 'British' is termed by McCrone *et al*. (1998) as 'problematic and contested' (McCrone, Stewart et al. 1998, p. 630). Scottish residents have increasingly described themselves as 'more Scottish than British' in surveys during the last two decades (McCrone, Stewart et al. 1998, p.631). The SoSGA respondents in Extracts 8.6 to 8.8 are Scots-born, and thus national identity claims may be fairly straightforwardly deployed, using birthplace as the primary marker (McCrone, Stewart et al. 1998, p. 631). It is as if Cridhmór and some other respondents feel that they have to position themselves as 'not-simply-British'. The reduction in importance of 'British' as an identity label therefore matches the rise of 'Scottish', which becomes a more important marker as a way of distancing oneself from negative categorisations in their society. Cridhmór describes a hierarchy in Extract 8.8 – 'Scots' are not as bad, because they also *'don't like the English'* according to reputation. In a separate conversation after a Scottish Gaelic event some respondents discussed cultural traditions and their maintenance [SoSGA_N1]. Specifically, public holidays in recognition of religious or significant events for various groups were commented upon, and which of those holidays were recognised in Australia. Cridhmór commented on the traditions of Hogmanay in Scotland, jokingly suggesting that she should claim a holiday on January the second, as it is in

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[99] Home Secretary in the UK government (2004).

Scotland, on the basis of 'significant cultural differences' [MD15.37]. This was amusing to those present precisely because it was recognisable to them as the sort of argument that might be made within Australian society. However, making such a claim as a Scot would run counter to the idea that it is the ethnic other who is different, not the Scots. It was also a satirical comment on the view that Australian society might make concessions to particular groups in a token way, such as by granting holidays that are not 'special' to the society as a whole. Cridhmór was in effect commenting on the dominant discourse of the perception of difference measured in relation to a standard, Anglo-Celtic, Australia.

8.7 The Embedded Nature of Scottishness in 'Anglo' Australia

Scottish Gaelic can be described as hidden within Australian society. Respondent 150 expressed this in terms of accessibility.

Extract 8.9 We Need More Exposure

Respondent 150: 'We need much more exposure to Scottish Gaelic as it is the cultural heritage of many Australians (even if they don't realise it). It needs to be more access(i)ble to allow greater ease of learning' [SoSGA_Q150].

Scottish Gaelic is evidently something that should be shown, and learned. Its presence in Australian heritage is presented as widespread, but unknown. For Respondent 150 it is not simply part of a general history, but distinguishable. For one of the choir members, singing is a route to greater visibility.

Extract 8.10 The Key to Success

Respondent 111: 'The key to us, I think, being successful in spreading the language in this country, is having it heard. And I think the best way for Gàidhlig to be heard is through the music. If you look at the Irish community and the number of people that go to Irish pubs, they don't go there because they're Irish, they're going there for the beer and the music' [MD26.86].

Respondent 111 went on to describe the vitality of the Irish music scene. Her explicit comparison to Irish indicated a model worth emulating, associated with vibrancy, and attractive to younger people. Notably, Irish was considered more visible, whereas Scottish Gaelic was hidden away, despite their having related musical idioms.

Dixson (1999) presents a historically homogeneous Australia that is part of a group of countries such as Canada, the USA and New Zealand who share a 'family resemblance' (Dixson 1999, p. 22). Beyond the obvious links to the British Empire, Dixson (1999) also sees the crucial element of the 'Anglo Celtic ethnic dynamic' (Dixson 1999, p. 22). Australia was shaped, in her view, 'to a disproportionate extent not just by the politics but by the entire

folkways of founding generations' (Dixson 1999, p. 23). Anglo-Celts apparently brought concepts of authority, freedom and gender relations with them to Australia (Dixson 1999, p. 24). Dixson's (1999) understanding of gender relations shaped by 'founding generations' at some historical point, contrasts sharply with analyses that link them to Australia's settlement patterns, and the facts of migrant labour (Jupp 1998; Burnley 2001). Gender imbalances are an element of migrant labour. For Australians born overseas in 1901, there were 151 males to 100 females, unlike the rest of the population which was almost even (DIMA 2001a, p. 28). The disparity continued up to the 1991 census when it reached near-parity (DIMA 2001a, p. 29). It is difficult not to expect gender relations to have been affected by such important demographic factors, rather than 'folkways'. While Dixson's (1999) analysis of Australian identity perhaps illustrates broad strokes of history, it certainly does not supply an adequate categorisation of how some SoSGA respondents see themselves. Dixson (1999) believes that:

> 'The source of our identity as Australians springs from three main streams – indigenous, Anglo-Celtic and 'new ethnic' Australians – and attending to identity means keeping the relation between the three in steady focus' (Dixson 1999, p. 18).

This sort of categorisation follows similar ones that have perhaps been made since the earliest days of colonisation (Denoon, Mein-Smith et al. 2000, p. 3), and now with the newer creation of 'ethnic' as a category in opposition to 'white' Australian. There is an absolute belief in the meaningfulness of this term. Dixson (1999) centres on this aspect of identity because it is so important to her thesis on the cohesion of Australia as a nation. However, an examination of peoples' responses to such categorisations is potentially more enlightening. One aspect of Dixson's (1999) and Smolicz' (1995b) use of 'Anglo' is that it embeds 'Scottish', and anything linked to it, within the term. This categorisation of 'Anglo' is too broad to be acceptable to many SoSGA respondents.

Dixson (1999) argues that the 'Anglo' form of Australian identity has been dominant, calling into question the view that Australia was multicultural 'from the beginning' (Dixson 1999, p. 35). The predominance of 'British ancestry' is used illustrate the homogeneous nature of Australian society (Dixson 1999, p. 36). But ancestry or geographical origin alone may not supply enough of a definition for such national identity: other factors such as religion, age and status may play an important role in shaping the country, as discussed in Section 7.3.2 (Burnley 2001). Jupp (1998) maintains that within groups like 'Scots' there was unlikely to be common cause upon arrival in Australia, due to differences of religion and social status (Jupp 1998, p. 50). Therefore to appeal to common geographical origin as the key element of identity ignores other distinctions people make.

8.7.1 Gaelic Linguistic Monuments in Antipodean English

Some respondents commented terms in Australian English that reflect Irish or Scottish Gaelic roots. The existence of influence from (Irish and Scottish) Gaelic languages in Australian and New Zealand English has been noted (Crystal 1995, p.352), and is the subject of current academic study (Lonergan 2001). SoSGA respondents commented particularly on expressions such as 'crook' ('sick', 'ill'), and 'rack off' ('go away') as reflecting Gaelic origins [SoSGA_N3]. Bantraich corresponded on the subject of the etymology of many Antipodean English expressions that he believed had Gaelic origins. His reported sources were his own intuitions, his knowledge of Scottish Gaelic and Irish, and dictionaries. His parents had been fluent speakers but he reported that they had not encouraged him.

Extract 8.11 Fear of Affecting Education

Bantraich: 'My parents were fluent Gaelic Speakers but were sparing in its use for fear that my education would be affected. i.e. retarded. However I had a good smattering which was polished and augmented by a series of Gaelic speaking girl friends in the late 40's and early 50's' [SoSGA_E_Bantraich, 24-May-02].

He had started etymological research by accident, and became intrigued by the possibilities. Table 8.1 lists some of the terms that he had worked on. The first column indicates the word studied and the second column contains Bantraich's comments and sources. 'Dineen' is an Irish dictionary, and 'Dwelly' is a Scottish Gaelic-English dictionary first published at the turn of the twentieth century (Dwelly 1993 (1901)). The last column in the table contains comments based on alternative sources, if found.

Table 8.1: Proposed Etymologies of Antipodean Terms

Word Studied	Etymology quoted from Bantraich	Comments and Alternatives
BILLABONG	"BILL = "Bile" = "lip or mouth" and ABONG is from "abhainn" = "river" with a parasitic "G" added. A billabong probably has a mouth shape of sorts being at a bend in a river."	Historically attested in *Wiradhuri*, 1836 (Dixon, Ramson et al. 1990), p. 191.
BOOMERANG	With the unnecessary "G" hopefully will be "Bu mar Aon" = "would be as one or together"	Historically attested in *Dharuk*, 1790 (Dixon, Ramson et al. 1990, p. 175).
BRUMBY	"I think BRUMBY is from "bromach buidhe" Dwelly, p. 128 Dineen, p. 128 = yellowish colt. I have never seen a brumby so this translation may not suit"	Plausible according to D. Lonergan (Pers. Comms.)
CANBERRA	"CAN = Ceann = head, end" + "BERRA = baire", of a road; "=end of the road or struggle" Dwelly, p. 60.	
COBBER	" = pal, mate, off-sider = cobhair Dwelly, p. 221."	Earliest Source: 1893 (AND 1992)

COOLIBAH	“CUL= "caol" slender, graceful and IBAR = "iubhar" Dineen, p. 618 = yew.”	Historically attested in *Yuwaaliyaay*, 1883 (Dixon, Ramson et al. 1990, p. 135).
COROBOREE	“ "cor" Dwelly, p. 252 = a custom and OBOREE from "uipearach" Dwelly, p. 994 = "clownish" and so the word means a "clownish custom” Once again the "ch" ending becomes an "ee". Even today an amazed European might describe the performance in such terms.”	Historically attested in *Dharuk*, 1790 (Dixon, Ramson et al. 1990, p. 152).
CROOK	“CROOK = cruadhag Dwelly, p. 279 = distress, difficulty.”	
DIDGERIDOO	“DIDGERI = dudair Dwelly, p.370, dudaire Dineen, p. 377 = trumpeter, hornblower agus DOO = dubh = black horn player.”	Earliest Source: 1919 (AND 1992)
DINGO	“DIN = dian” Dwelly, p. 332 + “CU = dog”	Historically attested in *Dharuk*, 1789 (Dixon, Ramson et al. 1990, p. 65).
FAIR DINKUM	“Fear daingean = a man of strong character”; Dineen, p. 302.	(Lonergan 2002); ‘Vere Dignum’ at end of prayers?
KANGAROO	“Con = dogs agus garbh = boisterous, wild”	Historically attested in *Guugu Yimidihrr*, 1770 (Dixon, Ramson et al. 1990, p. 67).
OCKER	“= oigear Dwelly, p. 705 = a young man”	Earliest Source: 1916 (AND 1992)
SKERRICK	“SKERRICK = a tiny amount = sgeireag Dwelly, p. 820	
SKITE	"scot-bealach" Dineen, P. 984 "a blabber or blower"	
SMIDGEON	“ = particle, speck = smuidean” Dwelly, p. 861.	
WALLABY	“WALLA = uallach Dwelly = lively, playful agus BY = moran islichte beathast, i.e. WALLABY = uallach-beathast = playful beast.”	Historically attested in *Dharuk*, 1798 (Dixon, Ramson et al. 1990, p. 80).
YACKER	“HARD YACKER … (tautology) … Yacker = deacair Dwelly, p. 314 = hard”.	Earliest Source: “yakker” 1847, “yakka” 1888 (AND 1992, p. 754); (‘yacker’ as talk, chatter, 1882).

Whether the judgments are right or wrong is a matter for deeper analysis than is presented here. I note only that some terms for which Bantraich claims Gaelic etymology do not have a clear history in Australian English (Lonergan 2001). Conversely, many terms are historically attested in the expeditionary records of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries as described in Dixon, Ramson *et al*. (1990) and in Dixon (1980). Some of these have far more plausible Aboriginal sources, particularly those referring to native animals. Other SoSGA respondents similarly perceive Gaelic origins for modern Australian English terms. They are not generally interpreted as borrowings from different periods. Scottish Gaelic and English

have been in contact for almost two millennia, so there are potentially words to be found in English reflecting early contact (Crystal 1995, p.8; Russell 1995). But Bantraich predominantly chose terms that he saw as features of *'Australian English'*. He reported that he frequently had negative reactions to his ideas, but felt a need to explore the possibilities[100].

Extract 8.12 Adding Richness

Bantraich: '[…] if you think half of these words are right we have added a rich Gaelic content to Australian English. Togaibh i, togaibh i canan ar sinnsearan!! *[Raise her, raise her, language of our forebears]' [SoSGA_E_Bantraich, 04-Apr-02].*

His exhortation to language maintenance in Scottish Gaelic is the line from a song frequently sung at the end of gatherings. Allowing the language to be subsumed within general 'Anglo' Australia would be unacceptable. For Bantraich, it is perhaps important to attribute the origins of the terms to something other than just 'Anglo'. It is therefore an identity claim that touches on core Australian-ness by guarding against Scottish Gaelic being indistinguishable. These distinctions are important and concern the survival of language and identity. Bantraich's approach to etymology might be interpreted as trying to dis-embed Scottish Gaelic from Anglo Australia, and show its core influence. Bantraich's research may be a linguistic equivalent to monument placement. Whereas Diùranach placed monuments in a physical landscape (Chapter 5), Bantraich might be trying to secure appropriate recognition in language. Bantraich is finding linguistic spaces where Gaelic had an influence, in the same way that physical places are marked for their early Scottish influence in settlement (Section 5.5). He implicitly accepts the landscape of Australian English, but explores which identifiable remains of Gaelic can be found. Bantraich perhaps interprets them as linguistic monuments to his own heritage, and thereby shows his resistance to homogeneity.

8.8 The Historical Desire for (White) Homogeneity

Anderson's (2002) study of medical and scientific discourses of whiteness carefully charts the construction of a white identity for an Australia in the process of nation-building (Anderson 2002). The White Australia Policy was an element of the control of the nation and in nation-building (Jupp 1998, p. 73), effectively determining who could be considered a citizen. Other 'races' were assessed for their fitness according to whether they could contribute to the society. For instance, a 1925 Queensland Royal Commission reported that Sicilians, Greeks

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[100] In some instances, I also interpret some text-based analysis on Bantraich's part. For example *abhainn*, river, is potentially pronounced /ãʊɪɲ/ [or /ã-iɲ/ (Ó Maolalaigh, 1998, p. 8)] while his etymology relies on a pronunciation of <b>.

and Maltese were undesirable immigrants because they did not assimilate, and that Greeks did not add any 'wealth' to Australia (Anderson 2002, p. 148). Racial purity was linked to the 'cleanliness' of the Australian continent and medical scientists and politicians alike, advocated measures to prevent the white race from 'degenerating' (Anderson 2002, p. 89). While whites were considered able to keep disease at bay with appropriate hygiene measures, '[t]he capacity of other races for hygiene, and thus their eligibility for social citizenship, remained uncertain' (Anderson 2002, p. 70).

In 1901 Victorian Parliamentarian, Alfred Deakin, announced his belief that within a hundred years Australia would become a white continent thanks to his new restrictive policies (Anderson 2002, p. 90). This was to be in contrast what he described as the 'dark continent', in reference to the absence of whites one hundred years before that (Anderson 2002, p. 90). Deakin was to become Prime Minister by 1908, encouraging the American naval fleet to visit as a show of force to Asian countries (Day 2001, p. 160). Parliamentary debates at the time claimed scientific backing for the desire to keep the white race 'pure' and to avoid racial mixing (Anderson 2002, p. 90). Deakin foresaw a process of 'whitening' the continent by deporting Pacific islanders, proper hygiene to avoid the degeneration of whites, and the 'absorption' of Aborigines into the larger white body of society (Anderson 2002, p.90). Australia was viewed partly as an 'experiment' in racial transplantation; Anderson (2002) quotes Bishop Frodsham writing in 1915 that Australia was the

> 'home' of the white race in the 'southern seas', and it was ' "seeking to guard the existence of white civilisation from being crowded out by a lower social organism. Australians desire to guard the purity of the white race" ' (Anderson 2002, p. 102).

The chief protector of the Aborigines in the Northern Territory from 1927 to 1939, C. E. Cook, articulated the whitening of Australia in evolutionary terms claiming that 'half-castes' would be able to evolve into white people by judicious breeding programs and by education (Anderson 2002, p. 235). This was a discourse of white, male dominance, as half-caste women were supposedly to be married off to white men without inducing 'deterioration' in these men (Anderson 2002, p. 236). The White Australia Policy was not expected to produce immediate results, requiring some generations before the nation became a coherent white body. At a 1937 conference the chief protector of the Aborigines in Western Australia, A. O. Neville[101], expressed his belief in the eventual 'absorption' of the Aborigines into the white populace

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[101] A. O. Neville was portrayed by Kenneth Branagh as caring, but misguided, in the recent film *'The Rabbit Proof Fence'* (2002). The film tells the story of three children taken from their mothers to be educated at the Moore River centre. The children escape and travel more than 2000 km on foot to get home. The film is based on the experiences recounted by Molly Craig who escaped from Moore River in 1927.

(Anderson 2002, p. 237). By this stage, racial mixing was acceptable, as Aboriginal racial characteristics had been reinterpreted (Anderson 2002, p. 183). Using microscopes, field researchers had 'discovered' the 'European characteristics' of Aboriginal blood (Anderson 2002, p. 183). They were no longer 'black'; they had become 'dark Caucasians'. Rather than re-examine their own racial categorisations, scientists had interpreted the similarities in metabolism and blood groupings of Aborigines and re-classified them as a 'primitive' version of the white 'Caucasian' grouping (Anderson 2002, Ch. 7). Anderson (2002) sees this as indicative of white fears:

> '[S]uch typological framings of Aboriginality usually served better to express, or at least project, white anxieties and hopes than to describe accurately the Indigenous population of the continent' (Anderson 2002, p. 186).

Neville advocated the removal of mixed race children from their families to ' "instil in them a sense of usefulness and a desire to create homes in accordance with white standards" ' to thereby ' "complete their emancipation" ' within a few generations (Anderson 2002, p. 238). The only obstacle to citizenship was their blackness, and 'Authority' would 'allow them to merge into hygienic whiteness' (Anderson 2002, p. 238). By the 1950s, all states and territories in Australia were pursuing similar policies of removing children – Anderson (2002) estimates that between one in three and one in ten Aboriginal children were forcibly removed from their parents between 1910 and 1970 (Anderson 2002, p. 239). This policy has led to the term the 'stolen generation', in Australia. Homogeneity of the Australian social body was synonymous with 'white' for many decades. Nineteenth century medical science gradually exonerated the Australian climate for disease and degeneration, moving to belief in 'bad seeds' within the individual bodies (Anderson 2002, p. 245). Other races and bad hygiene were then presented as potential carriers of disease, and 'black' parts of the nation had to be eradicated as part of 'stabilising a white national body' (Anderson 2002, p. 245). Until the 1970s, Australia's policies and discourse reflected beliefs in an idealised, white nation - even if 'white' was a shifting and contingent category. White (man) was at the pinnacle of a value hierarchy. The ideal Australia was a 'fantasy of organic integrity' (Anderson 2002, p. 247). Castles *et al*. (1988) interpret that, for post-1945 Australia, 'a central part of this homogeneity was a persistent culture of racism' (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 1).

8.8.1 Modern Homogeneity and Threats to the Stability of Society

At its inception, supporters of multiculturalism argued that Australia had never been homogeneous. Presentations of Australia as monocultural were false and politically

‘assimilationist’ (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988; Lopez 2000). Multiculturalism was therefore in explicit contrast to previous policies. For some, the coherence of modern Australian society is still threatened by difference. Hanson expressed fear of the ‘swamping’ of Australia by Asian migrants (Jupp 1998, p. 148), perceiving an external threat to the homogeneity of Australian society. Desire for homogeneity in immigration has therefore remained a theme in public discourse for more than a century.

For Gellner (1983), nationalistic sentiments are driven by the ideal of homogeneity, and the presence of non-integrated ‘strangers’ might violate this (Gellner 1983 (1999), p. 11). Ethnic and political boundaries should ideally be congruent in nationalist views (Gellner 1983 (1999), p. 12). Castles *et al.* (1988) interpret multiculturalism as heralding the demise of nationalism. The very presence of people who do not share common heritage and culture shows that ‘an ideology which excludes such a sizeable proportion of the population is fundamentally flawed’ (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 144). They criticise some versions for continuing to draw ‘boundaries of inclusion and exclusion’ and for failing to find a ‘transnational’ human identity (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 13). However, a reformulated multiculturalism might be able to ‘transcend any idea of nationalism, nation-state or simply imagined community’ (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 147). It is clear that multiculturalism can threaten national identity directly. An anonymous respondent who approached me at a Highland gathering was very adamant that Australia should have nothing to do with Asian languages [SoSGA_N4]. In his view, Celtic languages should be taught at schools first and foremost in recognition of Australia’s British background. For him, this element of history was undeniable and the most relevant to Australian identity. Unlike almost all respondents, he was using Celtic languages to <u>reinforce</u> Anglo identity. Expressed in extremely forceful terms, he specifically laid the blame for what he saw as the difficulties in modern Australian society, on ‘Grassby’ and the ‘multicultural’ political trend. He perceived multiculturalism as an <u>internal</u> threat to the cohesiveness of society.

Howard’s rejection of a multiplicity of identity in Australia as ‘hopeless’ (Jupp 1998, p. 147) reflects an overt discourse of homogeneity as better for the nation. Multiculturalism can therefore be rejected because it calls into question a past Australia. Rutherford (2000) emphasises this in her interview with a One Nation party worker who refuses to countenance apologising for past injustices. His discourse shows that he cannot see evidence of a racist history ‘nor can he see that it draws into question his moral code of neighbourliness’ (Rutherford 2000, p. 8). Racism is interpreted by this party worker as a creation of modern political correctness, which creates divisions within Australia, and is blamed for putting the

'"Asians in this section and the Italians there"' (Rutherford 2000, p. 9). Homogeneity is crucial to this type of discourse of Australian identity. As Rutherford (2000) puts it:

> 'The Gatton polling booth worker slips easily from a defence of the Australian good to an identification of Others within its domain only as contaminants' (Rutherford 2000, p. 8).

The condemnation of wishing to revisit past injustices, modern political trends, and re-examination of Australian identity, is often labelled 'black armband history'.

8.8.2 Black Armband Debates

The term 'black armband history' was coined in the 1980s by the conservative historian Geoffrey Blainey, and given currency by Prime Minister John Howard (Day 2001, p. 336). Howard's view was that Australia's past should be seen as one of triumph, rather than of shame for past wrongs (Day 2001, p. 337). Howard refused to offer an official apology for injustices suffered by (Aboriginal) people at the hands of the state (Day 2001, p. 337). Of relevance to potential LHR arguments, the Howard government refused to re-consider the possibility of a treaty between Aboriginal people and the government, rejecting treaties as divisive (Day 2001, p. 338). Despite this official position, many Australians participated in the 'reconciliation'[102] process, with hundreds of thousands signing 'sorry books' around the country in the run-up to the 2001 centenary of Federation (Day 2001, p. 338). In May 2000, 250 000 people had paraded across Sydney Harbour Bridge in support of reconciliation (Day 2001, p. 338).

For Dixson (1999), the totting up of good versus bad on a 'balance sheet' is unhelpful as the 'darker side of our history' should be 'publicly' worked through (Dixson 1999, p. 13). Dixson's (1999) principal concern is to not damage 'mainstream Anglo-Celtic Australia', because it is 'a part of Australia on which we depend, a vital element of Anglo-Celtic Australia as a whole' (Dixson 1999, p. 1). According to this view the mainstream part of Australia has held the country together from its very inception:

> 'At a time of international fragmenting, with disintegration shadowing the nation and its social fabric everywhere, in Australia we rely on that vital element to help in the work of social cohesion it has performed since 1788. This work has to continue over a period of consolidation as an enriched and diverse Australia takes firmer shape' (Dixson 1999, pp. 1-2).

Once again fear of fragmentation is expressed. Dixson (1999) goes on to develop the idea that 'Anglo-Celtic' identity is a 'core' aspect of Australia and has the ability to 'hold' the nation

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[102] The term is generally used to refer to Aboriginal reconciliation.

together in an analogy with a mother-child relationship (Dixson 1999, p. 21). Society would apparently benefit by acknowledging 'core' culture as creator of a civil society (Dixson 1999, Ch. 3). Dixson (1999) believes that the present character of Australian society was established in the colonial era. The 'entire culture […] is inflected with the ethos of key players in founding decades' (Dixson 1999, p. 25). In Dixson's (1999) view, the two elements of 'Anglo' and 'Celtic' were combined in specific proportions and soon established 'an on-the-ground workable coherence' (Dixson 1999, p. 26). Such coherence is attributed to 'significant institutional and cultural intercourse' between England and Ireland over the eight centuries preceding 1788 (Dixson 1999, p. 26). Thanks to such a core culture Dixson (1999) deems that 'Australia still holds together remarkably well' by comparison to other nations (Dixson 1999, p. 28). For Dixson (1999), the continuation of Australian civil society relies on the codes established by this core culture.

> 'Anglo-Celtic Australians are to a degree handing on an existing social imaginary to non-Anglo-Celts [so that the] old identity values and attitudes may both cement and maintain the emerging whole' (Dixson 1999, p. 33-34).

This is important to Dixson (1999) to prevent social fragmentation while 'the poly-ethnic nation begins to displace the ethnic nation' (Dixson 1999, p. 3). Dixson (1999) appeals for the 'Anglo-Celtic' identity to see itself in a cohesive role 'over transitional years' (Dixson 1999, p. 3). These transitional years are presumably while the demography of Australia changes thanks to immigration. Dixson (1999) specifically links mass migration to threats to the core culture:

> 'In coming to Australia … immigrants have come *to* a civic-model nation which has evolved around a clear understanding of civil society and individual rights. But this is very much a minority form in the global and historical context and so immigrants have not always come *from* such a national home' (Dixson 1999, p. 53, emphasis in original).

Apparently, immigrants are not like those current residents of this unusual 'civic-model nation'. They might not be sufficiently versed in civic ways, perhaps needing guidance to live in a nation that Dixson (1999) clearly believes to be essentially 'good'. Dixson's (1999) arguments are couched in very similar ways to those in past eras concerning the preservation of whiteness in Australia, even if she quite explicitly attempts to distance herself from Deakin-like 'ethnic integrity' (Dixson 1999, p. 3). Anderson (2002) highlights 1930s arguments about instilling a desire to create homes according to white standards (Anderson 2002, p. 238), and I interpret a similar argument in Dixson (1999) for the eventual cultural absorption into present, dominant culture. Immigrants, who do not yet have the attributes available in Australia, will have to learn them. This is very similar in structure to arguments that whites could help the

‘emancipation’ of half-caste aboriginal children in the 1930s, thus allowing them to ‘create homes’ (Anderson 2002, p. 238). Emancipation and civic goodness derive from learning, according to this conception. Dixson’s (1999) arguments are couched in terms of ethnicity and culture, rather than in socio-economic terms.

Dixson’s (1999) arguments can be interpreted as a desire for homogeneity. However, instead of focusing on race, they centre on culture. In a related manner to arguments mounted in the 1930s about a period of hiatus until racial absorption was complete (Anderson 2002, p. 238), Dixson (1999) hopes that foreign, external elements will eventually become part of the Australian cultural landscape. This is described as a process of ‘enrichment’ where a ‘rich new ‘strangeness’ can consolidate and endure’ (Dixson 1999, p. 44). This also echoes arguments about promoting multiculturalism as an enriching antidote to the sterile nature of Australian culture (Lopez 2000), examined in Section 8.9.3.

8.8.3 Immigration and Identity Insecurity

For Burnley (2001) immigration is linked to ‘openness, confidence, national growth, maturity, and strength’ which ‘is accepted in the USA and Canada but less so in Australia’ (Burnley 2001, p. 348). Burnley (2001) interprets the Australian desire to shut out outsiders as an ‘insecurity that pervades the isolated, mainly white population ‘below’ the heavily populated Asian region’ (Burnley 2001, p. 348). Burnley (2001) specifically links such insecurity to the lament of the loss of ‘old-identity’ Australia and of cohesion (Burnley 2001, p. 348).

> ‘This notion of changing Australian identity is seen as posing a threat to social cohesion by ‘old-identity’ Australians. But this cohesion is defined (by them) in terms of archetypal values and simplicities that in all probability never existed in the universal form that they perceive. Furthermore, this definition of ‘social cohesion’ may implicitly be racist if cultural homogeneity is the goal. The resistance to multiculturalism and diversity that some ‘old-identity’ Australians claim is not racist, may reflect in part accelerated global and cultural change in an age of uncertainty’ (Burnley 2001, p. 348).

Castles *et al*. (1988) quote Blainey in expressing his fears of the loss of loyalty to the community and government:

> ‘The present [1984] immigration programme, in its indifference to the feelings of old Australians, erodes those loyalties. The multicultural policy, and its emphasis on what is different and on the rights of the new minority rather than the old majority, gnaws at the sense of solidarity that many people crave for. The policy of governments since 1978 to turn Australia into a land of all nations runs across the present yearning for stability and social cohesion’ (Blainey 1984; Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 3).

In the same way that Anderson (2002) highlights the desire of White Australia to have hygienically governed white bodies in order to confer citizenship rights upon them (Anderson

2002, p. 140), it is possible to interpret 'old-identity' Australia desiring a homogeneous 'core culture' for the granting of rights within the society. There is an implicit 'white' discourse evident in this (Hage 1998; Burnley 2001). Non-'core' groups, according to this scheme, should only be allowed rights once they have acquiesced to the appropriate cultural and civic behaviour.

8.8.4 Perspectives on Multiculturalism, Homogeneity and Scottish Gaelic

I believe it is imperative to understand the discourse of homogeneity in Australia in order to understand how Scottish Gaelic can be represented and understood within Australian society. Homogeneity is an important feature in the contestation of Australian identity, and the multiple features associated with Scottish Gaelic, allow it to be used within this contest. As a 'Celtic' strand to Australia's history and as an element of culture and language that has geographical origins in the British Isles, it may function as part of an 'old-identity' Australia. Conversely, because it is quite evidently not English, it may also function as a rejection of the same identity. Scottish Gaelic may therefore function partly as a marker for a deliberate and conscious rejection of homogeneity for some SoSGA respondents.

Dixson (1999) displays a very different approach to homogeneity in Australia compared to Castles *et al*. (1998). Dixson (1999) discusses homogeneity in terms of cultural aspects associated with ethnicity, heritage and institutional inheritance. Castles *et al*. (1998), however, understand late 1980s Australian culture as essentially homogeneous in a socio-economic sense. In their view the society is homogeneous in terms of everyday activities centred on a Western, industrialised nation. They cite elements such as the division of the working week into structured days and hours; understanding of banking and the negotiation of city-scapes; knowing the details of welfare benefits – all contrasted with a hypothetical rural, pre-industrialised society (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 125). For Dixson (1999), however, differences are ethnic, and cultural.

Dixson's (1999) arguments reflect belief in the idea of a 'core culture' that should be preserved even if new parts are grafted on to it. This is a cultural analogy to arguments of a homogeneous 'white race' in Australia maintaining a British-like, or Caucasian-like, kernel. Just as medical scientists believed that 'primitive Caucasians' could be absorbed into the 'white' homogeneity of Australia (Anderson 2002), immigrants who do not yet have the understanding of a civic-model nation can be absorbed into the Australian one. Dixson's (1999) view appears is essentially static – although here it is 'culture' rather than 'race'. It reflects a belief that there is something immutable preserved in Australia, brought out as a

fixed set of attributes by colonial founders. This is reminiscent of pre-1901 desires to maintain the proportions of the British Isles populace in Australia as 'the correct measure' (Jupp 1998, p. 16). That was also a discourse of stasis, of preservation, of fixed cultural entities and of fixed categories. The same discourse of stasis and immutability is used to explain 'gender roles' for example, attributed to 'Irish' ('Celtic') influence on Australia (Dixson 1999, p. 94). This contrasts with socio-economic analyses accounting for the nature of migration in shaping gender roles (Jupp 1998; Burnley 2001; DIMA 2001a, p. 29). Lack of employment considered suitable for women was a major factor in a society that was not yet industrialised, where the idealised roles of women were connected to 'Victorian values' (Jupp 1998, p. 23), rather than necessarily ethnicity. Gender roles might also be linked to ideals of homogeneity (Section 6.4.4). For Rutherford (2000), the intellectual is aligned with the feminine as an aspect of expulsion of otherness, in the 'policing of the ideal' (Rutherford 2000, p. 120). So a Scottish Gaelic choir, in performing an intellectual activity, might have difficulty recruiting male singers. Barriers might exist at the level of wider society, indirectly linked to perceptions of homogeneity. Socio-economic and ideological factors seem to provide more convincing explanations of SoSGA data, rather than appeals to notions of core culture.

Dixson's (1999) arguments concerning 'core culture' may indirectly reflect beliefs about 'whiteness', even if apparently devoid of overt racial categories. Here 'whiteness' should be understood as a collection of attributes that may be acquired (Hage 1998). Such beliefs inherently involve a hierarchical value system, and a typology in which things are classified. The 'core culture', involving respect for civic institutions, for example, is something that Australia has as an attribute, which other nations might not have. Dixson (1999) values this attribute for the cohesiveness and preservation of a coherent social body (Dixson 1999). This echoes earlier medical discourse about the preservation of the white race with its own set of (desirable) attributes behind the thin line of protective quarantine (Anderson 2002, p. 99). Many SoSGA respondents evidently react to such representations of 'whiteness', itself bound to 'Anglo' identity. Beltanno, Cumhal and others, reject categorisation of themselves within any 'Anglo-X' core of Australia, stressing their Scottishness instead (Section 8.1.1). They reject 'white' attributes that Dixson (1999) and Hewitt (2001) see as positive, by stressing 'ethnic' attributes. Dardulena explicitly rejects 'old identity' Australia in favour of multiculturalism, perceived to give voice to other cultures (Section 8.4.1). Bantraich highlights <u>heterogeneous</u> elements of Australian English (Section 8.7). These respondents' responses reflect the contestation of categorisations made in Australian society. Sometimes alternative categories are deployed in satirical ways (Section 8.10.2).

8.9 The Political Importance of Multiculturalism

8.9.1 Introduction - Definitions of Multiculturalism

The government definition of Australian multiculturalism from DIMIA reveals concern with cohesiveness in Australia:

> ‘Australian multiculturalism recognises and celebrates Australia's cultural diversity.
>
> It accepts and respects the right of all Australians to express and share their individual cultural heritage within an overriding commitment to Australia and the basic structures and values of Australian democracy.
>
> It also refers specifically to the strategies, policies and programs that are designed to:
>
> make our administrative, social and economic infrastructure more responsive to the rights, obligations and needs of our culturally-diverse population;
>
> promote social harmony among the different cultural groups in our society; and
>
> optimise the benefits of our cultural diversity for all Australians’ (DIMIA 2002a).

The introductory paragraphs are followed by a set of four principles listed as ‘civic duty’, ‘cultural respect’, ‘social equity’ and ‘productive diversity’. The underpinning ideal is the belief in a set of institutions built on democracy, and the sentiments expressed here are that each ‘culture’ should be free to express itself within the boundaries of the law (DIMIA 2002a). ‘Cultural diversity’ is claimed to be an economic resource (DIMIA 2002b). Specific policy initiatives involve ‘diversity management’ (DIMIA 2003j). In the foreword to the 1999 report containing multicultural policy initiatives, John Howard expresses his belief that:

> ‘[W]e are an open and tolerant society that promotes the celebration of diversity within the context of a unifying commitment to Australia. Our diversity is a source of competitive advantage, cultural enrichment and social stability’ (Australia 1999b, p. 21).

This is in complete contrast to the (Hansonite) rejection of multiculturalism in association with ‘political correctness’ (Jupp 1998, p. 148), and of Howard himself in interviews (Jupp 1998, p. 147). For Castles *et al*. (1988), the term ‘diversity’ is an ‘ill-conceived monstrosity’ deployed to paper over the historically real differences that existed in Australia (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 8). This, and other populist images, are interpreted as merely covers for real inequalities in society (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 9). The idea of a unified culture promoted in the second half of the twentieth century is condemned:

> ‘[T]he notion of a unified host culture papered over differences in cultural practice in this country linked to social class, gender or geographical (urban/ rural) location, and also consigned to historical limbo sharp ethnic divisions which had existed before 1945. Most obviously and predictably there was nothing Aboriginal to which migrants were enjoined to assimilate. In addition, assimilation speeded the process by which the

> distinctive contribution of the Irish was so far erased from memory that it eventually became possible for otherwise literate people to describe whole sections of the Australian population as 'Anglo-Celtic' ' (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 44).

Political changes, then, can be seen as expedient. This section will examine how multiculturalism is presented with respect to culture and language, and why it is also an important arena of struggle for identity within Australia.

8.9.2 Origins and Meanings of 'Multiculturalism'

'Multiculturalism' was a term used in Canada in official discourse since 1968 (Jupp 1998, p. 138), but in the 1970s Grassby was not encouraged by the Canadian implementation of multiculturalist ideas (Lopez 2000, p. 224). Lopez (2000) interprets multiculturalism as an ideology because it contains a set of beliefs encoded in specific texts. However, as it is neither 'comprehensive' nor 'systematic', he describes it as 'incompletely elaborated' (Lopez 2000, p. 3). The terms 'assimilation', 'integration' and 'multiculturalism' can also refer to successive historical periods in Australian history (Lopez 2000, p. 4). For Jupp (1998), the term was vague until the 1978 Galbally Report used it in reference to a set of programs and services for migrants (Jupp 1998, p. 138).

Castles *et al*. (1988), do not believe that the introduction of multiculturalism met the needs of non-English speakers, and they propose changes to the policy to use its more positive aspects (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, pp. 145-148). Lopez (2000) sees the rise of multiculturalism as being forced onto the political agenda by a small number of people who had a strong desire to change Australian society, particularly between the 1950s and 1970s (Lopez 2000). He describes the process as involving 'several networks of ideological definers, activists, supporters, sympathisers and contacts' (Lopez 2000, p. 451). Some of these were influential within government departments such as the Department of Immigration, and later, in Social Security and in Education (Lopez 2000, p. 459). In the early 1970s, individual politicians, who later came to power, took an interest in versions of multiculturalism and were prepared to promote it (Lopez 2000, p. 458). Gough Whitlam and Malcolm Fraser, both Prime Ministers of Australia, and Al Grassby as Minister for Immigration, are seen by Lopez (2000) as key promoters. There were also activists and social workers influential in lobbying various branches of government, and a small number of academics that helped shape some of the ideology. (Lopez 2000, p. 39).

Lopez (2000) disputes polls claiming majority support for multiculturalism in Australia. In particular, he highlights the format of the questions in the polls, arguing that some presented

multiculturalism in an 'innocuous form' (Lopez 2000, p. 26). In a 1997 Newspoll where respondents were asked to apply a scaling of 'good' or 'bad' to multiculturalism, almost half of the respondents had mixed feelings:

> 'The question was not conducive to indicating whether there was an overwhelming public endorsement of multiculturalism, but it did reveal that while almost half the respondents were ambivalent, 37 percent were prepared to record their ambivalence in a more positive manner' (Lopez 2000, p. 27)

Lopez (2000) does not interpret an overwhelming push for multiculturalism from ethnic groups within Australia, either.

> 'The ethnic groups constituted a plurality of interests but, apart from a few leaders, stopped short of articulating an ideology relating to a culturally and ethnically pluralistic society or direct involvement in the push for multiculturalism. There was no broad ethnic social movement advocating multiculturalism.'(Lopez 2000, p. 38)

Lopez (2000) concludes that although political parties' quest for votes explains the adoption of some multiculturalist perspectives, it does not explain its origins (Lopez 2000, p. 23). The role of academics and interested parties in advancing various versions of multiculturalism influenced the current ideology (Lopez 2000, p. 23). Some aspects were compatible with the liberal philosophies of key political parties and personalities (Lopez 2000, p. 24).

8.9.3 Multiculturalism as an Enriching Additive to Australian Culture

Anderson (2002) discusses research in the late 1930s on the physiological properties of 'half-castes' (people of mixed Aboriginal-white descent) in Australia (Anderson 2002, p. 226ff.). Adelaide University entomologist Norman Tindale, and his student Joseph Birdsell, undertook a field expedition in 1938-1939 (Anderson 2002, p. 227). The main thrust of their research was to examine the 'unique experiment' of race-crossing and its effects on the 'half-caste problem' (Anderson 2002, p. 230). By the end of 1938 they had measured the physical characteristics of 'more than 1200 Aboriginal bodies, grouped their blood, and recorded their genealogies' (Anderson 2002, p. 228). Anderson (2002) describes how Tindale and Birdsell were impressed with the inhabitants of Cape Barren Island as an excellent example of the 'absorption' of Aborigines into white society:

> ' 'Their mode of life and methods of thinking are essentially white and relatively few traces survive of their native ancestry. Considering their cramped surroundings and isolation, their code of morality is surprisingly high.' Tindale felt that their problems should therefore be regarded as those 'of a white people who have a dark strain running through them, rather than as Aborigines' ' (Anderson 2002, p. 230).

The final report concluded there need be no fear of a reversion to 'Negro' characteristics as the Aboriginal was clearly 'a forerunner of the Caucasian race' and would soon be merged

into the white society (Anderson 2002, p. 230). Therefore Tindale also argued against keeping Aborigines in separate areas, as was the case in Western Australia and Queensland (Anderson 2002, p. 231). Only with dispersal could Aboriginal mixed-bloods become 'culturally and otherwise absorbed into the general population' (Anderson 2002, p. 232). Far from being a disaster for the white population as had been envisaged in earlier ideas of racial interbreeding, Tindale asserted that:

> ' "the introduction of a low percentage of a primitive Australian strain may provide just that extra range of variation necessary for the ultimate selection and development of a white stock adjusted to the tropical parts of Australia" ' (Anderson 2002, p. 232).

C. E. Cook, Protector in the Northern Territories, believed that hybridity would help resistance to the tropical environment and reduce the incidence of skin cancer in the 'blond European' (Anderson 2002, p. 236). Researchers like Jens Lyng tried to determine statistically the 'proper composition of white Australia' (Anderson 2002, p.149). As the definition of 'white' changed, Lyng determined that the 98 percent of Australians who were white could be classified into 'Nordics' (who had 'restless, creative energy'), 'Alpines' (lacked imagination but were tenacious) and 'Mediterraneans' (passionate and excitable) (Anderson 2002, p.149). Celts and Anglo-Saxons were in the 'Nordic' category, Germans and northern Italians were 'Alpine' and Greeks and Sicilians were 'Mediterranean' (Anderson 2002, p.149). The prevalence of 'Mediterraneans' in Queensland was advanced as a reason for the political unrest and the lower agricultural productivity there. 'Nordics' and 'Alpines' were supposedly the best types for Australia, as they would become strong cultivators (Anderson 2002, p. 149) and the addition of more 'Alpines' would assist in creating an 'intense love of land' [(Lyng 1927, p.225) quoted in (Anderson 2002, p. 150)]. Racial characteristics were seen as conferring particular attributes to populations. So hybridisation was presented as a potentially enriching process for Australia with the eventual development of a better version of the Australian populace.

In an echo of exactly such reasoning, multiculturalism can sometimes be presented as just such an enriching process. Although now there is no mention of race – 'culture' instead takes its place. The benefits of adding other cultures to Australia are supposedly self-evident, shown in the continuing success of Australian society. Diversity is praised as leading to 'cultural enrichment' in official pronunciations by the Prime Minister (Australia 1999b, p. 21). It is also something particularly Australian, presented as 'Australian Multiculturalism' (DIMIA 2002a). Claims of the 'enriching' nature of additional languages in Australia had already been made by Arthur Calwell in 1953, despite the then overwhelming predominance of assimilation to

English (Ozolins 1993, p. 75). Lopez (2000) comments on the importance in the 1970s of policy reports in advancing multiculturalist policies within government. He cites the 1973 Immigration Advisory Council *Final Report* as particularly influential in attempting to build a multicultural society (Lopez 2000, p. 236). In this report, there was specific association of migration and enrichment:

> 'Australia needs more people, not just to augment the consumer market and develop expanding industries, but to develop a more diverse and viable society and to sustain cultural and social minorities whose contribution is needed to enrich any community, especially one as remote as ours from the world's great centres of civilisation' [(Australia 1975) quoted in (Lopez 2000, p. 237)]

This argument relies on a view of 'civilisation' present in only a few locations, far from Australia. In this representation, mainstream Australia must logically be culturally relatively impoverished if additions are to enrich it. There is also the description of the enriching features as 'minorities', in contrast to the discourse of the 'swamping' of Australia by (Asian) foreign presence (Jupp 1998, p. 148). The enrichment can only happen when it is a smaller addition to the larger part, helping to explain why arguments portraying changes as small and enriching (Australia 1999b, p. 21) might be considered convincing. It also pre-supposes a larger, homogeneous group to whom minorities are assumed to relate in a common way (cf. Burnley 2001). Lopez (2000) quotes Smolicz (1971) promoting the role of the school in advancing multiculturalism in order to enrich Australian society:

> ' "It should be the aim of the school to take advantage of those fleeting moments when European cultures are still alive in the children and catch and distil them into Australian life before they evaporate forever […] In other words, ethnic cultures have been allowed to disintegrate before they were given a chance to diversify, replenish and enrich the Anglo-Saxon core culture" ' [(Smolicz 1971, p. 8) quoted in (Lopez 2000, p. 160)].

Lopez (2000) quotes further reflections by Smolicz (1971) that claim advantages such as a softening of masculinity that might result from the addition of 'peasant' Mediterranean culture to the 'monotonous' continent of Australia, allowing even the most 'backward' aspects of such peasants to advance Australian culture (Lopez 2000, p. 160). Lopez (2000) sees such claims in the context of a 'tirade' against assimilation, and an attack on parochialism (Lopez 2000, p. 159). In work a generation later, now that the multi-ethnic state has supposedly arrived, Smolicz (1995a) considers that:

> 'While acknowledging the need for all Australians to master English as part of the country's overarching values, any return to the early post-war insularity towards the outside non-British world and assimilation inside the country would involve constricting the multi-ethnic state into the strait-jacket of a monocultural nation' (Smolicz 1995a, p. 14).

In this view a restrictive, monocultural nation had previously existed. There is no concept presented here of diversity in gender, age, interests in music or lifestyle – culture is presented in ethnic or heritage terms. Smolicz (1995a) promotes Australia as an example of the successful 'management' of diversity (Smolicz 1995a, p. 3).

Professor Smolicz is presently (2001) a member of the Council for Multicultural Australia (CMA), a body established by John Howard in August 2000. This is a successor organisation to the National Multicultural Advisory Council (NMAC), which had been re-appointed by the Howard government in 1997 (Lopez 2000) and which retains the same chairman, Neville Roach (CMA 2001). It is therefore perhaps not surprising to hear some of the same sentiments expressed by the CMA, particularly those on the successful management of diversity within Australia (see, for example http://www.immi.gov.au/multicultural/diversity/index.htm). This also heightens the impression of the continued presence of activist promoters of multiculturalism (Lopez 2000, p. 39). In work pre-dating these events by 15 years Castles *et al*. (1988) are angered by the 'institutionalisation of consultation' in multiculturalism (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 77). This is seen as a 'short-circuiting of democracy' and a 'new form of patronage' (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 77).

Lopez (2000) also sees an important effect of the change of attitudes. Agreeing with analysis by Katherine Betts (Betts 1988), Lopez paints the background of the New Left as being determined to fight the negatively-stereotyped 'typical Australian' who was boorish, narrow-minded and 'culturally inferior' (Lopez 2000, p. 83). Racism was to be utterly eradicated, and '[t]he migrants and their cultures became lauded as the tonic to cure Australia's cultural malady' (Lopez 2000, p. 83). Support for multiculturalism was thus also interpretable as a marker of political stance.

8.9.4 Multiculturalism as a Cure for Conflict

Multiculturalism can also be praised for defusing conflict, by promoting inter-cultural understanding. In particular, the virtues of cultural contact between those who had been 'immersed […] almost exclusively in the Anglo-Australian mainstream culture' and people from other backgrounds, is seen as leading to better understandings of each other (Smolicz 1995a, p. 17). Racism was historically linked by many activists and researchers to migrant welfare issues and inadequate responses from local or central Authority (Lopez 2000, p. 38; Burnley 2001, p. 109). Fighting racism is portrayed as a task that is unfinished – and an area where multiculturalism still has an important role. For example, in anticipation of Harmony Day, 2003 the CMA expressed its opposition to racism in terms that incorporated both

(Aboriginal) reconciliation and multiculturalism:

> ‘Acknowledgement and respect for all cultures is an integral part of Australia’s success as a harmonious, culturally diverse society.
>
> The Council for Multicultural Australia (CMA) and Reconciliation Australia have again joined forces to emphasise the importance of cultural respect to community harmony. Both organisations urge all Australians to take time during March, especially on Harmony Day (21 March), to promote our community’s success as a multicultural society; to re-commit to respect, goodwill and understanding among Australians of all backgrounds; and to say “no” to racism’ (CMA 2003a).

It may not be insignificant that the day was actively promoted as ‘Harmony Day’, as opposed to ‘Reconciliation Day’, in light of the consistent refusal of some politicians to take part in reconciliation activities (Day 2001, p. 337). The tying together of multiculturalism and reconciliation issues may dovetail neatly with the presentation of a campaign against racism. Multiculturalism can thus be presented as not merely an aspect of immigration. This is explicitly formulated in the same press release for the 2003 Harmony Day:

> ‘ ‘While there are many differences between reconciliation and multicultural issues, there is also much common ground’, said chairman of the CMA Mr. Benjamin Chow. ‘To be effective and inclusive, reconciliation and Australian multiculturalism each require mutual respect, understanding and acceptance’.
>
> ‘Events around the world and close to home have underlined the need to create a future which embodies and expresses our common humanity, while allowing diversity to flourish within the framework of moral decency and the rule of law’, stated Reconciliation Australia co-chair, Ms. Jackie Huggins’ (CMA 2003a).

Any attack on multiculturalism could therefore be deflected as racist, and so this is potentially a very powerful alliance of political stances with which to neutralise some political opponents. There is also a shift in ‘ownership’ of multiculturalism in such announcements (CMA 2003a). The unifying nature of ‘Australian Multiculturalism’, as a specifically <u>Australian</u> policy is promoted, not merely the ideology itself. In the budget press release in May 2001, the Minister for the Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs, Phillip Ruddock, praised his own government’s work in advertising the benefits of this policy while condemning racism (DIMIA 2001k). The presentation of the policy as being different from worldwide trends in politics might be motivated by a desire to present Australian society as distinctive and separate. This was a quite overt aspect of previous eras of political life in escaping the ‘apron strings’ of Britain, for example (Lopez 2000, p. 246). This form of presentation might help to present a distinctive, Australian, cohesive national identity.

8.9.5 Multiculturalism as a Cohesive Force

Some discourse reflects the importance of multiculturalism as a cohesive force that will (continue to) bind Australia and overcome the threat of conflict. In this section the importance of adding ethnic elements to the Australian society will be examined, and related to desires for continuing control of the nation.

8.9.5.1 Adding Ethnicity

The addition of ethnic elements to Australian culture can bring a beneficial exchange. Dixson (1999) espouses the virtues of the 'ethnic mix':

> 'Leaving aside the matter of new class alignments, the Anglo-Celts acting as main bearers of Australia's 'old identity' continue to form a core culture. But to a degree this core culture is now being taken up by – while at the same time 'holding' – a much richer ethnic mix. To the core culture falls a crucial role in binding and sustaining that mix in the present transitional period' (Dixson 1999, p. 33).

In this view the 'core' (Anglo-) has not been subsumed, but has had peripheral pieces added on to it, enriching it in the process. The very use of the term 'core' throughout Dixson's (1999) work implies that what is not 'Anglo' must be at the periphery. Such use of terms is reminiscent of the 'binary logic' found by Phillips in his own survey, in which the model of friend/ enemy, and internal/ external appeared to be a valid way of characterising attitudes (Phillips 1996). Richness is presented as coming from the periphery to the core, but transmission of the most important values in the society moves in the opposite direction. Dixson (1999) believes that the transmission of values occurs via Australian English:

> 'In Major part through the attitudes and values congealed in Australian-English, transfusions of the old identity are clearly making themselves felt throughout Australian society. In some degree, day-to-day communication in Australian-English transmits the values listed above. And this subtle transmission is occurring even while, in many cases, individuals are being as faithful as they wish to earlier ethnic allegiances' (Dixson 1999, p. 33).

According to this view, Australian English is the vector for 'core' values, with the further implication that such values were not present as part of 'earlier ethnic allegiances'. This is a representation of Australia as a home for civic responsibility, calm, order, and democracy, in contrast to nations without 'civic-model' institutions like Australia (Dixson 1999, p. 53). The implication in Dixson (1999) is that the source country of the immigrant is the determiner of their belief system, which can remain only a contentious assertion without supporting evidence.

8.9.5.2 Maintaining Civic Australia

A 'problem' that apparently needs to be tackled is how Australia will change in the new multicultural era. A possible solution is presented in Prentis (1983):

> 'Will the old notions of Australian nationality be maintained, or will they be swamped by the new pluralism? The Scots and Scottish-Australians are still strategically placed to play a mediating role, and continue to demonstrate the combination of integration into Australian nationality and continuing respect for the culture of origin, at the same time contributing that culture to the mainstream' (Prentis 1983, p.160).

Prentis (1983) presents Scots as a unitary category, and their culture as a fixed element – despite his own assessment that 'multiculturalism has a tendency to treat culture as a static collection of practices detached from everyday life' (Prentis 1983, p. 159). In a period of transition, Scots are presented as being able to 'mediate' the exchange. This would be possible in a world where there were clear groups negotiating via a mediator. Therefore Scots and Scottish-Australians presumably have some experience of being an 'ethnicity' in relation to Anglo. This, apparently, is what would give such a group of people particular insight. Prentis' (1983) underlying reasoning relies on group interactions.

Fear of the destruction of Australian democracy and institutions appears in Dixson (1999), and in official government pronouncements (DIMIA 2002a). Dixson (1999) foresees possible threats in the near future. In particular she interprets the 'intermarriage' of 'Anglo-Celt' and 'non-Anglo-Celt' as an indication that uptake of Australian values is 'broad enough' (Dixson 1999, p. 33). But because this intermarriage also constitutes the fastest-growing section of the population, Dixson (1999) worries about the 'depth' of 'absorption of sufficient old-identity values':

> 'But to what extent does it strike *deeply enough* to ensure sufficiently powerful continuity of civic and other values?
>
> Given the sometimes precarious situation of other countries, it would be unwise to assume that the cohesion implicit in such a process [i.e. of intermarriage] will automatically endure. This is a vulnerable time of cultural regrouping. Can we simply assume that the ideals and values, for which the core culture must for a time remain the key historical bearer, will persist? If not, what measures need to be taken to ensure they do? Big questions on identity and the role of the core culture circle around this issue, especially because of the new edge which expanding contact with our Asian neighbours imparts to them' (Dixson 1999, p. 34, emphasis in original).

Dixson (1999) expresses a fear of a process that is uncontrollable if too broad, just as an event like 'swamping' might be uncontrollable. The analogy with discourses of whiteness is evident again, but instead of the white 'race' being vulnerable, it is the 'core culture'. Instead of the white 'race' being endangered by intermarriage, it is civic values established by the 'core

culture' in Australia. The threat to these is implicitly portrayed as some external 'other' with whom Anglo-Celts are intermarrying.

The fear of a rapid-growing section of the population without the same deeply embedded values also worried previous generations of civic-minded Australians. This was the case for the perceived problem of 'half-caste' Aborigines in the 1920s and 1930s for example, as their numbers were increasing (Anderson 2002, p. 226). Anderson quotes C. E. Cook on his belief that half-caste women should be absorbed into the white community to avoid their becoming reservoirs of disease, and to provide more appropriate home-makers for the men (Anderson 2002, p. 236). State involvement in reproduction became a 'racial salvage operation'[103] (Anderson 2002, p. 236). This reflected concern with a 'biologically consolidated nation' (Anderson 2002, p. 236) and Cook, Neville and others expressed their views that there would be a period of transition before full absorption occurred (Anderson 2002, p. 238).

The addition of 'otherness' into Australian whiteness may also be reflected in what Day (2001) interprets as the appropriation of Aboriginal art by 'middle Australia' (Day 2001, p. 317). This is not just in terms of the use of Aboriginal-style dot paintings, but also in the use of this style by organisations such as Qantas using Aboriginal motif to decorate the tail fin of a new service to Japan (Day 2001, p. 317). The comfortable adoption of otherness within mainstream society is thereby interpreted as a 'declaration to the world that the continent's Aboriginal past had been subsumed by the supplanting society of Europeans' (Day 2001, p. 317).

There are two elements of this sort of discourse that are reflected in modern Australia: firstly the fear of a rapid expansion of a section of the population that is not adaptable to Australian (mainstream) society. Too many of these 'others' would not give sufficient time, presumably, for 'values' to be absorbed. This was the motivation behind stealing half-caste children before they were re-absorbed into blackness, and the motivation for not letting in too many 'others' at once, for fear of swamping the country. Secondly, the underlying theme of the discourse both in earlier generations and at present is the need for control of events by Anglo Australia.

8.9.5.3 Power and Control in Multiculturalism

Hage (1998) expands the theme of control in a discussion of an Australian children's story[104] about a stew made by fictional characters in a past gold rush in Australia (Hage 1998, p. 118ff.). In this story, miners from different ethnic backgrounds combine their ingredients in

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[103] Anderson (2002, p. 236) also compares this with Nazi ideas of sterilisation to avoid racial contamination.
[104] Michael and Rhonda Gray, *'The Stew that Grew'*, Walter McVitty books, Glebe, 1990.

order to make a satisfying and tasty (Christmas) stew. Blue and Molly O'Drew start the process with their spuds (Hage 1998, p. 119). Each 'ethnic' appears in their national costume and contributes an ingredient that supposedly comes from their country of origin – a leek from Taffy, Jacques with onions, Maria Mazzini with zucchini, Wong with peas, and Johnny Barcoo with Yam and kangaroo tail (Hage 1998, p. 120). Thus the 'initial poverty of Anglo-Celtic combination' is enriched with multicultural attributes (Hage 1998, p. 120). Hage (1998) interprets the story in the light of a white nationalist fantasy. The stew is not complete until Blue throws in the final, secret ingredient. Therefore the importance of the 'agency' of Anglo-Celtic control is paramount:

> '[I]t is mainly at this level that the White nation fantasy that is engraved in the text begins to transpire. Crucially, while everyone throws in their ingredient, one person is allowed a monopoly over cooking from the beginning of the story until its end: the White Australian 'Blue'. Even the patriarchy which would otherwise have structured the lives of a mining Anglo-Celtic couple is forgotten for the sake of making the true Blue Aussie male the main will behind the whole process' (Hage 1998, p. 120).

Hage (1998) goes on to interpret the control of the stew as representing the power of the Anglo to attribute either negative or positive value to the contributions, and it is Blue that declares the stew complete (Hage 1998, p.121). For Hage (1998) this is an example of the fantasy of a White Australia under the control of the 'Anglo'. Hage (1998) similarly quotes an Australian journalist describing Australian culture as a 'tent' protecting diversity, and a State Premier asserting that English language and liberal democratic traditions help bind the society together (Hage 1998, p. 123).

There is an element of continuity in the discourse of diversity, and control over managing it. Lopez (2000) quotes Grassby speaking in 1973 of his desire for a 'family' model to Australian nationalism (Lopez 2000, p. 224). This was meant to be a model in which diversity flourished in national unity, and was promoted in many of Grassby's speeches (Lopez 2000, p. 225). It was not a theme taken up by the ALP as a whole, and was a notion derided by some multiculturalist activists as naïve and conservative (Lopez 2000, p. 227). Grassby was a supporter of many of those advocating multiculturalism and thanks to him many activists gained more influence in political circles (Lopez 2000, p. 227). The analogy of the home implies a family model with an identifiable authority structure and potentially patriarchal values. Diversity was portrayed as something to be managed in such a framework. The discourse of the control of 'others' in Australia may reflect an element of identity insecurity. It is a fear of the disappearance of what is highly valued. It is a fear of conflict or disintegration. Hage (1998) suggests that the discourse of control is a form of nationalism and reflects a

fantasy of the supremacy of 'whiteness' or 'Anglo' culture. It may also be why all 'cultures' within Australia are identified, categorised and classified in relation to Anglo-ness. This is the dominant benchmark, the prime site of insecurity, and the site for contestation of what it means to be Australian.

8.9.6 Democracy and Citizenship

Commitment to democracy can be expressed as an integral part of multiculturalism in official definitions:

> 'Australian multiculturalism […] accepts and respects the right of all Australians to express and share their individual cultural heritage within an overriding commitment to Australia and the basic structures and values of Australian democracy' (DIMIA 2002a).

The subtext is one of exchange, whereby the state gives respect and acceptance, while the citizen commits to particular structures and values. This is not a discourse of state duties towards individual citizens, but rather one where aspects of 'Australian democracy' take precedence. It may also reflect concerns about the almost one million permanent residents of Australia who had not yet taken up citizenship. There were budget commitments to encourage this (AMC 1999, p. 9). Citizenship is presented as a form of 'full' participation:

> 'The Government has also endorsed a promotional campaign, at a cost of more than $4 million, to encourage migrants to fully participate in society by becoming Australian Citizens. An additional $2 million towards this initiative will come from the Budget' (DIMIA 2001k)

Lopez (2000) quotes a 1965 speech by Bob Armstrong, assistant secretary at the Department of Immigration, making a similar appeal for migrants to:

> ' '… preserve the best of our traditions, adopt and adapt the best of what settlers might bring with them as their birth right, and aim to create … a Europe in the sun, without national barriers and with common citizenship' ' (Lopez 2000, p. 59).

For Lopez (2000) this is a statement of integrationism, and part of a campaign to attract and keep migrants. Ethnic groups are represented as having positive value, and Australia as being European (Lopez 2000, p. 59). Such an appeal to common citizenship has apparently persisted into the 2000s, with the backdrop of the value of (Australian) democracy, and reflects belief in the value of a civic model of Australian society.

Part of the motivation for discourse might be the need to promote the ideology to those who might not be prepared to envisage change. Following Lopez' (2000) analysis that multiculturalism is not overwhelmingly popular (Lopez 2000, p. 27), and Smolicz' (1995a) comment that it has not 'penetrated the Australian psyche' (Smolicz 1995a, p. 17), such presentation might have as much to do with marketing multiculturalism in a context where

politicians know it is viewed sceptically, and attacked as 'politically correct'. Lopez (2000) reports on moves to drop the term 'multiculturalism' in 1997 by a prominent member of the NMAC. This was at the height of Hanson's attacks on multiculturalism, though, and would therefore have appeared as a retreat from the ideology (Lopez 2000, p. 450).

There may also be advantages for the Australian economy in encouraging citizenship. This would fit with Lopez' (2000) reporting on the earlier desires of politicians to attract and retain productive migrants in Australia 'in a permanent association' when faced with the realities of a global marketplace where they could be attracted elsewhere (Lopez 2000, p. 60). The pronouncements on citizenship also mirror recent changes to Australia's citizenship laws. Australians were previously barred from holding dual nationality, unless they were British beforehand, but legislation enacted in 2002 allowing residents to hold dual nationality until the age of 25 was praised by the CMA as 'positive for diversity' (CMA 2002a). So the presentation of multiculturalism as a positive, Australian attribute might be a pragmatic response to socio-economic realities. Perhaps the greater concern is with the need to present Australia as an attractive destination without racism? A concern that was just as alive in the 1970s and 1980s (Lopez 2000).

In 2000 the chairman, Neville Roach, congratulated Australian multicultural society after the Sydney Olympics, saying that it deserved a gold medal (CMA 2000). The country is 'culturally diverse' yet 'harmonious'; multiculturalism is 'an inclusive concept which embraces and is embraced by all Australians' (CMA 2000). The colour of skin is possibly not altogether forgotten, as the participation of 'Indigenous, Australian-born and migrant athletes' was 'visible proof' of such inclusiveness (CMA 2000). State intervention and policy clearly continued to be beneficial when Roach announced that 'Australia is one of the most successful multicultural countries in the world' (CMA 2001). The same press release urged restraint in reporting crime linked to potentially divisive details of ethnicity, and warned of complacency:

> 'Australian Multiculturalism is globally admired and is delivering huge economic, social and cultural benefits to all Australians. We must all be ever vigilant to ensure that such outcomes and the values that underpin them are always protected' (CMA 2001).

The impression of a country that is attractive, peaceful and desirable is possibly a marketing strategy to boost Australia's image internally and externally. If so, this would also be a form of national symbolic management, and perhaps interpreted as the fantasy of a good nation.

8.9.7 Multiculturalism and Rejection of the Past

Multiculturalism can be presented as a clear break with the past. This was self-consciously the

case in the first official speech using the title 'Multi-Culturalism' in 1973 (Lopez 2000, p. 249). The values outlined in the speech were explicitly equated with United Nations human rights ideals (Lopez 2000, p. 245) and multicultural approaches recognised 'the reality of Australia's diverse social composition' (Lopez 2000, p. 246). The progressive nature of the speech is evident for Lopez (2000) in the references to Australia as 'young' and in 'venturing from the "apron strings of our original nanny" (Great Britain)' (Lopez 2000, p. 246). The stasis of the Old World was compared to the potential dynamism of developing societies, and pre-War Australia was portrayed as closed, fearful and dependant on Imperial governments (Lopez 2000, p. 246). There was an explicit rejection of guest workers, and promotion of permanent migration as a way of maintaining diversity and social justice (Lopez 2000, p. 246). The landmark nature of the speech and complete departure from previous portrayals of Australia cannot be doubted.

The reconstruction of relationships is something that Australia has also had to face in recent times (Denoon, Mein-Smith et al. 2000). Particular events are seen as triggering introspection, such as the centenary of Federation, and the referendum on Australia becoming a republic and cutting links to the British Crown (Denoon, Mein-Smith et al. 2000, p. 4). The symbolism in having the British monarch as a head of state might be a site of struggle for some people. Symbolisms can have extraordinary significance. The Whitlam government instituted 'Advance Australia Fair' instead of 'God Save the King' [sic] in 1972 (Day 2001, p. 313). This was reversed in 1976 by the Fraser government but in a referendum in 1977 Whitlam's choice was reinstated (Day 2001, p. 313). Day (2001) sees moves towards an Australian republic as an indication that Australians were becoming 'increasingly comfortable with their proprietorship over the continent' and therefore able to be presented differently in Asia (Day 2001, p. 314). Outward political changes reducing Britain's importance in Australia were felt directly by some respondents.

<u>Extract 8.13 A Visa for one's own Country</u>

Cumhal: '... and it wasn't just a flood of migrants, it was a political attitude that when Whitlam came in, and Grassby came in, who started an awful lot of this darned stuff- [...]-started changing all the rules, and all of a sudden Britons, if you like-

Beltanno: And you almost had to apologise – didn't you – for being British. That was the thing!

Cumhal: Yes, you were virtually apologising for being British. Grassby then turned round – at one stage, when you emigrated out here you could vote and could get yourself on the electoral roll if you were here for 12 months without having to become an Australian citizen; you were classified as a British subject.
[...] I don't say that was necessarily right, but that was the kind of thing that was

going on, […] and when Whitlam and Grassby and co. started changing the rules, they swept right through the whole bloody boards with the whole darn thing with the result that people born in Britain almost became 'Hey, we're foreigners virtually in our own country!' And I know an awful lot of people like me who hadn't become Australian citizens; we didn't think about – we looked on ourselves as Australians, even though we had sort of emotional ties to Scotland. We had - we looked on ourselves – we first went back home, I was told – just because I had a British passport-

Beltanno: that you'd have to have a re-entry permit?! To get back in?

Cumhal: I went through the bloody roof! And as far as I was concerned, I had to get a visa to get back into my own country! Because really when you look at it, and even at that stage, I had spent more years in this country than what I ever did in Scotland- […]-like in Scotland, as far as I was concerned. But they went right through, and it was from that time on – and what was that, the mid-seventies?

Beltanno: Yes.

Cumhal: It was only about that time it became really negative to be Scots, Irish, or whatdyacallit – you see that selfsame thing now, if you try to apply for a grant. And if we had a group

Beltanno: Yes

Cumhal: it's all very well to turn around and say it's for [Organisation's Gaelic Name] they don't know what that bloody well means […] but [if you say] it's a Scots group – 'Aaaah… Mac A, Mac B, C – if your name ended in '-ski' or something else, you'd have a far, far better chance' [MD27.47].

So for Cumhal and Beltanno these changes were an imposition, not liberation. They subsequently felt that presentation to bureaucracies as non-Anglo became much more important for their organisation. Cumhal's claim for an Australian identity is based on his length of residence. It was his country, despite emotions pulling elsewhere. They seem to feel that they were caught in the crossfire of a battle for national identity.

The importance of symbolic ties is perhaps still of crucial political importance. Keating's government from 1993 openly made positive relations with Asia an aspect of policy and the proposed disappearance of the Union Jack was part of the change of image envisaged (Day 2001, p. 314). Keating had committed to a referendum on republicanism, but Day (2001) interprets Howard's use of a convention as manipulating events (Day 2001, p. 341). Therefore the referendum resulted in a rejection of a republic thanks to the 'unprincipled alliance' of monarchists and those who believed that the proposals did not go far enough (Day 2001, p. 341). Howard seemed to celebrate historic links by taking hundreds of politicians with him to London in July 2001 to commemorate Britain's approval of the Australian constitution a century beforehand (Day 2001, p. 341). Denoon *et al*. (2000) perceive a refusal to renegotiate relationships (in favour of preserving old ones), which also has important implications for such matters as 'native title' (Denoon, Mein-Smith et al. 2000, p. 4).

8.9.8 Multiculturalism and Multiple Identities

Although Dixson (1999) praises the ability of new Australians to retain their 'earlier ethnic allegiances' (Dixson 1999, p. 33), this clearly discomforts others (Jupp 1998, p. 147). For Castles *et al*. (1988), 'neo-conservative' multiculturalism fossilized differences (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 145). Multiculturalism is not a diversity of social equals in this view (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 122) and they condemn the presentation of Australian history in a school text book, as consisting simply of differences (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 117). For Castles *et al*. (1988) ignoring socio-economic arguments serves merely to trivialise culture (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 70) and analyses in official reports are dismissed as 'Disneyland formulae' for the maintenance of culture (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 69). However they do not deny the importance of cultural aspects for identity, even if these are 'self-conscious' choices (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 127).

Blackledge and Pavlenko (2001) use a post-structuralist perspective to explain how people negotiate multiple identities, rather than possessing them (Blackledge and Pavlenko 2001). They perceive previous analyses as too 'static', and as failing to interpret changing identities in multilingual contexts (Blackledge and Pavlenko 2001, p. 244). These analyses indicated that group membership might change as people re-negotiate their identities or wish to project a different self-image (Blackledge and Pavlenko 2001, p. 244). However Blackledge and Pavlenko (2001) also see this as having a monocultural bias. The approach tends to create rigid categories, and an underlying assumption in this approach as tending to interpret cultures as largely homogeneous and monolingual (Blackledge and Pavlenko 2001, p. 245). Thus a sociopsychological approach would posit the need to abandon one's first language and culture in favour of joining the next (Blackledge and Pavlenko 2001, p. 245). They also highlight Cameron's (1990) comment that the 'correlational fallacy' which attributes behaviour to group membership, has no explanatory power (Blackledge and Pavlenko 2001, p. 245). This carries over into essentialised views of language that identify speakers of 'language X' as being an 'X' sort of person (Blackledge and Pavlenko 2001, p. 246).

Blackledge and Pavlenko (2001) follow Bourdieu's (1991) ideas of the 'misrecognition of symbolic power' where speakers' language is used to infer other aspects such as status and intellect (Blackledge and Pavlenko 2001, p. 247). Using such an approach, societies which make claims of multilingual tolerance might actually have 'hidden symbolic power which underpins an ideological drive to homogeneity' (Blackledge and Pavlenko 2001, p. 248). Ideologies of language are seen as relating closely to aspects of power, as they are rarely about

language alone (Blackledge and Pavlenko 2001, p. 246). In the case of Australian language policies this is perhaps most evident in enshrining English within the framework of official policy as a way of defending an identity. Dixson (1999) quite openly claims transmission of 'values' through Australian English, for example (Dixson 1999, p.33).

Perhaps, rather than constructively re-negotiate identities and consider the validity of multiple identities, some in Australia have retreated to an 'old identity' as a valued national symbol. 'Old identity' is indexically linked to (Australian) English in this scenario, perhaps reflecting belief in the link between language and behaviour (Joseph 1998). It might also be why such urgent, nationalistic appeals are made to other elements that are believed to be narrowly associated with 'old identity' – such as democracy, civic society and tolerance - and even Britishness.

8.10 SoSGA Respondents' Multiple Identities

In contrast to defenders of 'old identity' Australia, I believe that many SoSGA respondents are comfortable with multiple identities – or are at least able to meaningfully inhabit multiple identities in response to forces within the society. In borrowing analyses developed by Monica Heller, I perceive the ability of many SoSGA respondents to inhabit different identities dependent on the context and the needs that they perceive as important (Heller 1999). Blackledge and Pavlenko (2001) describe an 'interplay of positions' (Blackledge and Pavlenko 2001, p. 250) and SoSGA respondents are aware of the fluidity of the some ethnicities that they portray. SoSGA respondents' responses to the socio-political context of claims of nationalism may be pragmatic, or principled. The pragmatic responses are reflected in such actions as applying for funding within an 'ethnic' framework, even though the individuals might not be convinced of the ethnic categorisations that the context compels them to make. Principled responses might be ones where respondents overtly reject specific categorisations, or reject the perceived misuse of Scottish Gaelic by others as inauthentic.

8.10.1 Principled Responses to Multiculturalism

Some principled responses by SoSGA respondents deal directly with authenticity. A common response to events such as Highland gatherings is that they represent nothing but a surface version of Scottishness. One of the bigger events, which advertised itself as a celebration of Highland culture, was dismissed for its lack of stalls relating to Scottish Gaelic and dismissed as 'a cheap market' [MD26.61]. The perceived trivialisation of culture is rejected. Other situations can be more subtle.

8.10.1.1 The Importance of Language

A group of SoSGA respondents stayed together after a class. During the discussion, public signs in Scottish Gaelic were commented on in relation to language revitalisation. Amun expressed why this was more than just tokenism.

Extract 8.14 The Esperanto of the World

Amun: 'The more common that becomes, though, the more people get an idea that this is our language, that we can use it, we can be bilingual, you can have English. The world- you know, English is the Esperanto of the world now […] you can have that, but you can have your own language too, and I think that's really important' [MD26.74-75].

So for Amun even road signs in Scottish Gaelic were valuable in helping to elevate the status of the language. But the contrast with English moved Scottish Gaelic into an indicator of a local identity, not a global one. This fits with a multiculturalist view that languages may exist at this level in relation to English on a wider one. This might be interpreted as a reflecting the process of subordination (Tsitsipis 1998, p. 4), but is nonetheless a response in principle. One of choirs had a bilingual letterhead and most advertisements were bilingual. This was principled, in that Scottish Gaelic was used despite obviously not being understood by outsiders. The choir also had developed a large repertoire of songs. Not all of these were in Scottish Gaelic, as there were some in Scots and some in English – and individual singers performed in French or Italian on separate occasions. In preparation for a paying concert in 2002, the choirmaster prepared a set that included 'popular' Scottish folk songs that were in English. The concert was for an audience that had no specific connection with Scottish Gaelic, but nonetheless half of the repertoire was Scottish Gaelic songs. The choirmaster insisted on their inclusion as a *raison d'être* for the choir. Despite his feeling that the audience might be baffled by those songs, the choirmaster felt that they had to be included as part of the campaign to promote the language in Australia [SoSGA_N3].

8.10.1.2 The Rejection of Stereotype

A principled response to what defines Scottish Gaelic culture is apparent in much of the discourse amongst respondents who do not countenance it being subsumed within any other grouping. Labels such as 'Scottish' are unsatisfactory to describe the culture and are rejected. In Extract 6.46 Muc-mhara describes clan interests as unrelated: *'It's a totally separate thing the Gàidhlig culture and the clan tents - and the dancing and all that, are totally separate'* [MD02.26]. Cridhmór also rejected narrow clan interests on the basis of their apparent obsession with genealogy.

Extract 8.15 It's All Genealogy

Cridhmór: 'It's all genealogy. Even their meetings are focussed on genealogy, its const- they don't celebrate Scottish music at all. They don't sing either Gàidhlig or old Scots songs. It's all about genealogy and how to trace your family' [MD08.45].

This is not to say that Cridhmór and Muc-mhara do not themselves participate in similar activities, as they had made clear elsewhere that they did. Cridhmór reported that her initial motivation in contacting her clan society had been in the hope of finding out about Scottish Gaelic classes, which she subsequently realised had been futile. Crucially, the activities associated with clans and dancing are not rejected as meaningless, but are presented as not representative of Scottish Gaelic culture. They know that wider society is unaware of the distinctions that they feel need to be made. They are aware that other people might see Scottish Gaelic culture as a part of 'Scottish', but this is not something that is acceptable to them. In particular, the language is seen to be a facet that is not understood or known.

8.10.2 Pragmatic Responses to Multiculturalism

An important issue for one of the choirs was funding. The choir committee looked for funding for various projects and performances. One of the committee members researched the grants available from the local and federal governments, focusing on the music and culture possibilities. She also spoke to an official in the relevant department in order to clarify some of the requirements and important factors. The list of who had been funded the previous year was also instructive, as it indicated the way in which the choir might best be presented in order to secure funding. Beltanno describes what she found in Extract 8.16.

Extract 8.16 Funding Grants

Beltanno: There is a grant under the [State] *ministry of arts and culture. There's a music section - so I was interested in this - I've spoken to somebody in there. […] But she tells me that 'no, it doesn't cover ongoing costs'. […] The other thing is that it tends favour regional areas. But the kind of things you can get for a small choir tend to be paying for a tutor for a workshop, that type of thing and paying for a hall and that sort of thing. So you can't get it for ongoing costs, but if you can come up for a special event. Or if you're running the Sri Lankan concert for something or other, you know? That's the kind of thing. I've managed to get a list of some of the grants from last year. Some of them are big organisations – um – so you're talking big money, but there are a few small ones. You know they give 90k to the [large, prestigious, national D] choir*

Morna: I'm not surprised!

Beltanno: Certainly a lot of them are like that .. [reads some examples from list] *but the [local, small L] Ladies choir got 1000 dollars towards performance fees for young artists. Um .. the L-L-L-* [an Indian group - struggles over unfamiliar

> pronunciation] *dance company got ten thousand towards musicians' fees or something! Anyway part of this is we've been talking of workshops* […] *She wasn't terribly enthusiastic, the lady I spoke to. You really wonder about some of the people you get on the other end of the line – they're so laid back! But anyway, she did say if you could find something unusual or something specific that you're doing, you know or something a bit different…' [MD06.33]*

Beltanno is a senior team manager, well versed in understanding complex, technical information and in being able to deal with people within large organisations. The *'regional'* aspect was significant because non-urban choirs were favoured. Another committee member pointed out that the official address of the choir was outside of the major conurbation's administrative area, and that this would therefore be of benefit. Beltanno read through another example in the list that had allocated eight thousand dollars to a Chinese community centre that was in an urban area, pointing out that it was clearly not the most crucial factor. The conversation then veered towards how the choir should be presented:

Extract 8.17 Recognition as an Ethnicity

Fingal: *Well we've got a little bit of a battle with them in getting them to recognise Scottish Gaelic as an ethnicity, but-but -*

Beltanno: *Well when you look at the website to see who gets the grants it's appalling to think we don't!*

Cumhal: *But [Fingal's] got a very, very, very valid point. We applied [one year] for a grant from the Ethnic Communities' Council. We got it, but when [A] actually put the application in, it was just as well he submitted it […] in [Z][105] instead of coming up here. Because he got chatting with the woman behind the counter. 'Well if your name ended in –ski or something of that nature you would have no problem at all with this', she said, 'but I'll put it through anyway and see what happens'. But we got it!*

Morna: *So we send the names in in Gàidhlig!*

[general agreement]

Fingal: *Or we do the application form in Gàidhlig or do a covering letter in Gàidhlig and English.*

[…]

Beltanno: *… I noticed that the only Scottish thing that featured on a list of people getting grants there, was a pipe band – forgotten which one' [MD06.35-36]*

The experience that Cumhal had with that sort of funding application is clearly very instructive: presentation of the choir as something as 'ethnic' as possible would stand them in good stead. Scottish Gaelic has to be presented as an 'ethnicity'. There is no doubt, not only from the tone, but also from the attempts to find hypocrisy within the list of successful grants, that effective marketing of the choir to the bureaucracy is vital. Subsequent to this meeting,

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[105] Large, regional, industrial town, known for high immigration in the later twentieth century.

letters and documents were submitted in Scottish Gaelic as well as English. This also involved the use of names translated into Scottish Gaelic using patronymics, and different spelling conventions. This is a specific linguistic response to perceived bureaucratic barriers to language revival efforts.

In discussions in committee meetings two months later on the topic of funding, Cridhmór pointed out a specific community scheme to which they could apply, based on performing an outreach function. She indicated that there were some specific choir events that would be eligible [MD30]. The 'community service' aspect of another funding application to a large, national bank was also spoken of. Similar sentiments were expressed about how the choir should present itself in order to show the 'service' to the community. The discussions centred on which performances would best fit this category, in particular in relation to delivering music and language that would otherwise not be heard. Presenting this as purely Scottish would not be adequate, it was felt, and therefore Scottish Gaelic had to be stressed as a prime function of the choir.

Also in aid of fund-raising, there were discussions centred on the 'Celtic Massage Stall' that some committee members were going to run at an upcoming school fête. There was a very amusing exchange on this subject, with humorous references to stereotyped symbols. All participants shared in the symbolic meanings and humour. The extract was immediately preceded by rather dry discussions about the likely cut of takings that the school would get, and on how Respondent 111's friend was preparing scented massage oils. Respondent 111 was herself to be the masseuse at the stall:

<u>Extract 8.18 Celtic Massage Stall</u>

Respondent 111: *I'm hoping to have at least two chairs there, possibly three.*
Beltanno: [ironic tone] *How's a Celtic massage, erm, different to a, an-?*
Respondent 111: *We say 'och' a lot!* [general laughter]
[in broad Scottish accent] *Och laddie that's a lovely braw tight pair o' shoulders you've got there laddie! Sit doon there ..*
Beltanno: *I thought* – [laughs] - *you'd have to wear a Druid outfit or something!*
Respondent 041: *You use Woad as a massage oil!*
[general laughter]
Gealmhìn: *You say it all in Gàidhlig*
Respondent 111: *Hoots mon!*
Respondent 041: *.. and you don't wear knickers!*
Respondent 111: [laughter] *What me, or the people who are being massaged?!*
Cumhal: *It was surprising how much it was that more than anything else that latched B*[106] *onto the darned thing – this Celtic masseuse- I thought it was a Celtic massage – so she wanted to know what a Celtic massage was.*

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[106] Organiser or liaison person at the school.

Morna: *so what did you say?*
Cumhal: *I didn't say, it was X who –*
Beltanno: *it was X who was creative, was it?*
Cumhal: *She was very, very creative, and like all the heather oils and whatnot ..*
Respondent 041: *you could even move your, sort of, thumb around in Celtic knots!*
[general laughter]
[…]
Respondent 111: *You could have: 'Have your Celtic knots undone here!'*
Gealmhìn: *That- that- that's a good sign!*
Cumhal: *'Cos when you look at it up there you're gonna have Lebanese stalls, you're gonna have Indian stalls, you're gonna have Vietnamese stalls, Chinese stalls – and whatever.. Korean and Philippino, so you're going to have all of that. So to all of a sudden have Celtic thing is a good position - and I think B, apart from anything else, is of Irish background, anyway, so- ok?' [MD30.44-45].*

The clever use of accents, stereotypes and puns to make fun of the 'Celtic' label for the stall indicates how well SoSGA respondents understand the 'ethnic' context in which they need to operate. Jokes are made about the supposed wearing of kilts without underwear, that heather is used in massage oils, and the use of Woad[107]. All this serves to present the supposed authenticity of the stall in a humorous and satirical way. They make fun of the ways in which they will appeal to outsiders. Note also the juxtaposition of the other ethnicities and how Cumhal is very positive about appearing as a Celtic stall amidst the others with regional-national labels. The appeal to 'B', the organiser of the event and of Irish origin, is self-evident, as she is within the same ethnic framework as Scottish Gaelic or Celtic. Thus the stall would also give B representation within the ethnic collection.

It is important to stress that almost everyone at the meeting was a participant in the exchange. They all understood that the 'Celtic' label was one of convenience. It fitted intimately with the exercise at hand and was cleverly manipulated to fit the context in which they had to operate. It is an indication of how well they were able to marshal various stereotypes as a marketing exercise. They were very well aware of the environment of the stall and the optimal way in which to present it. It was <u>not</u> presented as 'Scottish'. It had wider appeal and wider sub-currents – the very use of massage, rather than merely selling a product was significant. Massage also appealed to a spiritual aspect that meshed with 'Celtic' appeal. Although there had been some discussion of selling foodstuffs (with use of stereotyped products like shortbread advanced as possibilities), this was rejected partly on the grounds of (insurance) liability in case of defective products.

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[107] Woad is a plant that provided a blue dye for ancient British tribes. According to tradition this was used as body decoration by some tribes during wars against the Roman Empire in the north of the British Isles.

Castles *et al*. (1988) discuss funding cuts in the late 1970s that had previously benefited migrant groups, which may be relevant to SoSGA respondents (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 68). They also interpret the increased emphasis on the use of ethnic groups 'as vehicles of service' meaning that such groups were characterised by a high degree of volunteerism, and that individual groups could be 'played off against each other in the competition for extremely limited resource allocations' (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 68). The Ethnic broadcasting services (Section 5.4.9.1) presented themselves in a report as more cost-efficient than the SBS, also invoking their volunteer membership (NEMBC 2001b, p. 4). This lends weight to the idea that ethnicities are in a struggle for centrally funded resources. SoSGA respondents are here very concerned with what it is that allows others to perceive them as 'different' and therefore more likely to access funding.

8.10.3 The Use of Multiple Identities

In some contexts, illustrated by Extract 8.17, some SoSGA respondents feel that they have to present Scottish Gaelic as an ethnicity. The stereotypes that are used are sometimes historical (Woad), sometimes parochial (accent, clothing) and sometimes appeal to a 'new age' sensibility (Celtic). For funding purposes, the boundaries of ethnicity are perceived to be well policed by bureaucratic authorities holding the purse strings, necessitating a particular presentation of activities. Personal contacts with the people in the bureaucracies heighten their impression that they need to be 'different'. Crucially, they have to appear as different as possible from 'Anglo'. Merely Scottish is not convincing: Beltanno comments that the only grant awarded to a Scottish group in the previous year was to a bagpipe band (Extract 8.17). Scottish Gaelic cannot be left as a subgroup of Scottish for their purposes.

SoSGA respondents are well aware of their use of multiple identities. Their Gàidhlig identities are presented to officialdom when it comes to writing letters and applying for funds. It is a self-conscious use of identity and most certainly not one of which they are ashamed. They are able appear within a framework where they have to present themselves in the same way as other 'ethnicities' in order to pursue their goals. Nevertheless, they do have to be selective about which stereotypes to advance and careful about which category to place themselves in the eyes of others. It might also be linked to an analysis by Castles *et al*. (1988) which stresses the society-wide use of English:

> '[L]anguages other than English become unnecessary to elementary survival, they are sited in such a way that strategies for their maintenance have to become self-conscious rather than inevitable and unexceptional. One might wish for a society in which a plurality of languages were to be used equally in every sphere of life. But no one has

seriously proposed this' (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988, p. 127).

8.10.4 Multiculturalism and Scottish Gaelic Identity

Hage sees (some of) multiculturalist discourse as evidence of the 'caging' of ethnicity by 'Anglo' society (Hage 1998). In this respect the reactions of SoSGA respondents to the presence of the multicultural zoo is to attempt to either subvert it, or to push for distinctions which they do not feel are being made. The positioning of respondents, who do not want to be dismissed as 'Anglo', is instructive. Some respondents do not necessarily recognise the appropriateness of the labels, but feel constrained to work within the dominant framework. They are able to mobilise aspects that they believe might appeal to the relevant powers, even though they do not necessarily see these same aspects as truly portraying themselves. They are able to accept labelling in order to work within the framework in a pragmatic way. Belonging to a collection of ethnicities is licensed by the multiculturalist 'tent', and permits identification with a very different set of identities in Australia. The 'mainstream' aspect of Australia is implicitly rejected.

The conflict with mainstream Australia in multicultural contexts encourages some respondents to be selective, while aware of the possible absurdity of their position. They do not fear a multiplicity of identities and understand the need to use variations of their own names as part of the presentation of themselves in everyday, multicultural, Australian life in order to advance their language interests. The subversive nature of their presentation is important. They also do not profess any fragmentation of Australian society or advance any major political goals that would change the political structure. Despite fears expressed by writers such as Dixson (1999), politicians such as Howard, and populists such as Hanson, SoSGA respondents who emphasise distinctions between themselves and the perceived 'mainstream', in no way seem to threaten society. It is belonging to the mainstream itself, which is rejected, not the society's structure. It is much more likely to be the associations with past aspects of white nation building that are rejected. Some respondents are able to cope with and enjoy multiple identities, and to pursue wider interests. People who are involved with Scottish Gaelic in Australia could potentially be seen as good examples of being able to present multiple identities that previous analyses of identity would be unable to cope with (Blackledge and Pavlenko 2001). On the other hand, much of the respondents' discourse in these cases signals little free choice: they are reacting to constraints. They are not negotiating freely, because they are supplicants. In the light of this, optimistic views about negotiation of identities may have to be treated with caution.

8.11 Conclusion

8.11.1 The Modern Importance of Classifications

Anderson (2002) shows that doctors were trained to fit disease causation into 'simplistic, and ultimately untenable, classifications' associated with whiteness (Anderson 2002, p. 98). I suggest that similar simplistic and untenable classifications are made about cultures and ethnicities in Australia. Terms such as 'Anglo' and 'ethnic' are useful only at a very broad level, and do not serve to enlighten linguistic behaviour within a multicultural setting. What are described as 'subgroups', such as Scottish, do not adequately cope with cultural interests, and over-simplify and categorise when this is not necessarily recognised. Reaction to categorisation is evident in the reactions of respondents. The presentation of different identities is an attempt to cope with perceived hegemonic practices by wider society, and by government institutions. Some respondents also react to what they see as typologies of ethnicity where funding exists for aspects that are *'different'* (Extract 8.16). The applications for funding are perceived to be within a framework of institutionalised classifications based on perceived difference to the mainstream.

In line with Lopez' (2000) analysis that there is no common ethnic position promoting multiculturalism, SoSGA respondents do not view other ethnicities as team members within the 'tent' of multiculturalism, but rather as other groups who compete to secure funding from the bureaucracy controlling the purse strings. From this point of view, government bureaucracy is the final arbiter of what constitutes an ethnic activity worthy of funding.

There are some basic oppositions at work: the 'Anglo-X' as the dominant, established population, and the 'ethnic other' who serves to enrich the cultural repertoire, or threaten it, depending on political viewpoint. This is reminiscent of earlier arguments concerning whiteness and racial categories. The categorisations are portrayed as rigid, even if they are actually fluid and contingent. The category of whiteness in medical discourse changed considerably over time – eventually admitting the Aborigines as 'Caucasians', for example - but a belief in the category persisted (Anderson 2002). The importance of classifications of ethnicity and cultures are still evident in modern Australian society.

8.11.2 Categories and Discursive Power

Hage (1998) maintains that multiculturalism has served to steal the discursive power of those who are not 'white' in Australia, where white is a collection of attributes rather than merely skin colour. Some SoSGA respondents react against being classified as part of the dominant

society and so choose to highlight the minority, Gàidhlig (non-'white') aspects of their lives. Multiculturalism tightly frames and constrains the presentation of Scottish Gaelic in Australia. Ethnic groups are 'licensed' by authority by being given specific radio time, funding and a place in a classificatory system of 'difference'. In this sense, the discursive power might appear to be in the hands of the bureaucracy (and therefore perhaps in the hands of the dominant Anglo). However, I also believe that some respondents are able to subvert such power by mobilising different identities in order to try to pursue wider aims, despite apparently rigid structures in their way. In particular, if multiculturalism is viewed as an essentially assimilationist policy (Hage 1998), respondents react against this by mobilising multiple identities and using them when they need to. This is an implicit rejection of homogeneity.

Past ideological frameworks such as the White Australia Policy had classificatory systems for 'race' in order to manage society. A codified multiculturalist ideology would presumably legitimise particular aspects of society (such as culture) and might be perceived as needing a classificatory system if it is to 'manage diversity'. Therefore, legitimacy might depend on classifications made according to such ideology. It was ideology and classifications that justified the White Australia Policy, but that were later discredited. Further, the classifications that were used in such policies reflected the prejudices of society, and prominent individuals. Categorisation may be seen in the light of a static view of society. The very use of terms such as 'core' indicates a belief in something immutable at the centre of the society. In contrast, the use of multiple identities and the appropriation of labels such as 'Celtic' for particular purposes, indicate that SoSGA respondents use identities according to the context in which they find themselves. From this point of view, their identities are dynamic.

8.11.3 Dangers versus Benefits of Contact

In the earlier part of the twentieth century, contact with the 'other' was dangerous, leading to the degeneracy of the white race or the spread of disease. In modern times, rapid contact with too many 'others' is a threat to the order of society. Therefore it is argued that admission has to be slow, allowing uptake of English and relevant 'values' by newcomers. This is partly reminiscent of ideas concerning the breeding-out of 'half-castes' by gradually absorbing them into the wider society so that they became indistinguishable. The acceptance of the ability of the white 'race' to absorb Aboriginal strains came with changes in the classification of Aborigines as 'Caucasian' and therefore as less 'other' (Anderson 2002, p. 221). Post Second World War ideas of the 'assimilation' of migrants followed similar lines – those who were

less 'other', more 'white', could be absorbed more easily and were therefore less dangerous. The inherent hierarchy began to disintegrate in the 1970s when ideas framed in terms of race became discredited. In the 1990s and beyond, appeals are made for a cohesive, civic society. The homogeneity of society has thus remained a theme in Australia; ideas of a homogenous 'race' were replaced by ideas of a homogenous 'culture', and by ideas of a 'cohesive', English language, civic framework. The threat is quite unequivocally from others to Australia. There is no presentation of Australian culture as a threat to the purity of migrant cultures. Conversely, the virtues of intercultural contact to increase understanding are extolled – most notably for those who are monocultural (Smolicz 1995a; Smolicz 1998). Mono-ethnic nations might create nationalistic 'perils' (Smolicz 1995a, p. 14). Contact is thus a way of improving society and adding value. The value is also claimed to be economically enriching in some discourses (Australia 1999b, p. 21). From this viewpoint, contact is beneficial and positive. Arguing that 'others' are good for the nation might be necessary to counter criticisms of immigration. Both viewpoints, however, reinforce classifications defining the 'other'. In order to determine which elements supposedly enrich a culture, they presumably need appropriate identification. Neither viewpoint aims to discredit the classificatory scheme as a whole. Both discourses therefore serve to reinforce distinctions that are constructed for the benefit of arguments at hand.

8.11.4 Contested Positioning and Power of the Group

The ethnic grouping of Scottish Gaelic potentially allows members to position themselves within the power structure – for example when it comes to being able to demand language schools. Scots-born respondents clearly feel themselves to be distinguishable and much more different from 'English' than the dominant discourse in Australia appears to allow them to be. But many SoSGA respondents believe that the Scots have dispersed and assimilated, supposedly unlike other migrant groups, and as a consequence have been denied access to certain resources via local voting power (Extract 8.7). The discourse of an Australia divided into ethnic pockets leads some SoSGA respondents to rationalise why they are unable to obtain resources from the state when others are. Highlighting the presence of Scottish Gaelic in various ways may be a reflection of asserting the right to publicly note that it is part of the linguistic landscape along with other languages.

8.11.5 Exclusions and Fantasies of a Coherent Nation

Hage (1998) and Rutherford (2000) discuss ideas behind representations of Australia as

having an 'ideal' state as a white, English-speaking nation. For others, such as Dixson (1999), it is a reflection of a 'core' nation with other peripheral groups. What these analyses have in common, is that ethnic groups other than the 'Anglos' are at the edges of the society in this 'fantasy' (Hage 1998) of what constitutes Australia. Many SoSGA respondents do not want to be positioned near the 'Anglo' core, from which they feel distinct and which they may perceive as unfairly categorising them. Therefore a group of people who see themselves as Scots, and who do not accept the 'British' labels attached to them, might feel that they would be better positioned at the periphery in relation to the Anglo core. Therefore it makes sense for them to highlight interests that are non-mainstream and to present themselves as distinct. This also means that they may obtain access to resources deemed to be 'multicultural'. Scottish Gaelic itself is a way of preventing assimilation into the unremarkable, and Anglo, fabric of Australia. Beltanno comments that some of the Australians still see themselves *'as part of us'* (Extract 8.1) - as an aspect of Australian heritage. Scottish Gaelic is less tightly bound to this interpretation of colonial history than English, and so offers a dissociative element. Appeals to sameness by Anglos can also be rejected because of what are perceived to be generalisations about a country (the U.K.) that has significant diversity. For others like Dardulena, Scottish Gaelic traditions have remained distinct in Australia, and do not necessarily reflect assimilation into the core society (Extract 8.4). Scottish Gaelic therefore helps resist assimilation into the mainstream.

8.12 The Subversive Nature of Scottish Gaelic in Australian Society

English is increasingly officially licensed as a requirement for permanent presence in Australia through tests and evaluation. The use of other languages is licensed within certain sectors such as ethnic broadcasting, some government cultural funding and school language education. The absolute dominance of English in public life Australia cannot be questioned. Therefore, attempts to increase the use of Scottish Gaelic in Australia might be seen not only as a celebration of heritage, but also as subversive. It is important that all of the respondents are either bilingual or English-dominant. They are by 'default' part of majority Australia because of their whiteness and language. Respondents are very aware of the stereotypes that accompany Australian English monolingualism and are able to mobilise markers to indicate that this does not apply to them. This also helps to explain why Scottish Gaelic is a linguistic practice functioning to counteract hegemony (Blackledge and Pavlenko 2001, p. 249). However, it is not a linguistic practice that necessarily desires the removal of English – it is precisely the existence of English that allows Gàidhlig to remain different. The 'peripheral'

needs the ‘core’ for contrast. Scottish Gaelic allows respondents to associate as an ethnicity, as well as counteracting the negativity of being perceived as a ‘subgroup’ of Anglo-Celtic. Dissociations from past injustices are important. This is also why Scottish Gaelic is ‘non-white’, as the associations of ethnicity in Australia have long been with groups identified as being from elsewhere than Britain (or northern Europe). Classifications that divide cultures into Anglo/ ethnic / Aboriginal fail to capture the crucial nature of multiple belonging in a society informed by simplistic classifications. Being Scottish Gaelic paradoxically allows respondents to simultaneously inhabit a minority (non-white) and majority (white) world. Many respondents are therefore able to be both at the ‘core’ as well as at the periphery of society.

Chapter 9 - Conclusion

9.0 Introduction

Sociolinguistic behaviours may be interpreted in the light of migrants' reactions to the host society. Migrants might have to learn a new language, and accent might be important. Horvath (1991) interprets this as finding 'a sociolinguistic niche to occupy' (Horvath 1991, p. 304). SoSGA respondents who are immigrants seem very aware of where they need to fit in. Although they do not need to learn a new language, their accents are likely to indicate their origins. Given the sizeable proportion of U.K.-born migrants in Australia (ABS 2003b) some SoSGA respondents clearly feel the need to highlight different symbols of identity than those which might be attributed to them. The ways of presenting oneself in a new society may be interpreted as acts of identity. This concluding chapter examines the importance of acts of identity associated with Scottish Gaelic, concentrating on issues related to language maintenance and revival. Sociolinguistic behaviours and acts of identity can be interpreted in the light of ideologies. Particular ideologies associated with language revival and maintenance are identified and used to clarify facets of Scottish Gaelic in the Antipodes. Many respondents, whether immigrant or locally born, present certain ideologies as important for language revival, or revitalisation. These ideologies are linked to ideals, linguistic acts of identity, perceptions of the language and culture, and group dynamics.

9.1 A Struggle on Multiple Fronts

Chapter 8 showed that some SoSGA respondents were engaged in a struggle for identity on multiple fronts. Cumhal, for instance, felt uncomfortable with Australians claiming an identity that he saw as his own (Extract 8.8). Yet Cumhal, and others, are quite prepared to use a more 'ethnic' identity for wider purposes of language maintenance. They themselves know it is partly for public presentation at particular events, or to a bureaucracy. Representation as 'Celtic', for example, is acceptable in order to maintain social or economic activities that potentially promote Scottish Gaelic (Section 8.10.2). Conversely, they consider particular identity markers attributed to them as unacceptable (Extract 8.2).

9.1.1 The Irrelevance of British Symbolism

Respondents such as Cumhal and Beltanno discussed political changes influenced by the promoters of a new Australia, free from colonial ties and symbolic links to Britain (Extracts

8.1 and 8.8). Some of them felt unfairly targeted for having such links, when they themselves did not share the importance of the symbols. Some SoSGA respondents are clearly not attached to particular symbols, as is evident from Extract 9.1. Extract 9.1 follows Extract 8.1, continuing a discussion of these respondents' perceptions of Australian society's attitudes.

Extract 9.1 Getting Rid of the Queen

Beltanno: 'It- it's not widespread- I mean some of the younger generation, but the older generation are still around, the ones I know, of a British kind of background – still feel British - they're not as anti. It is more the newcomers and the younger generation that tends to have a go at you.

Cumhal: Yes, and if you talk to the younger generation about it, the one thing - they're not so much agin[108] British migrants or that group of British migrants – what they are agin is what they see as the British flag on the Australian flag.

Beltanno: Yes

Cumhal: And there they draw a very, very, very clear distinction about it. And it doesn't matter how you can explain it ...I've been in far, far too many arguments about that with my own kids. And it's not just my own [kids] even quite a few years back I would get a whole bunch of teenagers in the house, having a right argument, and if it was a case of one of you against half–a-dozen teenage [kids], it was a case, heheh, of 'I surrender'!

Cridhmór: Yeah.

Cumhal: But... honestly, I haven't found- it's not so much against British background as such, but it's British background when the flag comes into it. 'I'm not going to be a servant-'

Beltanno: And the Queen!

Cridhmór: Yes.

Cumhal: Yeah, and the Queen- well, I must admit, when I first came out here, I was absolutely astonished at how much people would- and I was up-country where people would talk about 'home' and I would say 'what the hell are you doing-'

Beltanno: And they played the national anthem at cinemas, which we never did in Scotland.

Cridhmór: No, that's right.

Cumhal: and you had to stand [up] for it!

Beltanno: Yes, they had the national anthem everywhere when I first came out.

[...]

Cridhmór: I laughed when we got a public holiday for the Queen's birthday – we never got that at school in Scotland' [MD27.50-51].

These respondents, from different stages of immigration, do not accept monarchical symbols as markers for their identity. The monarchy simply seems remote and inconsequential, in apparent contrast to their new country. Later on in the same conversation, Cumhal also comments that it appears to him that the rejection of symbols might be important, rather than Britishness itself. This is also what makes it partly absurd that Australians once performed

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[108] 'Against'

rituals of obeisance. The identity acts are important, though. A revealing aspect of what Cumhal and Beltanno say is reference to a *'British kind of background'*. They know that 'old' Australian identity uses such symbolism - even if they do not share it. Beltanno and Cumhal see it as a change partly linked to different generations, for Cumhal within his own family. It was personal for Gealmhìn when her daughter rejected Scottish Gaelic as 'nonsense' (Extract 8.6). The struggle over symbolism in a multicultural Australia affects these respondents. They do not want to be associated with the same symbols that are rejected by *'newcomers'* and the younger generation. This is worse, in terms of symbolic hierarchy, than appearing to be 'Celtic', in a society that probably has little knowledge of Scottish Gaelic. They therefore accept that symbolic identities are (partly) portable, both in themselves and in others.

9.1.2 Portable Identities

Identities expressed through Scottish Gaelic are sometimes expressed as part of a personal identity that has to be maintained in the face of neglect. This was the case for the respondent who reported that she had held on to her Scottish Gaelic with *'grim determination'* (Extract 6.12). Scottish Gaelic, then, is something that can disappear from an individual's identity unless this is guarded against. It is not automatically kept, or inherent, but needs active maintenance. For some respondents, though, other attributes of identity are almost immutable. This is reflected in the use of terms that do not exclude other identities. One example is 'Celtic', which apparently predisposes some people to particular behaviours (Extract 6.5). The term 'Celtic' is clearly malleable, indicated by its use as a descriptor for the massage stall (Extract 8.18). They also know that it can be a term of *'convenience'*, with a vague definition (Extract 6.4). Respondents such as Amun describe themselves as simultaneously *'Gael'* and Australian (Extract 6.1), attributing to themselves identities that encompass national boundaries, multiple generations and ethnic identities. The same term is used by adjudicators in competitions in Scotland in reference to foreign choirs (Extract 6.27). For some respondents, national and ethnic identities can be conflated, as in Extract 9.2.

Extract 9.2 It's Genetic

Cridhmór: 'My father said, no matter how far you travel, you'll always be Scottish. People laugh at me, but I swear it's genetic' [MD26.00].

Cridhmór made it clear that she was being partly satirical here, and the context was one where there was a conversation about whether Scottishness was *'taught'* from one generation to the next. Identity is portrayed as 'portable' beyond particular boundaries into different social spaces (Hussain and Miller 2003). For Cridhmór, now an Australian citizen, this means that

Scottishness can still be applied, not only as an indicator of national and ethnic origin, but also as a descriptor of her identity. So too are terms like Celtic, Gael, and Highland, portable across national identities.

Hussain and Miller (2003) examine identity for 'visible' and 'invisible' minorities in Scotland. The 'invisible' English were more likely to describe ethnic identity as immutable (Hussain and Miller 2003, p. 8). Conversely, Muslim religious identity was more portable into a civic Scottish identity for those with 'visible' Pakistani origins (Hussain and Miller 2003, p. 13). In the context of 'invisible' SoSGA respondents, ethnic affiliations are clearly portable into Australian identity - whether newly acquired and civic, or based on birthplace. However, it is important which terms are applied. 'Scottish', for example, tends to be tied to birthplace. The terms 'Celtic', 'Gael', and 'Highland' have overtones of ethnicity and might additionally imply aspects of culture. They are therefore not equally portable, so Australian-born Amun gives primacy to *'Gael'*, and includes *'Scottish'* and *'Irish'* in his heritage (Extract 6.1). Because of the cultural dimensions of *'Highland'*, Muc-mhara can reject some representations as *'too kilty'* (Extract 6.46). Terms associated with Scottish Gaelic and used as identity markers are important in making distinctions that wider society might not. This clarifies why Scottish Gaelic has a social function beyond just being spoken as an in-group language. The terms associated with Scottish Gaelic act as markers for positioning within Australian society. However, although aspects of belonging are crucially important, this does not always translate into activities that directly promote language maintenance.

9.2 The Social Function of Scottish Gaelic

9.2.1 The Importance of Difference

Scottish Gaelic revitalisation efforts in Australia and New Zealand differ significantly in some respects from other movements in the same region. Spolsky (2003), in reviewing Maori regeneration, highlights four principal movements starting after the 1970s. There were adult teaching programs, pre-school teaching programs ('Te Kōhanga Reo'), immersion schools ('Kura Kaupapa Māori'), and teaching in State schools (Spolsky 2003). These initiatives are inappropriate for Scottish Gaelic – most obviously because of the small number of speakers, but also because of the stronger territorial claims made for Maori. Scottish Gaelic has no legislative basis in the Antipodes for status via negotiation. Conversely, New Zealand governments have allowed the negotiated entry of Maori into state institutions and places of learning (May 2001b; Spolsky 2003, p. 562). This is partly based on legal arguments using the

Treaty of Waitangi, as Maori had been guaranteed protection (Spolsky 2003, p. 565). There are no similar treaties in the case of Australia (Day 2001). There are also difficulties in arguing for Scottish Gaelic revival on grounds of subjugation of its speakers in previous generations. There are potentially far greater moral claims, and arguments for urgency, in revitalising Aboriginal languages (McConvell 1991).

McConvell (1991) makes an important point regarding the social functions of Kriol and Aboriginal languages, which might apply to Scottish Gaelic in Australia. In discussing language choice among bilinguals, he highlights three functions of language: basic communication, social, and cultural (McConvell 1991, p. 151). He argues that language maintenance can be seen as the maintenance of bilingualism, as a retention of language choices (McConvell 1991, p. 151). Therefore

> '[e]ngineering the old language to emulate the new one is likely to reduce the value of the cultural function in language choice. Similarly, eliminating socially meaningful code-switching between languages as advocated by domain theorists in Aboriginal bilingual education […] would tend to reduce the value of the social function of the bilingualism …' (McConvell 1991, p. 151).

For many SoSGA respondents, the stated ideal is the avoidance of language mixing. Having separate codes is important, either as an issue of purity, or of distinctiveness. Only in limited contexts do respondents wish to abandon English. By adding Scottish Gaelic to their lives, they are expressing their participation in a cultural sphere. This can therefore help to explain why institutions are important. These become the realms of cultural expression, away from everyday lives in English, further licensed by a multiculturalist viewpoint that sees cultural diversity as enriching. It also helps to counter the viewpoint that learning Scottish Gaelic is merely a pastime. While it may be an intellectual pursuit for some, the language has an important role to play in many respondents' lives as a vehicle for culture, where English would be inadequate. That is why it is the language of choice for songs and culture. It also helps to explain why the distinctiveness of Scottish Gaelic is important – singing translations of songs, for example, would be inauthentic and therefore less culturally valuable. Scottish Gaelic, having great cultural importance, is not needed for tasks that are performed in English.

The importance of difference can also be inferred from what is missing in the discourse of many respondents. One of Scotland's languages is conspicuous in its <u>absence</u> from the arguments of many respondents: Scots. One might have expected significant support for this Scots, given that some of them do <u>use</u> it, such as Respondent 111 in satirising the Celtic massage stall (Extract 8.18). But Scots, appearing to be too close to English, probably does not satisfy one of the requirements of a language in a multicultural context: that is should be

as salient, and therefore as different as possible. Scots is mentioned almost always in respect to Robbie Burns' poetry [MD09; MD01]. It is also marked out as being important to Scottish nationalism – although Scottish Gaelic is not excluded from this function by respondents such as Diùranach [MD12].

9.2.2 Issues of Proficiency

Like Maori, adults have difficulty learning Scottish Gaelic. Spolsky (2003) compares Maori study to the learning of foreign languages in schools, with exposure and 'some limited acquaintance' (Spolsky 2003, p. 563). Despite this, Spolsky (2003) sees the increase in political power and status as crucial to revitalisation. In the absence of intergenerational transmission, the classroom can at least provide another channel for continuity (Spolsky 2003, p. 571). Language also becomes a focus for mobilisation, directing efforts towards the goal of revitalisation (Spolsky 2003, p. 571). But despite greatly increased exposure since the 1970s, hopes for imminent bilingualism in Maori might be optimistic (Spolsky 1996, p. 11).

> 'For in truth, all signs are that the actual level of Maori knowledge and use remains quite low, even among students in immersion programmes. The difficulties of the switch cannot be denied. Most of the teachers […] are likely to be themselves second language speakers of Maori with low fluency and restricted knowledge. At the same time they are generally well educated in English. As a result, most use of the Maori language is restricted to the classroom. Even there, pupils regularly reply in English, and teachers often use English for more complex explanations. The children themselves continue to speak English both outside the classroom and with each other inside it. Only with their grandparents is Maori likely to be fairly general. Thus the efforts have so far not led to the significant changes in language use that would count as successful revitalization' (Spolsky 1996, p. 11).

Spolsky (1996) discusses how Maori is used in traditional greetings, and places associated with ritual such as 'marae'. Similarly, Scottish Gaelic for almost all SoSGA respondents tends to be used within institutional settings. Even amongst those who regret that they have not passed it on to their children, they tend to report that they use it more frequently as part of classes, cultural events or in contexts that have a particular cultural remit. Extract 9.3, from a meeting of Organisation 1, indicates that institutional settings are becoming key locations for the use Scottish Gaelic.

Extract 9.3 A Few Short Sentences in Gàidhlig

Respondent 017: *'I think it would be nice at all of our meetings and especially the AGM's if there [were ?] to be a greeting of some sort in Gàidhlig rather than going straight into English. Maybe conduct the meeting in English, by all means, as I can I understand that not everybody speaks Gàidhlig. But I think you should start off with a short greeting, a welcome or something, or a short sentence in Gàidhlig – a few short sentences. I'm not having a go at you Fingal* [general

laughter]. *That's what we're all about: we promote our language and culture' [MD12.62].*

The laughter induced by the speaker's comment was partly because of clear and unequivocal earlier comments by Fingal, about speaking in Scottish Gaelic, discussed in Section 9.2.3. Respondent 017 is himself a mother-tongue speaker but he advances a position for the language within the institutional setting. He is doubtless aware of the lack of intergenerational transmission, as in his own family. The protected places for Scottish Gaelic become classes, organisations and institutions. In this respect, revitalisation efforts are similar to those for other languages with few speakers. Institutions become a place of refuge as well as a place validating language use. The language therefore becomes integrated into structures that are not everyday life. Fingal knows that his ideal is not shared by everyone - some language learners have no intention of achieving complete fluency (Extracts 6.2 and 6.3).

9.2.3 Cultural Nationalism

The idealised settings for language revitalisation are not institutions. Socio-political motivations feature strongly in the arguments of many respondents involved with organisations promoting language activities. This is illustrated by Fingal's speech in extract 9.4, nearer the beginning of the meeting from which extract 9.3 is also taken.

Extract 9.4 Bearers of the Torch

Fingal: 'I searched around for a way to summarise the year, and the image that came to mind […] was of a participant in a relay race, or perhaps to be a little more grand, the bearer of a torch such as the one that lights the Olympic flames at the start of every Games. Organisations such as [ours] are often seen as bearing the flame for future generations. But then it occurred to me, what's the point of holding the flame and then passing it on if you don't share some of its life with people, on the way? The challenge we now face as an organisation is to decide what are we going to do with this torch we've been given the chance to hold. Language shows its character, language lives if you will, in the speaking, in the sharing between people, in spoken interaction. The culture is above all the doing and its practices. The challenge for us now is to become not an association of learners, who learn by textbooks and [other?] information, but an association of people who learn the doing. We have an opportunity, or even a responsibility, to take Gàidhlig and make it our own. How does that translate to everyday life? We all need to find ways to support ourselves and others in using and growing what Gaelic we have under our belts. I was enormously encouraged and excited at (the last Gaelic event) to hear and see people who had had just one day's tuition in Gaelic performing in that language (at the event). The challenge that faces the new committee and the association as a whole is to find new ways to make that sort of thing almost a commonplace event. To find ways to help each other over the hurdles of taking on a new language and making it a functional way of communicating amongst ourselves, of making Gaelic our own language and the

> *language of our people. We invite your participation in this challenge.* Cumaibh Gàidhlig Beò *['Keep Gàidhlig Alive']* [applause]*' [MD12.39]*.

The ideology presented in Extract 9.4 fits with exhortations in Fishman (1991) that sees the 'true' representative of a culture as one that uses a language for everyday, spoken communication. Fingal's assertion also fits with Fishman's (1991) ideal that it is entire social behaviours that should be revived: the '*doing*'. Fingal's ideology also echoes Spolsky's (1996) comparison of Hebrew and Maori revival. They are seen to share an underlying ideology of returning to some form of 'demographic purity' (Spolsky 1996, p. 16). Cultural practices need to be restored to those that 'derive from traditional values' according to this ideology (Spolsky 1996, p. 16). This is why Fingal quite specifically calls upon continuity, common possession, and learning from those who know the practices. It is an ideal where using the language becomes unremarkable. It is a future goal, a reversal of dislocation - and an attempt to apply forces in the opposite direction to those which created the dislocation in the first place (Spolsky 1996, p. 16).

Fingal's appeal to *'responsibility'* also illustrates the difficulty of revitalising a language by simply attempting to reverse processes that endanger languages. Kymlicka and Patten (2003) discuss the relationship between linguistic rights and political theory. From a political perspective, the weakness of preservation arguments is that, by logical extension, the granting of 'rights' would entail 'duties' to preserve the language (Kymlicka and Patten 2003, p. 15). However, this seems at odds with the liberal democratic tradition that avoids compulsion (Kymlicka and Patten 2003, p. 15). Extending the argument even further Kymlicka and Patten (2003) note that the historical development of linguistic diversity might be associated with (geographical) isolation and with illiteracy. Recreating these conditions 'seems too high a price to pay' within the democratic tradition (Kymlicka and Patten 2003, p. 16). Kymlicka and Patten's (2003) argument helps to explain why respondents such as Fingal frame their appeals in terms of '*responsibility*' rather than 'duty'. Fingal's appeal is a moral one, relying on persuading his constituency of Scottish Gaelic's inherent value. The stressing of positive aspects of culture and heritage are part of persuading people to value something not measurable in economic terms. It also explains why the organisations clustered around Scottish Gaelic accept participation by any interested parties, but actively <u>encourage</u> particular, heritage motivations. Those ethnically linked to Scottish Gaelic are more likely to share in the ideals of such cultural maintenance.

An argument involving responsibility also informs us why <u>organisations</u> are so important in reviving Scottish Gaelic. The members do not (generally) intend to challenge the wider

society for separate, ethnic recognition. Having cultural spaces where the dominant society does not impinge allows a space for Scottish Gaelic to be used freely. This is also why the continued presence of Scottish Gaelic on the SBS was so important (Chapter 4). Having those cultural spaces also means that Scottish Gaelic does not need to challenge English in the daily world of work, commercialism, and talking to people in bureaucracies. They are separate spheres of language use. Hence Fingal makes absolutely no demand for language rights in the political domain, but does appeal for (moral) responsibilities within the ranks of the organisation.

Fingal's speech also indicates a simultaneous positioning inside and outside of the Scottish Gaelic speech community. He states that the members of the organisation need to *'take Gàidhlig and make it our own'*, presenting it as not yet belonging to those outside the (native speaker) community. Earlier, Fingal had described how the association had changed from having a largely native speaker membership to one where the majority were now learners of the language. A distinction is made based on language ability, but carries over into ethnicity. In acquiring the language, those outside will be sharing further in the ethnicity with which Scottish Gaelic is associated. This is a form of ethnic nationalism in the sense that it reflects the belief in the existence of a language as the proof of the existence of a people. This is also the case in Irish revival ideologies (Ó Laoire 1996, p. 55). Of course, in the case of Fingal, this is centred on a 'people' rather than a nation. He is clear, elsewhere, about the need for representation as an ethnicity (Extract 8.17).

LHRs arguments, discussed in Chapter 2, often appeal to arguments based on the 'intrinsic value' of endangered languages and the ecological motivation of preserving 'diversity' (Kymlicka and Patten 2003, p. 14). What is evident in Extracts 9.3 and 9.4 is a form of nationalism that is culturally oriented. Appeals to cultural continuity are made, rather than to territoriality. This is an appeal to a 'group' function of the language idealising a single cultural or ethnic group (Ó Laoire 1996, p. 55). Spolsky (1996) identifies two forms of Jewish national identity starting in the nineteenth century; one that stressed a Zionist, territorial approach, associated with Hebrew, the other a culturally oriented version associated with Yiddish. He sees the latter as an attempt to 'add or approve the high status functions' to the language (Spolsky 1996, p. 19). Ultimately, Hebrew became a key part of the state of Israel (Spolsky 1996, p. 21). For Spolsky (1996) a crucial stage was when new settlers overcame their discomforts with this new language and promoted it enough to make it a native language for their children. He sees indications of a similar idea for Maori by the establishment of Maori spaces, under Maori control (Spolsky 1996, p. 24). Classrooms and decorations are used in a

symbolic recreation of a Maori space (Spolsky 1996, p. 24). Similarly, SoSGA respondents, particularly those in Organisation 1, are very adept at doing this for Scottish Gaelic. Every classroom or event had posters, decorations, background music, maps, flags and other symbols of Scottish Gaelic presence where the language could be used. While every participant knew that the ideal was to use Scottish Gaelic in this created context, they also knew that they could revert to English for clarifications, complex explanations, asides, or when they ran out of vocabulary or energy. Nonetheless, the space set aside provided a (temporary) haven for the language. In one extended discussion between the leaders of more than one organisation, all-Irish events were praised for banishing English. This was put forward as an ideal to aim for in similar Scottish Gaelic events [MD22.03].

Setting up such spaces may prove a double-edged sword. While they certainly provide encouragement and inducement to use Scottish Gaelic, outside of these spaces learners might be more reluctant to use the language, perhaps because a protective casing is absent. This could explain the importance of the institutions to many respondents: strengthening the institution means strengthening the protection for the language. On the other hand, when the learner is no longer in the protective casing, the hurdles could be much higher. Fingal hopes for an idealised situation where proficiency in Scottish Gaelic is unremarkable precisely because there is no artificial, protective casing. The artificiality of speaking in another language would then disappear. Demographic purity, created by having a facilitative context, would permit unremarkable language use. The artificiality of the Yiddish-speaking Jewish Diaspora was condemned by Zionist nationalists who desired a return to the homeland where demographic purity would make Hebrew a national language (Spolsky 1996, p. 18).

9.2.4 Sharing in Ideology

Some comments by respondents show that there is a strong ethnic affiliation dimension to learning Scottish Gaelic, as in Extract 9.5.

Extract 9.5 You Wear it Like a Badge

Respondent 170: '... and I had one fellow over and I never twigged and his name's [A McB], right, he's as Aussie as they come, but we're sitting there the other night and I say, oh yeah, I'm learning Scots Gaelic. 'Oh yeah?' he says, 'Is that particularly hard?' And I said well, we're ploughing through it, you know, it's a bit- but my family's from there and so we've got a history there, so I'm really interested. And he said 'Actually my grandfather's from [A Hebridean Island] and he spoke Gaelic all the time'. And I went 'Huh?! Sit down, shut up, and tell me your story'! And it turns out sure enough his grandfather come out here when he was about sixteen years old and he spoke Gàidhlig in the house all the time and his father spoke a little bit, and then of course it dropped off. [A] was born here and

> *he's actually very, very interested in learning, you know. And that's the kind of people I'd like to get to, like me, who're born here. And I have to say, when you're born and raised in Australia and your culture's on the other side of the world […] you can become very fanatical about it. In fact you wear it like a badge!' [MD26.84].*

Respondent 170's comment helps to explain further why names are important. Another respondent commented that she used this technique in her workplace. Names can be used for ethnic identification, despite Respondent 170 initially seeing the person as so *'Aussie'* that they were unlikely to have any interest in Scottish Gaelic. Importantly, the individual's family origins make it that much more likely that they share the ideology of language and cultural maintenance. An idealised target group is perceived to exist for maintenance efforts. This heightens the impression that ideology is linked to ethnicity, with language as a vital marker.

9.2.5 The Presence of Transients

Scottish Gaelic can clearly function as an activity that interests some people on a temporary basis. Some learners study the language only briefly. Their interest then wanes, or else they find the challenge too daunting. Some, like Comhachag, remain involved in the organisations, but do not further their language proficiency (MD24.02; Extract 5.1). Some despair at the difficulties they encounter, or else are happy to see Scottish Gaelic as a marker of *'sentiment'* (Extract 3.2). This has obvious implications for the number of proficient speakers. For those interested in reviving the language it sometimes appears that their efforts are not directed towards increasing language use, but satisfying other interests. Particular SoSGA respondents were reportedly contacted for information regarding Scottish Gaelic. Sometimes they were contacted via the organisation they represented, sometimes as individuals following telephone calls or emails to acquaintances. There were frequently questions regarding translations or phrases that people wished to know. For Cumhal, these forms of interest are nothing more than symbolic. Following a class, he and his students were discussing the difficulty of learning Scottish Gaelic despite the obvious interest in it.

Extract 9.6 Iconic Language

Cumhal: *'There isn't a single week in life that goes by that I don't get a call from somebody, not about learning Gàidhlig, but they'll contact [acquaintances]. 'How do I spell* slàinte[109]*? How do I pronounce this? I'm trying to work out', like, 'the name of a house'. The best one of the lot was the one I got last year was a couple […] who were diversifying in their farm and were actually having – they actually*

[109] 'Health' or 'Cheers' generally used either in the context of an invitation to start a drink, or else for blessings in a ritual setting.

> *had planted some vineyards. So they wanted some names for their vineyards so that they could call their first crop, like, whatever. It's- I get that very- truly without a word of a lie, it's either weddings or it's a word or what-have-you 'can you help me with such-and-such'. So people know that it's around' [MD26.64].*

Therefore, in some cases, desire for knowledge of Scottish Gaelic might be purely iconic, as nothing more than a ritual marker at important events, boundaries or places. Purely iconic use is clearly not restricted to the Antipodes. In monitoring the topics of some of the international Scottish Gaelic and Irish 'listservs', such requests were a consistent topic. Some ranged from requests for translations of wishes or simple phrases, to ones that requested suggestions for uses in institutions. Extract 9.7 is one example that is directly relevant to Australia.

Extract 9.7 Non-Latin Motto

Subject: Motto
[...]
I have recently received this request. It is somewhat off topic but can anyone suggest something suitable?
"What I am trying to achieve is "quietly magnificent" as the motto for the new tertiary campus in [an Australian State], although rendered in Gaelic rather than Latin in honour of the early Irish settlers in the area, and in honour of the Irish who came here later to set up the wineries making the place famous" [Listserv Email, April 2002].

Extract 9.7 indicates that Irish is being used in a stereotypically 'dead language' situation. Irish replaces Latin as a motto for a place of learning. Quite evidently, Irish is not a language necessarily associated with living people, but used in commemoration of past colonists. Other requests are of a more personal nature, for translations of proverbs, or for idiomatic expressions, such as in Extracts 9.8 and 9.9.

Extract 9.8 Translation Request - 1

'I am trying to translate the following into Gaelic or Scottish. Thanks for any and all help.
To you I give my heart and my soul, to forever entwine with yours' (Listserv Email May 2002).

Extract 9.9 Translation Request - 2

'I have a request from a friend to translate the following:
The eyes are the window to the soul
If anyone could help I'd be grateful' (Listserv Email Aug 2002).

Extract 9.8 shows further evidence of the near equivalent of Irish and Scottish Gaelic for some people. A brute count of emails requesting translations of phrases from English to Scottish Gaelic or Irish, for fourteen months from June 2001, indicated that such requests and responses to them accounted for very roughly five percent of the email traffic – about the

same volume as requests for the translations of song lyrics from Scottish Gaelic to English. SoSGA respondents dealing with similar requests know that these uses might be merely iconic, doing nothing to advance proficiency in Scottish Gaelic. In Organisation 1, it was rarely described as a waste of effort, although it was clearly seen as a time-consuming task. However, SoSGA respondents nonetheless accept it as part of an exercise in visibility. Diùranach had expressed satisfaction at the positive value of seeing street names in Scottish Gaelic in a regional town in Australia (Extract 5.37). One of the positive responses to the advertisement using Irish was from a representative of Organisation 1 who specifically praised the raising of awareness of minority languages (Extract 5.2). Visibility is very important for the language everywhere, as Cumhal expresses in Extract 9.10. Although he is referring to Scotland, the conversation had been dealing with the general need to raise awareness in all relevant countries.

Extract 9.10 Gimmicky Things

Cumhal: 'Yes but I must admit I've noticed a heck of a lot of differences since I've started to go back to Scotland […] I've been going back roughly once every [few] years and the change that I've noticed every time that I've gone back has been incredible. And that again the attitude towards the language – apart from the attitude towards Scottishness – but there's also the attitude towards the language more than anything else. And I just see that as improving and improving and improving. But I daresay if you're in the middle of the situation you obviously can't see it and you just feel as though you're drowning and it's a case of 'what the hell's the good of it?' But it just seems even in small things, silly, touristy, gimmicky things like putting the street names in both Gàidhlig and in English. Once upon a time you would no more have dream-' [MD26.74]

Being slightly removed from Scotland has given Cumhal a more positive perspective than he expects people in Scotland have. Note that 'Scottishness' now has a greater positive image, in his perception. This was echoed by other participants in the conversation who commented that Scottishness had become *'socially acceptable in Scotland now'*, and another said that it was starting to lose its image associated with *'shortbread tins'* [MD26.75].

In Chapter 5, I discussed how some organisers of Scottish Gaelic events knew that the interest of some of the participants was limited, but that participation was needed in order to make the events viable. MacCodrum expresses it as being able to accept everyone who is interested.

Extract 9.11 'We Wouldn't Dissuade People'

MacCodrum: 'It really does provide, for some people, like a social setting anyhow, […] and we wouldn't dissuade people, I don't think, for that, because if they're there and they're being exposed to a bit of Gàidhlig and their mates are doing Gàidhlig and they've got Gàidhlig videos, Gàidhlig music and Gàidhlig lessons, then why not? It doesn't really matter how far and wide they go – it's

probably better doing that than not. And you never know, their opportunities might change or whatever. But we've always encouraged everyone who's interested to come along. It's up to them how much they do' [MD06.10].

According to this view, providing opportunities might encourage people to improve in the language. Therefore, even if it is social, it is still worthwhile as a partial route to the ultimate goal of increasing peoples' proficiency. In the same conversation, MacCodrum and the other participant expressed some concern that a different language teacher was providing inadequate tuition. Therefore, ability as a teacher is important. Cumhal, who has taught regularly, is aware that he can only provide to the best of his ability. Even if not perfect, his teaching nevertheless serves to promote the language. He expresses this in Extract 9.12.

Extract 9.12 It becomes a two-way street.

Cumhal: 'As far as classes are concerned, I can't compete with, say, the likes of the [academic institutions and someone] who's university-trained and whatever els- sure as hell I ain't. I can get the message across but I can't do it but I'll never refuse – as long as it becomes a two-way street with them. There have been people who ring up and say 'Look I want to learn Gàidhlig, blah, blah, how do I go about it?' Okay, well if there's enough people even if there's three people we'll set up a small class. 'Ah, well, um, sorry, that's a bit far …' and there's always some sort of reason why they're- and as far as distance learning is concerned, I've tried that from [a regional institution] and that was a complete and utter flop' [MD26.64].

Therefore, for Cumhal part of the problem is directly linked to the mismatch between a person's desire and their actual investment. Having an interest in Scottish Gaelic is not enough to keep it alive. Therefore, an ideology is also necessary in order to provide enough impetus. In Extract 9.13, he describes how the organisation he is involved with has outlived other, more language-focused organisations because of the strong belief in the preservation of the language within a cultural vehicle.

Extract 9.13 Not Letting Scottish Gaelic Die

Cumhal: 'But what can we do out here as far as the language is concerned? The choir has been going since [X] and as I said there have been, I think about the fifth Gàidhlig organisation has formed and fallen by the wayside all the way through. Now there's something radically wrong somewhere or other along the line. And that's not just because there's been one person who's been bullying the […] choir like all this time. But it's that this one person's had this vision all the way through. It wasn't going to bloody well die and he was going to make damn sure it didn't die. Now that's what's needed within [Organisation 1], right? So that you've virtually got that kind of drive that's required: 'Look if I hurt your feelings I'm sorry but this is what we're going to do' and it gets pushed' [MD26.76].

Cumhal is well aware that he might upset people on the way towards his goal of language preservation, but it is worth the short-term discomfort. The desire for language preservation

can sometimes be more important than individuals – the language should outlive the people who speak it.

9.2.6 Scottish Gaelic as an Interest for Older People

The responses to the survey strongly indicate that interest in Scottish Gaelic is dominated by older age ranges (Figure 7.1). This age bias is only partly explained by the age bias of native speakers as age-correlated interest probably also reflects the greater amount of spare time available to older people in the society. Of the 178 questionnaire respondents, 72 reported themselves as retired. Some commented that they felt able to devote more time to studying Scottish Gaelic now that they had become established later in life (Extract 7.1). For those who spoke it from a young age it was a matter of returning to important cultural aspects. For Muc-mhara and others, this is cultural and personal heritage. This supports further the idea that Scottish Gaelic is something people can 'afford' to do, or pick up again after the more pressing concerns, in earlier portions of their lives, have disappeared, exactly as suggested by some respondents (Extract 7.1).

However, the age factor might also be linked to what Scottish Gaelic represents. Respondent 181 expresses this as an aspect of traditional activities. She was commenting that the folk music scene seemed to be attracting some younger people due to promotional efforts.

Extract 9.14 The Grey-haired Mob

Respondent 181: 'Before that it was older people, we said that's no good, otherwise it's going to get lost, like language. So that's one of the problems – that it's only the grey-haired mob that's interested in traditional Scottish, erm, activities' [MD08.46].

The expectation of age-related interest was evident in some reactions to me as a researcher. For example, on a visit to one of the classes in a regional town, I briefly left the classroom to meet two people who had arrived later. One of them, whom I had only ever contacted by email and letter, immediately commented on my age:

Extract 9.15 Older Participants

Respondent 114: 'Oh, I thought you would be older!' [MD33.29].

The discussion continued in my absence from the classroom and the respondents commented on their own assumptions[110]. They were surprised because most people that they knew who

[110] Specific permission was obtained to use the recordings from these particular respondents. However, they are not quoted directly in this case for ethical reasons, as I was not a participant in this conversation about me. I had left the recording equipment on during my absence, and therefore know what was said.

were involved in Scottish Gaelic were older. They commented that their assumption had been that I was more likely to be an elderly academic because of my interest in Scottish Gaelic. For a different group, Scottish Gaelic classes were specifically offered to retirees as part of the remit of the organisation providing logistical support.

The impression of a space for older people is heightened by other comments. One of the reasons given for the collapse of a Scottish Gaelic educational initiative was that it was the parents who were interested, rather than their children (Extract 4.3). This adds weight to the analysis that school-age children are unlikely to demand Scottish Gaelic tuition themselves. Respondent 077, quoted in Extract 9.16, had hoped that her own grandchildren would learn a language of one of their grandparents.

Extract 9.16 'A Hard Row'

Respondent 077: 'Well they started learning Indonesian at school - they've come from a German background so we've got a pretty hard row to hoe even to get them to speak German but I haven't really tried with the Gàidhlig but I suppose I should' [MD33.25].

Respondent 077 later commented that Asian languages were promoted because of their trade value and on how early on in the school system languages were introduced. She also reported that her grandchildren had sung 'Happy Birthday' in Chinese, as an indication that children had great ease in picking up languages. Therefore, the obstacle to learning heritage languages was not ability, but a matter of justification. She did not see that heritage was as highly valued as trade motivations by wider society.

9.2.7 Summary: The Non-economic Benefits of Scottish Gaelic

An anonymous respondent at a Highland Gathering reported that an acquaintance of his had learned Scottish Gaelic in order to use in songs he composed. The respondent said that this was in order to make money [SoSGA_N4]. Such an economic analysis of the use of Scottish Gaelic is exceedingly rare in my data. The discourse describing the language focuses instead on its value as a bearer of culture. In Extract 6.13, a teacher at one of the Gaelic events describes it as a language of poetry, music and song. The principal benefits of Scottish Gaelic for most SoSGA respondents are expressed in cultural or heritage terms.

The cultural associations of Scottish Gaelic therefore serve to highlight further what Scottish Gaelic might mean in Australian society. Chapter 4 showed that language learning at educational institutions was heavily biased towards a small number of languages with cultural or economic status, particularly Japanese and French. The government has variously promoted

languages, via financial incentives, that it believes benefit trade (DETYA 2001c). Separately, English is promoted as a key to social integration, either as a way of transmitting 'values' (Smolicz 1995b; Dixson 1999), or as a way to ensure economic integration for migrants (DIMIA 2002b). These motivations are overtly political and economic. The learning of Scottish Gaelic contrasts with these motivations. It is most certainly not economically advantageous. It is most certainly not assimilatory either, because most SoSGA respondents are already economically and linguistically well positioned within the society. Therefore, Scottish Gaelic clearly offers benefits that are not measurable economically. Fingal and others express ethnic belonging and cultural heritage motivations, and some emphasise a combination of cultural and intellectual motivations.

Motivations expressed for learning and maintaining Scottish Gaelic can be linked to particular revivalist ideologies. Crucially, the SoSGA respondents can afford to study, learn and devote time to Scottish Gaelic. In discussing the ideologies of Irish revival outside the *Gaeltacht* after the establishment of Eire, Ó Laoire (1996) discusses how the cultural nationalism espoused by an urban, bourgeois, political elite did not match the economic aspirations of the Irish population. He therefore sees a 'class difference in response to cultural nationalism' (Ó Laoire 1996, p. 56). After the establishment of the Free Irish State in the 1920s, Irish had a more symbolic role than a socio-economic one (Ó Laoire 1996, p. 56). In Dublin, the 'converts' who changed from using English in the home to using Irish 'invariably came from the upper middle class stratum – the families of government ministers, civil servants and teachers' (Ó Laoire 1996, p. 61).

For the SoSGA respondents, there is a strong bias towards well-educated, economically stable, older respondents. This might imply a correlation between socio-economic class and support for the language. In Ireland, it seems likely that it is partly those who can 'afford' to support the language that do so (Ó Laoire 1996, p. 61). For SoSGA respondents it is not necessarily material wealth, but availability of spare time, or adequate socio-economic standing. Generally, those supporting Scottish Gaelic are well positioned, not subordinated. On the one hand, for SoSGA respondents, it indicates that a 'market' for Scottish Gaelic exists despite lack of economic benefits in learning it. Ideology could lead to significant emotional and practical investment in something that is unlikely to reward learners financially. In ways that can be compared to Irish and Hebrew, ideology is clearly an important factor for some respondents.

9.2.7.1 Reasons for Learners

It is too simple to summarise non-economic interest in Scottish Gaelic as a reflection of expressions of ethnicity. While a significant proportion of respondents do express ethnic affiliations in one way or another, others stress wider identity motivations, involving personal, family or religious reasons. Some respondents are well aware of the need for justification. This is how Beltanno expresses it, in Extract 9.17.

Extract 9.17 There Has to be a Reason

Beltanno: But I think there's something a little different about, say, the choir versus [a language organisation] because to some extent people need a reason to be doing what they're doing
Cridhmór: Yeah
Beltanno: Now if you're at school learning French it's because you want to go to France and be understood, if you're learning Italian it's- I mean, okay, there might be some people who want to read French novels or want to read Italian novels but the vast majority of people learn a language because they want to be understood when they go somewhere. And so you haven't got that real motivation with Gàidhlig because it's not as though there's a country where that's the dominant language. And so you must have another reason for doing it. And, um, you talk about the conversation groups[111], but even that in itself, I think is a little bit sterile too, it's a little bit artificial. I'm not saying it's not good, but that in itself, again, I still don't think that's the motivation to keep people going along, whereas I think the choir is different' [MD26.81].

There are three crucial points I wish to highlight from this extract. Firstly, Beltanno specifically contrasts Scottish Gaelic with major languages in education in Australia. This is unsurprising, given the discourse surrounding language learning, discussed in Chapter 4. Much of the dominant discourse is not about the intellectual pursuit, but about the communicative importance of learning languages. Beltanno, highly educated herself, perceives study of other language as primarily oriented towards communication with native speakers. Figures from the adult education colleges (Section 4.8) corroborate this perception. Only a minority would apparently want to study languages for intellectual reasons. Occasionally respondents make this motivation clear, such as a questionnaire respondent who specifically wanted to access literature and did not intend to speak it to others [SoSGA_Q001]. Secondly, Beltanno feels there *'must be'* another reason for studying the language. This echoes some of the discourse surrounding language learning in Australia. All of the education departments in Australia gave multiple reasons for learning languages, almost exclusively positive and mostly related to the need to communicate with others (Chapter 4).

[111] The comment on conversation groups is addressed to the researcher. I had previously asked their opinion about conversation groups that other respondents, whom they knew, had initiated.

This also echoes the discourse of supporters of language study, that it is something to be justified in the face of opposition. This is potentially a campaigning stance. Thirdly, for Beltanno, Scottish Gaelic is clearly a language that has ceased to have a major use in a communicative function – (spoken) use is *'sterile'* and *'artificial'*. This is why it is contrasted to French and Italian and why a 'real' motivation to study it is needed. Hence, an appropriate cultural vehicle is chosen – in her case, a choir. The social function of Scottish Gaelic, in this view, is cultural and not communicative.

9.3 Fault Lines Associated With Scottish Gaelic

In a number of ways, there are clear mismatches in motivations for involvement with Scottish Gaelic. This section explores these fault lines, illustrated by the ways in which Scottish Gaelic uses are represented. Respondents like Beltanno see their involvement in cultural organisations as a justification or as an outlet for their interest. However, they often also express their relative security in that environment in comparison to language classes. Following Beltanno's judgment in Extract 9.17, she was asked by Amun if she would prefer to discuss her interests in Scottish Gaelic with her co-participants. In Extract 9.18, she explains why she would avoid that sort of situation.

Extract 9.18 Language Insecurity

Beltanno: 'It wouldn't give me – I think perhaps because of my insecurity of the language, as such, I'm probably, I'd be a bit afraid.
Cridhmór: I'd tend to clam up a bit
[...]
Beltanno: I mean, I feel I can go along in the choir and I can sing and even if I'm not perfect in my- you know, I'm getting satisfaction I'm getting involvement, I'm- it's very inclusive for me. That wouldn't be exactly the same just in a language class – and I'm not saying that's not good for some people. It's great, but I think for a lot of people if you're learning something it's, it's even intimidating' [MD26.82].

Amun, on the other hand, is quite clear that his own motivations are more instrumental.

Extract 9.19 Being Able to Converse

Amun: 'It's much more important for me to be able to carry on a conversation in this language and be understood than it is to be able to write or spell in it, by far and away. You know, I'd like to be able to walk into a pub in Lewis and be understood, you know what I mean?' [MD26.48].

So while Beltanno's motivation is expressed as participation in culture, Amun believes in the communicative function for the language. Further, for Amun the use of the language is rooted in the Western Isles in a social setting. For Beltanno, though, the communicative function of the language is never likely to be used. This highlights two differing views of the language:

one is linked to a living community (imagined or otherwise), the other as a moribund, but beautiful, language with which to express culture. Amun's assertion illustrates a fault-line evident in learning and using Scottish Gaelic. Whereas the efforts of Beltanno and others are geared towards cultural functions, Amun's ideal is to achieve communicative competence. As illustrated in Chapter 5 (Extracts 5.17 and 5.18), these might sometimes be conflicting goals. Therefore, it is clear that the different goals of those involved with Scottish Gaelic are likely to have different effects on revitalisation efforts.

9.3.1 Different Interest Groups

A number of responses hinted at conflicts of interest between different people interested in Scottish Gaelic. Apart from that between the different purposes for which Scottish Gaelic could be used, there seemed to sometimes be mismatches between what learners tend to do and what native speakers tend to do. I stress at the outset that I do not believe that an individual's native speaker status determines their interest in Scottish Gaelic. Rather, ideologies motivate them. To base the divide in behaviours on childhood exposure to Scottish Gaelic would be too simplistic. The fault lines are more likely to be in numerous dimensions – a messier, but probably more realistic aspect of language maintenance. Therefore, it is also important to consider factors such as changes of interest over time, rather than just factors related to childhood experience of the language. By considering fault-lines that are not based on growing up with a particular language, a narrow correlation between language and identity can be avoided, a constant theme throughout this thesis. I reject the notion that there is inherently a fault-line running through interests in Scottish Gaelic based on native speaker status, despite this being a common perception among many SoSGA respondents. I do, however, consider the likely interpretation that Scottish Gaelic means different things to different people based on their interest in the language. It then becomes unsurprising if people who have grown up with the language interpret it in more personal terms, while those who become involved with the language and culture later in their adult lives interpret it more in terms of ethnic belonging, or cultural expression.

One stretch of conversation openly addressed some of the conflicts amongst supporters of Scottish Gaelic. The respondents were discussing how aspects of the organisations had changed over the years. In Extract 9.20, the respondents discuss why it was difficult to maintain interest in Scottish Gaelic activities.

Extract 9.20 The Usual Gàidhlig Infighting

Cumhal: *'but then all of a sudden things just – then the usual Gàidhlig infighting*

[…] like inter-fighting went on but I think at that stage, the stage that I'm talking about, the oldies saw all the young turks being the threat. You wouldn't think it, but […] at one stage, I was one of those young turks. They saw it as a complete and utter threat and that was the last thing that we saw it as. But then these guys just sort of- more or less retreated out of it. So at one stage you had two Gàidhlig associations running here […] at the self same time – which was absolutely- !

Gealmhìn: And it couldn't support it, you just can't support it

Cumhal: Yeah. And so one went, like and then, the other went. But you need someone with the drive or somebody with that- they either create a kind of public persona, one way- or else they've got that so that they can actually attract things in, they're actually powerful enough to have either their own money or to be able to influence other people that they can- say the likes of having the […] club in the city or something else after that nature which will be a kind of magnet for it' [MD26.79].

Cumhal feels the need to be able to attract people towards the language, and in Extract 9.20, he expressed his belief in the importance of having a 'vision'. That it might upset other people was considered, but the greater goal of language maintenance meant that this was unavoidable. For Cumhal, infighting is something *'usual'* in Scottish Gaelic circles. The need to attract people helps to explain why organisations can sometimes become involved in activities wider than just narrow language maintenance activities.

9.3.2 Longevity in Scottish Gaelic

Cumhal also insists in Extract 9.20 that a public presence for Scottish Gaelic is a necessary requirement. Organisations and institutions can therefore provide continuity by outliving its members. Any promotional effort is also a public one, conducted with presentation in mind rather than as an activity restricted to the home. In Extract 9.4, Fingal expressed a primary goal for Organisation 1 as being language maintenance, despite his knowing that many activities included people who did not share the goal. Cumhal knows that there is much more to Scottish Gaelic culture than just his own primary interest, as he expresses in Extract 9.21.

Extract 9.21 The One, Steadfast Thing

Cumhal: 'I'm rather surprised that with all of the things that go to make up a culture, the one thing that has remained steadfast over the […] years has been the bloody choir! […] And that's only one flaming little facet of it.
[…]
It should be a heck of a sight wider than that' [MD26.80].

For Respondent 109, a member of a different cultural organisation, continuity was not due to anyone of influence, but the activities of ordinary members. Although a wealthy businessman had helped the society financially, the ordinary members were praised for their personal effort.

Extract 9.22 People You Could Rely On

Respondent109: '... he was wealthy. […] He actually kept the society going but just out of his own pocket. But really, although people don't appreciate it nowadays, the […] society was always carried along by people who dug into their own pocket. Not the [businessman's] level, but people who just helped along. Donations, there were people you could rely on. They paid their fee in which wasn't much but you always knew the people who would give you a donation. They were always - that's what kept the thing going. That society's nearly [X] years old now and it went up and down, up and down' [MD04.04].

Although such influential people did indeed keep the society going, it was also clear that they were not always held in high regard.

Extract 9.23 I Didn't Vote For You

Respondent 109: '[The businessman] was the – what's higher than a President? Chieftain […] or something or other like that! Of course, he was made that because he kept the society going and gave them a great big thing during the war years that cost a lot of money so he was never forgotten for that. So they very carefully introduced [someone[112]] to him and the first thing that [this someone] said was […] 'Oh yes, but I didn't vote for you'! [laughs] *That was the end of a beautiful friendship before it began! But this [businessman] devised a book […] Well it was full of nonsense.*

[…]

It was his own creation and I think he was published in Scotland' [MD04.05].

The overall impression from these extracts is of someone who is a benefactor, but who remains an outsider. It is probably no accident that Respondent 109 initially suggested the satirical 'Chieftain' as an outdated, undemocratic title in contrast to 'President'. His presence is thanks to his financial influence rather than his being respected for his background, or for his popularity. It is also why Respondent 109 feels able to criticise the benefactor's sub-standard ability in Scottish Gaelic, partly because he is not perceived to be a group member. There is quite evidently a fault line between what this respondent saw as the purpose of the society and the motives of the benefactor. Suspicions are occasionally expressed about the motives of other groups as well. For example, Respondent 109 described a different group as a *'mafia'*[113], motivated by wanting to get themselves into the *'social pages'* [MD26.90] rather their interest in the language. The way such comments they are framed in terms of relevance to Scottish Gaelic, indicates the basis on which intentions are judged. People who do not have wider, cultural interests uppermost can sometimes be judged negatively.

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[112] A well-known personality and supporter of Scottish Gaelic.

[113] Separately, another respondent jokingly described an informal group of which she was a member as a 'mafia' in order to illustrate how cohesive they were, and their loyalty to their Scottish Gaelic cultural interests.

9.3.3 Language Contact and Linguistic Interference

Respondent 109's comments in Extract 9.23 also reflect concern with maintaining Scottish Gaelic's coherence as a separate language. This illustrates the fault-line that exists between those who do not speak the language fluently and those who do. Unsurprisingly, this is often expressed as a fault line between learners and native speakers. This is probably too simplistic an explanation. There certainly are a large number of learners whose proficiency is low, as indicated by the high number who rate themselves this way in the questionnaire responses (see Figures 5.1 and 5.2). But on the other hand, a number of respondents who might be considered native speakers report that their own proficiency has declined. Chapter 6 examined a divide based on distinctions made according to the artificiality of learner speech, or its basic inaccuracy. I suggested that the context of Australian multiculturalism might help to heighten distinctions between learners and native speakers because of the dominant discourse of the existence of ethnicity. This also helps to explain why changes are often attributed to learners, rather than general principles of language change in a contact environment.

A specific example may illustrate how language contact issues are sometimes ignored. Gillies (1993) comments on verb-stem borrowing; although in earlier periods the loanwords were fully assimilated into the lexical structure of Scottish Gaelic, the 'tolerance for 'alien' sounds and shapes has increased over the years' (Gillies 1993, p. 223). Equally, other research has commented on grammatical changes that affect sentence-structure as a whole in Scottish Gaelic (Lamb 1999). Lamb (2003) sees <-adh> as the most productive suffix for the verbal noun (Lamb 2003, p. 52), so it is perhaps unsurprising if this suffix is applied to many loaned verbs. This suffix can be realised as /-ɨk/ or /-əɤ/ phonemically.

An article appeared in *Commun Gàidhlig Astràilia*'s September 2003 newsletter, commenting on English influence on Scottish Gaelic. The subject was the use of '–ig' or '-igeadh' in verbal nouns. The article sub-heading was 'Is *igeadh* killing the language or keeping it alive?' commenting on the accepted practise of using the suffix on loanwords. The introduction asked if the process had gone too far. The bulk of the article was a story in Scottish Gaelic, indicating that the characters in the piece are 'guilty of this' in overusing '-ig'. The left-hand column was written with many English loanwords, plus the suffix. The right-hand one was the same passage but with a greater proportion of verbs using alternative (Scottish Gaelic) verbs, or more nativised forms of loanwords.

A number of SoSGA respondents comment on influence of English in purist terms, such as Dubhmór who wishes to get at a *'pure'* version of Scottish Gaelic (Extract 6.40). The rejection

of language contact is an important part of this discourse. Ó Laoire (1996) discusses the development of new dialects as rejected by purists. Early activists for Irish

> 'espoused the revival of the language through a link with the past, preserving the culture and ideology, and rejecting assimilation' (Ó Laoire 1996, p. 66).

Ó Laoire (1996) sees this as part of the ideology, which lost political significance once Irish independence was achieved. The link to a past version of the language can therefore be an ideology of language revival. A similar ideology of language separation is relevant to Scottish Gaelic. An idealised use of the language would presumably avoid all loanwords from English. This contrasts with the effects of language contact which might be perceived as natural to linguists. Understanding the ideological motivations behind language revival efforts helps to better explain why some teachers of Scottish Gaelic continue to teach items such as month names in Scottish Gaelic when they themselves know that they are no longer used (Extract 6.44). It is the cultural connections, rather than the communicative competence that sometimes take priority. The separation from English is clearly important on an ideological level.

9.3.4 English Influence, Effort and Erosion

Many SoSGA respondents unequivocally accept the distinction between native speakers and learners. Some learners are thus surprised to discover that English months are used in Scottish Gaelic (Extract 6.43). Such mismatches in expectations about a language and the 'reality' of native speaker speech would need to be explained in some way. How can a native speaker still be so called if they use English-influenced lexis or syntax? How do respondents, in the face of conviction that the distinction between learners and native speakers is sharply defined, explain these discrepancies? How are mismatches between observed 'reality' and the ideology of distinct languages to be accounted for in order not to collapse the border between native speakers and others?

The issue is not perceived as a natural phenomenon of language contact, but as an indication of encroachment. The appearance of English lexis in Scottish Gaelic is explained is by appealing to the difficulty of the task of keeping it out. During one language class, the teacher commented on the use of terms in a teaching book. The class were repeating words pronounced by the teacher as a model.

Extract 9.24 This Lazy Way

Respondent 157: 'Bracaist *[...] Now you see this is another thing: in primitive societies they only ate once a day, they had only one main meal a day. That in*

> *Gàidhlig is* 'lòn'[114]. 'Lòn-beag*' is on short rations, you know? But, er, so there's no reason why they couldn't have used* 'biadh-maidne[115]*', which is an alternative. The problem is this lazy way of using English words like this' [MD33.05].*

Two elements add to the impression of a preservationist ideology surrounding the learning of Scottish Gaelic in some quarters: firstly, that there is an immediate, apparently natural, association with pre-modern (*'primitive'*) society. This society is perceived to be untouched by English, as if English influence is a modern phenomenon. Secondly, individual effort is clearly required to maintain English words out of the language. This latter discourse reinforces the perception of the difficulty of Scottish Gaelic – perhaps even for native speakers – in maintaining coherence in the face of English. If it is indeed 'easier' to use English words, this potentially contradicts the idea that native speakers know how to speak Scottish Gaelic without effort. So Respondent 157 presents not a (natural) contact situation, but a ('*lazy*', perhaps unnatural) psychological one.

Understanding ideology might help to better explain the phenomenon noted concerning Extract 6.44. Recall that the (native speaker) respondent commented that he tried to learn the names of the months – despite knowing that he did not need to do so for communicative purposes. He reported knowing that there were cultural elements associated with month names that gave some insight into ways of life. This echoes the sentiments expressed in many LHRs arguments that stress an inherent value reason for maintaining languages.

Many respondents also commented that they tried to perform tasks in Scottish Gaelic as often as they could. Sometimes they expressed guilt if they did not manage to do so when they considered themselves capable. Such guilt can be understood in the light of the importance of the ideology of reviving the language: only in using it in spoken form will it survive, and 'laziness' acts against this. 'Laziness' is similarly used as an explanation for the incorporation of English, rather than the depth of language contact. Maintaining the integrity of the language, then, becomes very important, despite what effects this might have on communicative competence. This is also why describing interest in Scottish Gaelic as an icon or as a marker of identity would oversimplify the situation. Ideology acts directly on linguistic practices. Preservation of cultural facets of the language does not automatically bring with it communicative competence – it might even work against it. Therefore this presents another potential weakness in arguments that call for the preservation of languages along with their

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[114] Exactly the same explanation of the term is given in the entry of the most widely used dictionary of Scottish Gaelic (Dwelly, 1993).

[115] Lit: 'food of the morning'.

ways of life, assuming that this will automatically lead to greater spoken vitality. Respondent 157 comments on other influential aspects of English in Extract 9.25.

Extract 9.25 They Can't do Mathematics in Their Own Language

Respondent 157: 'Incidentally, there's a new system of counting has been introduced into Gàidhlig. This is known as- the Latin word for twenty is 'vigenti' it was known as the vigentissimal system of counting, you know. The French still use it but the likes of fifty, which- and seventy and ninety- they've introduced new words and they follow the same pattern, you know[116]. Dha-fhichead's a h-aon[117] *[...] and so on. It makes it much easier. This is one of the disgraces of the Scottish education system; a lot of Gàidhlig speakers who are native speakers who can't do any arithmetic or subdivision or any maths in their own language' [MD33.18].*

Although Scottish Gaelic does have its own counting system, everyday use has adopted the English lexis in this domain (Lamb 1999). The insertion of native-like terms reflecting a decimal system can be seen in this light – as an effort to re-introduce Scottish Gaelic terms where English ones are currently used. Of course, it could easily be argued that English terms make no difference to the study of mathematics *per se.* The terms could be nativised and adopted into the phonological system. I believe that this respondent's discourse reflects a belief in the idealised separation of English from Scottish Gaelic, rather than analysing it as an adoption of lexis in a particular domain.

9.3.5 Protective Boundaries and National Protection

The influence of authority in drawing boundaries is also important for setting up protected spaces. In Extract 9.25 Respondent 157 calls it a '*disgrace*' that the education system has not assisted language efforts by offering protection. The overwhelming majority of questionnaire respondents wanted Scottish Gaelic protected in schools – particularly in the U.K., but also in European Union political spaces (Figure 4.15). Most questionnaire respondents want authorities to provide spaces where the language is maintained. I also explained it in terms of a perception that ethnic affiliation entitled supporters of Scottish Gaelic to action in Scotland, even though it was not their current 'home'. Indifference is one reason that some respondents give for the apparent lack of action in Scotland, such as the master of ceremonies at a concert given in Australia, in Extract 9.26.

Extract 9.26 The Dragon of Indifference

MoC3: 'They are brave indeed, who take on the dragon with two heads: and the [choir] battle the dragon of indifference to the decline of our beautiful language,

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[116] The respondent is referring to efforts that he has heard of, devising counting terms based on a decimal system.
[117] Lit: 'twice twenty and one'.

> *Gàidhlig, here amongst Australians of Scottish lineage, and also the sad indifference that native-born Scots have towards the tongue which should have been enshrined in National use, as it is in Ireland and Wales*[118]*. But to our benefit, the [choir] make their point with beautiful music' [MD17.10].*

In Extract 9.26, the speaker links indifference of those in Scotland to a lack of legislation. Ireland and Wales are presented as having instituted national protection for their languages. Those nations have positioned the languages in some fixed way with the aim of preservation. This does not imply something dynamic, but rather a locking in place of some highly valued item, rather than a changing and fluid language. The imagery of the dragon is somewhat reminiscent of medieval tales, strengthening the impression of something both unreal and rooted in the past. This is not something that is a 'youth secular modernist movement' as described by Bernard Spolsky for Hebrew (Ó Laoire 1996, p. 68).

9.3.6 Summary: Why Language Fluency is Not Always the Goal

It is clear that there are potentially contradictory elements in speaking Scottish Gaelic. On the one hand, an ideology that promotes language revival relies on increasing the use of the language in daily life. Conversely, the cultural interests that surround the language encourage elements of purity and separation from English. The motivations for language preservation do not necessarily entail the development of communicative competence. Trying to explain linguistic behaviours based on categorisations such as learners and native speakers are not as powerful as explanations that account for ideological viewpoints. It is the ideological approaches of SoSGA respondents that influence their attitudes to language contact phenomena. Ideologies might, of course, be influenced by childhood upbringing in a language, but native speaker status is not necessarily the determining factor.

9.4 The Public Image of Scottish Gaelic

Fishman (1991, 2001), and some SoSGA respondents, quite consciously take a conservation approach to language maintenance. Many SoSGA respondents associate the value of the culture with a past state of the language. However, the modern varieties are perceived to be changing under pressure from English. Scottish Gaelic's appeal is therefore important if activists want to maintain it as a spoken language. Some respondents feel the need to actively promote the language by emulating what they see as successful ventures. This was the case in Extract 8.10 where the respondent commented on how music could act as a draw-card. In

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[118] One must assume that the speaker means Irish and Welsh respectively, of course.

Extract 9.27, a direct continuation of 8.10, the other participants in the conversation agree with her.

Extract 9.27 The Only Way to Draw Them In

Cumhal: 'For the music, exactly, now you're talking!
Respondent 111: and I think it's a circuit of entertainers, partly Gàidhlig, partly English, we would see a huge resurgence of people - Gaels and not, wanting to learn the language, because it's a beautiful language when you hear it spoken and I really think that. And I mean I've been to so-called Scottish nights and clubs, and honestly! You have your Andy Stewart impersonation, you have somebody doing the Highland fling-
Beltanno: Just that kind of shortbread tin kind of-!
Respondent 111: and then, the last one I was at, they had an American barn dance! Now what that had to do with Scotland I have absolutely no idea! But we really need to get bands together and put on something at the [...] club that really promotes the Scottish music - if you want young people in it's the only way' [MD26.86].

The promotional activities envisaged by Respondent 111 would hopefully improve Scottish Gaelic's position in a number of ways. One is a more accurate representation of Scottish Gaelic culture so that its real beauty can be presented, rather than ridiculous stereotypes. Another is the likelihood that the language itself will benefit because of the interest that the music would generate. Perhaps such promotional activity would encourage younger people to participate. Here is further evidence that some respondents recognise the age bias associated with Scottish Gaelic and wish to reverse it. The awareness of how the language appears to outsiders is thus part of language revival, according to this view. Notably, Respondent 111 supports a public presentation of Scottish Gaelic via the music, not via its ethnicity. Muc-mhara believes that awareness of the attributes of the language is important, in Extract 9.28.

Extract 9.28 None of the Young Ones Spoke It

Muc-mhara: 'I was quite surprised when I was home a few years ago none of the young ones would speak Gàidhlig. You'd speak to them in Gàidhlig they'd answer you in English. But now there seems to be a slight turnaround. I think, possibly the television programmes and sort of ... the awareness of its uniqueness is coming back into the children again because when I was back last time I thought there was more Gàidhlig spoken somehow' [MD02.19].

So heightening awareness of the distinctiveness of Scottish Gaelic would encourage more use and interest. This also helps to explain why shallow representations must be rejected. Further, the use of Scottish Gaelic by young people is seen as crucial to language revitalisation.

9.4.1 The Importance of Institutionalisation

Institutionalisation of Scottish Gaelic in the Antipodes must also be seen in the light of the

social outreach functions of the associations. They clearly provide a focus for activities that will be attractive to some people. This is why the transient members and those with short-term interest are accepted (Extracts 9.10 and 9.11). Visibility is important in domains such as the SBS and Ethnic Radio. It also explains why it is important to most respondents that Scottish Gaelic appears in institutions that are widely recognised and subsidised, if possible. Applications for funding were specifically tailored to fit with the demands of bureaucracy in a multicultural framework (Extract 8.17). This is subversive, because most respondents know this was probably not the original, political purpose of multiculturalism. Multiculturalism was initially a political response to racism and a reaction to the denigration of migrants according to their ethnicity (Vasta 1993, p. 214). If some forms of multiculturalism identify ethnicity as the source of disadvantage (Vasta 1993, p. 215), a group might seek to emphasise its ethnicity in order to participate in such a framework. As multiculturalism is now well established in the bureaucracy, it might also be viewed as an institution, in a broad sense. The deliberate naming of 'Australian Multiculturalism' by government authorities (Australia 1999b) as an identifiable element of Australian policy lends weight to this analysis. Establishing a presence in a bureaucratic system becomes important for psychological support, which is why support for Scottish Gaelic is partly a political activity. It is quite clear for Respondent 065 that governmental authority is probably not genuinely interested in Scottish Gaelic. In Extract 9.29 Respondent 065 mentions how she always answered the national Census question on language by putting 'Scottish Gaelic' as a language used in the home. In this way, she is pushing its presence within the bureaucracy.

Extract 9.29 A Vote for Gàidhlig

Respondent 065: 'Well I always put in Scottish Gaelic for that – just to record that there's a Gàidhlig speaker in [the State]! [laughs]. *I always put in Scottish Gaelic for that. I mean I know I don't speak it all the time, but – it's the language of my paren[ts]- It's my language! […] In fact I think [Respondent 063] puts in Scottish Gaelic too, it's just for a vote for Gàidhlig – that's all it is, just to show them that there are some people, two people in [the State], whatever!* [laughs] *That's just a twist!' [MD02.19].*

Her comment that it is a *'twist'* shows that she does see this as answering in a way that was perhaps not imagined by the authority responsible for the Census. Recall that Diùranach described his reasoning as 'thoroughly deceptive' (Extract 6.10). For Respondent 065 support is put in democratic terms - as a *'vote'* - indicating that she hopes for some recognition of public demand by authority – presumably greater than that warranted by demographics alone. This is a culture of resistance associated with ethnicity in Australia (Vasta 1993, p. 217).

9.4.2 Scottish Gaelic Organisations and Institutionalisation

In order to pursue their objectives, some organisations are highly structured, with committees, democratic elections of officers, a fee-paying membership and regular meetings. In these situations, Scottish Gaelic is institutionalised in choirs, language organisations, classes, events, and even religious ritual. This might imply that the language is merely an activity, performed in clubs. However, this is too simple, as the organisations function as places of promotion of the language, guided by particular ideologies. I also suggested that the setting aside of spaces was partly protective, reflecting Scottish Gaelic's subordination to English in the wider society.

Institutionalisation in this manner may lead to different problems related to ideology. If people strongly object to some of the ideologies present in the organisation, they are unlikely to join. This may answer why there is a further perceived gulf between native speakers and learners. A number of respondents in key positions in these organisations commented that they had great difficulty in persuading native speakers to join, or that it was not the sort of activity that native speakers took part in. Two important points demonstrate that this is not strictly true. Firstly, native speakers are key members of almost all of the organisations that were surveyed as part of SoSGA. There was not a single organisation that had not had some key input from at least one native speaker at some stage in its establishment, or while I was observing the organisation's activities. This was the case for radio stations, classes, choirs, Christian religious activities, events and informal teaching. Secondly, it is reportedly not true historically, given that respondents themselves noted that the membership was changing in line with the ageing of Scottish Gaelic speakers (Extract 9.4).

A more likely explanation for the perceived divide therefore lies in an appeal to ideology, rather than native speaker status. This is also hinted at by a key member of one of the organisations at the end of an event, in Extract 6.13. I re-quote a part of it here as Extract 9.30.

Extract 9.30 There Must be Hundreds of Them

Respondent 017: '... I'm part of a threatened species in this town I believe – a native Gàidhlig speaker. There's only [a few] of us in this room tonight and it's very hard to find any more in this town but there must be hundreds of them out there if only we could find them' [MD08.20].

If there are a number of native speakers not willing to join, it may partly be related to the socio-political function of the organisation. Some organisations are held in extremely low esteem in some quarters. This is clear from the complete rejection of them as meddling with the language by some people whom I contacted. Two specific cases were encountered where a

very low tolerance for the organisations as vehicles for the language were expressed – individuals who had no wish to participate further in SoSGA. Rejection of the academic interest in Scottish Gaelic is also evident in the comments in Extract 9.31. The respondent was talking about grammar and teaching books in Scottish Gaelic.

Extract 9.31 Grammar for Archaeologists

Respondent109: 'But there's other bits in it- I think that people jump onto the Gàidhlig bandwagon and they quote things from books, you know, and it sounds grand. But when they set their own minds to it they come up with very queer Gàidhlig. So I don't know if [the author] is authentic or not […]. But the point about this [author]: she wrote a book using, oh, very colloquial Gàidhlig, I think they buried it – it's the sort of thing the School of Scottish studies does, you know [laughs]. *And, er, that's why the book was devised, so that if the world blows up and then somebody- archaeologist digs it up in a thousand years time they'll come across [this author]'s book and see how Gàidhlig sounded – but it doesn't make sense… maybe it does' [MD04.06].*

In Respondent 109's view, the devising of the grammar book was of no practical use. It was an academic pursuit, devoid of connection to the real world, potentially based on egotistical motives. It is the motivations, not the linguistic attributes of the author that are rejected. Interest in Gàidhlig can also be a *'bandwagon'*, reflecting partial and temporary interest in the language following some trend. An appeal to understandings of ideology, again, has greater explanatory power for such perceptions, rather than native speaker status alone. Using an analysis that examines ideologies helps to explain why organisations are so important to Scottish Gaelic, and further backs up the idea that activity supporting Scottish Gaelic can be subversive. It is difficult for an individual to be subversive in their own home, rather than in socio-political space as a member of an organisation with particular goals.

There are condemnations of Scottish Gaelic varieties for not being *'ethnic'* (Extract 6.48) or *'vernacular'* (Extract 5.25) because they are not regional. In a similar way to criticisms of Maori changing to becoming unrecognisable (Spolsky 1996, p. 26), so might this be the case for Scottish Gaelic to those brought up as speakers of a geographical dialect. Respondent 065 in Extract 9.32 levels exactly this criticism at the presenter of a radio program.

Extract 9.32 It Grates

SS: 'Have you listened to his radio programme much?

Respondent 065: 'I can't! [laughs] *[…] I can't listen, I get stirred up so I don't- I don't listen. I shouldn't say that, but- […] Technically he's good, technically he's very good but it's just that the way it's spoken. I suppose it's like someone speaking German if you speak German. When a native speaks it, it's very different. It would be grating to them to hear. […] All things being equal, at least it is presenting the language. Apparently now he is giving more music on the programme. A few of my friends listen to it and they say it certainly has improved.*

> *Through [X] society we suggested that he has to lighten up, not to speak all the way through. People who don't speak any Gàidhlig like to hear a little bit of music and just understand what's being said rather than hearing the language the whole way through. […] I think you have to have to sacrifice some minutes for English. Because they are English speakers who listen, there are very few Gàidhlig speakers listening so you have to have that' [MD02.12].*

Crucially, though, Respondent 065 does not dismiss the usefulness of the program – she knows that it has wider uses than merely being a way for her to hear her language. The importance of having the radio broadcast overcomes the discomfort of hearing 'grating' language. Notably, native speakers are not perceived to be the audience, reinforcing the analysis that promotion is an important function of organisations.

9.4.3 Summary: Organisations and Endangered Languages

The influence of organisations and institutions is important in the light of status changes. Many SoSGA respondents adopt strategies that LHRs arguments suggest: the positioning of the language within the socio-political structure of the society. The improved status of Scottish Gaelic might be linked to the importance of organisations and to institutionalisation. These are spaces where ideologies may be applied. Fishman (1991, 2001), May (2001a) and Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995a) stress that the improvement of status is vital for revitalisation efforts.

Scottish Gaelic has arguably achieved this in many ways in Australia by gaining some public prominence. However, this has not meant that the language is used in ways conducive to revitalisation. The use of Scottish Gaelic in some public domains has been used to reinforce distinctions based on native speaker status, whereas the divide is more likely to be ideological. Use of Scottish Gaelic in organisations has also led to specific cultural activities having primacy, rather than the development of fluency. Organisations are not, in themselves, guarantors of language maintenance or revitalisation – whatever status changes they may reflect. Organisations may also be rejected as inappropriate and directly interfering with Scottish Gaelic.

Fishman (1991, 2001) stresses the importance of ethnic links. Dorian (1999) stresses that academic 'dispassion' may be a contributing factor to language disappearance (Dorian 1999, p. 37). Thus, (emotional) ethnic links are a way of 'reclaiming a heritage by reclaiming a language' (Dorian 1999, p. 39). This is certainly what many SoSGA respondents do by participating in the society in a structured manner and using ethnicity and language as a rallying point. But while the organisations that are formed with this in mind have the potential

for changing the fate of small languages, it is not guaranteed. Worse, institutions may serve to heighten ideological divides instead of regrouping people around a language they wish to use. In the context of Scottish Gaelic in Australia, appeals to ethnicity as the route to language maintenance have probably had beneficial effects for representation, but limited effects for language maintenance. It is not clear that the presentation of organisations as vehicles for ethnically based language maintenance has been successful.

9.5 Conclusions

9.5.1 Rights and Justifications

A number of respondents justify their promotion of Scottish Gaelic by interest in their heritage or their desire to preserve the language and culture. For these respondents, the right to advance Scottish Gaelic stems from belonging to an ethnicity. Others may not participate because they are suspicious of ulterior motives or because they do not recognise the rights of non-group members to affect their language. Therefore, some speakers of Scottish Gaelic do not participate in the same activities as adult learners.

However, the case for ethnic affiliation should not be overstated for Scottish Gaelic activists. Some interests associated with Scottish Gaelic (such as Druidry and paganism, clan societies and dancing) do not show great membership overlap with culture and language-orientated activities (such as choirs and language classes). Interests such as Clan societies and genealogy are sometimes perceived as too tightly focused on ethnicity or iconography and exclude language and culture. SoSGA respondents who wish to maintain culture and language rather than merely express ethnic affiliation therefore largely reject these interests.

The importance of maintaining a specific language and culture can also help to explain why it is not endangered languages as a whole for which SoSGA respondents fight. An ideology of ethnic belonging is exclusionary (Hussain and Miller 2003) as it is a way of defining the boundaries which separate the language group from everything else. This helps to explain why different language groups do <u>not</u> find common cause, even though to linguists they may be a ‘latent and potential coalition’ in maintaining small languages (Lo Bianco 2001, p. 69).

An appeal to ethnic belonging is probably also why activities such as choirs are reported to have been more long-lived, because they help to present an ethnically licensed activity in a society where this is considered important.

9.5.2 Scottish Gaelic as Appropriate in an Ethnic Society

Following Goffman (1959), it could be argued that Scottish Gaelic provides an opportunity for

people to present themselves in an appropriate manner for a society where ethnicity is important. The historical development of multiculturalism has highlighted ethnicity as politically meaningful - sometimes to the exclusion of other categorisations (Vasta 1993, p. 211). Multiculturalism is also associated with reactions to racism (Vasta 1993; Smolicz 1995a; Lopez 2000) and generally seen as positive by SoSGA respondents. Therefore many SoSGA respondents are entitled, in such a political climate, to express their identity through an appropriate choice of ethnicity and language. Adopting a stance commensurate with multiculturalism indicates rejection of assimilation. This is also why people with Scottish – particularly Highland – ancestry are of primary interest to activists as a target group for helping to maintain Scottish Gaelic. It also explains why a public affirmation of belonging is important, as it serves to express the appropriate ethnicity within the social context. However, ethnic identity formulations of multiculturalism were aimed at immigrants (Vasta 1993) and are perhaps a political decoy, because the dominant society has a default ethnicity (Hage 1998). So in presenting ethnicity as an attribute of the supposedly non-ethnic Anglos, SoSGA respondents have subverted the policy for the purposes of language revival. In pursuing these objectives, SoSGA respondents implicitly go against the grain in the society in a number of other ways. They promote a language that has no economic benefit and which is not widely spoken by an ethnic group elsewhere. In studying a language other than English, learners pursue a minority intellectual activity in which females participate to a far greater extent than males in school education (Chapter 4). Associations with female activities are at odds with the many gendered national identity images in Australia (Vasta 1993; Phillips 1996; Rutherford 2000). All their justifications are appropriate within multiculturalism, but nonetheless unusual within the wider society.

Presentations of Scottish Gaelic identity also highlight what Giddens (1999) calls ‘commodification’ as the ‘construction of the self’ under the influence of mass markets and media representation, and is contrasted with ‘personal’ experience (Giddens 1999, p. 423). In this view, modernity encourages the consumption of standardised products or emblems that are used in display of identity. The consumption of goods leads to the replacement of ‘essence’ by ‘appearance’, so that the use value of the goods are outweighed by their visible signs (Giddens 1999, p. 424). Overt display associated with Scottish Gaelic is categorically rejected by respondents such Flathal (Extract 6.50) and by Muc-mhara who tried to tell the disinterested stallholder to correct the grammar on his mug (Extract 6.46). Purely iconic uses of the language and culture run counter to their personal experiences, even if they accept some of the advantages of greater public visibility. They are therefore rejecting this form of

commodification, while simultaneously engaging in promotional activities that would demonstrate the real beauty of the language (Extract 9.27). Appealing to commodification might inform us further why ethnicity is important for Scottish Gaelic in this context. Those who are closely connected to Scottish Gaelic might be considered better able to judge what are true representations of the culture. Therefore this can reinforce hierarchies based on native speaker status and ethnicity, as these are the people called upon to judge cultural merit and linguistic accuracy in the face of false representations.

9.5.3 Co-opting the Protest Voice

LHRs arguments that pressure governments and institutions to include endangered languages in the socio-political structure may merely help an authority to co-opt a voice (Castles, Kalantzis et al. 1988; Hage 1998). As a universal appeal it may also mean that minimal rights are introduced, where promotional ones are needed (Kymlicka and Patten 2003). This may put an authority in an unassailably moral position without directly helping a language. Australian multiculturalism may have promised much for language maintenance but delivered little, allowing Joseph (1998) to describe this as the 'Misery and Splendour' of the moral positioning (Joseph 1998). Vasta (1993) discusses how the funding of day-care centres within an 'ethnic group' model can result in groups having to vie with each other for financial support (Vasta 1993, p. 216). So supporters of Scottish Gaelic may have successfully subverted aspects of multiculturalism but they might nonetheless be supplicants in a system over which they have little control.

If the promotion of a language depends on an ideological positioning, then granting of nominal power may work against language activists' interests. Exactly this reasoning is used by Respondent 216 who advises the members of Organisation 1 not to register support for a bill going through the Scottish Parliament, quoted in Extract 9.33.

Extract 9.33 No Rights

*Respondent 216: 'There are no rights in this bill. No rights for parents with regard to their children being educated in Gaelic. The [suggested authority] will be powerless to intervene with public bodies which decide not to have a Gaelic language plan. The entire thing has been set up as a window dressing and will do very little for the language. Don't be fooled by the "*beul brèagha*"('pretty mouth') of government rhetoric. […] I urge you not to support it as it stands, but to demand changes in it …' [SoSGA_E_031203].*

Respondent 216 suggests that recognition is no panacea. Only legal rights, rather than permission, would guarantee access within the society. He proceeded to recommend that

Organisation 1's members demand recourse to legal action.

Nonetheless, even if rights were to be granted, Scottish Gaelic might function primarily as an element of identity for some, rather than as a medium of communication. Many may not choose to learn the language even if legally entitled to do so. This also illustrates language's power to act as a proxy for social concerns (Johnson 2001, p. 599). Establishing a legal position may become an aim in itself. This becomes a position of resistance to hegemony. Moreover, the 'language' may be seen as the standard language – if it exists – rather than as a collection of dialects (Milroy 2001b, p. 621). In this respect, maintaining the distinction between languages such as English and Scottish Gaelic may be crucial rather than the preservation of dialects. So preserving a language in opposition to a dominant language may become important.

9.5.4 Socio-Psychological Separation of Languages

The importance of maintaining clear distinctions between Scottish Gaelic and English was discussed in sections 9.3.4 and 9.3.5. I argued that this reflected the importance of the ideology of separation in contrast to goals of communicative competence. It might be possible to extend this argument further. If teachers and learners were not so fearful of borrowing, code mixing and other language contact phenomena, would dynamic varieties be able to emerge more easily?

This may not be far-fetched. The very self-conscious nature of the revival might promote status aspects of Scottish Gaelic that are not in the interests of language maintenance, while nonetheless raising the language's profile. Ó Laoire (1996) comments on the vitality of some urban dialects of Irish. These dialects are 'disparaged by the purists' (Ó Laoire 1996, p. 66). Perhaps a lack of fear of borrowing, calquing, switching and mixing may be a requirement for language vitality? After all, linguists see these processes as contributing to productive language and dialect divergence in the past (Crystal 1987, p. 330). Most obviously, people who do still speak the language do so with less concern with what is borrowed and what is native (Lamb 1999).

9.5.5 What Language Means to People

For many SoSGA respondents there is clearly no linguistic communism. English and Scottish Gaelic are not considered equal. Scottish Gaelic is more beautiful and a bearer of culture, whereas English is just the 'Esperanto of the world' (Extract 8.14) with little in the way of emotional attachment. English, as a globalised language, is perceived as fundamentally

different to languages that are seen to embody identity (Graddol 1997; Lo Bianco 2001). SoSGA respondents do not accept linguistic orthodoxy, in this respect. There is a cultural and identity hierarchy on which Scottish Gaelic is better placed. Milroy (2001b) comments on linguists' 'hypothesis' that languages are equal (Milroy 2001b, p. 624), saying that this cannot be proven empirically (Milroy 2001b, p. 622). Arguments that deny hierarchies might be seen to threaten the motivations of language activists. It is activists who appear to promote Scottish Gaelic most enthusiastically, and they are unlikely to see linguistic orthodoxy as beneficial for their particular interests. For some SoSGA respondents the implication is that Scottish Gaelic should survive, not because all languages should survive, but because it isn't English. Scottish Gaelic may be 'needed' in a different way to that idealised by linguists. Having Scottish Gaelic alive as a bearer of culture may help to explain why some respondents concentrate more on the continuing presence of Scottish Gaelic, rather than focus on developing their own proficiency. Scottish Gaelic can have an important cultural, rather than communicative, function. At the heart of this issue is the continued divide between 'public understanding' of language and linguists' views (Johnson 2001). Linguists views are just as ideological and in opposition to public understandings of language (Milroy 2001b, p. 624). According to Milroy (2001b), our first step is to understand the ideologies of the 'community at large' (Milroy 2001b, p. 624).

9.5.6 Not Dead Yet

The determination of many SoSGA respondents to keep Scottish Gaelic alive in Australia and Scotland also shows conviction of the usefulness of human action. Whether as part of a *'legacy'* or as a *'torch'*, the language is not abandoned. Scottish Gaelic is given a life beyond its speakers and is a focus for cultural enjoyment. SoSGA respondents' efforts reflect the willingness of people to dedicate themselves to something that they see as more valuable than just a language, whatever the contradictions that the analyst claims to perceive.

Extract 9.34 Fantasy

Flathal: 'No that's the other erm, fantasy about Gàidhlig. Gàidhlig-speaking people don't want their children to learn Gàidhlig, after all they themselves learnt English to make their way in the world and to be able to communicate with the rest of the world and they want their children to start off that way. So they don't really want to teach their-. It's non-Gàidhlig speakers – have I got that right? Hm, it's non-Gàidhlig speakers who are going to all these little things for children, it's not the Gàidhlig-speakers, I shouldn't think' [MD04.11].

Appendix 1: Biographical Notes of Respondents

Allaid is a member of a number of the cultural organisations involved with Scottish Gaelic. He is presently, and has been, a committee member for more than one of them. He was born, raised and educated to tertiary level in Australia. He is self-employed in a consultancy role to one of the large government departments in a scientific field, having been previously employed in a related field for some years.

Amun is Gealmhìn's son, and has recently become very interested in learning Scottish Gaelic. He is praised for his ability and devotion to the task. He is over twenty, and has studied in the Humanities. He also has an interest in wider historical elements of Scottish Gaelic.

Beltanno has lived in Australia most of her adult life after having emigrated from Scotland where she obtained tertiary qualifications. She works in a highly technical field and is a team leader in her workplace. She married and had children in Australia and is a committee member in one of the cultural organisations.

Borbar is a volunteer teacher of Scottish Gaelic. He has spent much of his adult life in Australia having moved there after receiving post-secondary, professional qualifications in Scotland. He was born and brought up in the Western Isles and much of his family has also emigrated to other parts of the world. He occasionally visits there, but not as regularly as he would like. He has recently retired after having been involved in the business sector for many years.

Cairbre was born and brought up in Australia and works in a technological field entirely unrelated to language. He has post-graduate qualifications in his field. His interest in Scottish Gaelic started as an adult and he has become quite proficient. He has spent some time using Scottish Gaelic in a public sphere and has also taught some language classes. He attended a number of the Scottish Gaelic events around the country and is well known to many of the participants in the survey.

Calligary was born and brought up in Australia, but has been to Scotland a number of times on holiday individually, as well as part of larger, organised tours involving clan history. He is very involved in his clan society, and although now retired, still takes an active part in organising social events. He has been a principal office bearer in the clan society to which he belongs. He was a farmer and now lives in a mid-size country town. He has learned to play the bagpipes and wears the clan kilt and tartan at the clan functions.

Capull was born, brought up and educated in the Western Isles. He worked in mainland Scotland for a few years and moved to Australia as a working adult with his wife and young family. He has spent the rest of his adult life in Australia where he has more recently become more involved with some of the Scottish Gaelic organisations.

Clatho was born in Scotland but moved to Australia as a child where most of her family now lives. She is a member of one of the cultural organisations and has returned to Scotland a number of times on visits.

Comhachag was born in mainland Scotland and came to Australia with her parents as a teenager, having completed secondary education. They moved to a large, regional town where

she obtained a traineeship in a technical sphere. She met and married a speaker of a (European) minority language and learned that language. Later on in life she became more interested in Scottish Gaelic and also began to write prose and poetry. She is a published author and is a member of a linguistic organisation.

Cridhmór is a relatively recent migrant to Australia and arrived as a young adult on a skilled visa. She married in Australia and started her own company, which is reasonably successful. She recently joined one of the cultural organisations and began to help in the organisational tasks as well.

Cumhal is a key member of one of the cultural organisations concerned with Scottish Gaelic in Australia. He has been recognised by various institutions for his contribution to particular cultural spheres. He was born and brought up in Scotland and came to Australia as a young adult. He married and had children in Australia but keeps strong links to his other family in Scotland. He has taught Scottish Gaelic and has been very active in supporting a number of activities linked to Scottish Gaelic throughout his life.

Daorghlas was born and brought up in Scotland and moved to Australia as a trained professional. He had originally intended to spend just a short time in Australia woriking in his chosen field but remained for the next thirty years. He is retired and is associated with one of the Scottish radio programs.

Dardulena was born and brought up in Australia. She is a secondary-school student and first started learning Scottish Gaelic in 2000. She has also since taken up other cultural activities associated with Scottish Gaelic and was to take part in a public event a few months after we met. She has lived in a large regional town all her life, but hopes to visit Scotland soon.

Diùranach was born in Australia, and although has had a few years of education in Scotland, has spent almost all of his life in there. He has had a long and important involvement in cultural groups associated with wider Scottish and Celtic interest groups, being influential and pivotal in the establishment of Australian societies with a Scottish link. Although retired, he still takes an active part in many facets of cultural groups, and still holds office in many of them. He also represents an Australian military organisation.

Dubhmór was born and brought up in Australia and had recently started learning Scottish Gaelic when I met him. He was widely praised for his ability and was interested in furthering his studies in great depth. He reported that he had also learned a number of other languages, including Scandinavian ones.

Eagaraiche was born, brought up and educated to tertiary level in Australia. As an adult she worked in Europe and speaks another European language reasonably well. She now has a training role for a large, global organisation with headquarters in one of the metropolitan centres of Australia. She is a keen and enthusiastic leader of one of the language groups and also regularly takes part in other cultural activities.

Eragon was brought up in Australia and moved to Scotland as an adult. He had started learning Scottish Gaelic before his departure and became very fluent in Scotland. He has helped a number of organisations with Gaelic matters, often without remuneration, although he is not an office-bearer in any of them. He is widely consulted for his language skills.

Fingal was born, brought up and educated to tertiary level in Australia, but has visited Scotland a few times as a tourist and as part of his cultural interests. He is a well-respected member of at least two of the cultural organisations, and is widely perceived as being talented in his activities. He has helped to organise a number of the events involving Scottish Gaelic. He works for a large civic organisation in a technological field, but is employed on a contractual basis.

Flathal, now retired, was brought up in the Hebrides but has spent most of her adult life in Australia. She reported having taught Gàidhlig for a number of years and was regarded as highly knowledgeable by other respondents. She had written her own learner's book and had also been active in one of the Gaelic societies for a number of years until quite recently.

Gealmhìn was born, brought up and married in Scotland. As an adult she and her Scottish husband moved to Australia where they brought up their children. She is a member of one of the cultural organisations but has recently become much more involved than she had been before. She now assists in some of the administrative functions of the organisation to which she belongs. One of her children has increasingly shown an interest in Scottish Gaelic and during my time in Australia became more and more involved.

Glaschu is retired and was a scientist, having worked in academia and industry. He was born and educated in mainland Scotland. After having worked for a few years in Scotland he moved to Australia where he now lives in retirement. Glaschu learned Scottish Gaelic as an adult once he was already in Australia, but supplemented this with study in Scotland where he attended classes, on one occasion in the Western Isles. He occasionally helps with classes and as a tutor within at least two of the organisations, as he is seen as reasonably fluent and knowledgeable.

Iona was born and brought up in Australia, and was for many years a teacher at primary school level. She has visited Scotland twice on holiday, and reports that she has studied other (European and Asian) languages apart from Scottish Gaelic. She encouraged the learning of languages other than English in her pupils, and instituted some informal classes in a European language at the school where she had taught. She was participating in Scottish Gaelic classes when we met. Her husband was born in Scotland and speaks a regional dialect.

MacCodrum is Australian, has post-graduate qualifications, and has lived in one of the large metropolitan centres of Australia all his life. He works in a scientific field with which he has been involved for a number of years. He has had a very active role in promoting Scottish Gaelic language interests, and has spent many years learning the language and organising classes and other cultural events associated with Scottish Gaelic. He also has deep musical interests, and has developed a repertoire of pieces based on traditional Scottish Gaelic tunes that he plays at some Scottish Gaelic events.

Malmhìn was born in Scotland and moved to Australia as a trained professional. She worked for some time in this capacity and after retirement began voluntary teaching in a Scottish cultural sphere. She takes Scottish Gaelic lessons and is also involved with a Scottish radio programme.

Morna is a member of one of the cultural organisations and highly regarded in her capacity as an accomplished performer. She is a committee member of more than one organisation, not all of which are related to Scottish Gaelic. She was born, brought up and educated in Australia

but has visited Scotland a number of times as an adult. She has also considered living there at times.

Muc-mhara was born in the Hebrides and moved to Australia in her twenties with her first husband. They moved between various metropolitan centres, and had two children who do not speak Scottish Gaelic. She has had a long and active involvement in Scottish Gaelic cultural activities, and has also taught Scottish Gaelic for many years. She had previously worked in human resources and when I met her was in the process of changing fields. She has an important leadership role in one of the cultural groups, and is a key member of the organisation.

Ronan joined a Scottish Gaelic choir after having accidentally learned of Scottish Gaelic singing styles and wanting to pursue his interest further. He had previously been interested in singing although had always worked as a specialised professional in an unrelated field. He also progressed with learning Scottish Gaelic to his satisfaction during the course of this survey.

Sith-fada had recently moved to Australia from Scotland to be with his partner, where they live in one of the large metropolitan centres. He was born in England and spent many years living and working in the Scottish Highlands where he started learning Scottish Gaelic as an adult. He has started his own technology company and is in the process of winning new contracts with established businesses. He also takes part in Scottish Gaelic cultural activities, and lends his technical knowledge to some of the Scottish Gaelic organisations.

Skye was born in the Hebrides and had all his education in Scotland. He was involved in SG cultural activities at a young age, and was fluent in the language until his late teens. He has spent almost all of his adult life in Australasia, and married and settled in Australia. He has had a long and important involvement in cultural groups associated with wider Scottish interest groups, reportedly being influential and pivotal in the establishment of links between Australian and Scottish institutions. Although retired, he still takes an active part in many facets of cultural groups, and still represents an Australian education establishment. He also represents an Australian military organisation.

Appendix 2: Details of Principal SoSGA Recordings

The following table lists the principal recordings used for SoSGA data. This is not an exhaustive list, but represents the source recordings for much of the data presented.

Pseudonyms	***Recording Location***	***Recording Date***	***Recording Duration***	***Principal Criteria for interviewing***
Respondent174 and Capull	Interview at Gàidhlig event	Oct 2001	15 mins.	Teachers.
Flathal	Conversation at home of respondent	Jan 2002	89 mins.	Teacher.
Muc-mhara		Jan 2002	80 mins.	Teacher; Promoter of culture.
Dubhmór		Jan 2002	40 mins.	Keen Learner
Dardulena		Feb 2002	42 mins.	Young learner
MacCodrum, Muc-mhara		Jan 2002	85 mins.	Promoter(s) of Culture
Skye		Feb 2002	60 mins.	
Ronan	Conversation in Café	Jan 2002	87 mins.	Promoter of Culture
Iona		Feb 2002	41 mins.	Keen learner.
Diùranach	Conversation at workplace	Feb 2002	23 mins.	Promoter of culture
Twelve Respondents	Focus Group discussions	Feb 2002	40 mins.	Gàidhlig event
Organisation 2		May to August 2002	All more than 15 mins.	Language learners group.
Organisation 1	Gàidhlig events	Feb 2002	Various	Language Event
Organisation 2	Official meetings	March to July 2002	All more than 100 mins.	Culture and Heritage organisations
Organisation 1		April 2002	90 mins.	Language organisation
Organisation 2	Recordings at competitions	May 2002 to Oct 2003	Various	Culture and Heritage organisation
Respondent 215	Telephone Interviews	May 2002	16 mins.	Irish in public domain
Respondent 125		March 2002	35 mins.	Choir member
Organisation 1 and other representatives	Meeting in teaching room	June 2002	136 mins.	Culture and Heritage organisations
Thirty-four respondents	Scottish Gaelic Classes	June to August 2002	All more than 60 mins.	Learners

Appendix 3: Questionnaire

The questionnaire presented here is slightly reduced in size to demonstrate the layout. This example is for New Zealand. The Australian version substituted 'Australia' for 'New Zealand', where relevant.

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Questionnaire for The Survey of Scottish Gaelic in Australia and New Zealand

This survey is an attempt to obtain some measure of the use of Scottish Gaelic in Australia and New Zealand, and find out where it is used. To our knowledge, no such survey has ever been attempted before, and there is no clear idea of use of the language in these countries. Some of the data from such surveys have important implications for education, culture and language heritage.

The survey is completely anonymous, and no personal information will be divulged. Answering this questionnaire is not compulsory, but any information supplied by you will be enormously valuable and will add to the knowledge about the language. **Please answer every question**, as this will aid in statistical analysis. Please CLEARLY mark your answer by ticking the appropriate box. If the tick-boxes are not adequate, please add any information at the end of the questionnaire where space is provided. Feel free to add any information that you feel is relevant or useful. **There are no right or wrong answers – this is a survey and therefore any relevant answers are acceptable**.

Please return all questionnaires to: **St John Skilton, The Survey of Scottish Gaelic in Australia, Department of Linguistics, Transient Building, Sydney University, NSW 2006, Australia.**
Tel: +61 (0)2 9351 7514 Email: stjohn.skilton@linguistics.usyd.edu.au

Please tick the boxes that apply most closely to you. NB: Some answers require more than one tick.

Personal Details: ☐Male ☐Female

Age: ☐less than 18 ☐18-30 ☐30-40 ☐40-50 ☐50-60 ☐60-plus

My Country of birth: ☐Australia ☐New Zealand ☐England ☐Scotland ☐Wales ☐N. Ireland
If elsewhere (please state):

Employment: ☐Full time ☐Part time/ casual ☐Retired ☐Student ☐Work at home ☐Un-employed

Type of work:

☐Academic	☐Manu-facturing	☐Clerical/ Admin	☐Manager	☐Professional	☐Scientific/ Technical
☐ School teacher	☐ Finance Services	☐ Merchant Sailor	☐Retired	☐Self-employed	☐Not working at present

Other:
(If retired, please indicate last work-type held)

I am a citizen of: ☐Australia ☐New Zealand ☐Republic of Ireland ☐United Kingdom
Other (please state):

My Residence at age 7: ☐New Zealand ☐England ☐Scotland ☐Australia ☐N. Ireland
If elsewhere (please state):

Father's birthplace: ☐New Zealand ☐England ☐Scotland ☐Australia ☐N. Ireland
If elsewhere (please state):

Mother's birthplace: ☐New Zealand ☐England ☐Scotland ☐Australia ☐N. Ireland
If elsewhere (please state):

My Current Residence: ☐New Zealand ☐NSW ☐VIC ☐TAS ☐WA ☐SA ☐QLD ☐ACT
If elsewhere (please state:)

My parents knew Scottish Gaelic? ☐Fluent ☐Moderate ☐A little ☐None ☐Unknown

My Length of residence in New Zealand: ☐2yrs or less ☐2-10yrs ☐10-20yrs ☐20-30yrs ☐More than 30yrs

My Nationality: ☐Australian ☐ New Zealand ☐British ☐ English ☐ Scottish ☐ Irish
If other (please state):

A second nationality also applies to me: ☐No ☐New Zealand ☐British ☐Scottish ☐Irish ☐ English ☐Australian
Other (please state:)

Age of my first exposure to Scottish Gaelic:
☐0-7yrs ☐7-14 ☐14-20 ☐20-30 ☐30-40 ☐40-50 ☐50-60 ☐60-plus

Country of my first exposure to Scottish Gaelic: ☐Australia ☐ New Zealand ☐Scotland ☐England
Elsewhere (Please state):

I use Scottish Gaelic: ☐Not at all ☐At Home ☐At Work ☐On the telephone ☐Letters/ emails/ internet ☐In Class
Elsewhere(please state):

I *speak* Scottish Gaelic to: ☐No one ☐Friends ☐Family ☐Classmates ☐Colleagues ☐Pets
Other (please state):

My highest academic qualifications:
☐Primary School qualifications ☐Secondary School qualifications ☐University ☐ TAFE / Vocational Qualifications
Other:

Within the last ten years, I have participated as a student in Scottish Gaelic language classes or educational activities at:
☐None ☐Gaelic Language Courses at adult education centres ☐Classes at school/university ☐Classes with a private tutor ☐Gaelic lessons from books and/or cassette tapes ☐Conversation groups
Other(please state):

Generally I participate as a student in Scottish Gaelic *educational* activities:
☐NEVER ☐DAILY ☐WEEKLY ☐MONTHLY ☐MORE THAN ONCE/ YEAR ☐LESS THAN ONCE/ YEAR ☐ONCE EVERY FEW YEARS

Generally I take part in Scottish Gaelic *cultural* activities:
☐NEVER ☐DAILY ☐WEEKLY ☐MONTHLY ☐MORE THAN ONCE/ YEAR ☐LESS THAN ONCE/ YEAR ☐ONCE EVERY FEW YEARS

I am able to read modern Scottish Gaelic poems/ songs without using a dictionary.
☐ VERY STRONGLY AGREE ☐ STRONGLY AGREE ☐ AGREE ☐ DIS-AGREE ☐ STRONGLY DISAGREE ☐ VERY STRONGLY DISAGREE ☐ DON'T READ SCOTTISH GAELIC

I am able to write a short passage/ email/ letter etc. in Scottish Gaelic without using a dictionary.
☐ VERY STRONGLY AGREE ☐ STRONGLY AGREE ☐ AGREE ☐ DIS-AGREE ☐ STRONGLY DISAGREE ☐ VERY STRONGLY DISAGREE ☐ DON'T WRITE SCOTTISH GAELIC

I am able to speak Scottish Gaelic well enough to hold an informal conversation.

☐ VERY STRONGLY AGREE ☐ STRONGLY AGREE ☐ AGREE ☐ DIS-AGREE ☐ STRONGLY DISAGREE ☐ VERY STRONGLY DISAGREE ☐ DON'T SPEAK SCOTTISH GAELIC

I am able to clearly understand Scottish Gaelic TV or Video language programmes.

☐ VERY STRONGLY AGREE ☐ STRONGLY AGREE ☐ AGREE ☐ DIS-AGREE ☐ STRONGLY DISAGREE ☐ VERY STRONGLY DISAGREE ☐ DON'T KNOW SCOTTISH GAELIC

Access to Scottish Gaelic education in New Zealand is easy:

☐ VERY STRONGLY AGREE ☐ STRONGLY AGREE ☐ AGREE ☐ DISAGREE ☐ STRONGLY DISAGREE ☐ VERY STRONGLY DISAGREE ☐ NO OPINION

If I were able to, I would like to teach my children Scottish Gaelic:

☐ VERY STRONGLY AGREE ☐ STRONGLY AGREE ☐ AGREE ☐ DISAGREE ☐ STRONGLY DISAGREE ☐ VERY STRONGLY DISAGREE ☐ NO OPINION

In general, New Zealanders are tolerant of languages other than English:

☐ VERY STRONGLY AGREE ☐ STRONGLY AGREE ☐ AGREE ☐ DISAGREE ☐ STRONGLY DISAGREE ☐ VERY STRONGLY DISAGREE ☐ NO OPINION

It is possible to belong to New Zealand culture as well as Scottish Gaelic culture:

☐ VERY STRONGLY AGREE ☐ STRONGLY AGREE ☐ AGREE ☐ DISAGREE ☐ STRONGLY DISAGREE ☐ VERY STRONGLY DISAGREE ☐ NO OPINION

Scottish Gaelic culture has made a positive contribution to New Zealand culture:

☐ VERY STRONGLY AGREE ☐ STRONGLY AGREE ☐ AGREE ☐ DISAGREE ☐ STRONGLY DISAGREE ☐ VERY STRONGLY DISAGREE ☐ NO OPINION

Scottish Gaelic should be available in New Zealand schools:

☐ VERY STRONGLY AGREE ☐ STRONGLY AGREE ☐ AGREE ☐ DISAGREE ☐ STRONGLY DISAGREE ☐ VERY STRONGLY DISAGREE ☐ NO OPINION

Scottish Gaelic should be available in Scottish (or British) schools:

☐ VERY STRONGLY AGREE ☐ STRONGLY AGREE ☐ AGREE ☐ DISAGREE ☐ STRONGLY DISAGREE ☐ VERY STRONGLY DISAGREE ☐ NO OPINION

Scottish Gaelic should be an official European Union Language:

☐ VERY STRONGLY AGREE ☐ STRONGLY AGREE ☐ AGREE ☐ DISAGREE ☐ STRONGLY DISAGREE ☐ VERY STRONGLY DISAGREE ☐ NO OPINION

I would like to be able to speak to more Scottish Gaelic speakers:

☐ VERY STRONGLY AGREE ☐ STRONGLY AGREE ☐ AGREE ☐ DISAGREE ☐ STRONGLY DISAGREE ☐ VERY STRONGLY DISAGREE ☐ NO OPINION

I would like there to be more Scottish Gaelic cultural events in which I could participate:

☐ VERY STRONGLY AGREE ☐ STRONGLY AGREE ☐ AGREE ☐ DISAGREE ☐ STRONGLY DISAGREE ☐ VERY STRONGLY DISAGREE ☐ NO OPINION

Knowing Scottish Gaelic is important to enable better understanding of Scottish Gaelic culture:

☐ VERY STRONGLY AGREE ☐ STRONGLY AGREE ☐ AGREE ☐ DISAGREE ☐ STRONGLY DISAGREE ☐ VERY STRONGLY DISAGREE ☐ NO OPINION

Knowing Scottish Gaelic is important because it enables me to understand my background better:

☐ VERY STRONGLY AGREE ☐ STRONGLY AGREE ☐ AGREE ☐ DISAGREE ☐ STRONGLY DISAGREE ☐ VERY STRONGLY DISAGREE ☐ NO OPINION

Number of people I know with some Scottish Gaelic:

☐One ☐2-4 ☐5-10 ☐10-20 ☐20 or more

Overall, I speak, or read, or listen to, or write Scottish Gaelic…

☐Every day ☐A few times/week ☐A few times/ month ☐A few times/ year ☐Every few years ☐Never

I am a member of the following types of organisations (whether Scottish Gaelic or not):

☐Clan Society ☐Gaelic Choir(s) ☐RSL and/or USL ☐Sports clubs ☐Literary groups

☐Gaelic (language) Associations ☐Veterans' associations ☐Informal Gaelic conversation groups ☐Professional/ Work organisations ☐Historical/ Heritage organisation

☐Worker's or Labour Union ☐On-line/ internet group ☐Church (or church group) ☐Musical Group/ Band ☐None

Other (Please State):

I play musical instrument(s):

☐None ☐Bódhran/ Drums ☐Wind instrument ☐Piano ☐Violin/ Cello

☐ Penny Whistle ☐Bagpipes ☐Mouth Organ ☐Clársach/ Harp ☐Recorder/ Flute

Other(please state):

Miscellaneous Information: Please add any information below that may be relevant. This may be anything related to Scottish Gaelic, or culture, history, decline, or your personal experiences of Scottish Gaelic. If you need more space, please add another sheet to this questionnaire. Thankyou for your participation in the Survey of Scottish Gaelic in Australia.

Are you willing to take part in further study?

[Please note: This survey is VOLUNTARY, and you are entitled to remain anonymous, therefore please add personal details below ONLY if you wish to participate further.]

Alternatively, if you do not wish to put your name here, but would still like to participate further, please contact:
St John Skilton, Linguistics Department, Room 250, Transient Building F12, University of Sydney, NSW 2006, Australia.
Tel: +61 (02) 9351 7514. Email: stjohn.skilton@linguistics.usyd.edu.au.

Name:
Address:

Contact Telephone Number:
Email:

Appendix 4: Advertising Material for SoSGA

The Flyers reproduced here were used in mail shots, distributed at events, or handed out in person. They were typically in A5 format. Flyer 1 was generally used at public gatherings, or sent to third parties to distribute. Flyer 2 was generally used for inclusion with questionnaires for new participants. A laminated A4 copy was given to members of two organisations, at their request, to use at public events.

Flyer 1

The Survey of Scottish Gaelic in Australia

Call for volunteers - A'Bheil Gàidhlig agad?

Scottish Gaelic forms an important part of the heritage of many people around the world, especially in countries like Australia and New Zealand where the language has been used since the beginning of immigration. The Survey of Scottish Gaelic in Australia and New Zealand is an attempt to find out as much as we can about the use of Scottish Gaelic in the antipodes. Therefore we are calling on anyone who is a speaker and has an interest in Scottish Gaelic, and lives in Australia or New Zealand to take part in our survey. The survey is open to all levels of proficiency – you do NOT need to be a fluent speaker, and even if you have only smatterings of the language we would like to hear from you. We are interested in stories, reminiscences, and linguistic details.

Please contact us:

St John Skilton
The Survey of Scottish Gaelic in Australia
Linguistics Department, Room 250
Transient Building F12
Sydney University NSW 2006
stjohn.skilton@linguistics.usyd.edu.au
Tel: +61 (02) 9351 7514 Fax: +61 (02) 9351 7572

Sgeulachdan 's rudan eile mu dheidhinn na Gàidhlig ann an Astràlia

Flyer 2

The Survey of Scottish Gaelic in Australia and New Zealand

Call for volunteers - A'Bheil Gàidhlig agad?

If you have any interest or involvement in Scottish Gaelic we appeal to you to please take part in The Survey of Scottish Gaelic in Australia and New Zealand, being conducted from the department of Linguistics at Sydney University. The first part is an ANONYMOUS, multiple-choice questionnaire, and if you do wish to participate further, we would love to know.
Scottish Gaelic forms an important part of the heritage of many people around the world, especially in countries like Australia and New Zealand where the language has been used since the beginning of immigration. The Survey of Scottish Gaelic in Australia and New Zealand is an attempt to find out as much as we can about the use of Scottish Gaelic in the Antipodes in the modern era. We wish to examine many aspects of the language and how it relates to people's lives. Therefore we are calling on anyone who is a speaker and has an interest in Scottish Gaelic, and lives in Australia or New Zealand to take part in our survey. You do not need to be fluent – we would like to hear from people who have had the language all their lives, as well as people with all levels of proficiency. Even if you have only smatterings of the language we would like to hear from you. We are interested in stories, reminiscences, and linguistic details. The Survey was started at the end of 2001, and we would like as many people as possible to participate.

Please contact us:

St John Skilton
The Survey of Scottish Gaelic in Australia
Linguistics Department, Room 250
Transient Building F12
Sydney University NSW 2006
stjohn.skilton@linguistics.usyd.edu.au
Tel: +61 (02) 9351 7514 Fax: +61 (02) 9351 7572
Sgeulachdan 's rudan eile mu dheidhinn na Gàidhlig ann an Astràlia

Appendix 5: SoSGA Transcript Conventions

Data Type	Format	Example
Recording references	Mini-Disc number and track number, separated by dot, in square brackets.	[MD05.16]
Notes	Notebook number, 'Nx', in square brackets	[SoSGA_N1]
Email from Respondent	Email indicator 'E' plus name, (or respondent number), date, in square brackets.	[SoSGA_E_Fingal, 03-Mar-01]
Letter from Respondent	Letter indicator 'L' plus name, (or respondent number), date, in square brackets.	[SoSGA_L_R185, 15-Jan-02]
Information from Questionnaires	E.g. comments added to questionnaires by respondent; in square brackets, questionnaire reference number.	[SoSGA_Q043]
Direct quote from recordings	Speaker pseudonym, inverted comma at start, text italicised.	*Flathal: 'No that's..*
Reconstructed quote from notes	Inverted comma at start, text regular.	'if they want the language to be…'
Likely or unclear words	Suggested word, question mark, in square brackets.	*[were?]*
Pauses	Three points; approximately one second per dot.	…
Talk omitted	Three points, in square brackets, in line with text.	*[…]*
Turn omitted	Three points, in square brackets, on new line.	*Cridhmór: I'd tend to ….* *[…]* *Beltanno: I mean…*
Regular speech turns	Each speaker given new line at start of their turn	*Beltanno: …. was the thing!* *Cumhal: Yes, you were…*
Overlapping talk	Words spaced according to overlap where relevant	*…….Speaker 1 words …* *Speaker 2 words*
Non-verbal items, researcher comment	Regular font, in square brackets.	[laughs]
Interruption, or sudden stop	Dash at point of interruption, or for sudden (glottal) stop.	*'I found that- hey- this is-'*

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Declaration for Thesis submission to Fribourg University

Je déclare sur mon honneur que ma thèse est une oeuvre personelle, composée sans concours éxterieur non autorisé, et qu'elle n'a pas été presentée devant une autre faculté.

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