Learner Uptake and Attainment in Scotland: A Response Focusing on Gaelic and Urdu

L. Dombrowski, M. Allan, K. Mohammed

University of the West of Scotland

Abstract: This article responds to Scott's "Modern Languages in Scotland: Learner Uptake and Attainment 1996-2014" (Scott, 2015) and considers how a theoretical framework derived from the field of Language Policy and Planning can deepen our understanding of trends in uptake and attainment for Modern Languages in secondary. Using the examples of Gaelic (including Gàidhlig and Gaelic [Learners] Education) and Urdu at secondary school, this article re-contextualises attainment data and places them into a broader discussion of capacity structures and the potential impact that status (including policy and prestige) has on student choices in secondary.

1. Introduction

In the most recent issue of Scottish Languages Review, James Scott contributed a challenging and insightful article on Scottish learner uptake and attainment in Modern Languages, from 1996-2014 (Scott, 2015). The article helped to identify political influences precipitating 'peaks' and 'troughs' in the number of students participating in languages classes in the SCQF levels 3-5 from 1965 onward. It then dedicated some consideration to more recent trends in Scottish languages at secondary level, showing a general decline in uptake and attainment in the secondary school sector (as evidenced in the number of students sitting exams at SCQF levels 6 and 7, and enrolment at levels 3-5), and focusing particularly on the period between 1996 and 2014. Scott's article makes an important contribution to the state of the literature and, indeed, helped to inform subsequent public discussion which called for increasing support of languages education in Scotland (see McIvor, 2015). The present article should be read as a response to Scott (2015), and seeks to build and elaborate on the data and ideas presented in his work.

There are many ways to interpret and situate our statistical evidence of languages education uptake and attainment in Scotland, and Scott provides a politico-educational approach. This article provides an analysis of the same trends in the reported uptake and attainment based on a theory of Language Policy and Planning. It is beyond the scope of this article to consider all languages addressed in the original Scott article, and so there are two languages that will be focused upon herein: Gaelic and Urdu – the former being a language autochthonic to Scotland, the latter being one of the country's more widely used community languages. These languages have been selected because they are both lesser-used in Scotland, but have very different roles within Scottish

society and, therefore, help us to illustrate broader issues related to capacity and prestige; issues that have serious consequences for uptake and attainment.

2. Background

Both Gaelic and Urdu constitute lesser-used languages in Scotland (respectively spoken at home by 1.1% and 0.5% of the population over age 3 in 2011, GROS 2013a & b). Despite this overarching similarity, however, the languages are markedly different in that Gaelic is a language that is indigenous to Scotland, protected under the Gaelic Language (Scotland) Act 2005 as well as the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ratified by the UK with respect to Gaelic in Scotland in 2001). It receives support through a national language planning organisation with statutory powers, Bòrd na Gàidhlig, as well as through policy (as above, but also see the proliferation of Gaelic Language Plans by public organisations), and organisations with special remit for Gaelic (e.g. Comunn na Gàidhlig) and, more specifically, Gaelic education (e.g. Stòrlann, Comann nam Pàrant). All of this has helped to support Gaelic in its widening school and community sectors.

Gaelic Education in Scotland includes the following forms of provision: Gaelic (Learners) Primary Schools, Gaelic (Learners) Secondary, Gaelic Medium Primary and Secondary, and Gaelic Fluent Speakers' or simply Gàidhlig Secondary. Of relevance to this article are Gaelic (Learners) Education (GLE), and Gàidhlig Secondary (GS), which are both provisions at secondary level. The former provision, GLE, teaches students Gaelic as an additional language in a form that does not presume prior learning or ability at the S1 level (see SQA 2015). The latter, GS, is often accessed by students who have previously studied or who are concurrently studying in a Gaelic Medium pathway, but will also admit students who come into S1 from a non-GME primary who demonstrate communicative proficiency in Gaelic (SQA 2015). Thus the language being used and produced by students at SCQF levels 3-5 for GS would be at a significantly higher level in the four competence areas than for students sitting comparable SCQF levels in GLE. In this article, both GLE and GS are being reported upon and included in the ensuing discussions because both were included in the Scott (2015) article to which this serves a response. In addition, looking at trends in uptake and attainment in both strands of Gaelic education at secondary may help us to see the broader impact of social attitudes toward the language and the limits of public policy.

In contrast to Gaelic, Urdu is a community language, brought to Scotland through immigration and passed through generations primarily by ethnic minorities. Urdu is one of the world's more widely used languages according to the Ethnologue, with over 64 million speakers worldwide and, culturally, is associated with Pakistan, Bangladesh and India (among other nations in which it is a widely-used language), as well as with the Muslim faith (Lewis, Simons, Fennig 2015). In the 2011 census, it was second only to Polish as the most widely spoken community language in Scotland for all individuals over the age of 3 (GROS 2013a), and a 2013 pupil census reported it to be the home language of 5,183 pupils in publicly funded schools nationally (again, second only to

Polish, Scottish Government 2014b). Urdu speakers are the largest group of language-other-than-English speakers in Glasgow City Council, and second largest in Dundee, Edinburgh and Falkirk (Scottish Government 2014b). It is also the only community language advertised by the General Teaching Council for Scotland as being a possible core secondary subject (GTCS 2015). Whether learning the language as their first or additional language, students in Scotland have been able to sit a Standard Grade exam in Urdu since 1998 (McPake 2006), and in 2008, an Urdu Higher became available (BBC 2006). It is generally presumed that a majority of students learning Urdu as a part of their secondary schooling have the language as a heritage language (either first language or co-first language in the home), but no data has been collected on the learner profile of Urdu language students.

Thus, while Gaelic and Urdu both constitute lesser-used languages in Scotland, it is evident that they also represent different linguistic situations. We can compare uptake and attainment in secondary provisions for each language as if this data tells a coherent story about the declining number of pupils opting for languages education in Scotland. In doing so, however, we may risk eliding from the conversation broader issues about capacity and prestige - issues we will now address through the lens of Language Planning.

3. Theory

The theory underpinning this article is derived from the field of Language Policy and Planning, which has been described as being "problem-solving" in the main, and "future-oriented" with the purpose of changing or sustaining a language behaviour "covering individuals within families, schools, companies and organizations across a range of domains" (Hogan-Brun & Hogan, 2013). While there is no singular theory of Language Policy and Planning and, more specifically, language-in-education planning, there are planning areas that are widely used in this field to help discuss language interventions, like the provision of a language course in Scottish secondary schools. Although he has moved away from the phrase 'language planning' in favour of 'Language Management', a leading thinker in the area has emphasized that "explicit and observable efforts... to modify... [language] practices or behaviours" (Spolksy 2009:1) need to be contextualised with economic and social influences that might mediate the relative success/failure of such management strategies.

Thus, while teachers and students are both the participants and, in a sense, the recipients of language management (with managers in Scotland including government, Education Scotland, Scottish Qualifications Authority, etc.), Spolksy explains that teachers are simultaneously also the tools of language management (2009: 109) - these teachers help to create and sustain patterns of language use, responding to educational directives, and either supported or undermined by broader economic and social factors. To a certain extent, this approach echoes the language ecology approach, in which the purpose of Language Planning is not problem-solving, per se, but to help create a state of sustainable multiligualism and multiculturalism. Language ecology encourages us to investigate "the ecological needs of the languages to be subjected to planning" prior to "any actual act of planning" (Mühlhäusler 2000: 310). Thus, while

statistical data of uptake and attainment in languages suggests that there are lessening numbers of pupils gaining fluency in Gaelic and Urdu, Language Policy and Planning requires us to examine these trends in relation to wider ecological (including social) concerns.

One of the more enduring concepts in Language Policy and Planning is Status Planning, which refers to a language's "standing with respect to other languages or to the language needs of a national government" (Cobarrubias 1983: 42), but extends to include the multiplicity of areas through which prestige is affected. Factors influencing this prestige, and by extension language status, would include ethnicity, religion, culture, heritage, economics and policy (Cooper 1989; Fishman 1991; Williams 1992; Grin 2002).   Within the category of Status Planning, we understand issues of language prestige and the ethos of multilingualism and multiculturalism as being socially desirable. We also draw on the work of Thomas and Roberts, to discuss how "(1) intrapersonal factors; (2) educational experiences; and (3) interpersonal engagements involving the child, the school, and the wider social community" (Thomas & Roberts 2011: 90) might contribute to uptake and attainment in Gaelic and Urdu.

4. Participants of language management

Both students and teachers should be regarded as the participants of language management. Indeed, other individuals present in the school whose actions might be changed or whose actions might impact on the efficacy of language policies should also be considered participants in this process – from management to administrative staff. Our focus in this section is initially on students, but will later extend to include some discussion of teachers as participants of language management.

Student Numbers

As a proxy measure for attainment in languages, the number of students sitting Higher (and the New Higher for 2015) in Gaelic Learners, Gàidhlig, and Urdu exams, as well as Advanced Higher for Gaelic Learners and Gàidhlig will be presented and reconsidered as reflecting patterns of behaviour in Scottish secondary schools.

Gaelic
Table 1, below, shows the number of students sitting Higher and Advanced Higher Exams in Gaelic Learners Education (GLH for Gaelic Learners Higher, GLAH for Gaelic Learners Advanced Higher) by year, according to SQA External Assessor Reports, and beginning in 2006 since this marks the statutory foundation of Bòrd na Gàidhlig and, thus, a milestone for the coordinated support of Gaelic. Remarking on the decline in GLE enrolment at SCQF levels 3-5 combined from 2007, Scott states that it is "significant, particularly given the political and financial investment made […] by the current government" (2015: 22), but the analysis in this area may fail to give full consideration to the broader landscape of Gaelic education in Scotland. In Table 1, we also include in each stacked bar the number of students sitting Gàidhlig Higher or Advanced Higher exams (GH = Gàidhlig Higher, GAH= Gàidhlig Advanced Higher). When

these figures are added, what becomes more apparent is that the number of students sitting exams in Gaelic did decline in 2009, as compared to previous years, but has generally remained steady since (average numbers sitting exams 275, cf. Table 2).

Table 1: Numbers sitting Higher (inclusive of Higher and New Higher combined for 2015 only) and Advanced Higher Gaelic Learners and Gàidhlig in Scotland, 2006-2015
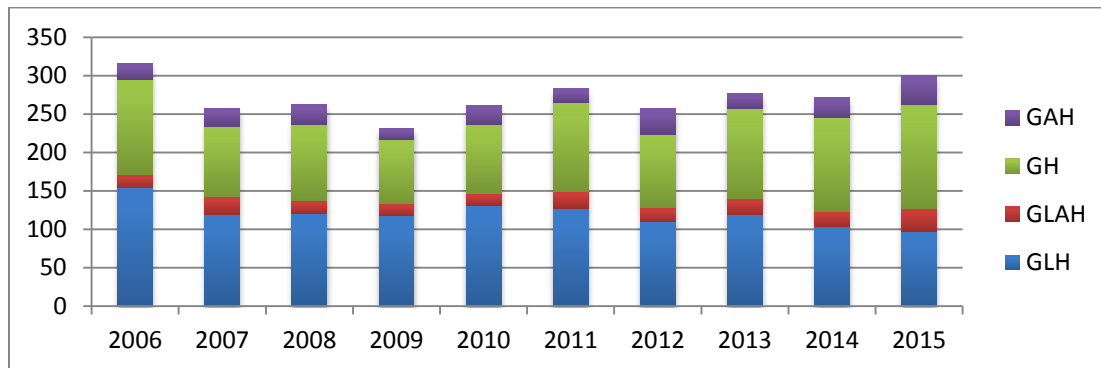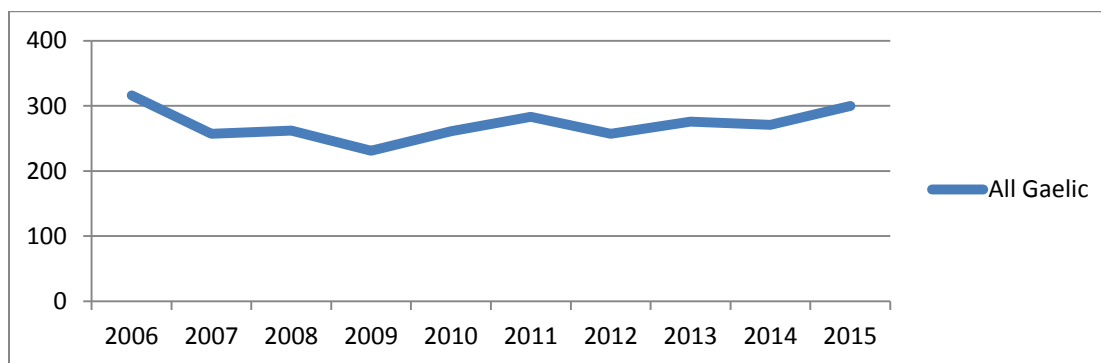

.

Table 2: All students sitting Higher (inclusive of Higher and New Higher combined in 2015 only) and Advanced Higher Gaelic Learners and Gàidhlig exams in Scotland, 2006-2015

These figures reflect a dynamic story of policy impact and both financial and human resource investment in Gaelic education under the guidance of Bòrd na Gàidhlig. In 2007, the National Plan for Gaelic 2007-2012 and appended Education Strategy (Bòrd na Gàidhlig 2007a & b, respectively) was published, and articulated both targets and implementation strategies in a range of areas for Gaelic in Scotland, including extensive focus on the support and expansion of GME in primary and secondary. Within the latter document, of 90 Key Tasks to be achieved in the area of Gaelic education, only 2 made explicit reference to GLE, as opposed –in the main- to tasks dedicated to GME (Milligan 2010). In 2010, these planning documents were followed with the publication of Ginealach Ùr na Gàidhlig, the remit of which is more narrowly defined to education and opportunities for intergenerational transmission (e.g. early years' provision) and this document does give more acknowledgement to learners and provision like GLE (see Bòrd na Gàidhlg 2010: 8). In 2012, a new national plan, National Gaelic Language Plan 2012-2017, was published and this plan contains a range of educational goals and implementation strategies including more extensive acknowledgement of GLE as

compared to the 2007 plan (Bòrd na Gàidhlig 2012: 8 & 22-23). Thus, as the participants of language management, it is not students of GLE that have been at the core of 'political and financial investment' in Gaelic Education. Rather, this investment has been placed in GME provision; provisions that have seen "remarkable" growth (Bòrd na Gàidhlig, 2015: 11, and also reflected in the figures for Gàidhlig in Tables 1 and 2 above) in spite of acknowledged difficulties human resource capacity *vis a vis* qualified or qualifying teachers (Milligan Dombrowski et al. 2014).   This is a point to which we will return, as a contrast to what can be observed happening to Urdu in Scottish society.

Growth in Gaelic education and, more specifically, attainment at SCQF levels 6 and 7 in Gàidhlig and Gaelic Learners may illustrate only modest growth overall, but for a language that experienced a recession of speakers over the age of 3 between 2001 and 2011 (from 1.2% to 1.1% nationally GROS 2013a), it can be argued that the growth in speakers under the age of 20 (and, thus, either in school or recently having completed their education) in this same period (GROS 2013a) is a testament to the efficacy of national planning efforts. In fact, the most recent census tells us that within this growth, where there are increasing numbers of Gaelic speakers, the increase is most pronounced in the 3-4 and 5-14 age brackets (Paterson & O'Hanlon 2014).

Urdu
The Higher examination in Urdu was only established in 2008, and initially there was a year-on-year increase in uptake of the exam by Scottish students (cf. Table 3). The dip in 2012, which is uncharacteristic of an average incremental growth in the area may be accounted to a smaller than average cohort sitting exams for this year (BBC 2012). Since 2013, however, the data does show a decline in attainment at SCQF level 6, which is in direct contrast to data providing proxy measures for the potential number of students who use Urdu as a heritage languages in Scotland in the same period (cf. Table 4, all data derived from Pupils in Scotland Censuses and supplementary data, see Scottish Government 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012b, 2013, 2014a, 2015) – using ethnicity in place of languages spoken, which is admittedly a poor, if not also the best available proxy measure. This may partly reflect a lack of policy and planning support for the language (and community languages more generally), and issues related to the language's prestige or status within Scotland – a topic to which we will return in Section 5.

Table 3: Numbers sitting Higher (Higher and New Higher entries combined for 2015) in Urdu in Scotland, 2008-2015
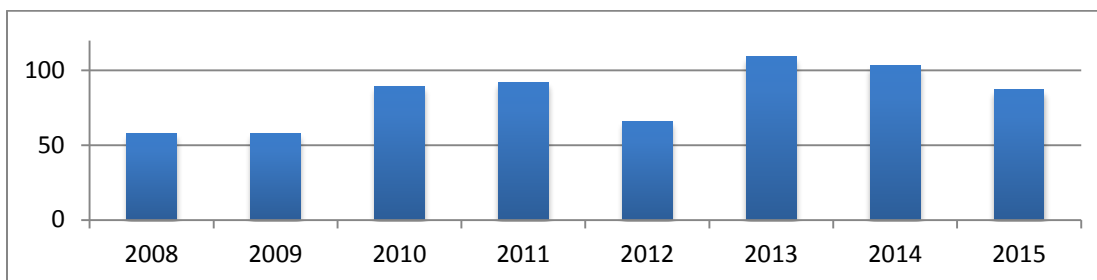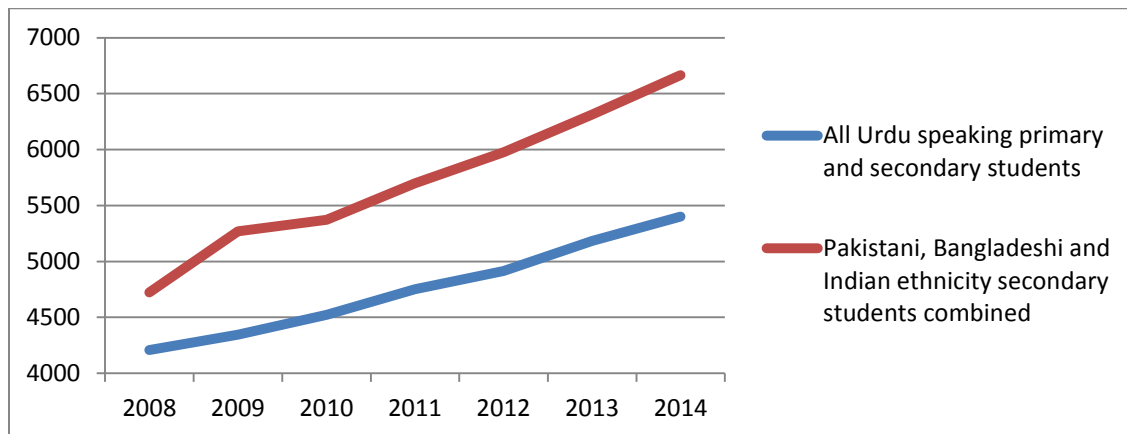
Table 4: Urdu speakers in Scottish Schools and ethnicity as a proxy measure for Urdu heritage language users in secondary, 2008-2014

Teacher Numbers

Information about the number of teachers working in Gaelic is publicly available and collected annually by Bòrd na Gàidhlig, as well as in Teacher Census supplementary data provided by Scottish Government. This data shows that there has been a small increase in the number of secondary teachers whose core subject is Gaelic - and thus, who would be preparing students for Gàidhlig or GLE exams – since 2008 (from 57 in 2008 to 61 in 2014) see Table 5). In contrast, there is no such record keeping for Urdu teachers, although information about information about ethnicity, which can provide a proxy measure for the heritage languages that might be known by teachers, is available. At secondary, the Teacher Census also reports the number of teachers whose specialism is a Community Language, but does not provide more detail. Since 2008, the number of Community Language specialist teachers has decreased from 8 to 6 in 2014 (cf. Table 5, Scottish Government 2015).

Table 5: Number of secondary teachers whose main subject is Gaelic or Community Language, 2008-2014.
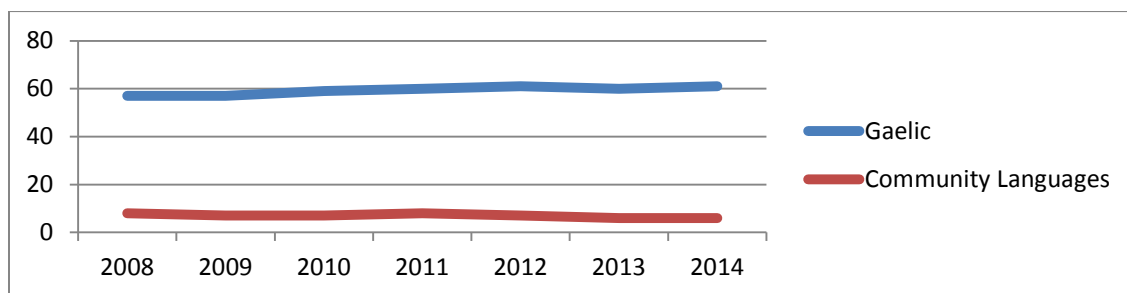
As with pupil numbers, the data pertaining to languages teachers at secondary for Gàidhlig, GLE and Urdu presents an important point of contrast for the two languages. Gaelic, as a language supported under national planning and with funding earmarked by Scottish Funding Council, does encounter serious logistical challenges in the recruitment and retaining of qualified teachers (Milligan Dombrowski et al. 2014), but this situation is bettered by the diverse provision for suitably qualified students in initial teacher

education programmes at the University of Aberdeen, University of Strathclyde, University of the Highlands and Islands and Edinburgh University. Provision at the lattermost of these universities is pioneering, in that it allows participants to study to gain fluency in Gaelic concurrent to gaining their primary teaching qualification.   In addition, conversion courses, like Streap (offered jointly by the University of Aberdeen and the University of the Highlands and Islands) allow teachers who are already GTCS registered and who can demonstrate communicative proficiencies to gain additional learning that enables them to transfer into GME. Finally, a joint effort between the University of Strathclyde and the University of Edinburgh has recently resulted in a innovative Postgraduate Diploma programme for GTCS registered teachers with intermediate Gaelic proficiency, which will allow them to gain the language skills required to begin teaching in GME within a calendar year of intense study.

In contrast, with far less national planning support, the public facing websites for Postgraduate Diploma programmes in secondary teaching suggest that it is only the University of Strathclyde that will consider supporting a prospective teacher to specialise in a Community Language as their core subject. While primary teachers may still opt to support, use, and/or teach Urdu as a part of the primary curriculum, at secondary languages teaching is more regulated and the extremely limited provision for initial teacher education for secondary education with specialism in Urdu is a major stumbling block for the maintenance and/or growth of teaching in this area.   Moreover, the inability for students in an ITE primary programme to concurrently study Urdu as a part of their education means that only teachers who otherwise speak Urdu will have the capacity to use it to support pupils who also speak Urdu in primary. Even within this pool of teachers, anecdotal evidence suggests that there are many who do not have the knowledge around second language acquisition and the importance of promoting the child's first language to do so - thus English Additional Language specialist teachers may be left to bridge the gap between a child's home language and the language of their education. This is point is important, because of its implications for language prestige, which is the next topic we will discuss.

5. Status Issues

Gaelic and Urdu hold very different positions in Scottish society. As has been discussed, Gaelic is autochthonic to Scotland whereas Urdu is considered to be a community language. Since any language is "intrinsically linked with its speakers, their society, culture, religion, economic situation, status and political power" (Baker & Prys Jones 2001: 151), the status of Gaelic and Urdu in relation to this distinction between 'autochthonic' and 'community' may have important implications for uptake and attainment in educational provision. What we now explore is the possibility that while both are lesser-used languages in Scotland, a) Gaelic may benefit from perceptions of its being a "Scottish" language, whereas b) Urdu may contend with prejudices on account of its being a language brought through immigration and symbolizing an 'other' society/culture/religion from that which dominates in Scotland.

Gaelic and status

A recent survey on public attitudes toward Gaelic (West & Graham 2011) found that attitudes were generally more positive and supportive than negative, although there is a notable vocal minority in Scotland who voice opposition to the language's widening use in the public sphere and its presumed use of public funds. Interestingly, a study focusing on public views on Gaelic found that the largest proportion of respondents (47%) could be clustered as holding the following symbolic perception: "Gaelic is perceived to be important to the heritage of Scotland, and of the Highlands and Islands, but is not important to the respondent personally, and speaking Gaelic is not perceived to be an important attribute of being Scottish" (Paterson & O'Hanlon 2014: 562). The researchers therefore concluded that "it is possible to regard Gaelic as a symbolically strong part of Scottish identity without supporting the right for Gaelic speakers to communicate in Gaelic throughout Scotland" (Paterson & O'Hanlon 2014: 262). This emphasizes the complex status of Gaelic in Scotland: the language is at once regarded as being an important component of national heritage, and it benefits from policy and structural support (as previously discussed), and yet the small number of people who are proficient in the language means that as a tool of communication it is not always recognised as being of equal value to English.

However, the provision of languages education is widely regarded to have a legitimating function for public attitudes toward the language: seeking the introduction of Polish in Scottish schools, Martowicz and Roach (2014: 14) explain:

> *Once the language is recognised on par with other modern languages within the suite of modern languages taught in schools and available as examination subjects, students for whom it is a foreign language would feel encouraged to learn it"*

While the relationship between Gaelic and Scottish heritage does not *ipso facto* translate into tangible support for educational provision or, crucially, attainment in Gàidhlig or GLE secondary, it may help to explain why participation in Gaelic education increases or remains relatively stable (within the limits of capacity for provision), while other languages recede from this domain. Indeed, a small scale study of motivation for students in GLE did suggest that heritage was a strong influence on motivation for GLE students – accounting for significant differences in desire to learn Gaelic, course evaluation, and course utility (Milligan 2010).

In addition to the prestige held by Gaelic on account of its connection to Scottish heritage, a second component of status that might help retain students in a GME route (i.e. those who would sit Gàidhlig exams) may involve its communicative function within the learning community. A study on rationales for choice of Celtic-medium primary by parents (in 2000) and then subsequently to continue in Celtic-medium in secondary (by students in 2007) found that parents placing children in GME did so primarily on account of its relation to heritage, and then for broader benefits of bilingualism and the reputation of GME (O'Hanlon 2015: 251). In contrast, when students opted to continue in GME at secondary, they cited a preference for learning in Gaelic most frequently, and then reasoned that staying in GME would continue to support existing friendships

(O'Hanlon 2015: 254). Heritage, the value of bilingualism, quality of GME and the instrumental rationale that Gaelic might benefit one's future employability were less frequently occurring rationales for choosing GME at secondary (*ibid*). Thus, the act of learning through the medium of Gaelic is an experience that seems to legitimate and promote the value and status of Gaelic to pupils, helping to inform their decision to continue learning (and learning through) the language.

Urdu and status

In 1996, Baker wrote about "Status maintenance syndrome", which is when support for a lesser-used language extends only to its use within the family and traditional practices, but not to its integration into higher functions (as discussed in Bloch & Alexander, 2003: 92). Although Scotland and Scottish Education have taken an overt stance on the benefits of multiculturalism and multilingualism (most recently see: Scottish Government, 2012a), what we want to explore is that the possibility that covert messages being communicated around languages like Urdu and its associated cultures may be restrictive.

In fact, there is evidence that these kinds of covert messages operate within schools: English Additional Language teachers have reported feeling that they are not valued or perceived to be 'real' teachers – further adding to the already existing complexities around status and value of lesser-used community languages (Arshad et. al 2004). In addition, previous literature has explored how parental perceptions of the utility of one's heritage language, in contrast to the major language of the wider community, can lead to parents desiring linguistic assimilation through education (Grieve & Haining 2011). In Scotland, the failure of primary education to include community languages in Modern Languages in the Primary Schools initiative may send an early and strong message about its value and role in Scottish society. The Minority Ethnic Pupils' Experiences of School in Scotland (MEPESS) report noted many minority ethnic parents:

> *…felt unsupported in their desire to provide a culturally cohesive environment, or undermined in their communication with their children by the messages emanating from school and the media, they worried about their children's self-image. Concerns ranged widely, from children demonstrating a general lack of interest and disinclination to associate with their home culture, to wishing their colour away and, at the most serious end of the spectrum, inflicting serious physical harm on themselves to that effect. (Arshad et al. 2004: 8.3.5)*

A related, if highly controversial and sensitive issue, has to do with 'intersectionality' and the relationship between a language and its community of speakers' ethnic and religious identities. Urdu is a language predominantly used by ethnic minorities in Scotland, and strongly associated with the Muslim religion. Of the ethnic Asian categories used in Scottish censuses, three are likely to correlate with knowledge of Urdu: Pakistani, Bangladeshi and Indian, based on our knowledge of where Urdu is more widely used. Pakistani ethnic children represent the largest of the three and a Minority Pupil's Educational Experiences in England and Scotland working paper suggests that almost all of those identifying as Pakistani would also identify as Muslim (Weedon et al.

2010: 8), a group which does experience racially motivated discrimination in Scotland (see Bonino 2015). Focusing on Muslim experience in Glasgow, it has been found that signs of foreignness, which might include the use of a language other than English as well as a foreign accent, are regarded to be "culturally problematic" (Kyriakides, Virdee & Modood 2009 cited in Bonino 2015: 376). Within the context of Scotland's national curriculum, Curriculum for Excellence, the problematisation of cultural difference is in direct conflict with the aspiration to support children in becoming "global citizens" (Learning and Teaching Scotland 2011). Scottish education, however, may not be as proactive an agent in promoting and supporting diversity in practice as it is in curriculum rhetoric. With direct relevance to languages education in schools, a report on a literature review of minority ethnic groups in Scotland stated that

> *attitudes in Scottish schools towards community languages can largely be characterized as indifference, ignorance or hostility" (Powney & McPake 2010: 160).*

The lack of provision for Urdu in primary and extremely limited provision at secondary surely precipitates declining numbers in attainment for the language at SCQF levels 6 and 7, but it is important to consider that this lack of provision may simultaneously reflect and perpetuate a lack of acceptance and support for divergent cultures: "failure to develop a curriculum … for a multicultural society" contributes to "continuing ignorance and xenophobia between communities" (Tomlinson 2005: 154, see also the idea of sustaining existing power relationships Jackson and Mazzei 2012: 57). Accentuating the problem may also be the dearth of minority ethnic teachers in Scottish schools, who might function as role models of language (and cultural) maintenance (Arshad et al. 2004: 8.3.10).

One reason it might be particularly useful to attempt to counter the prestige issues facing Urdu in Scotland is that, as a community language, Urdu offers its learners frequent opportunities for use. A 2007 report argued that "investing in community languages is likely to produce good returns, in the form of a substantial proportion achieving university entrance level competence" (McPake et al 2007: 103). These students may, more so than students of other Modern Languages, have existing networks through which to practice and reinforce their language learning and development – thus translating into higher levels of competence. Cummins explains that "if bilingual students are not socialized into communities of practice that use language powerfully to attain academic and personal goals, they are unlikely to develop expertise in these uses of the language" (Cummins 2004: iv), but this phenomenon can operate in two directions: First, the decreasing numbers of students attaining SCQF level 6 in Urdu can be seen as being in dialogue with a dominant assimilatory English-speaking culture; Second, we see the latent potential of these same students to embody national goals for linguistic diversity because of their personal connections both to English and Urdu (as in Scottish Government 2012a).

6. Conclusion

Scott's is an important contribution to our understanding of languages uptake and attainment in the Scottish system and is laudable for giving us a longitudinal insight into trends therein. Furthermore, Scott's political contextualisation of these trends begins to demonstrate what we have explored with more narrow focus in this article: national policy and strategic support for languages can have demonstrable beneficial impacts on uptake and attainment in languages. However, the process of supporting the learning of languages must incorporate a multi-pronged approach, that includes: a) Capacity-building in initial teacher education; b) Supporting learners at secondary to invest time and effort in languages – and not solely by focusing on the benefits of attaining recognition of learning at the SCQF 6/7 levels, but also by fostering personal relationships with language communities within and outwith the school; and c) Communicating respect for diversity throughout the whole of the learning journey.

Contrasting Gaelic and Urdu, as lesser-used languages within Scotland, has helped to demonstrate the importance of Status Planning to language education. Both Gaelic and Urdu can be regarded to be heritage languages, but while the former is promoted as a language belonging to Scotland and the right of all Scottish learners (see the Education [Scotland] Bill 2015), as a community language Urdu seems to have been relegated as belonging only to those who already speak it in the home. These tacit understandings about the social role of particular languages and of multiculturalism more generally begin to be communicated in the earliest stages of education, but we see their impact in attainment at secondary. Thus, while early education can institutionally support Gaelic, through GLPS or GME, no such provision is available for Urdu, and this sends a contrary message about the value of Urdu and of diversity more generally:

> *The variation in commitment to an inclusive school ethos across Scotland (documented in Arshad and Diniz, 1999) raises serious concerns about the reliable delivery of equitable education across Scotland (Arshad et al. 2004: 8.3.9).*

The effect of this incongruence between policy and practice may be what we are witnessing when we study the declining numbers for uptake and attainment at SCQF levels 6 and 7 in languages. Thus, we conclude by recalling Evans' advice that '[i]f you want to avoid presenting a blinkered view you need to remove your blinkers' (2002: 146): if education in Scotland is to support children in learning a diversity of languages, then Scotland needs to strengthen its support for diversity more generally.

References

Arshad, R., Almeida Diniz, F., Kelly, E., O'Hara, P., Sharp, S., Syed, R. 2004. Minority Ethnic Pupils' Experiences of School in Scotland (MEPESS). Accessed 16/09/2015 at: http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2005/03/mepess/1

BBC. 2006. Pupils set for Higher Urdu exam. BBC News Scotland. 10 March. Accessed 04/09/2015: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/scotland/4793022.stm

BBC. 2012. Scottish Higher and Standard Grade exam results delivered. Accessed

15/09/2015 at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-19151749.

Baker, C. & Prys Jones, S. 2001. Encyclopedia of Bilingualism and Bilingual Education. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Bòrd na Gàidhlig. 2007a. National Plan for Gaelic 2007-2012. Accessed 16/09/2015 at: http://www.gaidhlig.org.uk/bord/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/National-Plan-for-Gaelic.pdf

---. 2007b. National Gaelic Education Strategy. In Bòrd na Gàidhlig National Plan for Gaelic 2007-2012. (Appendix).

---. 2010. Ginealach Ùr na Gàidhlig. Accessed 15/09/2015 at: http://www.bord-na-gaidhlig.org.uk/~gaidhlig/Downloads/Ginealach_Ur_na_Gaidhlig_B.pdf

---. 2012. National Gaelic Language Plan. Accessed 15/09/2015 at: http://www.gaidhlig.org.uk/bord/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/National-Gaelic-Langauge-Plan-2012-2017.pdf

---. 2015. Annual Report 2014/2015. Accessed online 15/09/2015 at: http://www.gaidhlig.org.uk/bord/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/Annual-Report-2014-2015.pdf

Bloch, C. & Alexander, N. 2003. *A Luta Continua!: the relevance on the continua of biliteracy to South African Multilingual Schools.* Continua of Biliteracy: An Ecological Framework for Education Policy, Research, and Practice in Multilingual Settings. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. pp 91-121.

Bonino, S. 2015. Visible Muslimness in Scotland: between discrimination and integration. *Patterns of Prejudice* 49:4, 367-391, DOI: 10.1080/0031322X.2015.1066978

Cobarrubias, J. 1983. Ethical issues in status planning. In J. Cobarrubias & J. Fishman (Eds.) Progress in language planning: international perspectives. pp. 41-85. New York: Mouton.

Cooper, R.L. 1989. Language Planning and Social Change. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Council of Europe. 1992. European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. Accessed online 09/09/2015 at: http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/education/minlang/textcharter/default_en.asp

Cummins, J. 2004. Building on Community Bilingualism. Philadelphia: Calson.

Evans, L. 2002. Reflective Practice in Educational Research. London /New York: Continuum.

Fishman, J.A. 1991. Reversing Language Shift. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

General Registrar's Office Scotland (GROS). 2013. Scotland's Census 2011 - National Records of Scotland Language used at home other than English (detailed): All people aged 3 and over. Accessed 25/08/2015 at: http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/documents/censusresults/release2a/rel2A_Language_detailed_Scotland.pdf

---. 2013b. "2011 Census: Key Results on Population, Ethnicity, Identity, Language, Religion, Health, Housing and Accommodation in Scotland - Release 2A." Accessed 25/08/2015

at: http://www.scotlandscensus.gov.uk/documents/censusresults/release2a/StatsBulletin2A.pdf

General Teaching Council for Scotland (GTCS). 2015. Secondary Teaching. Accessed 15/09/2015 at: http://www.gtcs.org.uk/education-in-scotland/secondary-teaching.aspx

Grieve, A.M. & Haining, I. 2011. Inclusive practice? Supporting isolated bilingual learners in a mainstream school. *International Journal of Inclusive Education*. 15(7): 763-774, 10.1080/13603110903350339

Grin, F. 2002. Using Language Economics and Education Economics in Language Education Policy. Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Hogan-Brun, G. & Hogan, S.J. 2013. "Language planning and complexity: a conversation." *Current Issues in Language Planning.* 14(3-4):490-496.

Jackson, A. and Mazzei, L. 2012. Thinking with Theory in Qualitative Research: Viewing Data across Multiple Perspectives*.* London: Routledge

Learning and Teaching Scotland. 2011. Developing global citizens within Curriculum for Excellence. Accessed 16/09/2015 at: http://www.educationscotland.gov.uk/Images/DevelopingGlobalCitizens_tcm4-628187.pdf

Lewis, M. P., Simons, G.F., and Fennig, C.D. (eds.). 2015. Ethnologue: Languages of the World, 18th edition. Dallas, Texas: SIL International. Online version: http://www.ethnologue.com.

Martowicz, A. & Roach, A. 2014. Cross-Party Group on Poland at the Scottish Parliament Education Subcommittee Polish Language Learning in Scotland Key facts and opportunities. Accessed on 16/09/2015 at: http://www.edinburgh.mfa.gov.pl/resource/404ed315-da04-4254-ac82-6f41863d18e2:JCR

McIvor, J. 2015. Scottish Labour warning over modern languages decline. BBC News. 4 June. Accessed 25/08/2015: http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-scotland-33010379

McPake, J. 2006. Provision for Community Language Learning in Scotland. Edinburgh: Scottish Executive.

McPake, J., Tinsley, T., & James, C. .2007. Making provision for community languages: issues for teacher education in the UK . *The Language Learning Journal.* 35(1): 99-112, DOI: 10.1080/09571730701317705

Milligan, L. 2010. The Role of Gaelic (Learners) Education in Reversing Language Shift for Gaelic in Scotland. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Aberdeen.

Milligan Dombrowski, L., Danson, E., Danson, M., Chalmers, D. & Neil, P. 2014. Initial teacher education for minority medium-of-instruction teaching: the case study of Scottish Gaelic in Scotland. Current Issues in Language Planning. 15(2):119-132. 10.1080/14664208.2013.811006

Mühlhäusler, P. 2000. "Language Planning and Language Ecology" Current Issues in Language Planning. 1(3):396-367.

O'Hanlon, F. 2015. Choice of Scottish Gaelic-medium and Welsh-medium education at the primary and secondary school stages: parent and pupil perspectives. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. 18(2): 242-259, DOI: 10.1080/13670050.2014.923374

Paterson, L. & O'Hanlon, F. 2014. Public views of minority languages as communication or symbol: the case of Gaelic in Scotland. Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development. 36(6): 555-570, DOI: 10.1080/01434632.2014.972959

Powney, J. & McPake, J. 2001. A fair deal for minority ethnic groups in Scotland?. International Journal of Inclusive Education. 5(2-3): 151-166, DOI: 10.1080/13603110010020598

Scott, James. 2015. Modern Languages in Scotland: Learner Uptake and Attainment 1996-2014. Scottish Languages Review. 29. Accessed 15/09/15 at: http://bit.ly/SLR29_Scott

Scottish Government. 2009. Pupils in Scotland 2009. Accessed 15/09/2015 at: http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2009/11/05112711/0

---. 2010. School-Level numbers by stage, September 2009. Accessed 15/09/2015 at: http://www.gov.scot/Topics/Statistics/Browse/School-Education/pupil-numbers-sept2009

---. 2011. School-Level numbers by stage, September 2010. Accessed 15/09/2015 at: http://www.gov.scot/Topics/Statistics/Browse/School-Education/PupilNumbers2010

---. 2012a. Language Learning in Scotland: a 1+2 approach. Accessed 15/09/2015 at: http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2012/05/3670

---. 2012b. School-Level numbers by stage, September 2011. Accessed 15/09/2015 at: http://www.gov.scot/Topics/Statistics/Browse/School-Education/RollsByStage/PupilNumbers2011

---. 2013. School-Level pupil numbers by stage, Sept 2012. Accessed 15/09/2015 at: http://www.gov.scot/Topics/Statistics/Browse/School-Education/RollsByStage/PupilNumbers2012

---. 2014a. School-level pupil numbers by stage, Sept 2013. Accessed 15/09/2015 at: http://www.gov.scot/Topics/Statistics/Browse/School-Education/RollsByStage/PupilNumbers2013

---. 2014b. Summary Statistics for Schools in Scotland. Accessed 16/09/2015 at: http://www.gov.scot/Publications/2014/12/7590/0

---. 2015. School-level pupil numbers by stage, Sept 2014. Accessed 15/09/2015 at: http://www.gov.scot/Topics/Statistics/Browse/School-Education/RollsByStage/PupilNumbers2014

Scottish Qualifications Authority. 2015. Guidance on allocation to Gàidhlig or Gaelic (Learners) programmes of study and qualifications. Accessed 04/09/2015 at: http://www.sqa.org.uk/files_ccc/NQ_Gaidhlig_Allocation_of_Candidates_April15.pdf

Scottish Parliament. 2005. Gaelic Language Scotland Act 2005. Accessed 15/09/2015 at: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/asp/2005/7/contents

Scottish Parliament. 2015. The Education (Scotland) Bil l. Accessed on 16/09/2015 at: http://www.scottish.parliament.uk/parliamentarybusiness/CurrentCommittees/88283.aspx

Spolksy, B. 2009. Language Management. Cambridge: Cambridge UP.

Thomas, E.M. & Roberts, D.B. 2011. "Exploring bilinguals' social use of a language inside and out of the minority language classroom." *Language and Education*. 25(2):89-108

Tomlinson, S. (2005) Race, Ethnicity and Education under New Labour. *Oxford Review of Education.* 31(1), pp. 153–171

Weedon, E., McCluskey, G., Riddell, S., Ahlgren, L. 2010. Muslim Pupils' Educational Experiences in England and Scotland (MPEEES) Working Paper 2: Educational Policy and Structures in Scotland. Accessed 16/09/2015 at: http://www.docs.hss.ed.ac.uk/education/creid/Projects/27ii_MPEEES_WP2_ScotEducPolicyStructure.pdf

West, C. & Graham, A. 2011. Public Attitudes toward the Gaelic Language. Scottish Government Social Research. Accessed 19/09/2015 at: http://www.gaidhlig.org.uk/bord/wp-content/uploads/sites/2/West-Graham-2011-Beachd-a-phobail-CR11-01-Public-attitudes.pdf

Williams, G. 1992. Sociolinguistics a Sociological Critique. London: Routledge.