
Developing and Preserving Gaelic in Nova Scotia

Strategy for a Community-Based Initiative

**A Report of the Gaelic Development Steering
Group to Community and Government**

April, 2004

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Introduction

This report represents the work of a community-based initiative, produced with the assistance of the provincial government, to establish policy and strategy for developing and preserving the Gaelic language and culture in Nova Scotia. The report has four objectives:

1. To summarize a) the current situation, b) the community initiative to take a leadership role, and c) the careful process taken to arrive at this report.
2. To present the long-term strategy developed through professional research and community consultation.
3. To identify the first actions needed to begin the implementation of this long-term strategy.
4. To identify the role of the provincial government as a critical partner in supporting community efforts to revitalize the Gaelic language and culture, and to expand the Gaelic economy.

Current Situation

- Scottish Gaels comprise one of Nova Scotia's largest ethnic groups, and Gaelic culture contributes tens of millions of dollars of direct revenue, and perhaps hundreds of millions of dollars in multiplier spending, per year to the provincial economy. Yet there has never been a systematic policy developed to provide support for this language and the Gaelic culture in Nova Scotia.¹
- It is widely acknowledged that Nova Scotia's Gaelic heritage is in a perilous state. The clear need for Gaelic development in the province has been identified since at least 1987.²
- The most pressing need for investment is in renewing the culture base. At the moment, Gaelic economic activity in the province relies upon the natural transmission of the culture within the community. These traditional channels for cultural transmission are beginning to fail.³
- Gaelic culture's greatest weakness is the state of the Gaelic language. It has now reached a critical condition in Nova Scotia. Gaelic has been forced from important social domains that allow languages to develop fully, evolve freely, and move from one generation to the next. It is not simply the language that is being lost, but something much deeper. Linguistic studies have noted, for example, a tendency for economic decline in areas that undergo such language repression.⁴
- Gaels have been very effective organizers on local community levels, but larger coordinated efforts have not been as successful. Institutions provide a mechanism for organizing social behavior on a larger scale than is possible through kinship networks and local community organizations. The ultimate outcome of generations of effective institutional exclusion for Gaelic culture has resulted in fragmentation, ambivalence, low confidence, and low morale.⁵
- Government agencies that get involved in cultural planning in Gaelic communities, having no Gaelic infrastructure to easily plug into and no clear Gaelic leadership to turn to, frequently blunder into this unpredictable environment. Since the government has no Gaelic mandate, their efforts to provide a larger planning framework for development are rarely any more successful than that of the local communities, playing into a sense of hopelessness and helplessness that is all too easily brought to the fore and lowering morale even further.⁶

Community-Based Initiative

By the 1930s, parents throughout the last most important Gaelic districts in Nova Scotia seemed to lose confidence in the language and its associated culture, and children were actively discouraged from learning the language. From that period on, there has been very little natural transmission of the language from one generation to another. Since then, Gaelic language-based culture has been dying along with the Gaelic speech community.⁷

Support for the preservation of language as key to the preservation of the culture from which it springs comes from sources beyond Nova Scotia's Gaelic community. Nova Scotia's Cultural Policy recognizes that "language forms an important foundation for cultural expression"⁸ and that "Nova Scotia's cultural diversity enriches our lives and is an essential aspect of our identity."⁹ The UNESCO report *Language Vitality and Endangerment* states: "Language diversity is essential to the human heritage. Each and every language embodies the unique cultural wisdom of a people. The loss of any language is thus a loss for all humanity."¹⁰

Although Gaelic language and cultural expression have been in decline for many decades, there is still widespread interest and pride. Many Nova Scotians continue to identify themselves along linguistic or ethnic lines, i.e. 'Gael, Scottish Gael, Highland Scot, or Scottish Nova Scotian.' This identity reinforces the argument for the preservation and development of Gaelic language and culture. In addition, there are distinct qualities of the Gaelic language and culture here which differ significantly from their modern Scottish counterparts.

The underlying strengths that remain in Nova Scotia's Gaelic cultural base are:

1. The unique survival of Gaelic language and culture in Canada.
2. The attractive and accessible music and dance culture.
3. A hospitable, welcoming culture.
4. A strong local involvement in cultural events.
5. A wide variety of Gaelic cultural arts dispersed throughout former Gaelic settlement areas.
6. Its large contribution to the economy.¹¹
7. The ability to draw upon the good will within the wider non-Gaelic community, to work with and to support Gaelic initiatives.¹²

The process of developing the Gaelic culture *must* be led at the community level. Gaels and those sympathetic to Gaelic culture are the subject matter experts and key stakeholders needed to spearhead this initiative. The process must

also reflect careful investment into community-based programs by government partners. This approach, endorsed by research¹³, is commonly accepted community economic development theory, and is the clear desire of Nova Scotia's Gaelic communities.

In the community meetings there was a broad consensus that any revival of Gaelic in Nova Scotia must be led by the Gaelic communities themselves. This implies decentralized decision making, community based planning and programming, local organization, and networking.¹⁴

At the first level, this effort will require initiatives to empower communities and individuals to understand themselves to be the primary factors in strengthening Gaelic Nova Scotia. Efforts to strengthen existing provincial institutions (Gaelic Council and educational institutions) and the building of new institutions (a network of local *Féisean*, for example) will be required.¹⁵

Recent Initiatives

Almost three years of work have contributed to this document. But the process goes back at least as far as 1987. Here is a brief time line of recent activities:¹⁶

- 1987 – University College of Cape Breton held International Conference for Gaelic Language and Culture which called for community efforts to reinvigorate Cape Breton’s Gaelic language.
- 1989 – A follow-up conference, Community Initiatives for Gaelic Language and Cultural Development: Options for the 1990s, was held in Sydney. Conclusions further emphasized the urgent need to take action if Nova Scotia’s Gaelic language and culture were to be saved as a social and economic resource for the province.
- 1997 – Gaelic in Nova Scotia: Opportunities, a report was prepared by a steering committee of the Gaelic Council of Nova Scotia and presented to the Minister of Education. It summarized the status of the Gaelic language, its impact on the distinct identity on the province, and its potential as a renewable, sustainable source of economic development throughout Nova Scotia.
- 1999 – Representatives from Nova Scotia’s Department of Tourism and Culture convened a meeting at the Nova Scotia Highland Village in Iona to discuss how the province might form policy to protect and enhance Gaelic language and culture. Meeting participants came from a cross-section of academic, community, and economic realms, all active in and concerned about Gaelic language and culture. This led to the Province issuing a public tender to prepare an audit of Gaelic language-based culture in Nova Scotia. Dr. Michael Kennedy, a Gaelic history specialist, was contracted to complete the study.
- 2002 - The Gaelic Development Steering Group was formed, representing a partnership involving people from the community active in the promotion of Gaelic language and culture and staff from the Heritage and Culture Divisions of the Nova Scotia Department of Tourism and Culture. Its objective was to develop a policy and strategy that would provide direction to strengthening the presence of Gaelic language and culture in Nova Scotia. (Please refer to Appendix A for a list of group members.)
- 2002, September – Developing a Gaelic Policy & Strategy for Nova Scotia, A Discussion Paper, was prepared by the Gaelic Development Steering

Group and released in English and Gaelic by the Department of Tourism and Culture. The paper served as a discussion basis for community meetings in November. (Copies may be downloaded free of charge, in English or Gaelic, from the Highland Village's website: <http://highlandvillage.museum.gov.ns.ca>)

- 2002, November – Gaelic Nova Scotia, An Economic Cultural and Social Impact Study by Michael Kennedy was completed and released by the Department of Tourism and Culture. This 319-page report is a comprehensive review of history, current resources, strengths, weaknesses, opportunities, and threats to the Gaelic culture in Nova Scotia. (Copies may be downloaded free of charge from the Nova Scotia Museum's website: <http://museum.gov.ns.ca/pubs>)
- 2002, November – Ten community meetings were held to gain feedback on the draft strategy work done by the Gaelic Development Steering Group. Meetings were held in Antigonish, Halifax, Christmas Island, Sydney, Trenton, Johnstown, Glendale, St. Ann's, Dunvegan, and Mabou. Approximately 400 people attended.
- 2002, December – Community Consultations on the Future of Gaelic in Nova Scotia, A Report on the Results of Community Meetings Held in November 2002 was prepared by John Hugh Edwards, and released by the Department of Tourism and Culture. There was a high correlation between community's views and input and the Gaelic Development Steering Group's views and priorities. (Copies may be downloaded free of charge from the Highland Village's website: <http://highlandvillage.museum.gov.ns.ca>)
- 2003, March - Gaelic Development Steering Group reviewed input from community meetings and developed the vision and mission statements contained in this document and identified goals to set strategic direction for Gaelic language and culture development

As a culmination of these initiatives, the Gaelic Development Steering Group has developed a long-range strategy.

Long-Range Strategy

The purpose of the Gaelic Development Steering Group's work has been to create a long-range strategy which will be executed to preserve, maintain, and develop Gaelic in Nova Scotia. This strategy includes a vision, mission statement, and goals for a 20-year time frame.

Vision

*Tha a' Ghàidhlig, ar cànan 's ar dualchas, a' soirbheachadh ann an Albainn Nuaidh.
Tha na nithean a tha sinn a' meas luachmhor air an glèidheadh
anns gach coimhearsnachd a chionn 's gu bheil a' Ghàidhlig beò.*

*Our Gaelic language and culture thrive in Nova Scotia.
Those things we value are maintained in each community because Gaelic lives.*

This is the 20-year vision for Gaelic in Nova Scotia. It is a statement of the vibrancy of the Gaelic culture in the province. It is a vision to be applied to Gaelic in Nova Scotia which will in turn benefit the entire province.

This vision also does not preclude any other language in these Gaelic communities, just as other languages are not precluded in Acadian or Mi'kmaq communities. It is focused on stopping the accelerating loss of Gaelic language and culture, and on revitalizing and developing a thriving Gaelic culture for the future. The objective is to ensure Gaelic becomes a more visible language and culture overall, even dominant in some communities.

Culture in this context encompasses music, dance, religious/spiritual life, literature, and all forms of expression and values which form a part of Gaelic community life.

Mission Statement

*Arainneachd a chur air bhonn an Albainn Nuaidh
far an soirbhich a' Ghàidhlig agus a dualchas.*

*To create the environment that makes Nova Scotia a place
where Gaelic language and culture thrive.*

The mission is a simple but comprehensive focus on accomplishing the vision for Gaelic language and culture in Nova Scotia.

Goals

A list of nine goals was developed. Each one plays a role in achieving the ultimate vision for Gaelic language and culture in Nova Scotia. Each has its own distinct flavor and role. And, each represents what needs to be done to accomplish the 20-year vision.

1. Increase the number of Gaelic speakers.
2. Preserve, maintain, and develop the Gaelic language and culture.
3. Encourage and promote all forms of Gaelic cultural expression.
4. Strengthen Gaelic communities.
5. Develop a place where people can live and work in Gaelic.
6. Instill pride and self-confidence within the Gaelic community.
7. Increase public appreciation of Gaelic culture.
8. Base the development of Gaelic language and culture in local communities, with the support of municipal, provincial, and federal governments.
9. Achieve secure status for the Gaelic language under law in Nova Scotia.

1. Increase the number of Gaelic speakers.

Language is the foundation of any culture and of its unique expression.

In 1890, when Senator Thomas Robert MacInnis (representing British Columbia though originally from Cape Breton) introduced his later defeated bill to make Gaelic Canada's third official language, he cited statistics from the 1881 census which showed the combined Scottish and Irish population of Canada to be 1,657,266 compared to 1,289,929 French and only 881,301 English. While not claiming all or even a majority of the Scots and Irish to be Gaelic speakers, he unsuccessfully argued that the number who spoke the ancestral language of the two national groups was sufficiently large to justify official status.¹⁷

Today there are estimated to be less than 500 native Gaelic speakers in Nova Scotia, many of these seniors in the community; whereas 100 years ago there were over 50,000 native speakers. In 1901, Gaelic speakers in some areas of eastern Nova Scotia, particularly in over half of Cape Breton, Gaelic speakers comprised 75 to 100 percent of the population.¹⁸

Increasing the number of speakers of Gaelic is an immediate need to keep Gaelic alive.

2. Preserve, maintain, and develop the Gaelic language and culture.

A language and the other surrounding cultural aspects are living things. They must grow and adapt to the new environment and times. Gaelic speaking Highland Scottish settlers adapted to Nova Scotia, their language and traditions have also evolved, and are therefore unique.

But this is an evolutionary change built upon centuries of cultural development. For the future growth of Nova Scotia's Gaelic language and culture, it is extremely important to capture all that has been archived to date and that which still exists in the community. There must be a concerted effort to document the knowledge of the ever-diminishing number of Gaelic tradition-bearers before it dies with them, and to preserve existing cultural archives which may be documented on time-limited storage media.

More than just preserving the past, the language and culture must be maintained. The living oral traditions must be used to disseminate knowledge and culture throughout the Gaelic communities.

The language and other cultural representations (music, local history, stories, dance, etc.) must then continue to grow and develop from these historical foundations as the context of our modern society and daily life changes over time. Both the old and the new traditions can then be passed on to future generations.

3. Encourage and promote all forms of Gaelic cultural expression.

While the Gaelic language forms the foundation, or perhaps the glue, for the entire Gaelic culture, language in itself is not enough. Thus, a plan to develop the Gaelic language and culture must include all forms of cultural expression – dance, music, song, literature, storytelling, religious/spiritual life, and more. They all are aspects of the cultural ecosystem which develop on a mutually interdependent basis.

4. Strengthen Gaelic communities.

Language and culture cannot be separated from the communities in which they exist. They grow and thrive based on interaction among people who have similar knowledge, beliefs, and values – i.e. the community. Strengthening the communities which still hold to these values will provide an environment conducive to maintaining and growing the language and culture.

Gaelic must be in the homes, not just the schools. It must be lived. Gaelic communities must become proud to display their culture and values to non-Gaels.

5. Develop a place where people can live and work in Gaelic.

Many Nova Scotians have left for other parts of Canada and the world in order to find work. Leaving the rural community to work in the ‘big city’ breaks down the strength of existing Gaelic cultural communities and requires the development of new communities.

At home or away, most Gaels today do not speak Gaelic because their parents made sure they learned English, so they could survive and better themselves in an English-based society. Knowing Gaelic did not get you work then, and it almost never does now.

Thus, the long-term goal is to create rural and urban communities where there will be Gaelic-related employment opportunities, which not only add to the Gaelic economy but also establish a greater worth for the language itself.

6. To strengthen pride and self-confidence within the Gaelic community.

In some Gaelic communities there continues to be a strong sense of pride and value in the Gaelic language and culture. But, some researchers and Nova Scotia Gaels recognize that with the decline in Gaelic there comes a decline in perceived value of the language. Even native Gaelic speakers frequently speak English to each other.

Dr. Kennedy’s report gives a comprehensive overview of the centuries of repression of Gaelic both in Scotland and Canada.¹⁹ Lack of recognition of Gaelic in formal institutions like education, law, commerce, and the media strip the language of a structural base in society.

In music there has been a growing sentiment that “it’s cool to be Celtic.” This attitude needs to be extended to Gaelic language and all areas of Gaelic culture. Pride and self-confidence play an integral role in reviving and developing Gaelic in Nova Scotia. Without this, other programs will fail to attain the necessary participation.

7. To increase public appreciation of Gaelic culture.

Public appreciation encourages pride and creates interest in the Gaelic culture. This interest translates into increased support for revitalizing the

Gaelic language and culture, greater participation in Gaelic cultural events, and more resources available for community initiatives.

8. To base the development of Gaelic language and culture in local communities, with the support of municipal, provincial, and federal governments.

The cultural development process must be based in the community and led by the community. This was the overwhelming consensus of the community members who have provided input into this strategy development process, as well as researchers in language development and community economic development.

This must be done in partnership with government. Local communities need support of all levels of government to help not only with economic assistance, but also with support in authorizing or legitimizing use of the language, institutionalizing broad social acceptance of the language and culture as a part of the multicultural face of the country, and providing networking and administrative expertise where needed.

9. To achieve secure status for the Gaelic language under law in Nova Scotia.

Obtaining a secure legal status for Gaelic will attach a level of worth and public recognition to the language and culture. This process is a long term, yet integral, part of the goals outlined. Secure status will be a foundation upon which future Gaelic language and culture strategy initiatives will be built.

Actions Arising from the Strategy Process

The strategic planning process undertaken by the Gaelic Development Steering Group has helped create a dialogue and shared understanding between community and government on the issues involved in preserving and developing Gaelic in Nova Scotia. The Steering Group has developed a shared vision, mission, and goals and has built a consensus on the need to take action on many fronts.

The Steering Group's accomplishments have created clarity, focus, and forward momentum. A smooth transition from strategy development to coordinated action requires:

- Maintaining the forward momentum.
- Focusing initial efforts on a limited number of programs and Gaelic development areas in the province, to prevent diluting efforts and expanding the scope beyond the limits of resources available.
- Staying true to the strategic planning process, which includes ongoing evaluation and adjustment, building on what has been learned, and continuing the partnership of community and government.
- Demonstrating progress and accountability for implementation of programs.
- Ensuring that broad benefits, perspectives, and participation take precedence over narrow agendas.

To ensure the continued implementation of the strategy, the Gaelic Development Steering Group makes the following recommendations:

A. Modify the structure and operations of the Gaelic Development Steering Group as necessary.

The role of the Gaelic Development Steering Group is to develop a priority list of actions and prepared coordinated action plans for implementation; encourage the Gaelic community to engage in strategic activities; help identify leaders, partners and supporters for specific initiatives, address province-wide issues and priorities; monitor and communicate progress on the implementation of the strategy; and promote awareness of the strategy.

Actions:

- Improve the organizational structure of the group (e.g. project teams, chairs, minutes) to distribute the workload, improve communications, and facilitate the process.
- Poll current members on their interest in continued participation and roles.
- Invite new members from the community into the Steering Group and/or its project teams.
- Create project teams or working groups on the various components of the strategy.
- Plan meetings – dates, communications, locations, materials needed, facilitators, etc.
- Work with the Gaelic Council in appropriately structuring that organization to become an umbrella organization for this entire initiative.
- Secure any resources necessary for the efficient operation of the Steering Group.

Timeframe:

Complete this action as soon as possible. The Steering Group should hold its first meeting within two months of the release of this strategy report, and meet regularly thereafter.

B. Develop 5-year strategic action plans for each of the nine goals

To achieve the 20 year vision the strategy must be broken down into a series of 5-year units so that detailed strategic action plans can be developed and progress measured as the community moves toward its vision. Within each 5-year plan there will be programs under each of the nine goals.

Actions:

- Identify key initiatives by 5-year units of time within a 20-year strategy.
- Establish project teams with at least one member of the Steering Group on each team. Each team will draft the strategic actions in the first 5-year action plan for area of the strategy and will maintain contact and report progress to the Steering Group.

- Discuss and finalize a draft 5-year plan which will be discussed with the community in the next set of meetings.

Timeframe:

Begin as soon as possible. Hold community meetings to discuss draft 5-year plan.

C. Promote awareness of the strategy with Gaelic communities, stakeholders, and potential partners.

The Steering Group has an ongoing need to promote understanding and awareness of the progress made to date and the overall process.

Actions:

- Provide the community with access to this document via Internet download.
- Identify all other key audiences who should receive information on the strategy.
- Determine the most appropriate method for reaching each audience.
- Create appropriate communications materials and distribute as required.
- Maintain a continued Internet presence for the strategy.
- Seek out opportunities to promote awareness and understanding of the strategy.
- Mail copies of this report to everyone who attended the November 2002 community meetings and alert the public of the plans to hold another series of community meetings in 2004.

Timeframe:

Start immediately and continue indefinitely.

D. Hold community forums on the drafted strategic action plan in 2004.

Once a plan of specific actions has been developed, the public should be consulted again, through another set of community meetings.

Actions:

- Develop a forum plan, budget, and timeline.
- Schedule and plan for a second set of meetings in the same 10 communities as in November 2002. These sessions should facilitate an understanding of the strategy and solicit input, and confirm community-based support for the strategic plan.
- Attempt to engage the services of planning facilitators who have been involved with the process to date in order to maintain continuity.
- Use the meetings to recruit further participation in the implementation process.

Timeframe:

Hold forums in 2004, once 5-year action plans have been developed.

Provincial Government Partnership

While the support of all levels of government is important to this mission, the provincial government is a critical partner in this process.

The role of government should be an enabling one. For example, the major work of bringing Gaelic signage to reality may not be the dollars required, but rather the change in policy that will enable the signage to be created. Many government Departments will need to be involved, including Tourism and Culture, Education, Transportation and Public Works, and Economic Development.²⁰

Enabling may extend to knowledge transfer, such as in assisting organizations to access funding programs, establishing suitable organization structures, or making other expertise available from various departments. Enabling will also involve cooperative programs where the province is provided with the expert Gaelic knowledge for provincial publications, tourist documents, maps, etc. for incorporation in provincial initiatives.

The rewards from such a partnership can be substantial for Nova Scotia, its people, its economy, and its pride.

Detailed strategic 5-year plans and yearly project plans will be provided to government as these are developed. The following is requested at this point:

1. Support in principle for this strategy.
2. Continued involvement of key departmental personnel to work with the Gaelic Development Steering Group in its ongoing efforts.
3. A meeting with the Minister of Tourism, Culture and Heritage and appropriate departmental personnel to discuss available resources and opportunities for assistance with the implementation of the strategy.

Appendix A: Gaelic Development Steering Group Members

Name	Location	Affiliations
Beaton, Margie	Mabou	Mabou Gaelic & Historical Society; Gaelic Council/Comhairle na Gàidhlig, Alba Nuadh; Strait Regional School Board – Dalbrae Academy; Nova Scotia Department of Education (Gaelic Course Development)
Cameron, Caroline	Mabou	Gaelic Council/Comhairle na Gàidhlig, Alba Nuadh, Editor – Mac-Talla
Cameron, Bernard	Mabou	Gaelic Studies teacher, Strait Regional School Board
Chaisson, Rodney	Iona	Highland Village/An Clachan Gàidhealach
Dòmhnallach, Goiridh	Glendale	Comunn Gàidhlig is Eachdraidh a’ Bhràigh
Guildford, Peter	Halifax	Culture Division, NS Tourism, Culture and Heritage
Lamond, Mary Jane	Glendale	Comunn Gàidhlig is Eachdraidh a’ Bhràigh
Lord, Elizabeth (Betty)	New Glasgow	Féis a’ Bhaile Bhig
MacDonald, Jamie	Antigonish	Ben Alder Chair of Celtic Studies, Celtic Studies Department, St. Francis Xavier University; ACGA (The Gaelic Society of America) Board of Directors
MacDonald-Gillis, Dawn	Iona	Gaelic Studies teacher, Rankin Memorial School
MacEachen, Frances	Queensville	Culture Division, NS Tourism, Culture and Heritage
MacKenzie, Allison	Christmas Island	Féis an Eilein
MacKinnon, Lewis	Dartmouth	Gaelic Council/Comhairle na Gàidhlig, Alba Nuadh
MacMaster, Allan	Halifax	Community member
MacNeil, Hector	Sydney	University College of Cape Breton; Gaelic College/A’ Cholaisde Ghàidhlig; Féis an Eilein; Gaelic Council/Comhairle na Gàidhlig, Alba Nuadh
Matheson, Trueman	Antigonish	Siol Cultural Enterprises; Gaelic Council/Comhairle na Gàidhlig, Alba Nuadh
Murphy, Joe	Dartmouth	St. Mary’s University, D’Arcy McGee Chair of Irish Studies
Newlands, David	Dartmouth	Former Executive Director of the Heritage Division Nova Scotia Department of Tourism and Culture, now retired.
Nilsen, Ken	Antigonish	Sister Saint Veronica Chair in Gaelic Studies and Chair of Celtic Studies Department, St. Francis Xavier University
Parsons, Catriona	Antigonish	Celtic Studies Department, St. Francis Xavier University; Gaelic Council/Comhairle na Gàidhlig, Alba Nuadh
Rankin, Effie	Mabou	Mabou Gaelic & Historical Society, Gaelic Council/Comhairle na Gàidhlig, Alba Nuadh
Watson, Jim	Queensville	Highland Village/An Clachan Gàidhealach, Am Bràighe
Williams, Margaret	Marion Bridge	Féis an Eilein, Highland Village/An Clachan Gàidhealach

Appendix B — Citations

1. Gaelic Nova Scotia, An Economic Cultural and Social Impact Study. Michael Kennedy. Nova Scotia Museum curatorial Report No. 97. November, 2002. Pg 1, and 267 for reference to multiplier effects.
2. Developing a Gaelic Policy & Strategy for Nova Scotia, A Discussion Paper. Gaelic Steering Committee, Iona, NS. September 2002. Pg 4.
3. Gaelic Nova Scotia. Pg 279.
4. Gaelic Nova Scotia. Pg 280, 281.
5. Gaelic Nova Scotia. Pg 283, 284.
6. Ibid.
7. Gaelic Nova Scotia. Pg 280.
8. Nova Scotia's Cultural Policy. Pg 2 (<http://www.gov.ns.ca/dtc/pubs/culturalpolicy.pdf>)
9. Ibid.
10. Language Vitality and Endangerment, UNESCO Intangible Cultural Heritage Unit's Ad Hoc Expert Group on Endangered Languages, Paris, March 31, 2003
11. Gaelic Nova Scotia. Pg 275-280.
12. Community Consultations on the Future of Gaelic in Nova Scotia, A Report on the Results of Community Meetings Held in November 2002. John Hugh Edwards. December 2002. Including written submission of Wendy Bergfeldt, CBC Cape Breton, letter dated November 26, 2002.
13. Gaelic Nova Scotia. Pg 291.
14. Community Consultations, Pg 6.
15. Ibid.
16. Developing a Gaelic Policy & Strategy. Pg 4.

17. Gaelic Nova Scotia. Pg 35.
18. Gaelic Nova Scotia. Pg 63-64.
19. Gaelic Nova Scotia. Pg 10-114.
20. Community Consultations, Pg 6.