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"Na ceantair is lú a bhfuil an fhorbairt thionsclaíoch tarlaithe iontu, is iad na ceantair is saibhre Gaeilge iad"

- Submission from the Public

## 1.2 Members of Commission

### Peadar Mac an Iomaire (Chairperson)

Stiúrthóir na Gaeilge Labhartha National University of Ireland Galway

#### Anna Ní Ghallachair

Director Language Centre National University of Ireland Maynooth

#### Dr Caoilfhionn Nic Pháidín

Director Fiontar Dublin City University

### Michelle Nic Pháidín

Youth Council

#### Professor Dónall Ó Baoill

Queen's University Belfast

#### Roibeard Ó Ceallaigh

Former County Manager Limerick County Council

### Tadhg Ó hÉalaithe

Secretary and Director of Corporate Services, Higher Education and Training Awards Council (Former Secretary-General Department of Arts, Heritage, Gaeltacht and the Islands Former Chairperson of Údarás na Gaeltachta)

#### Peadar Ó Flatharta (Director)

Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge

### Secretariat:

Department of Arts, Heritage, Gaeltacht and the Islands

#### Bertie Ó hAinmhire

Secretary to the Commission

#### Helena Ní Bhriain

Treasa Seoighe

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### 1.3 Foreword

The establishment of this Commission by the Government in the Spring of 2000 was a ray of hope to the people and friends of the Gaeltacht, people who for years have been concerned about the obvious decline and gradual extinction of the Gaeltacht. This Gaeltacht is all that remains of the large Irish-speaking community which was dominant in this country for hundreds of years, but has declined continuously in recent centuries. While the first major action taken by the Free State Government on behalf of the Gaeltacht was the establishment of the first Gaeltacht Commission in 1925, the proposals made by the Commission were not acted upon however, nor were the appropriate resources made available which would have been required in order to do so.

It was with great enthusiasm that the members of this Commission accepted the invitation from the Government to participate in the 2000-2002 Gaeltacht Commission. We are indebted to the Minister of State at the Department of Arts, Heritage, Gaeltacht and the Islands at the time, Éamon Ó Cuív T.D., for persuading the Government to establish the Commission. The members of the Commission value the encouragement and the resources provided to us during the course of our work by him as well as by his successor, Mary Coughlan, T.D.

Over 1,500 people attended the public meetings held by the Commission. The Commission is grateful to every person and organisation who provided us with information. We are deeply indebted to those communities from all areas of the Gaeltacht who attended the public meetings and who so generously shared opinions and recommendations with us, both verbally and in writing. One statement was relayed very clearly by all those Gaeltacht communities, that is that all of these people wish for the Irish language to continue to be the spoken language in the Gaeltacht. It is obvious that the creation and preservation of community pride and community self-respect is vital for the strengthening of the Irish language as a community resource in the Gaeltacht. Raidió na Gaeltachta, TG4, the voluntary community movement and other specific developments in training, education and employment have worked to this end. However, in the absence of a strategic approach by the State in regard to the provision of all services in the Gaeltacht through the medium of Irish, the organisations operating in the Gaeltacht with the promotion of the Irish language as their objective, are working in a vacuum.

Without Irish speakers in Gaeltacht communities, there would be no Gaeltacht. Particular credit must go to those communities who maintained the use of the Irish language as a means of daily communication to the present day. The Commission recognises the central stand taken by Irish speakers in the Gaeltacht, and the debt of gratitude owed them by Irish people in Ireland and abroad. They are to be commended for their tenacity to date, and they deserve support. We hope that the recommendations of this Report

will make their lives easier and will be to the advantage of the language in the future.

The terms of reference presented to the Commission were quite wide ranging. We discussed them in detail. We decided to focus primarily and specifically on a strategic approach to finding an effective implementation structure which would bring our recommendations to fruition. Consultants were employed to examine organisations which at present have a Gaeltacht remit.

As a result of this, the Commission decided to propose an implementation structure which would ensure an advisory process at planning level and which would be community-friendly and language-centred at the operational level.

The proposals in this Report depend totally on the implementation of the proposed structure.

We were asked for an action plan under the terms of reference. The strategy model is given in this Report. The Commission decided that it would be more appropriate to leave the detailed planning as an ongoing responsibility of the proposed implementation structure. The main responsibility for this planning will remain with the designated Minister.

I would like to express heartfelt gratitude to all members of the Commission, Anna Ní Ghallachair, Dr. Caoilfhionn Nic Pháidín, Michelle Nic Pháidín, Professor Dónall Ó Baoill, Roibeárd Ó Ceallaigh, Tadhg Ó hÉalaithe and Peadar Ó Flatharta. There were complex issues to be discussed, and although the production of this Report took a considerable time, we really enjoyed working together.

I would particularly like to thank our administrative and secretarial team, Treasa Seoighe and Helena Ní Bhriain. Finally, I would like to make separate and special mention of my gratitude to the Secretary, Bertie Ó hAinmhire, who devoted himself utterly to the work of the Commission. He worked extremely hard on our behalf and was always patient and obliging.

We are truly grateful to Éamon Ó Cuív, T.D., former Minister of State at the Department of Arts, Heritage, Gaeltacht and the Islands, and to the present Minister of State, Mary Coughlan, T.D., for facilitating the Commission as far as possible.

We would also like to thank the Secretary-General of that Department, Philip Furlong, and the Assistant Secretary, Seán Ó Cofaigh, for all the support given to the Commission by the Department during the course of our work.

We are also grateful to the consultants who worked for us.

It is truly a privilege for all of us to have the opportunity to present the Report of the Gaeltacht Commission 2002.

Peadar Mac an Iomaire Chairperson 21 March 2002

### 1.4 Terms of Reference

A COMMISSION TO MAKE RECOMMENDATIONS TO THE GOVERNMENT IN REGARD TO STRENGTHENING THE POSITION OF THE IRISH LANGUAGE AS THE VERNACULAR OF THE GAELTACHT COMMUNITY

- Establish from the given details, including the Census and statistics from the Irish Language Speaking Scheme which is run by the Department of Arts, Heritage, Gaeltacht and the Islands, the position of the Irish language as the spoken language in the various Gaeltacht areas and analyse this information.
- 2. Examine the effectiveness of the policies and the schemes being pursued, particularly those of the various State agencies which are dealing directly with the maintenance of the Irish language in the Gaeltacht, including
  - Department of Arts, Heritage, Gaeltacht and the Islands;
  - Údarás na Gaeltachta;
  - Raidió na Gaeltachta;
  - TG4:
  - Specific Educational Institutes, including Áras Mháirtín Uí Chadhain in the Galway Gaeltacht;
  - Community and private organisations which are assisted by the State in order to promote the Irish language.
- 3. Consult with An Foras Teanga.
- 4. Establish all the positive factors and policies which benefit the promotion of the Irish language in the Gaeltacht.
- 5. Examine and analyse the factors and policies which would appear to be beneficial or detrimental to the preservation of the Irish language in the Gaeltacht, including:
  - (a) Public Services in general;
  - (b) Education:
  - (c) Entertainment / Sport;
  - (d) Religious / Church Services;
  - (e) Community / Voluntary Organisations;
  - (f) Employment;
  - (g) Health Services;
  - (h) Media / Information Technology;
  - (i) Tourism;
  - (j) Emigration / Immigration including migration within Ireland;
  - (k) Community outlook, historical background
  - (l) Business services / private companies

- 6. Examine the way in which the provisions of the Planning and Development Bill, 1999 will be put into effect in regard to the preservation of the language and culture of the Gaeltacht.
- 7. Make recommendations and prepare an action plan, which will cover the following::
  - (a) a language policy, which will include the Public Service, Private Enterprise and the Voluntary Sector, aimed at ensuring services through the medium of Irish in every part of the Gaeltacht;
  - (b) prepare proposals regarding an information campaign, with the appropriate support services, to convince Gaeltacht communities of the importance of the Irish language and to reinforce the fact that their future as Gaeltacht areas will depend on the acquisition, usage, maintenance and development of the Irish language in those areas;
  - (c) make detailed plans, with costings insofar as possible, for developing and increasing the usage of the Irish language in the Gaeltacht with a specific emphasis on passing on the language from generation to generation to the young people of the Gaeltacht;
  - (d) prepare proposals in regard to improving the effectiveness of the policies of those organisations (as listed in 2. above) which deal directly with the maintenance of the Irish language in the Gaeltacht and, if necessary, in regard to other more productive methods in which the language could be maintained; and
  - (e) prepare proposals in regard to linguistic criteria which might be used to delimit the Gaeltacht areas, to include a system to increase or decrease such areas. These proposals would have to take account of the need for a natural geographic and community basis for the Gaeltacht and of the role that Gaeltacht status could play in developing and maintaining the language.
- 8. Make recommendations in regard to the support that will be expected from the community in general outside the Gaeltacht, Irish speakers included, to maintain and develop the Irish language in the Gaeltacht.

## 2. Methodology of Commission

Coimisiún na Gaeltachta was established by the Government on April 4 2000, to make recommendations in regard to strengthening the position of Irish as the vernacular of the Gaeltacht community. The initial meeting of the Commission took place in Ros Muc in the Galway Gaeltacht on May 22, 2000, with the then Minister for State with responsibility for Gaeltacht affairs, Éamon Ó Cuív T.D., in attendance.

As a result of a publicly advertised call for tenders a team of consultants under the direction of Professor Mícheál Ó Cinnéide, NUI, Galway was employed to:

- analyse the effectiveness of the policies being pursued by State organisations dealing directly with the preservation and maintenance of the Irish language in the Gaeltacht (Department of Arts, Heritage, Gaeltacht and the Islands, Údarás na Gaeltachta, Raidió na Gaeltachta and TG4) and
- provide information concerning the policies and activities of various institutions, bodies and other organisations and to analyse their effect on the use of Irish in the Gaeltacht.

The consultants' report is being published separately.

The Planning and Development Act, 2000, contains provisions to protect and promote the language and culture of the Gaeltacht through the planning process. The Minister for the Environment and Local Government invited the Commission to submit recommendations to that Department as regards how best to give effect to the sections of the Act that pertain to the Gaeltacht. The Commission employed a consultant to provide a report on that issue. On the basis of this report the Commission presented recommendations to the Minister for the Environment and Local Government.

The Commission was also asked, under its terms of reference, to analyse the extent to which Irish is used in the Gaeltacht, using the results of the Irish Language Speaking Scheme administered by the Department of Arts, Heritage, Gaeltacht and the Islands and statistics of the 1996 Census of Population. Another researcher was employed to collect the information available from the above-mentioned sources and from other relevant sources in the educational and ecclesiastical fields. The results of this research are available on the Commission's Internet site (www.coimnagael.ie).

A Public Relations company, Meas Media, was employed by the Commission to assist it in organising a series of public meetings in the various Gaeltacht areas and in cities located outside the Gaeltacht. A summary of conclusions from those meetings is contained in Chapter 8 of this Report and a list of the meetings organised by the Commission is set out in Chapter 10(A). Additional information was provided by Professor Mairtín Ó Murchú and Dr. T.K. Whitaker at the request of the Commission.

Notices and announcements were placed in the media seeking written submissions from the public. A list of the written submissions received by the Commission is given in Chapter 10(C) of this Report and copies of the submissions will be available from the Department of Arts, Heritage, Gaeltacht and the Islands and in the National Library. At the same time an information leaflet explaining the work of the Commission was circulated in the Gaeltacht.

The views of young people in second level schools in the Gaeltacht were sought and a website (www.coimnagael.ie) was established providing information on the work of the Commission, as well as a discussion board to generate further debate.

The NUI Galway Consultants met with the State organisations dealing with the Irish language in the Gaetlacht (An Roinn Ealaíon, Oidhreachta, Gaeltachta agus Oileán, Údarás na Gaeltachta, TG4 and Raidió na Gaeltachta) and they organised focus groups with the Gaeltacht community in the various areas. The Commission itself corresponded with these organisations seeking detailed information about their activities and objectives in the Gaeltacht.

The Commission itself has discussed in detail all the information made available to it. The Commission decided to present a short report to Government in order to emphasise clearly and strongly some strategic points.

### 3. Context

## 3.1 International ContextGlobal and European perspectives

Now is a time for a review of languages, and in particular in the context of the general trend towards globalisation and the view that English has become the accepted lingua franca. Multilingualism is a natural development. Most of the world's population is bilingual or multilingual. Monolinguals are in the minority. Most of the onelanguage states in the world are former colonial powers or former colonies, and it is in these that multilingualism is portrayed in a negative fashion by those in power, the "dominant elite" who are greatly influenced by the aim of "one nation, one language". However, many of those states which are officially monolingual are, in reality, multilingual. In a survey carried out by CILT (Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research) in the context of the European Year of Languages 2001, it was discovered that a total of 302 different languages are spoken by children attending primary schools in London. And even in Dublin, in the year 2000, children were born to women from 90 different linguistic backgrounds. Although the United States of America is perceived as a monolingual country in terms of culture and communication and as a powerful reflection of English language culture, it is in reality a multilingual country. Spanish has recently made major gains in Florida and has now become an official language in New Mexico. In a lecture delivered in King's College, London in 2001, Jenny Jenkins, an expert on English as a global language, stated that Spanish and not English would be the world lingua franca of the future. The 11 September 2001 attack and the events which followed have demonstrated that the continued supremacy of English is not a certainty and that a society which understands and nurtures multiculturalism and multilingualism has a distinct advantage.

The aims of the European Union reinforce the abovementioned objectives. The European Commission recommends that every citizen of the Union should speak at least two European languages in addition to their own native language. The importance of multiculturalism is also emphasised, as a means of assisting citizens to function in other working and living environments, to understand the cultural richness and diversity within Europe, and as a basis for personal intellectual development.

The development of a bilingual society can be seen as a step towards a multilingual society, provided both languages are given due respect. From an official point of view, Ireland is a bilingual country. However, it is clear from the research undertaken by the Commission that bilingualism is under threat in this country. In research undertaken by Michael Krauss² it is stated that 90% of the languages of the world

will be extinct by the end of the current century. Stephen Wurm, a linguist, defines languages under threat as follows: "languages which suffer from social and economic disadvantages, which are under pressure from major languages and which are losing young speakers." It is clear therefore that Irish is under threat and that the language must be given support as the primary language in those areas where it is still used as a community language, i.e. in Gaeltacht areas. Every language is a repository of heritage, moulded by the history and the distinctiveness of the people who spoke it and still speak it. While this aspect is very important, particularly in the context of globalisation, more important still is the fact that Irish is a living community language that is not being treated justly as matters currently stand.

Bilingualism/ multilingualism brings with it many practical advantages: it promotes a richness of knowledge and a better understanding of other languages; it broadens the range of language resources of the individual. The Irish language and its development within the country must be seen in the context of a multicultural society, in which diversity flourishes and in which the human rights of all are respected and valued.

### 3.2 National Context

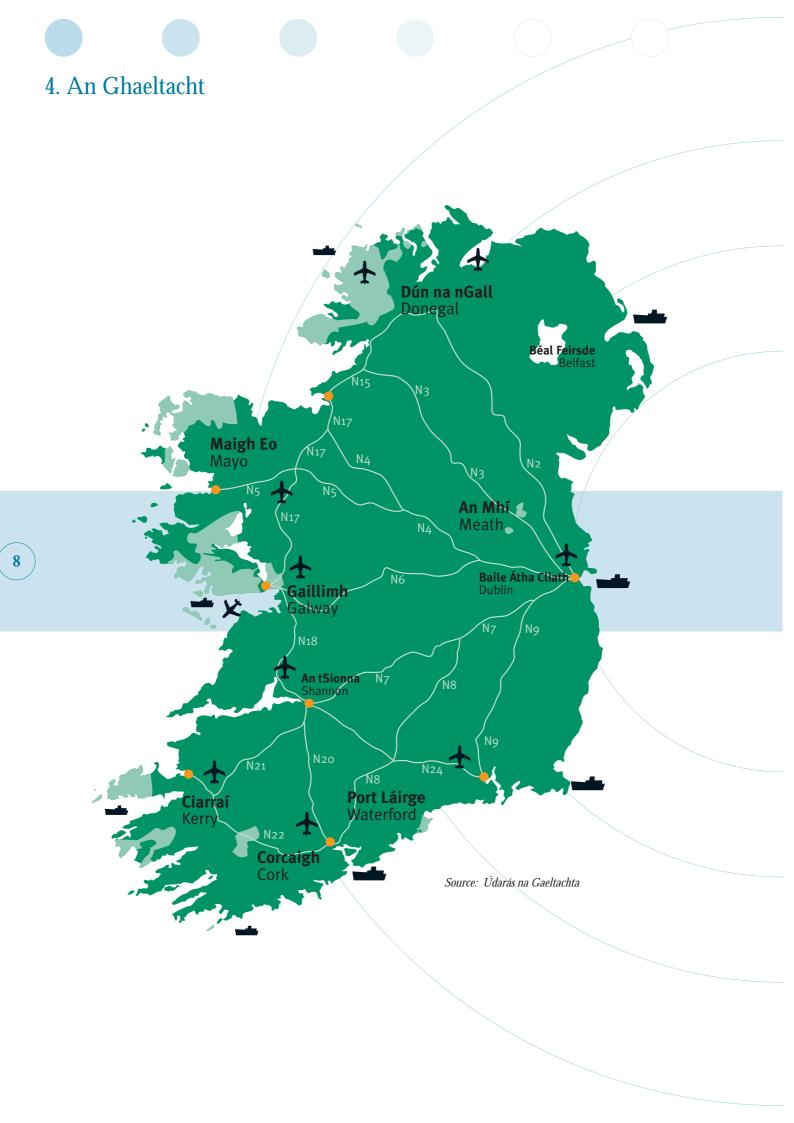
Many positive developments have taken place in relation to Irish in the last ten years. In addition to the changes that have taken place in the Department of Arts, Heritage, Gaeltacht and the Islands, in Raidió na Gaeltachta and in Údarás na Gaeltachta, the establishment of TnaG in 1996 and the new cross-border nature of Foras na Gaeilge represent major progress. It is also expected that the effect of the Planning and Development Act, 2000, will be positive and that an Official Languages Equality Act will be implemented shortly. In the absence of a national language policy however, these developments will be merely isolated efforts whose potential will not be fully realised.

Clearly, many negative changes too have taken place in relation to the status of Irish. Irish is no longer required for appointment to Civil Service positions; secondary teachers do not need an Irish language qualification unless they intend to teach in an Irish-medium school; Irish-medium teaching resources are not available for the new primary school curriculum introduced in 2000 and the Irish-medium teaching resources available at second-level are deficient and of a lower quality than those available in English; the shortage of primary teachers in the country has created a situation in which people with no qualifications and, in many cases, no Irish, are teaching in Gaeltacht areas. The last major English-Irish dictionary was published in 1959, and there is no historical monolingual Irish language dictionary available.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> An Introduction to Bilingualism, Hoffman, Longman, Londain, 1991, lth. 2

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Language Death, David Crystal, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000, lth. 18

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Language Death, David Crystal, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 2000, 1th. 21



### 4.1 The Gaeltacht Today

Irish is a living language in the Gaeltacht. It is the language of the home and of the workplace, and it is a social language through which people in some areas of the Gaeltacht conduct their normal business throughout the day. The education system and the community development process have facilitated the development of the Irish language as a medium of discussion for a major part of Gaeltacht life today. It must be recognised, however, that Irish in the Gaeltacht is facing a crisis, due to both internal and external factors. The external threat to the Gaeltacht community comes from State and private sector organisations which give no linguistic

recognition to this distinct community. Irish is also threatened from within, as its own community loses confidence in its status as a distinct language community, a community under pressure from a major world language. It is necessary to provide different levels of assistance to the Gaeltacht community to ensure the continued transmission of the language from generation to generation and to maintain its status as the language of daily use in the home, in education, in the workplace and in the community.

Tables 1 and 2 below provide a summary of the major statistics available with regard to Irish language ability and use of Irish in the Gaeltacht.

Table 1: Irish speakers in the State and in the Gaeltacht by age group					
	In the State	In the Gaeltacht			
Age group	Irish speakers as %	Irish speakers as %			
3-4 years.	8.2%	44.4%			
5-9 years.	44.6%	76.1%			
10-14 years.	64.3%	83.9%			
15-19 years.	65.2%	84.2			
20-24 years.	49.4%	75.1%			
25-34 years.	35.8%	66.9%			
35-44 years.	38.3%	69.7%			
45-54 years.	35.4%	71.5%			
55-64 years.	31.1%	72.8%			
65+	25.4%	76.3%			
Total	41.1%	73.7%			

Source: Census of Ireland (1996)

Tábla 2. Scéim Labhairt na Gaeilge (Scheme for Speaking Irish) Department of Arts, Heritage, Gaeltacht and the Islands, 1999/00							
County	No. of families with school children	No. of families that applied for the Irish Language Speaking Scheme	No. of families that applied as % of the total no. of families with school children	No. of families that received full grant	No. of families that received full grant as % of the total no. of families with school children		
Galway	3,939	1,427	36.2%	1,151	29.2%		
Donegal	2,285	1,085	47.5%	749	32.7%		
Kerry	718	425	59.2%	226	31.5%		
Mayo	1,059	252	23.8%	89	8.4%		
Cork	337	133	39.4%	35	10.4%		
Meath	168	34	20.2%	18	10.7%		
Waterford	128	51	39.8%	14	10.9%		
Total	8,634	3,407	39.46%	2,282	26.43%		

Source: Department of Arts, Heritage, Gaeltacht and the Islands

### 4.2 Definition and Geographic Area

Of the 154 district electoral divisions contained in the Gaeltacht, there are only 18 which have 75% or more who are daily speakers of Irish. 12 of these are in County Galway, 4 are in County Donegal, and 2 are in County Kerry.

If the criterion for defining Gaeltacht boundaries was that 80% of the community must be Irish speakers, as was initially set down by Coimisiún na Gaeltachta in 1926, then, according to the 1996 Census, only 14 district electoral divisions of the 154 would qualify for Gaeltacht status. If this trend continues it is only a matter of time before the Gaeltacht as understood historically will cease to exist.

Gaeltacht boundaries were revised in 1956. Under the Gaeltacht Areas Order, 1956, 84 district electoral divisions and parts of 58 other district electoral divisions in Counties Galway, Donegal, Mayo, Kerry, Cork and Waterford were recognised as Gaeltacht areas. A small number of other areas has been recognised in the meantime. In the case of some areas recognised as Gaeltacht areas the position of Irish is so weak that it cannot reasonably be argued that Irish is a community language there. Even in the strongest Gaeltacht areas, the current patterns of bilingualism are yielding to the primacy of English in the life of the community and the use of English is increasing in these areas. The current range of policies being implemented by the State and by voluntary groups, including native speakers and others, is not succeeding in the reversal of this erosion. A new language reinforcement strategy is required for every Gaeltacht community -- one that has the confidence of the community itself.

This Report contains an analysis of the state of the Irish language in the Gaeltacht, based on Census returns from 1961 to 1996. Changes were made to the census questions posed in 1996 to ascertain both the proficiency and frequency of use of Irish. It is thought that these changes were partially reponsible for the increase in the percentage of Irish speakers in the Gaeltacht between 1991 and 1996. This is explained in Chapter 9.2 of this Report. As no safe basis of comparison is available at present to this Commission, the data produced by the next two censuses, in 2002 and 2007, will be of particular importance. No valid basis of comparison will exist until the data from the 2007 Census becomes available.

Therefore, the Commission recommends that all areas within current Gaeltacht boundaries be given a seven year term, to afford all Gaeltacht communities the opportunity to increase the usage of Irish within their own area. This will allow Gaeltacht communities to decide, at both a personal and community level, if they wish to take action to increase the use of Irish in the home, in the workplace, in childcare services, in education, in voluntary community organisations, in churches, in the tourism sector, in sporting and recreational organisations. Community efforts to maintain and extend the use of Irish in the above domains will result in a significant increase in the use of Irish within such communities.

In seven years time, areas wherein at least 50% of the community are daily Irish speakers will be entitled to full recognition as Gaeltacht areas.

Areas in which the percentage of Irish speakers is currently less than 50% and which manage to increase this percentage, but which are still in the 40%-50% range, will be given another seven year period to reach the necessary level and to satisfy the indicators listed below.

The Census alone, however, is not sufficient to redraw Gaeltacht boundaries. Therefore, we recommend a comprehensive linguistic survey, taking account of the following indicators:

- (i) Number of families using Irish as the normal language of the home
- (ii) Use of Irish in nursery and preschool services, in primary and secondary schools and the degree to which those services influence Irish language behaviour and maintenance within the communities which come under their influence
- (iii) Use of Irish in business and industry
- (iv) Use of Irish in voluntary community organisations
- (v) Use of Irish in Churches
- (vi) Use of Irish in the tourism sector
- (vii) Use of Irish in sporting and recreational activities
- (viii) Number and percentage of Irish speakers in the district electoral divisions under scrutiny
- (ix) Number and percentage of daily Irish speakers
- (x) Other relevant contexts.

Communities within Gaeltacht areas in which little Irish is used have the ability to increase the use of Irish in their area provided sufficient goodwill exists within the community itself. It is also important to target public and development resources through the medium of Irish at Gaeltacht areas in which Irish is strong, to ensure that the use of Irish does not further decline in such areas. The Commission recommends the funding of a specific scheme to support these communities.

Areas which lose their Gaeltacht status will be able to reapply for Gaeltacht status as soon as they meet specific linguistic criteria.

The Commission recommends that a Board of Independent Commissioners be established to monitor the implementation of all the recommendations of this Commission. This Board of Commissioners shall be responsible for confirming or revoking the Gaeltacht status of areas after 2007. New communities which are currently outside the historical Gaeltacht will also be able to apply for Gaeltacht status and the above-mentioned Board will be responsible for evaluating the status of Irish in such communities. If a survey demonstrates that at least 50% of a community in a specified geographical area is using Irish as their normal everyday language, then that community will be granted Gaeltacht status.

After thirty years of Irish membership of the European Union, it is now very likely that Irish speakers in the Gaeltacht will henceforth be multilingual and that they will use Irish as their first language or as the language of choice in their communications with each other and with other Irish speakers within and outside the Gaeltacht.

## 5. Strategic Issues

The Commission has studied all the evidence made available, including submissions from members of the public, recommendations made from public meetings, meetings with organisations, as well as specially commissioned research, reference material and publications. Having studied this material, the Commission has identified the following strategic issues.

### 5.1 Status of Irish

### 5.1.1 In Legislation

Irish is given legal recognition in the Constitution of Ireland under Article 8 which states that the Irish language as the national language is the country's first official language. Many States have provisions in their constitution covering the status of their languages. Despite the strong constitutional status of the Irish language there has never been any understanding within the public sector that citizens have language rights or that the language rights of citizens who choose Irish as their first language should be recognized. The language rights of the citizen have not been defined, nor have the language rights of Irish speakers. The lack of status afforded to Irish within the European Union undermines the development of the language as a living language and weakens its status within Ireland. Were Irish given status as an official working language of the European Union, this would greatly increase interest in learning the language as part of Europe's heritage and as an employment opportunity.

The progress achieved in recent years in securing legislative recognition for Irish and for the Gaeltacht is a source for optimism. The Education Act, 1998 and the Planning and Development Act, 2000, are noteworthy examples.

Despite this progress, however, it remains the case that the Commission's research demonstrates that the rights of native Irish speakers are not given much recognition and that very little effort is made to meet their needs. The Supreme Court Judgement (Hardiman, Guinness and Geoghegan, 4 April 2001, in the case of Séamus Ó Beoláin versus the State) illustrates the unjust manner in which the State has treated the status of Irish for many years.

### 5.1.2 In the Public Mind

The statutory position of a language is not the same as status or standing assigned it by those who speak the language. The standing of the language community itself also influences the status given to their spoken language. In view of this, and in the context of historical experience, it is no wonder that some people are reluctant to pass the language on from one generation to the next.

The education system has an important role to play in the preservation of the language. The primary school curriculum never recognised the teaching of Irish as a first language. Since the foundation of the State, the necessary foundation was not laid down to meet the educational needs of the Gaeltacht, in terms of supporting those whose first language is Irish. The Commission recognises the establishment of An Chomhairle um Oideachas Gaeltachta agus Gaelscolaíochta under Section 31 of the Education Act, 1998 as a step in the right direction. The Council has a specific remit in this area.

It must be borne in mind that efforts to teach a language will not be successful unless that language has the support of a geographical community who speak it as a community language. For this reason alone the Gaeltacht is of extreme importance. If Irish-speaking communities disappear the rationale for teaching and learning Irish will cease and the language will only survive as one of heritage.

## 5.1.3 Status of the Language Community

In discussing the status of a language it is now recognised that the status afforded the distinct language community by the broader community is of particular importance. This issue cannot be examined without considering the views of the Irish people in relation to the future of Irish nationally. It is not easy to ascertain what status Irish people assign to Irish speakers in general, not to mention Gaeltacht communities. Gaeltacht communities are not in control of many power structures or financial, academic and media institutions, and their dispersed nature means that they have very little political leverage either.

Although significant economic progress has been achieved in Gaeltacht areas in recent years, the status of the language community is still not of such stature as to persuade those in the broader community that learning Irish would be to their advantage. Support services are required to back up the status of the Irish language; for example the development of a scheme for teaching Irish to adults. This is vital in the case of people delivering services in Gaeltacht areas and those who have recently taken up residence in the Gaeltacht. The status of Irish is also enhanced by its being taught in third level institutions in Ireland and abroad and by access on the part of the Irish diaspora to opportunities to learn the language.

### **Recommendations:**

1. The immediate enactment of an Official Languages Equality Bill which will define the language rights of citizens and ensure that all public services are be available through Irish as of right to the people of the Gaeltacht and to the Irish speaking community.

- 2. The availability of a comprehensive education system at all levels nursery, preschool, primary level, second level, third level, professional education and lifelong learning in which priority will be given to Irish as the first language within the Gaeltacht.
- 3. Achieving the status of an official working language for Irish within the European Union.
- 4. The provision of a broad range of publicity and information to enhance the importance of Irish within the Gaeltacht, throughout the country and abroad

## 5.2 A Context for the Development of Bilingualism

Irish exists within the Gaeltacht in a bilingual context. English is one of the most powerful languages in the world. As a result of Ireland's membership of the European Union and the increase in world travel our understanding of language behaviour is changing, if somewhat slowly. Yet many people in Ireland still see the monolingual English speaker as the norm. This is not the case in the majority of other European countries. Many of our attitudes in Ireland towards languages, especially people's views regarding Irish, have been formed under the influence of English.

Even today, many Irish people feel that one language must be dropped in order to acquire another. The objective of the European Union in relation to language acquisition is that every citizen should be trilingual, i.e. able to speak fluently two languages in addition to their native language.

Since two official languages, each having constitutional status, have been spoken in this country for many years, Ireland might be expected to be to the fore in sociolinguistics, research, language maintenance and intergenerational language transmission, and particularly in relation to language planning. Indeed, Ireland might be expected to be an example to other countries developing models for language equality.

A deficit exists in the sociolinguistic dimension of Irish language studies in our third level and research institutes, and consequently there is insufficient expertise available in the relevant academic disciplines. There is an acute need to pursue academic fields of study which are useful and relevant in the context of language planning.

### **Recommendations:**

5. The establishment of a dedicated third level education unit for Irish language sociolinguistic studies and language planning (for Irish), incorporating teaching and research. This should have the appropriate resources and be funded by the Higher Education Authority.

## 5.3 The Irish Language in Everyday Life

Taking into account the historical erosion of the Gaeltacht and the further decline in our own lifetime, the Commission is of the view that it will not be possible to maintain the Gaeltacht as an area in which Irish remains a community language unless a fundamental change occurs in the way Irish is treated and in the status of Irish in the rest of the country. Despite the progress made by individuals and language organisations it is not evident that any Government has the strategy or understanding to advance efforts on behalf of the language. Although the Gaeltacht is the primary concern of this Commission, the issue of the Gaeltacht cannot be separated from the issue of the Irish language in the rest of the country. The Commission is not aware of any Government policy in which the Government's view of the Irish language in contemporary society is articulated, nor of any vision that demonstrates that the Government has discussed the role of the Irish language in the life of the country. Neither does there exist any action plan containing measurable targets. The Commission is not aware of any such Government policy or plan.

The Commission is of the view that the State is out of step with emerging world views on the importance of linguistic and cultural diversity. It is now recognised that every spoken language is a valuable resource which provides us with a particular world view — a view which is shaped by the past, which is precious and which stimulates creativity. The death of a language is recognised as an act of negligence which represents a world tragedy. If Irish is allowed to die, one of oldest languages in Europe and Ireland's native language will be lost. The revitalization of Irish and all that goes with it is the sole responsibility of this country.

If its just the intention to keep the language as a national monument, for use on ceremonial occasions and with the 'cúpla focal' being spoken from time to time, it is unlikely that Gaeltacht people will have much interest in retaining the language. It is as part of a national policy for the revival of Irish as a national language that the Commission feels that progress can best be achieved. The Commission also believes that a unique opportunity now exists to undertake this work in view of the Good Friday Agreement.

### Recommendations:

- 6. The formulation by Government of a State policy to revive Irish as a national language.
- 7. The development and implementation of a National Plan for Irish containing clearly defined targets and illustrating the role of the Gaeltacht in the national effort.

### 5.4 Sustainable Development

In recent years there has been an increased awareness of the importance of sustainable development and of coordinating all aspects of such development. It is clear to the Commission that a rethink is urgently needed on the approach to development of the Gaeltacht. Irish is the most valuable resource that the Gaeltacht possesses and any development that is not beneficial to the language cannot be described as sustainable. Mobility patterns, due to infrastructural deficiencies within the Gaeltacht, affect the viability of Irish.

Part of the State apparatus is focused on the maintenance and reinforcement of the language in the Gaeltacht. On the other hand, it is evident to the Commission that other parts of the public sector ignore this approach. Many people informed to the Commission that public sector services provided in English only cause enormous damage to Irish in the Gaeltacht. Many State services are not freely available in Irish to Gaeltacht people or are inefficient or delivered reluctantly. It is not evident to the Commission that any integrated approach exists between the institutions with responsibility for development of the Gaeltacht and the providers of State services.

As the language itself is the most valuable resource of the Gaeltacht, the loss of its status as the primary language of the community, would be a major loss to the Gaeltacht and to the country as a whole. The Commission is of the view that awareness of the importance of the language is now growing in Gaeltacht areas and that the people of the Gaeltacht will retain the language if they believe that the State's efforts are genuine.

Insincere efforts by the public sector result in incalculable damage and encourage an insincere response from the public. However, in the final analysis it is the people of the Gaeltacht themselves who must make a decision about their language. The language cannot survive unless it is spoken as the first language of certain communities and unless it is passed on from one generation to the next. While the State system has a responsibility to the Gaeltacht, the people of the Gaeltacht also carry a responsibility. This responsibility begins with the individual. The practice of speaking English in the privacy of the home while advocating the use of Irish in public does nothing to promote the viability of the language. It is vital that the people of the Gaeltacht participate fully in planning and development. Insincerity on the part of the State on the one hand and on the part of the people of the Gaeltacht on the other represent an enemy to the sustainability of the language.

### **Recommendations:**

- 8. Every aspect of the development and life of the Gaeltacht should be supportive of a language policy/plan, encompassing:
  - Physical planning to support language policy and language planning
  - A broad programme to promote entrepreneurship amongst Gaeltacht people
  - All developments being language-friendly and language-centred as a matter of policy
  - The provision of a Gaeltacht infrastructure, including a social and technological infrastructure.
- 9. The provision of effective State services through Irish to aid the sustainability of the language.

## 5.5 Delivery of State Services in the Gaeltacht

It is clear from evidence available to the Commission from public meetings, from published research and from the Commission's own research that the State has failed in its responsibility to deliver services effectively through Irish to the people of the Gaeltacht. This situation weakens the confidence and self-respect of Irish speakers. It also diminishes the status of Irish in the public mind despite the Constitutional status of Irish as the national and first official language.

The Commission wishes to draw attention to the Charter for Quality Customer Service prepared by a working group in the Department of the Taoiseach and accepted by the Government in July 2000. The Charter states clearly that the Public Service has a responsibility to provide a high quality service to their customers through English and through Irish, according to each customer's preference. Customers have to be made aware that this choice is available to them. It is the view of the Commission that this approach should be adopted as a minimum by every organisation and body dealing with the people of the Gaeltacht.

All public and state services should be available to the people of the Gaeltacht in their own language, so that they have the option of living their life without being pressurised to use another language. This is normal practice in all other European countries and in the rest of the world.

The Commission is of the view that basic human rights are being denied to the people of the Gaeltacht – particularly in relation to health, childcare, education and other public services.

### **Recommendations:**

- 10. That the Official Languages Equality Act affirm the rights of the individual to services through Irish and to this end that an office of Language Commissioner be provided for as a part of the Act.
- 11. That every public and private sector organisation having a function relating to the Gaeltacht should publish and implement a language courtesy policy and that they will not be entitled to any Gaeltacht/Irish language funding in the absence of such a policy.
- 12. That every office of the State located in the Gaeltacht function through Irish and that Irish be the normal working language of such offices.

## 5.6 Economic, Linguistic and Cultural Development

The Commission acknowledges the valuable work that has been done by the Department of Arts, Heritage, Gaeltacht and the Islands and Údarás na Gaeltachta in promoting economic development, infrastructural improvement and employment creation. It is a cause of concern to the Commission, however, that a negative correlation exists in some Gaeltacht areas between the economic development taking place and the maintenance of the language. The areas in which most development has taken place are often those in which the language is weakest. It is the view of the Commission that the Department and Údarás na Gaeltachta must deal with this concern as a matter of priority. It is essential that the language be linked to development and to a modern approach.

It is also apparent that the type of manufacturing industry we have been familiar with up to now is in decline and that an opportunity now exists to focus on knowledge-based industries. The Commission is of the view that sectors such as information technology, the language industry, the social economy, cultural tourism, and leisure and arts activities provide the main opportunities for employment growth in the Gaeltacht in the immediate short-term. It is important not to repeat the mistakes of the past when these new employment sectors are being developed.

### **Recommendations:**

- 13. The creation of a model for industrial and social development to take advantage of recent trends in industry, research and development and the development of a language industry, information technology, the social economy, leisure and recreation activities, the arts, education, and cultural and linguistic tourism as an employment base.
- 14. The development of an agreed sustainable development policy that will target development funding in the above sectors in those areas where the use of Irish is strongest.

15. The establishment of inter-district partnerships between the stronger Gaeltacht areas and areas in which the use of Irish is weaker.

## 5.7 Language Planning System and Implementation Structure

The major deficiency in language planning is one of the main shortcomings that has been exposed by the work of the Commission. When the position in Ireland is compared to the progress that has taken place in other countries it is clear that our understanding in this area is years behind. There has been negligence in the education system, with the absence of a university unit to develop language planning for Irish. As a result of these factors there is clearly a shortage of relevant expertise, a lack of understanding and a lack of seriousness. It is evident to the Commission that native Irish speakers are not at ease in their own country.

The Irish language is an important part of the heritage of Europe and the responsibility for its maintenance falls on this country and this State. We cannot expect to achieve significant results from an ad hoc approach or from reluctant half-hearted efforts on the part of the State.

A range of institutions and bodies have responsibility for the development of the Gaeltacht and the provision of services to the people of the Gaeltacht. It is evident to the Commission that there is no meaningful co-ordination between these organisations. The Commission recognises that the Department of Arts, Heritage, Gaeltacht and the Islands and Údarás na Gaeltachta have a central role. However, it is not evident that these organisations are engaging in progressive cooperation in relation to their role or objectives. In addition, there is no evidence of evaluation of their efforts to date or of the effectiveness of the schemes that are in place (other than the normal review of financial expenditure).

It is the view of the Commission that the status of Irish in the Gaeltacht should be the main criterion in evaluating the effectiveness of these organisations.

Preparation of a policy and development plan for the Gaeltacht should involve a broad range of participation. The Commission believes that a 5 year Plan should be prepared and implemented. This Plan should be comprehensive, sustainable and contain clear targets. It is essential that the ongoing work of LEADER, ADM partnerships and other national and European programmes should come within the ambit of the Gaeltacht Plan. It should be reviewed on a regular basis and its activities should be tied to specific timeframes. It is necessary to ensure that one institute have overall responsibility for implementation of the Plan. A specific evaluation and research process must also be established, with the outputs being independently evaluated in consultation with the people of the Gaeltacht as stakeholders in the process.

## Recommendations:

- 16. The development of a National Language Planning System based on best international practice and to
  - That arrangements are put in place to ensure that sufficient people with the relevant expertise are available to manage the system
  - The publication every 5 years of a Policy and Action Plan with defined objectives and the establishment of an independent evaluation and research system.
- 17. The establishment of an Implementation Structure (see Chapter 6) as follows:
  - i. the establishment of a Board of Independent
    Commissioners (with a minimum of five members)
    with legislative support and the authority to take
    whatever steps are necessary to ensure that the State
    Plan for the Irish Language and the Gaeltacht is
    implemented. This Board will report to Dáil
    Éireann on an annual basis on the implementation of
    the State's Irish language and Gaeltacht policies and
    plans, and will have responsibility for confirming or
    revoking the Gaeltacht status of districts based on
    data provided by the ESRI (see iv below) and from
    other relevant sources
  - ii. the designated Minister and Department of Arts, Heritage, Gaeltacht and the Islands will be responsible for Policy and Planning through a consultative process with stakeholders and taking into account the evaluation process and research provided by a dedicated unit of the ESRI. The Minister will publish a National Action Plan every 5 years
  - iii. the implementation of the Plan by a restructured Údarás na Gaeltachta (as detailed in Chapter 6) in the Gaeltacht and by Foras na Gaeilge in the rest of the country
  - iv. the establishment of a dedicated unit within the ESRI to evaluate, monitor and research the State's Irish language and Gaeltacht policies. The work of this unit to be made available to the Board of Commissioners and to the public
- 18. That the work of LEADER, ADM Partnerships and other National and European Programmes in the Gaeltacht should come under the Gaeltacht Plan.
- 19. The provision of appropriate funding to implement the Plan.

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"Gan oideachas trí Ghaeilge ar ag dara leibhéal a bheith ar fáil i gceantar Gaeltachta ní mhairfidh an Ghaeilge sa cheantar sin"

### 6. Implementation Structure

The Commission believes that an effective implementation structure is vital to ensure that a language maintenance and development policy is implemented under the clear leadership of the Government.

In relation to recommendation 17(i) in Chapter 5 concerning the establishment of a Board of Independent Commissioners (not exceeding five members) with legislative support and the authority to take any steps necessary to ensure that the State's Plan for Irish and the Gaeltacht is implemented, the Government will appoint members to this Board from a panel of nominated and suitably qualified individuals by way of an open public procedure. A precedent for this already exists in the form of An Bord Pleanála and the Environmental Protection Agency. This Board of Commissioners shall have responsibility for redefining the boundaries of the Gaeltacht and for giving effect to the criteria for reviewing these boundaries.

A Government Minister and Department shall be responsible for drawing up and implementing a national Irish Language and Gaeltacht policy. This will be brought about through a consultative process with stakeholders and will take account of the evaluation process and research provided by a dedicated unit of the ESRI. A National and Gaeltacht Action Plan will be published by the Minister every 5 years.

Údarás na Gaeltachta's current primary role of employment creation through industrial development must change and should focus instead on development and implementation of sustainable language centred initiatives. In this way it will champion the educational, linguistic, cultural, social and economic development of the Gaeltacht. Údarás na Gaeltachta will implement that part of the plan relating to the Gaeltacht. In this context and in the interest of the implementation of the Plan formulated by the lead organisation in conjunction with the stakeholders, it is essential that both the Board and the Executive of the Údarás be restructured so that the Plan can be implemented effectively.

It is recommended that the Executive of Údarás na Gaeltachta be restructured under the following three major Divisions:

- · Irish Language, Education and Culture
- · Economy and Infrastructure
- Community, Social and Health Affairs.

A separate Deputy Chief Executive will be responsible for each Division. The Commission notes that much of the expenditure of Údarás na Gaeltachta is focused on Economy and Infrastructure at present. Based on the new role being recommended for Údarás na Gaeltachta it will be necessary to commence planning as soon as possible to ensure that the entire budget of the organisation will be

divided equally between the three Divisions mentioned above within 5 years.

It will also be necessary for a restructured Údarás na Gaeltachta to establish three Strategic Issues Committees based on the above Divisions.

The Commission recognises the importance of partnership with community and voluntary groups in suitable language support initiatives. This is necessary as a response to the criticisms concerning peripherality and the lack of State services in Irish that were strongly voiced at public meetings held by the Commission in the Gaeltacht.

Each Strategic Issues Committee will consist of:

- six members of the Board of Údarás na Gaeltachta with at least one representative from each region, and the Chairperson to be selected from among these Board members
- four representatives with expertise in the particular brief of the Committee to be appointed by the Board from a panel nominated through an appropriate process from the Voluntary/State/Professional sectors.

In the interest of good administration it should be ensured that the restructured Údarás na Gaeltachta delegate authority to:

- the Chief Executive to sanction grants up to 50,000 in any one instance for projects involved in the implementation of the Plan
- each Strategic Issues Committee to sanction grants up to 500,000 in any one instance for projects involved in the implementation of the Plan.

Of course Údarás na Gaeltachta will be able to generate income from activities carried out on behalf of State agencies and other authorities. In such instances the Údarás will act on behalf of these agencies in the Gaeltacht.

In this context it will be important to review the staffing requirements of Údarás na Gaeltachta and recruitment will be required to extend the skills and experience base of the organisation. The Strategic Issues Committee will have an important role in implementing the Plan. They will also be responsible for monitoring the services provided by other public agencies, in particular, the validation of services through Irish and their effect on the sustainable development of the Gaeltacht. They will assist and advise in the preparation of Area Service Plans and in the preparation and implementation of objectives, strategies, standards and performance indicators.

The creation of the Strategic Issues Committees will not alter the power or the responsibilities of the Board of Udarás na Gaeltachta.



## 7. Main Recommendations of the Commission

- 1. The immediate enactment of an Official Languages Equality Bill which will define the language rights of citizens and ensure that all public services will be available through Irish as of right to the people of the Gaeltacht and to the Irish speaking community.
- 2. The availability of a comprehensive education system at all levels nursery, preschool, primary level, second level, third level, professional education and lifelong learning in which priority will be given to Irish as the first language within the Gaeltacht.
- 3. Secure the status of an official working language for Irish within the European Union.
- 4. The provision of a wide range of publicity and information to enhance the importance of Irish within the Gaeltacht, countrywide and abroad.
- 5. The establishment of a dedicated Third Level Education Unit for Irish Language sociolinguistic studies and language planning, including teaching and research, with appropriate resources and funded by the Higher Education Authority.
- 6. The formulation by the Government of a State policy to revive Irish as a national language.
- 7. The development and implementation of a National Plan for Irish containing clearly defined targets and illustrating the role of the Gaeltacht in the national effort.
- 8. Every aspect of the development and life of the Gaeltacht to be supportive of a language policy/plan, encompassing:
  - Physical planning to support language policy and language planning
  - A broad programme to promote entrepreneurship amongst Gaeltacht people
  - All developments to be language-friendly and language-centred as a matter of policy
  - The provision of a Gaeltacht infrastructure, including a social and technological infrastructure.
- 9. The provision of effective State services through Irish to aid the sustainability of the language.
- 10. The Official Languages Equality Act to affirm the rights of the individual to services through Irish and to this end that there be provision for an office of Language Commissioner as a part of the Act.

- 11. That every public and private sector organisation having a function relating to the Gaeltacht publish and implement a language courtesy policy and that there be no entitlement to any Gaeltacht/Irish language funding in the absence of such a policy.
- 12. That every office of the State located in the Gaeltacht function through the medium of Irish and that Irish be the normal working language of such offices.
- 13. The creation of a model for industrial and social development to take advantage of recent trends in industry, research and development so as to develop the language industry, information technology, the social economy, leisure and recreation activities, the arts, education, and cultural and linguistic tourism as an employment base.
- 14. The development of an agreed sustainable development policy that will target development funding in the sectors referred to above in the areas in which the use of Irish is strongest.
- 15. The establishment of inter-district partnerships between the stronger Gaeltacht areas and areas in which the use of Irish is weaker.
- 16. The development of a National Language Planning System based on best international practice and to ensure:
  - Arrangements are put in place to ensure that sufficient people with the relevant expertise are available to manage the system
  - The publication every five years of a Policy and Action Plan with defined objectives and the establishment of an independent evaluation and research system.

- i. the establishment of a Board of Independent
  Commissioners (with a minimum of five members)
  with legislative support and the authority to take
  such steps as are necessary to ensure that the State
  Plan for the Irish Language and the Gaeltacht is
  implemented. This Board will report to Dáil
  Éireann on an annual basis on the implementation of
  the State's Irish language and Gaeltacht policies and
  plans, and will have responsibility for confirming or
  revoking the Gaeltacht status of districts based on
  data provided by the ESRI (see iv below) and from
  other relevant sources
- ii. the designated Minister and the Department of Arts, Heritage, Gaeltacht and the Islands, will be responsible for Policy and Planning through a consultative process with stakeholders and taking into account the evaluation process and research provided by a dedicated unit of the ESRI. The Minister will publish a National Action Plan every five years

- iii. the implementation of the Plan by a restructured Údarás na Gaeltachta (as detailed in Chapter 6) in the Gaeltacht and by Foras na Gaeilge in the rest of the country
- iv. the establishment of a dedicated unit within the ESRI to evaluate, monitor and conduct research on the State's Irish language and Gaeltacht policies. The work of this unit to be made available to the Board of Commissioners and to the wider community.
- 18. The work of LEADER, ADM Partnerships and other National and European Programmes in the Gaeltacht to come under the Gaeltacht Plan.
- 19. The provision of appropriate funding to implement the Plan.

"Is é an teaghlach an t-aonad is tabhachtaí, ach tá tionchar nach beag ag an bpobal ar an teaghlach"

- Submission from the public

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# 8. Summary of Issues Raised at Public Meetings

- 1. State services are contributing very much to the spread of English in Gaeltacht areas. There is a great deal of hypocrisy and insincerity at State level in regard to the Irish language in the Gaeltacht. There is an urgent need for legislation but the Gaeltacht community is cynical regarding implementation of the Commission's recommendations and the planned Official Languages Equality Bill. The people feel that the State's efforts to provide Irish language based services in the Gaeltacht are not genuine.
- 2. The Gaeltacht has specific educational requirements butthere is no specific policy for the Gaeltacht. The standard of facilities or resources provided for education through the medium of Irish in the Gaeltacht are not comparable in standard to those provided for Englishmedium education. The curriculum has not been adapted for Gaeltacht children whose first language is Irish. There is a lack of emphasis on the dialects and on the wealth of the language. The community is not satisfied with the Irish language proficiency of some primary school teachers who graduate from Training Colleges. There is quite a number of second level teachers in the Gaeltacht teaching through English. There is an urgent need for a Irish-medium third level education system to assist in preserving the language in the Gaeltacht.
- 3. The Gaeltacht community strongly believes that Local Authorities have employed policies in the Gaeltacht regions which result in planning permission being refused to local people on their own land; as a consequence young people who were brought up in the Gaeltacht being forced to leave their own areas and move to larger towns. The people believe that the present planning system is detrimental to the preservation and strengthening of the Irish language in the Gaeltacht. At the same time there are too many people with no Irish coming to live in the Gaeltacht, and an excessive number of holiday homes being permitted.
- 4. The Irish Language is a valuable resource not just for the Gaeltacht but for the country as a whole. The State is not doing enough to arrest the ongoing demise of the language. The State is being relied upon to provide an Irish language policy acceptable to the community and to plan for the Gaeltacht, together with support services to counteract the strong forces undermining the language at present.
- 5. Young people need to be made conscious of the importance of the Irish language and this needs to be done in an innovative fashion. Young people in the Gaeltacht do not have sufficient opportunities to

- communicate through the medium of Irish.
  Entertainment, music, sport and pastime facilities through Irish need to be provided in local communities. Every effort must be made to make the language fashionable and attractive to the young people of the Gaeltacht.
- 6. Údarás na Gaeltachta is an effective organisation as regards the industrial development of the Gaeltacht. Údarás has succeeded in realising its targets for job creation but its industrial development strategies are not always focused on the needs of unemployed young people in the Gaeltacht or of young Gaeltacht people with third level qualifications. The community considers that Údarás is not adequately pursuing its other target the maintenance and promotion of Irish as the primary means of communication in the Gaeltacht. Many of the industrial activities of Údarás impact negatively on the usage of Irish in the Gaeltacht, in the opinion of a substantial section of the Gaeltacht community.
- 7. In general the Gaeltacht community is satisfied with Raidió na Gaeltachta, both with the quality of service and the Irish language ethos of the station. Young people in the main felt that there should be an additional service (RnaG2) available to meet their own particular needs, while not interfering with Raidió na Gaeltachta as it currently exists. The Gaeltacht community welcomed TG4 and it is generally agreed that the station has performed remarkably well with limited resources. The community did feel, however, that TG4 does not relate to the Gaeltacht to the extent that it should. It is evident that ordinary Irish speakers in the Gaeltacht, especially in those areas where the language is strongest, are unhappy with the poor standard of Irish on certain TG4 programmes
- 8. The low level of funding for Irish Language Playschools (Naíonraí) and the level of language and psychological counselling provided to them is a cause for public concern. It is important that there be a strategic language plan for the development of Gaeltacht children in Irish Language Nurseries (Naíolanna) and Irish Language Playschools (Naíonraí), and that appropriate funding be made available to implement this plan.
- It is vital that major investment is made in Gaeltacht infrastructure, both physical infrastructure and IT infrastructure.
- 10. Communities acknowledge that the future of the Irish language in the Gaeltacht rests with themselves. They express the need for urgent support to enable them to preserve the language in their communities. They value greatly the support and partnership of Irish language communities and national organisations concerned with the language.

### 9. Census of Population Data on the Irish Language

### 9.1 Background

Any analysis of Irish language ability or usage based on Census of Population returns has to take account of the following qualifications:

- Because the census form is completed by the householder, as distinct from being administered by a trained interviewer, the questions posed in the census must, of necessity, be relatively uncomplicated in their formulation.
- Responses to questions will be subjective in nature rather than being based on the type of objective tests which might be used in specialist language surveys.
- Changes in the formulation of questions can affect the comparability of data over time.

However, despite its shortcomings the census is a very valuable data source because of its comprehensive geographic coverage and the long time series it provides. In particular it enables data on ability to speak Irish and frequency of usage to be produced for small geographic entities such as Gaeltacht areas.

Comparisons between 1996 and previous censuses are particularly fraught because of the major change which occurred in the formulation of the Irish language question in 1996. Following an approach to the Central Statistics Office (CSO) by Roinn na Gaeltachta in 1991 it was decided to pilot a new version of the Irish language question. This was done as part of the 1993 Labour Force Survey. The findings of that pilot study led the CSO, in consultation with Roinn na Gaeltachta and the Department of Education, to recommend the following question for Government approval.

Can you speak Irish? Answer if you are 3 years or over.							
1	Yes						
2	No						
If "Yes", do yo	ou speak Irish?						
1	Daily						
2	Weekly						
3	Less often						
4	Never						

In previous censuses respondents were expected to write one of the following descriptions in response to the question on Ability to speak the Irish language: "Irish only", "Irish and English", "Read but cannot speak Irish", or to leave the question blank as appropriate. The version of the question used for the 1996 census (and retained unchanged for Census 2002) is superior to that used previously because of the additional information now sought on frequency of speaking the language. The provision of tick boxes rather than "write in" responses makes the question easier to answer and to process.

The remainder of this note looks at trends in ability to speak the Irish language for the 1961-1996 period, comparing Gaeltacht areas with the rest of the country where appropriate. It also examines, at a detailed geographic level, data on persons who speak Irish on a daily basis within the various Gaeltacht areas.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Féach Ó Gliasáin, Micheál, "The Language Question in the Census of Population", Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann, 1996, chun cur síos a fháil ar an gcaoi a raibh cúrsaí suas go dtí daonáireamh na bliana 1996, agus an daonáireamh sin san áireamh.

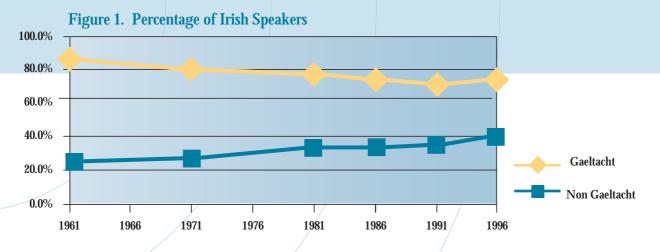
### 9.2 The period 1961-1996

The year 1961 is chosen as the starting point for the analysis given that the population for that year (2.8 million) represented a historical low point. The following table provides the demographic backdrop to the data on the Irish language.

Table 3 Population, 1961 to 1996							
Year	State	Gaeltacht Areas	Rural Areas				
		Thousands					
1961	2818	79	1519				
1971	2978	71	1423				
1981	3443	80	1529				
1986	3541	83	1544				
1991	3526	83	1515				
1996	3626	86	1518				

The population of the State increased by 28.7 per cent during the 35-year period since 1961. The population of rural areas reached a low point of 1.423 million in 1971 and having increased to 1.544 million in 1986 experienced a decline to just below its 1961 level by 1996. In contrast, Gaeltacht areas, though largely rural in character, showed a population growth of 8.5 per cent between 1961 and 1996.

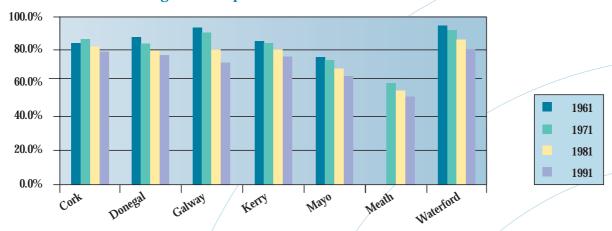
It is against this background that trends in ability to speak the Irish language have to be gauged. Expressing the number of Irish speakers as a percentage of persons aged 3 years of age and over provides a good indication of the trends which have taken place. Figure 1 following shows the relevant percentages for the State as a whole and for all Gaeltacht areas combined for the period 1961-1996.



The graph shows the steady decline (from 86.6% in 1961 to 71.0% in 1991) in the proportion of persons aged 3 years and over in Gaeltacht areas with an ability to speak Irish. On the contrary the trend for the population residing outside Gaeltacht areas is upwards, from 25.5% in 1961 to 31.6% in 1991. The trend between 1991 and 1996 is affected by the revised version of the Irish language question asked in the most recent census. There is effectively a discontinuity in the series between 1991 and 1996 so any comparisons between these two years should be qualified strongly. However, comparisons between 1996 and the forthcoming Census 2002 at macro and small area level are eagerly awaited.

Looking at each of the individual Gaeltacht areas in turn reveals a broadly similar picture, the only exception being the Cork Gaeltacht where there was a slight increase in the proportion of persons speaking Irish between 1961 and 1971. The county situation is illustrated in Figure 2.

Fíor 2. Percentage of Irish speakers in the Gaeltacht



## 9.3 How specific birth cohorts function

Table 4 sets out the number of Irish speakers in Gaeltacht areas classified by age group at ten year intervals commencing with the 1961 census.

Table	Table 4. Irish speakers in Gaeltacht areas by age group, 1961, '71, '81 and '91										
Age Group	3-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-34	35-44	45-54	55-64	65+	Total
1961	1944	6745	8255	6104	2866	5257	7198	8870	6948	10088	64275
1971	1490	5334	6347	5831	3215	4731	5056	6633	7422	9381	55440
1981	1566	5642	6485	5531	3960	7259	5717	5365	6284	10217	58026
1991	1117	5262	6708	5901	3236	6659	7431	5681	4928	9546	56469

By concentrating on ten year age groups and tracing them over the course of a number of decades it is possible to see how particular cohorts behave as regards ability to speak Irish. This is done in Table 5. The analysis has to be qualified as it takes no account of the following factors:

- 1. declines due to mortality;
- 2. the impact of migration (mainly outward either to locations elsewhere in Ireland or abroad); and
- 3. the extent to which a person may experience a change in status regarding ability to speak Irish from one census to the next.

The first of these two factors may be significant at particular age groups. However, the third is unlikely to impact in any major way on the analysis.

Tábla 5. Irish speakers in Gaeltacht areas by birth cohort							
Birth Cohort	1967-76	1957-66	1947-56	1937-46	1927-36	1917-26	1907-16
Census 1961			15000	8970	5257	7198	8870
Census 1971		11681	9046	4731	5056	6633	7422
Census 1981	12127	9491	7259	5717	5365	6284	
Census 1991	9137	6659	7431	5681	4928		

Commencing with the most recent birth cohort for which data is available from four successive censuses i.e. those born in the ten year period 1947-1956, the persons involved were aged 5 to 14 years at the time of the 1961 census. In the following ten year period to 1971 they went from being school children to young adults aged 15 to 24 years. While traditionally there is a fall off in ability to speak Irish in the years immediately following full-time education, it is unlikely that this would be a major issue in Gaeltacht areas. More likely is the effect emigration probably had on the 40 per cent decrease in the number of Irish speakers for the cohort in question. The decline continued up to 1981, albeit at a lower level, and by 1991 when the cohort in question was aged 35-44 there was a slight recovery. This may be due to the return migration of those who emigrated in a previous period.

Persons in the 1937-1946 birth cohort were aged 15 to 24 years at the time of the 1961 census. Ten years later their numbers were depleted significantly due, most likely, to emigration and to a lesser extent the transition from school to work. There was a recovery in 1981 followed by a levelling off in the period to 1991.

Earlier cohorts born before 1936 exhibited a fair degree of stability. The individuals involved were aged over 25 years at the time of the 1961 census and would not have been affected to any major degree by migration.

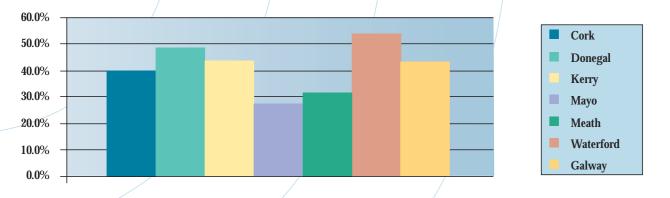
The data from the two most recent birth cohorts in the table also show the fall off in numbers according to persons involved moving from age 5 to 14 years to 15 to 24 years. However, the fall off is not as marked as for the 1947-1956 birth cohort and it is not clear whether a recovery in numbers will take place at a later stage.

The analysis clearly illustrates the impact which outward movement from Gaeltacht areas has on the younger age groups of Irish speakers. The final part of this note looks at the situation at small area level within Gaeltacht communities. The target variable is daily speakers of Irish in 1996 – the first census in which this information was sought. A distinction is drawn between those aged 5-19 years, which approximates the school-going population, and the remainder of the Gaeltacht population.

### 9.4 People who Speak Irish on a Daily Basis in Gaeltacht areas

Figure 3 provides a comparison at county level for 1996 of the proportion of persons aged 3 years and over in Gaeltacht areas who speak Irish on a daily basis. The figures range from a high of 53.5 per cent in the Waterford Gaeltacht to a low of 27.4 per cent in the Mayo Gaeltacht area.

Figure 3. Irish speakers in the Gaeltacht who speak Irish on a daily basis as a percentage of the population, 1996



However, the figures for all ages combined mask differentials between children of school going age (5-19 years) and the remainder of the population. The proportion of persons aged 5-19 years in Gaeltacht areas who are reported as speaking Irish on a daily basis was 58.4 per cent in 1996 compared with 36.5 per cent for the remaining age groups in the Gaeltacht (i.e. 3-4 years and 20 years and over). This latter age group provides the focus for the remainder of this note.

#### Small areas

The Gaeltacht comprises 154 electoral divisions (EDs) or parts of EDs spread throughout the following counties: Meath, Cork, Kerry, Galway (County and County Borough), Mayo Donegal and Waterford. The number of EDs varies from 3 in Waterford to 48 in Donegal. The average population for the EDs in question was 537 in 1996. However, the wide variation between EDs (standard deviation of 657) illustrates that the areas involved are quite heterogeneous from a population size perspective.

Excluding school children (i.e. persons aged 5-19 years), the average daily speaker rate for the 154 EDs (or parts of EDs) within the Gaeltacht was 30 per cent in 1996. Table 4 shows the distribution of these EDs by frequency category.

Tábla 6. Daily Irish speakers as a percentage of relevant population in Gaeltacht areas in 1996 (excluding persons aged 5-19 years)

Daily speakers (%)	Number of ED's	Population exceeding 19 Years	Percentage population share
75+	18	12613	21.2
50<75	18	6406	10.8
30<50	21	8480	14.3
15<30	36	11138	18.7
<15	61	20771	35.0
Total	154	59408	100.0

Only 18 of the 154 EDs recorded figures of 75 per cent or higher for the percentage of the population which speaks Irish on a daily basis. These are examined in greater detail in Table 7. A further 18 EDs recorded between 50 per cent and 75 per cent of daily speakers. These 36 EDs combined represented nearly a third of the population of Gaeltacht areas. At the other end of the scale 40 per cent of the EDs in the Gaeltacht, representing over a third of the total population, had daily rates of less than 15 per cent.

Table 7. Daily Irish speakers as a percentage of relevant population in Gaeltacht areas in 1996 – EDs with rates in excess of 75%

County	Electoral Division	Population	Daily speakers	Daily speakers as % of total
Co. Galway	An Turloch	429	394	91.8%
Co. Galway	Scainimh	433	389	89.8%
Co. Donegal	Mín an Chladaigh	979	869	88.8%
Co. Galway	Camus	270	237	87.8%
Co. Galway	An Crampán	1,495	1,302	87.1%
Co. Galway	Garmna	883	766	86.7%
Co. Kerry	Cill Chúáin	314	269	85.7%
Co. Donegal	Gort an Choirce	1,145	969	84.6%
Co. Donegal	Dún Lúiche	478	391	81.8%
Co. Galway	Cill Chuimín	859	702	81.7%
Co. Kerry	Dún Chaoin	113	92	81.4%
Co. Galway	Leitir Móir	572	465	81.3%
Co. Donegal	Machaire an Chlochair	1,986	1,609	81.0%
Co. Galway	Abhainn Ghabhla	240	193	80.4%
Co. Galway	An Cnoc Buidhe	614	488	79.5%
Co. Galway	An Ros	87	67	77.0%
Co. Galway	Sailchearnach	773	592	76.6%

The Galway Gaeltacht predominates, accounting for 12 of the top 18 EDs. Donegal (4 EDs) and Kerry (2 EDs) make up the remainder

### 9.5 Tentative conclusions

- (a) It is too soon to determine whether the turning point indicated between 1991 and 1996 for the percentage of Irish speakers in Gaeltacht areas is genuine or due to the different question formulation used in 1996. The results of the 2002 census (to be made available during the second half of 2003) should be able to throw more light on this.
- (b) Migration (both to elsewhere in the State and abroad) exerts a major influence on the number of Irish speakers in the Gaeltacht, as illustrated by the cohort analysis. This is particularly acute in the immediate post-school years. A recovery in numbers will be largely dependent on return migration of those who emigrated in previous periods.
- (c) The picture at small area level is very heterogeneous, characterised by a small number of areas with high proportions of daily speakers of Irish and a relatively large number of areas where the relevant proportions are low.

(This information was provided by the Central Statistics Office)

"Unfortunately pragmatism played no part in the fanatical attempts to bludgeon this population into Irish"

- Submission from the public

### 10. APPENDICES

### A. List of Public Meetings

Place	Date
1. Galway City	November 13 2000
2. An Cheathrú Rua, Co. Galway	November 15 2000
3. Tír an Fhia, Co. Galway	November 16 2000
4. Ros Muc, Co. Galway	November 17 2000
5. An Rinn, Co. Waterford	November 20 2000
6. Cork City	November 21 2000
7. Baile Mhúirne, Co. Cork	November 22 2000
8. Uíbh Ráthach, Co. Kerry	November 27 2000
9. Dún Chaoin, Co. Kerry	November 28 2000
10. An Daingean, Co. Kerry	November 29 2000
11. Ráth Cairn, Co. Meath	December 6 2000
12. Dublin	December 7 2000
13. Belfast	January 10 2001
14. Derry	January 11 2001
15. Gleann Cholmcille, Co. Donegal	January 15 2000
16. Baile na Finne, Co. Donegal	January 16 2001
17. Gaoth Dobhair, Co. Donegal	January 17 2001
18. Tuar Mhic Éadaigh, Co. Mayo	January 23 2001
19. Acaill, Co. Mayo	January 24 2001
20. Gaoth Saile, Co. Mayo	January 25 2001
21. Cárna, Co. Galway	January 30 2001
22. Na Forbacha, Co. Galway	January 31 2001
23. Indreabhán, Co. Galway	February 1 2001
24. Carn Mór, Co. Galway	February 6 2001
25. Inis Meáin, Co. Galway	February 10 2001
26. Múscraí, Co. Cork	February 12 200
27. Oileán Cléire, Co. Cork	February 13 2001

### B. Individuals/Organisations who undertook research for the Commission.

meas media Cuileán Carraroe Co. Galway

28. Inis Oirr, Co. Galway

Ionad Taighde sna hEolaíochtaí Sóisialta National University of Ireland Galway

Niall Ó Murchadha An Cnocán Glas Spiddal Galway Ciarán Ó Loingsigh
Tipperary Rural and Business Development Institute
Nenagh Road, Nenagh
Co. Tipperary

February 17 2001

C. List of Submissions

Where more than one submission was received from the same organisation, the number of submissions is given in brackets.

(1) Organisations/Institutes	County/Country
Aisling Ghéar	Co Antrim
An Ceathrú Póilí	Co Antrim
An Chultúrlann,	Co Antrim
An Club Eachtra	
An Droichead	
An Focal Ceart	Co Derry
An Gaeláras	Co Derry
An Gaeláras	Co Derry
An Roinn Oideachais & Eolaíochta (X 2)	Dublin
Aonad Tacaíochta do Mhic Léinn, An Roinn Oideachais agus Eolaíochta,	Co Offaly
Bláthanna	Co Derry
Bord na Leabhar Gaeilge	Dublin
Bunscoil an tSléibhe Dhuibh	Co Antrim
Bunscoil Phobal Feirste	Co Antrim
Cairde Bunscoil Phobal Feirste	Co Antrim
Cairde Choláiste Íde Teo	Co Kerry
Coiste Forbartha Bhealach an Aird Doinn,	Co Donegal
Coiste Pobail Gleann Domhain	Co Donegal
Coláiste an Phobail	Co Derry
Coláiste Chamuis	Co Galway
Coláiste na hOllscoile, Baile Átha Cliath, Roinn na Nua-Ghaeilge,	Dublin
Comhairle an Iúir & Mhúrn	Co Down
Comhairle na Gaelscolaíochta	Co Antrim
Comhairle Pharóiste Chill Chartha (X 2)	Co Donegal
Comhar na Múinteoirí Gaeilge	Dublin
Comharchumann Forbartha Chorca Dhuibhne Teo,	Co Kerry
Comharchumann Ráth Cairn	Co Meath
Comhchoiste Ghaeltachtaí Chiarraí Theas (X 2)	Co Kerry
Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge	Dublin
Comhlachas na gComharchumann Gaeltachta ,	Co Galway
CONCOS	Co Kerry
Conradh na Gaeilge	Dublin
Craobh na gCéithre Chúirt, Conradh na Gaeilge,	Dublin
Cultúrlann McAdam Ó Fiaich	Co Antrim
Cumann Forbartha Chois Fharraige & Coiste Ghlór na nGall,	Co Galway
Cumann Forbartha Chois Fharraige,	Co Galway
Cumann Gaelach Chnoc na Rós	Co Derry

Cumann Leabharlann na hÉireann	Dublin
Cumann Lúthchleas Gael	
Cumann Múinteoirí Éireann (INTO)	Dublin
Cumann na Fuinseoige	
Cumann Peile Naomh Abán	Co Cork
Doire le Dúchas	Co Derry
Dúch Dúchais	
Eagraíocht na Scoileanna Gaeltachta,	Co Galway
Fóram na Gaeltachta,	Dublin
Foras na Gaeilge	Dublin
Forbairt Feirste	Co Antrim
Gaelarachas um Shainriachtanais Oideachais	
Gael-Linn /	Dublin
Gaeloiliúint	
Gaelscoil Éadain Mhóir	Co Derry
Gairm	Co Derry
Glór na nGael hInis Oírr,	Co Galway
Grúpa Straitéise Um Chúram Leanaí na Gaeltachta	Co Galway
Ionad Bhruach na Mara	Co Galway
Ionad Oideachais Chorca Dhuibhne	Co Kerry
Ionad Pobail an Chaisil	Co Galway
Iontaobhas na Gaelscolaíochta	Co Antrim
Iontaobhas Rúraí	Co Down
Iris Óige na Gaeltachta	Co Kerry
Leabharlann Dhún na nGall	Co Donegal
Meanscoil na mBráithre Críostaí	Co Kerry
Muintearas na nOileán	Co Galway
Múinteoirí (Cruinniú Inseirbhíse)	Co Galway
Oideas Gael	Co Donegal
Oidhreacht Chorca Dhuibhne	Co Kerry
Ollscoil na hÉireann Gaillimh	Co Galway
Ollscoil na hÉireann, Má Nuad	Co Kildare
Parlaimint na mBan	Dublin
Pléaráca Teo	Co Galway
Pobal Dhoire	Co Gaiway  Co Derry
Scoil Chuimsitheach Chiaráin	Co Galway
Scoil na Fuiseoige	Co Galway  Co Antrim
Síol Scoil na Fuiseoige	Co Antrim  Co Antrim
2101	CO AHUTHII

(2) Individuals	County/Country	
Breathnach, Breandán	Co Westmeath	
Breathnach, Orlaith	Co Galway	
Connors, Marie		
Canavan, Séamus	Co Derry	
de Napier, Séamus	Co Down	
Debhaldraithe, Colm		
Desmond, Jim	Co Cork	
Firtéar, Pádraig	Co Kerry	
Fitzgerald, Tom		
Harley, Louisa	Co Donegal	
Henry, Brian		
James, Clive	Wales	
Kay, Sarah	Co Galway	
Keogh, Basil	Co Galway	
Lawlor, Anne	Co Kerry	
Lucien, Dr Dierick		
Mac Aodha Bhuí, Finntán	Co Donegal	
Mac Cóil, Liam	Co Meath	
Mac Con Iomaire, Liam	Dublin	
Mac Fhearghusa, Pádraig	Co Kerry	
Mac Gearaidh, Gearóid	Co Mayo	
Mac Giolla Chomhail S.P., Éamonn	Co Antrim	
Mac Muiris, Peadar		
Mac Murchaidh, Ciarán	Co Down	
Mac Thomáis, Uinseann (X 8)	Co Galway	
Magee, D.F.	Co Louth	
Marion Gunn	Dublin	
McCartney, R.A	Great Britain	
McGinley, Dr Joan	Co Donegal	
McLoughlin, Henry	Co Mayo	
Muller, Janet		
Ní Ghabhann, Siobhán		
Nic Dhonncha, Cáit	Co Galway	
Nic Sheain, Colma		
Ó Baoighill, Pádraig (X 2 )	Co Donegal	
Ó Baoill, An tAthair Pádraig	Co Donegal	
Ó Baoill, Seán	Co Donegal	
O'Sullivan, Barry	Co Galway	
Ó Brádaigh, Mait		

O Caoláin, Chris Co Donegal O Ceóinin, Caitriona Co Calway O Coisdealbha, Céil Uilic Dublin O Conaile, Tomas (Tom Connolly) Co Galway O Cutineagáin, Padraig Co Cavan O Curraoin, Micheál Dublin O Couraoin, Micheál Dublin O Domhnaill, Tomás Co Calway O Domhnaill, Brian (X 3) O Donhnaill, Brian (X 3) O Drisceoil, Sean F Co Galway O Flanagáin, Eamon O Bublin O Gadhra, Nollaig Co Galway O hUaliachain, Mick & Paula Co Waterford O hUiginn, Seán, Ambasadóir na hÉireann O Mathúna, Pádraig Co Waterford O Murcada, Briain O Murcada, Briain O Raghallaigh, Micheál O Runaidh, Roibeard Co Co Galway O Tuairig, Pádraic Co Galway O Tuairig, Pádraic Co Galway Co Galway O Tuairig, Pádraic Co Galway Co Galway O Tuairig, Pádraic Co Co Galway Co Galway O Tuairig, Pádraic Co Co Galway Co Galway Co Co Donegal Co Falkantininin Co Co Donegal Co Falkantinin Co Co Donegal	Ó Canainn, Aodh	Co Dublin
Ö Coisdealbha, Côil Uilie       Dublin         Ö Conaile, Tomas (Tom Connolly)       Co Galway         Ö Cuinneagáin, Pádraig       Co Cavan         Ö Curvaoin, Micheál       Dublin         Ö Curraoin, Micheál       Dublin         Ö Domhnaill, Tomás       Co Galway         Ö Domhnaill, Brian (X 3)       Co Donegal         Ö Drisceoil, Sean F       Co Galway         Ö Flanagáin, Eamon       Dublin         Ö Hallachain, Mick & Paula       Co Waterford         Ö hUallachain, Mick & Paula       Co Waterford         Ö Mathúna, Pádraig       Co Kerry         Ö Murrada, Briain       United States         Ö Murrada, Briain       Co Waterford         Ö Murrada, Briain       Dublin         Ö Raghallaigh, Micheál       Dublin         Ö Raghallaigh, Micheál       Dublin         Ö Ramaidh, Roibeard       Co Meath         Ö Conaire, Beatrtle       Co Galway         Ö Tuairisg, Pádraic       Co Galway         Pádraig Ó Baoighill       Simon Thomas MP       Great Britain         Sóna, Gerry       Co Donegal         Trusselle, Shelagh       Co Galway         Watson, An tOllamh Seosamh       Dublin	Ó Caoláin, Chris	Co Donegal
Ó Conaile, Tomas (Tom Connolly)       Co Galway         Ó Cuín, Brid agus Brian       Co Galway         Ó Curraoin, Micheál       Dublin         Ó Curraoin, Sean       Dublin         Ó Domhnaill, Tomás       Co Galway         Ó Domhnaill, Brian (X 3)       Co Donegal         Ó Drisceoil, Sean F       Co Galway         Ó Flanagáin, Éamon       Dublin         Ó Gadhra, Nollaig       Co Galway         Ó hUallachain, Mick & Paula       Co Waterford         Ó hUiginn, Seán, Ambasadóir na hÉireann       United States         Ó Mathúna, Pádraig       Co Kerry         Ó Murcada, Briain       Dublin         Ó Murcada, Briain       Dublin         Ó Ruanaidh, Roibeard       Co Meath         Ó Conaire, Beairtle       Co Galway         Ó Tuairisg, Pádraic       Co Galway         Pádraig Ó Baoighill       Great Britain         Sóna, Gerry       Co Donegal         Trusselle, Shelagh       Co Galway         Ua Bhuirrin, Ruaidhriú       Co Donegal         Ui Fhlatharta, Máire Bn       Co Galway         Watson, An tOllamh Seosamh       Dublin	Ó Ceóinín, Caitríona	Co Galway
Ó Cuinneagáin, Pádraig       Co Cavan         Ó Cuiv, Brid agus Brian       Co Galway         Ó Curraoin, Micheál       Dublin         Ó Curraoin, Sean       Dublin         Ó Domhnaill, Tomás       Co Galway         Ó Domhnaill, Brian (X 3)       Co Donegal         Ó Drisceoil, Sean F       Co Gálway         Ó Flanagáin, Éamon       Dublin         Ó Gadhra, Nollaig       Co Galway         Ó hUallachain, Mick & Paula       Co Waterford         Ó hUiginn, Seán, Ambasadóir na hÉireann       United States         Ó Mathúna, Pádraig       Co Kerry         Ó Mureada, Briain       Dublin         Ó Murcada, Briain       Dublin         Ó Raghallaigh, Micheál       Dublin         Ó Ruanaidh, Roibeard       Co Meath         Ó Conaire, Beairtle       Co Galway         Ó Tuairisg, Pádraic       Co Galway         Pádraig Ó Baoighill       Great Britain         Sóna, Gerry       Co Donegal         Trusselle, Shelagh       Co Galway         Ua Bhuirrin, Ruaidhriú       Co Donegal         Uí Fhlatharta, Máire Bn       Co Galway	Ó Coisdealbha, Cóil Uilic	Dublin
Ó Cuiv, Brid agus Brian       Co Galway         Ó Curraoin, Micheál       Dublin         Ó Curraoin, Sean       Dublin         Ó Domhnaill, Tomás       Co Galway         Ó Domhnaill, Brian (X 3)       Co Donegal         Ó Drisceoil, Sean F       Co Galway         Ó Flanagáin, Éamon       Dublin         Ó Gadhra, Nollaig       Co Galway         Ó hUallachain, Mick & Paula       Co Waterford         Ó hUiginn, Seán, Ambasadóir na hÉireann       United States         Ó Multina, Pádraig       Co Kerry         Ó Mhuireaghasa, Deaglan & Brid       Co Waterford         Ó Murcada, Briain       Dublin         Ó Raghallaigh, Micheál       Dublin         Ó Ruanaidh, Roibeard       Co Meath         Ó Conaire, Beairtle       Co Galway         Ó Tuairisg, Pádraic       Co Galway         Pádraig Ó Baoighill       Simon Thomas MP         Sóna, Gerry       Co Donegal         Trusselle, Shelagh       Co Galway         Ua Bhuirrin, Ruaidhriú       Co Galway         Watson, An tOllamh Seosamh       Dublin	Ó Conaile, Tomas (Tom Connolly)	Co Galway
Ö Curraoin, Micheál       Dublin         Ö Curraoin, Sean       Dublin         Ö Domhnaill, Tomás       Co Galway         Ö Domhnaill, Brian (X 3)       Co Donegal         Ö Drisceoil, Sean F       Co Galway         Ö Flanagáin, Éamon       Dublin         Ö Gadhra, Nollaig       Co Galway         Ö hUallachain, Mick & Paula       Co Waterford         Ö hUiginn, Seán, Ambasadóir na hÉireann       United States         Ö Mathúna, Pádraig       Co Kerry         Ö Mhuireaghasa, Deaglan & Brid       Co Waterford         Ö Murcada, Briain       Dublin         Ö Raghallaigh, Micheál       Dublin         Ö Ruanaidh, Roibeard       Co Meath         Ö Conaire, Beairtle       Co Galway         Ö Tuairisg, Pádraic       Co Galway         Pádraig Ó Baoighill       Simon Thomas MP         Sóna, Gerry       Co Donegal         Trusselle, Shelagh       Co Galway         Ua Bhuirrin, Ruaidhriú       Co Galway         Watson, An IOllamh Seosamh       Dublin	Ó Cuinneagáin, Pádraig	Co Cavan
Ó Curraoin, Sean       Dublin         Ó Domhnaill, Tomás       Co Galway         Ó Domhnaill, Brian (X 3)       Co Donegal         Ó Drisceoil, Sean F       Co Galway         Ó Flanagáin, Éamon       Dublin         Ó Gadhra, Nollaig       Co Galway         Ó hUallachain, Mick & Paula       Co Waterford         Ó hUiginn, Seán, Ambasadóir na hÉireann       United States         Ó Mathúna, Pádraig       Co Kerry         Ó Mureada, Briain       Dublin         Ó Raghallaigh, Micheál       Dublin         Ó Raghallaigh, Micheál       Dublin         Ó Ruanaidh, Roibeard       Co Meath         Ó Conaire, Beairtle       Co Galway         Ó Tuairisg, Pádraic       Co Galway         Pádraig Ó Baoighill       Simon Thomas MP         Sóna, Gerry       Co Donegal         Trusselle, Shelagh       Co Galway         Ua Bhuirrín, Ruaidhríú       Co Donegal         Uí Fhlatharta, Máire Bn       Co Galway         Watson, An tOllamh Seosamh       Dublin	Ó Cuív, Bríd agus Brian	Co Galway
Ô Domhnaill, Tomás       Co Galway         Ô Domhnaill, Brian (X 3)       Co Donegal         Ô Drisceoil, Sean F       Co Galway         Ô Flanagáin, Éamon       Dublin         Ô Gadhra, Nollaig       Co Galway         Ô hUallachain, Mick & Paula       Co Waterford         Ô hUiginn, Seán, Ambasadóir na hÉireann       United States         Ô Mathúna, Pádraig       Co Kerry         Ô Murcada, Briain       Dublin         Ô Raghallaigh, Micheál       Dublin         Ô Ruanaidh, Roibeard       Co Meath         Ô Conaire, Beairtle       Co Galway         Ô Tuairisg, Pádraic       Co Galway         Pádraig Ó Baoighill       Great Britain         Sóna, Gerry       Co Donegal         Trusselle, Shelagh       Co Galway         Ua Bhuirrín, Ruaidhríú       Co Donegal         Ui Fhlatharta, Máire Bn       Co Galway         Watson, An tOllamh Seosamh       Dublin	Ó Curraoin, Micheál	Dublin
Ó Domhnaill, Brian (X 3)       Co Donegal         Ó Drisceoil, Sean F       Co Galway         Ó Flanagáin, Éamon       Dublin         Ó Gadhra, Nollaig       Co Galway         Ó hUallachain, Mick & Paula       Co Waterford         Ó hUiginn, Seán, Ambasadóir na hÉireann       United States         Ó Mathúna, Pádraig       Co Kerry         Ó Mhuireaghasa, Deaglan & Brid       Co Waterford         Ó Murcada, Briain       Dublin         Ó Raghallaigh, Micheál       Dublin         Ó Ruanaidh, Roibeard       Co Meath         Ó Conaire, Beairtle       Co Galway         Ó Tuairisg, Pádraic       Co Galway         Pádraig Ó Baoighill       Simon Thomas MP         Sóna, Gerry       Co Donegal         Trusselle, Shelagh       Co Galway         Ua Bhuirrín, Ruaidhríú       Co Donegal         Ui Fhlatharta, Máire Bn       Co Galway         Watson, An tOllamh Seosamh       Dublin	Ó Curraoin, Sean	Dublin
Ö Drisceoil, Sean F Co Galway Ö Flanagáin, Éamon Dublin Ö Gadhra, Nollaig Co Galway Ö hUallachain, Mick & Paula Co Waterford Ö hUiginn, Seán, Ambasadóir na hÉireann United States Ö Mathúna, Pádraig Co Kerry Ö Mhuireaghasa, Deaglan & Bríd Co Waterford Ö Murcada, Briain Dublin Ö Raghallaigh, Micheál Dublin Ö Raunaidh, Roibeard Co Meath Ö Conaire, Beairtle Co Galway Ö Tuairisg, Pádraic Co Galway  Ö Tuairisg, Pádraic Co Galway  Trusselle, Shelagh Co Galway  Trusselle, Shelagh Co Galway  Ua Bhuirrín, Ruaidhríú Co Galway  Watson, Ant Ollamh Seosamh Dublin	Ó Domhnaill, Tomás	Co Galway
Ó Flanagáin, Éamon       Dublin         Ó Gadhra, Nollaig       Co Galway         Ó hUallachain, Mick & Paula       Co Waterford         Ó hUiginn, Seán, Ambasadóir na hÉireann       United States         Ó Mathúna, Pádraig       Co Kerry         Ó Murcada, Briain       Dublin         Ó Raghallaigh, Micheál       Dublin         Ó Ruanaidh, Roibeard       Co Meath         Ó Conaire, Beairtle       Co Galway         Ó Tuairisg, Pádraic       Co Galway         Pádraig Ó Baoighill       Great Britain         Sóna, Gerry       Co Donegal         Trusselle, Shelagh       Co Galway         Ua Bhuirrín, Ruaidhríú       Co Donegal         Uí Fhlatharta, Máire Bn       Co Galway         Watson, An tOllamh Seosamh       Dublin	Ó Domhnaill, Brian (X 3)	Co Donegal
Ö Gadhra, Nollaig       Co Galway         Ó hUallachain, Mick & Paula       Co Waterford         Ő hUiginn, Seán, Ambasadóir na hÉireann       United States         Ó Mathúna, Pádraig       Co Kerry         Ó Murcada, Briain       Dublin         Ó Raghallaigh, Micheál       Dublin         Ó Ruanaidh, Roibeard       Co Meath         Ó Conaire, Beairtle       Co Galway         Ó Tuairisg, Pádraic       Co Galway         Pádraig Ó Baoighill       Great Britain         Sóna, Gerry       Co Donegal         Trusselle, Shelagh       Co Galway         Ua Bhuirrín, Ruaidhríú       Co Donegal         Uí Fhlatharta, Máire Bn       Co Galway         Watson, An tOllamh Seosamh       Dublin	Ó Drisceoil, Sean F	Co Galway
Ó hUallachain, Mick & Paula       Co Waterford         Ó hUiginn, Seán, Ambasadóir na hÉireann       United States         Ó Mathúna, Pádraig       Co Kerry         Ó Mhuireaghasa, Deaglan & Bríd       Co Waterford         Ó Murcada, Briain       Dublin         Ó Raghallaigh, Micheál       Dublin         Ó Ruanaidh, Roibeard       Co Meath         Ó Conaire, Beairtle       Co Galway         Ó Tuairisg, Pádraic       Co Galway         Pádraig Ó Baoighill       Simon Thomas MP         Sóna, Gerry       Co Donegal         Trusselle, Shelagh       Co Galway         Ua Bhuirrín, Ruaidhríú       Co Donegal         Uí Fhlatharta, Máire Bn       Co Galway         Watson, An tOllamh Seosamh       Dublin	Ó Flanagáin, Éamon	Dublin
Ó hUiginn, Seán, Ambasadóir na hÉireann       United States         Ó Mathúna, Pádraig       Co Kerry         Ó Mhuireaghasa, Deaglan & Bríd       Co Waterford         Ó Murcada, Briain       Dublin         Ó Raghallaigh, Micheál       Dublin         Ó Ruanaidh, Roibeard       Co Meath         Ó Conaire, Beairtle       Co Galway         Ó Tuairisg, Pádraic       Co Galway         Pádraig Ó Baoighill       Simon Thomas MP         Sóna, Gerry       Co Donegal         Trusselle, Shelagh       Co Galway         Ua Bhuirrín, Ruaidhríú       Co Donegal         Uí Fhlatharta, Máire Bn       Co Galway         Watson, An tOllamh Seosamh       Dublin	Ó Gadhra, Nollaig	Co Galway
Ó Mathúna, PádraigCo KerryÓ Mhuireaghasa, Deaglan & BrídCo WaterfordÓ Murcada, BriainDublinÓ Raghallaigh, MicheálDublinÓ Ruanaidh, RoibeardCo MeathÓ Conaire, BeairtleCo GalwayÓ Tuairisg, PádraicCo GalwayPádraig Ó BaoighillGreat BritainSóna, GerryCo DonegalTrusselle, ShelaghCo GalwayUa Bhuirrín, RuaidhríúCo DonegalUí Fhlatharta, Máire BnCo GalwayWatson, An tOllamh SeosamhDublin	Ó hUallachain, Mick & Paula	Co Waterford
Ó Mhuireaghasa, Deaglan & Bríd  Co Waterford  Ó Murcada, Briain  Dublin  Ó Raghallaigh, Micheál  Dublin  Ó Ruanaidh, Roibeard  Co Meath  Ó Conaire, Beairtle  Co Galway  Ó Tuairisg, Pádraic  Co Galway  Pádraig Ó Baoighill  Simon Thomas MP  Great Britain  Sóna, Gerry  Co Donegal  Trusselle, Shelagh  Co Galway  Ua Bhuirrín, Ruaidhríú  Co Galway  Watson, An tOllamh Seosamh  Dublin	Ó hUiginn, Seán, Ambasadóir na hÉireann	United States
Ó Murcada, BriainDublinÓ Raghallaigh, MicheálDublinÓ Ruanaidh, RoibeardCo MeathÓ Conaire, BeairtleCo GalwayÓ Tuairisg, PádraicCo GalwayPádraig Ó BaoighillGreat BritainSimon Thomas MPGreat BritainSóna, GerryCo DonegalTrusselle, ShelaghCo GalwayUa Bhuirrín, RuaidhríúCo DonegalUí Fhlatharta, Máire BnCo GalwayWatson, An tOllamh SeosamhDublin	Ó Mathúna, Pádraig	Co Kerry
Ó Raghallaigh, MicheálDublinÓ Ruanaidh, RoibeardCo MeathÓ Conaire, BeairtleCo GalwayÓ Tuairisg, PádraicCo GalwayPádraig Ó BaoighillGreat BritainSimon Thomas MPGreat BritainSóna, GerryCo DonegalTrusselle, ShelaghCo GalwayUa Bhuirrín, RuaidhríúCo DonegalUí Fhlatharta, Máire BnCo GalwayWatson, An tOllamh SeosamhDublin	Ó Mhuireaghasa, Deaglan & Bríd	Co Waterford
Ó Ruanaidh, RoibeardCo MeathÓ Conaire, BeairtleCo GalwayÓ Tuairisg, PádraicCo GalwayPádraig Ó BaoighillGreat BritainSóna, GerryCo DonegalTrusselle, ShelaghCo GalwayUa Bhuirrín, RuaidhríúCo DonegalUí Fhlatharta, Máire BnCo GalwayWatson, An tOllamh SeosamhDublin	Ó Murcada, Briain	Dublin
Ó Conaire, Beairtle  Ó Tuairisg, Pádraic  Co Galway  Pádraig Ó Baoighill  Simon Thomas MP  Great Britain  Sóna, Gerry  Co Donegal  Trusselle, Shelagh  Co Galway  Ua Bhuirrín, Ruaidhríú  Co Donegal  Uí Fhlatharta, Máire Bn  Co Galway  Watson, An tOllamh Seosamh  Dublin	Ó Raghallaigh, Micheál	Dublin
Ó Tuairisg, Pádraic  Pádraig Ó Baoighill  Simon Thomas MP  Great Britain  Sóna, Gerry  Co Donegal  Trusselle, Shelagh  Co Galway  Ua Bhuirrín, Ruaidhríú  Co Donegal  Uí Fhlatharta, Máire Bn  Co Galway  Watson, An tOllamh Seosamh  Dublin	Ó Ruanaidh, Roibeard	Co Meath
Pádraig Ó Baoighill Simon Thomas MP Great Britain Sóna, Gerry Co Donegal Trusselle, Shelagh Co Galway Ua Bhuirrín, Ruaidhríú Co Donegal Uí Fhlatharta, Máire Bn Co Galway Watson, An tOllamh Seosamh Dublin	Ó Conaire, Beairtle	Co Galway
Simon Thomas MP  Sóna, Gerry  Co Donegal  Trusselle, Shelagh  Co Galway  Ua Bhuirrín, Ruaidhríú  Co Donegal  Uí Fhlatharta, Máire Bn  Co Galway  Watson, An tOllamh Seosamh  Dublin	Ó Tuairisg, Pádraic	Co Galway
Sóna, Gerry Co Donegal Trusselle, Shelagh Co Galway Ua Bhuirrín, Ruaidhríú Co Donegal Uí Fhlatharta, Máire Bn Co Galway Watson, An tOllamh Seosamh Dublin	Pádraig Ó Baoighill	
Trusselle, Shelagh  Ua Bhuirrín, Ruaidhríú  Co Donegal  Uí Fhlatharta, Máire Bn  Co Galway  Watson, An tOllamh Seosamh  Dublin	Simon Thomas MP	Great Britain
Ua Bhuirrín, RuaidhríúCo DonegalUí Fhlatharta, Máire BnCo GalwayWatson, An tOllamh SeosamhDublin	Sóna, Gerry	Co Donegal
Uí Fhlatharta, Máire Bn Co Galway Watson, An tOllamh Seosamh Dublin	Trusselle, Shelagh	Co Galway
Watson, An tOllamh Seosamh Dublin	Ua Bhuirrín, Ruaidhríú	Co Donegal
	Uí Fhlatharta, Máire Bn	Co Galway
Wilson, Des Co Donegal	Watson, An tOllamh Seosamh	Dublin
	Wilson, Des	Co Donegal