COMPREHENSIVE LINGUISTIC STUDY
OF THE USE OF IRISH IN THE GAELTACHT:
PRINCIPAL FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

2007

A RESEARCH REPORT
prepared for
THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY, RURAL AND
GAELTACHT AFFAIRS
by

ACADAMH NA HOLLSCOLAÍOCHTA GAEILGE
NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND, GALWAY

in collaboration with

NATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR REGIONAL AND
SPATIAL ANALYSIS
NATIONAL UNIVERSITY OF IRELAND, MAYNOOTH

Conchúr Ó Giollagáin   Seosamh Mac Donnacha
Fiona Ní Chualáin
Aoife Ní Shéaghdha
Mary O'Brien

COMPREHENSIVE LINGUISTIC STUDY OF THE USE OF IRISH
IN THE GAELTACHT

prepared for the

DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY, RURAL AND GAELTACHT
AFFAIRS

TABLE OF CONTENTS   **Page**

_____

*   Appendices 1 & 2 and Map Series 1 & 2 are included in the final section of the Irish summary of this report.

INTRODUCTION

This report presents the findings of the research project the *Comprehensive Linguistic Study on the Use of Irish in the Gaeltacht*, and consists of two parts: an executive summary of the report, detailing the principal findings, conclusions and proposals, published here in print format, and the complete report available on the accompanying CD. The English version of the executive summary has been adapted from the concluding section of the complete report, which was originally prepared in Irish.

This report was prepared for the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs in fulfilment of the research contract commissioned by the Department with Acadamh na hOllscolaíochta Gaeilge, National University of Ireland, Galway, in conjunction with the National Institute for Regional and Spatial Analysis, National University of Ireland, Maynooth. The primary aim of the research project (conducted between April 2004 and October 2006) was to provide up-to-date data and cogent analysis with regard to the use of the Irish language in the contemporary Gaeltacht. The *Gaeltacht Commission Report 2002* highlighted the need to make linguistic data available to the State as part of the review process of the Gaeltacht status afforded to various communities in seven counties.

METHODOLOGY

Each chapter contains a detailed description of the methodology employed in the various study projects where data was collected for analysis in support of the report's research aims. A general overview, however, is set out below of the main data sources utilised during the course of the research. The findings and research conclusions presented in this report rely mainly on data derived from the following three statistical resources:

- Irish national Census 1911–2002[1]
- Scéim Labhairt na Gaeilge (SLG), Irish-language use support scheme administered by the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs
- an original quantitative survey on the language attitudes, ability and behaviour of young people in the Gaeltacht developed and carried out as a part of this study

Census data from various periods were examined to illustrate the historical development of the Gaeltacht since the foundation of the State. Particular attention was paid to data from the most recent Census in order to derive information on current patterns of Irish language use in the Gaeltacht. Data from Scéim Labhairt na Gaeilge from 1993 to the present was also considered, although particular attention was paid to the data relating to the most recent period for which data is available, 2003/4 at the time of the research. Original research was also undertaken for the 'Survey of Young People', which was based on a detailed questionnaire completed by 965 secondary school students.

In addition to the statistical studies mentioned above, the following were also undertaken:

---

1   As this research was being completed only the headline statistics from Census 2006 had been published.

- qualitative research among Gaeltacht parents
- research on planning applications in Gaeltacht areas over the past 5 years
- research on the language behaviour of Gaeltacht businesses
- a series of focus groups on particular themes in core Gaeltacht areas
- a series of public meetings in areas where the data analysis suggested that Irish language use was under pressure
- archive research to investigate the motivation behind, and the debate surrounding, the founding of the Department of the Gaeltacht in 1956

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

---

2   See Fotheringham, A.S., C. Brunsdon and M.E. Charlton (2000). *Quantitative Geography*. London: Sage.

Above all, however, we would like to express our appreciation to the people who took part in the various aspects of the research: the young people who took part in the survey; the parents who spoke to us about their experience of raising children in the Gaeltacht; and all those who took part in public and focus meetings we arranged in conjunction with this research project. We are indebted to them all for generously sharing their time and their perspectives with us.

The research team thanks their colleagues in Acadamh na hOllscolaíochta Gaeilge, National University of Ireland, Galway, and in the National Institute for Regional and Spatial Analysis, National University of Ireland, Maynooth,[3] for the support and encouragement they afforded us in our efforts to undertake the ambitious aims of this study.

We hope that this report merits the confidence they and others entrusted in us to conduct this task.

RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE RESEARCH TEAM

Seosamh Mac Donnacha and Conchúr Ó Giollagáin co-directed the study. Seosamh Mac Donnacha acted as main project manager and as author, and Conchúr Ó Giollagáin was the principal author of the study as well as acting as co-director. Fiona Ní Chualáin played a significant role in editing, managing and in presenting the various statistical packages. Aoife Ní Shéaghdha drafted the questionnaire for the 'Survey of Young People', and she is primarily responsible for the research on local planning in the Gaeltacht. Mary O'Brien (Spatial Information Officer of NIRSA) prepared all the maps in the study. The list below indicates the main authors of the various chapters.

RESEARCH SUPPORT

The full-time researchers are indebted to Rhóna Ní Chearbhaill, Éadaoin Ní Mhuircheartaigh, Sadhbh Ní Chinnseala, Sinéad Bheilbigh and Neasa Bheilbigh for inputting and processing survey data. Rhóna Ní Chearbhaill and Éadaoin Ní Mhuircheartaigh helped to process the questionnaire data on the 'Survey of Young People'. Sadhbh Ní Chinnseala, Sinéad Bheilbigh and Neasa Bheilbigh undertook similar work on processing the data from the survey of planning applications.

PRINCIPAL AUTHORS OF THE CHAPTERS (MAIN REPORT)

Part 1   Background and History of Gaeltacht Boundaries
Chap. 1   Defining the Gaeltacht
            Conchúr Ó Giollagáin and Seosamh Mac Donnacha
Chap. 2   The Official Gaeltacht 1956 - 2002
            Seosamh Mac Donnacha and Conchúr Ó Giollagáin

Part 2   Contemporary Statistical Analysis
Chap. 3-6   Conchúr Ó Giollagáin and Fiona Ní Chualáin

Part 3   Local and Physical Planning in the Ghaeltacht
Chap. 7-12   Aoife Ní Shéaghdha and Seosamh Mac Donnacha

Part 4   Young Gaeltacht People and the Irish Language
Chap. 13-18   Conchúr Ó Giollagáin and Aoife Ní Shéaghdha

Part 5   Experience and Attitudes of the Community
Chap. 19   Raising children through the medium of Irish in the Gaeltacht
            Seosamh Mac Donnacha and Conchúr Ó Giollagáin
Chap. 20   Community Experience and Attitudes
            Communities in Category A Gaeltacht Areas
            Conchúr Ó Giollagáin and Fiona Ní Chualáin
Chap. 21   Community Experience and Attitudes
            Communities in Category B and C Gaeltacht Areas
            Conchúr Ó Giollagáin and Fiona Ní Chualáin

Part 6   Conclusions
Chap. 22   Conclusions and Recommendations
            Seosamh Mac Donnacha and Conchúr Ó Giollagáin

Part 7   Appendices 1–8
            Appendices and Sociolinguistic Profiles of Gaeltacht Areas
            Fiona Ní Chualáin and Conchúr Ó Giollagáin

Executive Summary (Irish version)
            Conchúr Ó Giollagáin and Seosamh Mac Donnacha

Executive Summary (English version)
            Áine Uí Ghiollagáin and Conchúr Ó Giollagáin

RESEARCH TEAM

Conchúr Ó Giollagáin, MA, PhD and Seosamh Mac Donnacha, BA, MSc, Co-directors
Fiona Ní Chualáin, BA, ADO, ADTF
Aoife Ní Shéaghdha, MA
Mary O'Brien, BA, MSc

Research support provided by:
Rhóna Ní Chearbhaill, MA
Éadaoin Ní Mhuircheartaigh, MA
Sadhbh Ní Chinnseala, BA
Sinéad Bheilbigh, MA
Neasa Bheilbigh, BA

ABBREVIATIONS

Cat.	Category
CSO	Central Statistics Office, Ireland
DS	Daily Speakers
ED	Electoral Division
NIRSA	National Institute for Regional and Spatial Analysis, NUI Maynooth
SFR	Standardised Frequency Ratio
SLG	Scéim Labhairt na Gaeilge

1 THE STATUTORY GAELTACHT DISTRICTS: BACKGROUND AND CONTEXT

This study describes the contemporary linguistic situation in the Gaeltacht, charting its historical background and delineating its social and administrative contexts. Part 1 of the main report outlines the linguistic and statutory frameworks in which the various definitions of the Fíor-Ghaeltacht[4] and Breac-Ghaeltacht[5] were made between 1926 and 1956. It is clear that in proposing a geographic definition of the Gaeltacht, the 1926 Gaeltacht Commission had two aims: to define those areas where Irish was still spoken; and to differentiate between predominantly Irish-speaking areas and areas which had undergone a full or partial language shift to English. The tenor of the report published in 1926 indicates that the Commission thought that it would be possible both to maintain Irish as a family and community language in areas which remained predominantly Irish-speaking, and, with State assistance, gradually restore Irish to this position in the Breac-Ghaeltacht.

Between 1926 and 1956 differing statutory definitions of the Gaeltacht were used in various Acts and State schemes, while responsibility for various aspects of Gaeltacht life was divided between different State departments and organisations. These arrangements fostered a degree of ambiguity and uncertainty with regard to the spatial extent of the Gaeltacht, the rate at which the use of Irish was decreasing within these districts, and the effectiveness of the State schemes being administered in the Gaeltacht. By the early nineteen fifties a widely-held conviction emerged that a strong case existed for the establishment of a single governmental organisation with overall responsibility for the Gaeltacht. As a result, the Government took the decision to establish the Department of the Gaeltacht in 1956.

The Department of the Gaeltacht was established to:

> promote the cultural, social and economic welfare of the Gaeltacht; to encourage the preservation and extension of the use of Irish as a vernacular language; and to such extent as may be necessary or appropriate, to consult and advise with other Departments of State in respect of services administered by such Departments which effect the cultural, social or economical welfare of the Gaeltacht or which concern the national aim of restoring the Irish language. (Section 3(2), *Ministers and Secretaries (Amendment) Act, 1956*.)

This Act required the Government to redefine the statutory districts of the Gaeltacht in 1956 to establish and clarify the geographical areas in which the new Department's administrative functions were to have effect. It is evident from the debates preceding the enactment of the above Act that the Government was still of the opinion that the use of Irish as a regular means of communication could effectively be fostered in those areas which had shifted to English if the same State supports were extended to them as would be available in the rest of the Gaeltacht. The statutory definition of the Gaeltacht specified in the Act is:

> specified areas, being substantially Irish-speaking areas and areas contiguous thereto which, in the opinion of the Government, ought to be included in the Gaeltacht with a view to preserving and extending the use of Irish as a vernacular language (Section 2(2), *Ministers and Secretaries (Amendment) Act, 1956*.)

---

4   Irish-speaking community

5   Partially Irish-speaking community

Ó Torna (2005: 44) demonstrates that the word 'Gaeltacht' had different meanings and connotations at different periods in history, and that sa 'chéad cheathrú den fhichiú haois a buanaíodh [an téarma] "an Ghaeltacht" mar cheantar phobal labhartha na Gaeilge i gcaint mhuintir na hÉireann' (in the first part of the twentieth century [the term] 'Gaeltacht' gained wider currency in Ireland as referring to an area which was primarily Irish-speaking). Within this broad definition, however, varying meanings are still being ascribed to the word 'Gaeltacht' by people who live within the statutory Gaeltacht districts. In many cases, the meaning ascribed to the word 'Gaeltacht' is contingent on the Gaeltacht area in which they live. The various conceptualisations of the Gaeltacht therefore cover a broad spectrum, ranging from areas where Irish is the predominant family and community language, to areas where Irish is in general use only among a small proportion of the community and/or in the educational institutions of the area. It is important to note that for at least some of those in the latter category their statutory recognition as a Gaeltacht area retains an important symbolic significance. One positive result of awarding statutory Gaeltacht status to these communities has been to foster a sense of 'Gaeltacht identity', despite the continued low levels of Irish language use in these communites. As was made clear to researchers at the public meetings organised as part of this project (described in Chapter 21 of the main report), statutory Gaeltacht status affirms the cultural identity of these communities and recognises the area's historical heritage. Indeed, holding statutory Gaeltacht status is, in and of itself, a strong incentive behind efforts currently being made by a significant number of these communities to improve their use of Irish as a community language.

For the purposes of this report, however, it is necessary to focus on the statutory meaning of the word 'Gaeltacht', i.e. as described in the excerpt above from Section 2(2) of the *Ministers and Secretaries (Amendment) Act, 1956*. The statutory Gaeltacht (as defined under the provisions of the 1956 Act) includes areas where the majority of inhabitants are active Irish speakers, as well as other areas, which, in the view of the Government, could benefit from State schemes aimed at maintaining and improving the general level of Irish language use. No mechanism or criterion was expressly laid down in the legislation, however, as had been suggested by the Gaeltacht Commission in 1926, which would give the State (or latterly Gaeltacht researchers) the functional competence to differentiate between the various types of language communities that are included within the current statutory boundaries.

2   SOCIOLINGUISTIC TRENDS IN THE GAELTACHT 1956–2002

The earliest scientific evidence of the range of language communities within statutory Gaeltacht districts is described in the sociolinguistic research carried out in the Gaeltacht from the seventies onwards by Ó Riagáin (1971, 1982, 1992 and 1997), Mac Aodha (1971), CILAR (1975), and Ó Gliasáin (1990). It is not surprising, given the wide statutory definition of 'Gaeltacht', that the researchers found three broad types of language community within the Gaeltacht as established under the provisions of the Act. Up to the beginning of the nineteen seventies, Irish was the majority language in 30% of Gaeltacht communities, while a shift towards English was almost complete in 25% of the communities, and bilingual communities evidencing a shift towards English accounted for the remaining 45% (Ó Riagáin 1997: 77). Counties Donegal, Galway and Kerry (Corca Dhuibhne) still contained large core Gaeltacht

areas, but Ó Gliasáin (1990) reported that the data available from the Department of the Gaeltacht's Scéim Labhairt na Gaeilge (SLG, formerly known as Scéim na nDeich bPunt) [support schemes for Irish-speaking families] for the period 1974–1984 demonstrated that these core areas were also evincing a shift towards English.

2.1   SOCIAL DYNAMICS AND DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGES

Evidence from the research referred to above, from Ó Giollagáin (2002 and 2005), Mac Donnacha *et al.* (2005), and from the survey of young people carried out as part of this research project (see Part 4 of the main report), indicates that language shift away from Irish is being driven by social dynamics. Gaeltacht communities are linked into regional, national and international networks which gradually influence the linguistic composition of the Gaeltacht community. Additionally, the linguistic composition of some Gaeltacht areas has been transformed due to their location: their physical proximity to developing urban centres makes them attractive for suburban settlement. Other Gaeltacht areas are coming under pressure from demographic factors of a similar type due to their attractiveness as tourist destinations, with non-Irish language speakers taking up temporary or permanent residence in these areas of great natural beauty.

As a result of these social dynamics and demographic movements, a significant number of people of non-Gaeltacht origin have moved into statutory Gaeltacht areas. Although some of them may speak Irish, it is reasonable to assume that the vast majority of them are not active Irish speakers. Notably, there is evidence to show that English-speaking in-migrants form a large proportion of young Gaeltacht-based parents, a fact which has serious implications for future sociolinguistic trends in the Gaeltacht (see Section 13.1 in the main report and Ó Riagáin 1992: 33).

Social and economic advantages may accrue to Gaeltacht areas from these social and demographic changes, of course, but such changes nonetheless tend to exert negative pressure on the levels of Irish language use in the community. As the proportion of English-speaking young parents increases, their influence impacts more significantly not just on the proportion of Irish speakers in their own age cohorts, but on the proportion of Irish speakers in future Gaeltacht generations as well. For this reason, if a sufficiently integrated proportion of Irish speakers within Gaeltacht districts is to be maintained at a level that will sustain Irish as the main community and family language, these demographic movements need to be carefully managed to ensure maximum social and economic gain without undermining the position of Irish as the predominant community and family language. The analysis carried out for this study (see Chapter 3 of the main report) suggests that the proportion of active, integrated Irish speakers needs to be maintained above 67% for the use of Irish in a community to be sustainable. The statistical evidence clearly indicates that Irish-speaking communites yield to the pressures of language shift when the proportion of active speakers in a community falls below this threshold.[6]

---

6   It is acknowledged that the attachment of a static percentage to a dynamic concept such as language vitality is potentially problematic because of the shifting nature of the language dynamic in a community. On the other hand, language data collected at a particular time represents a snapshot of that dynamic. Data comparisons over a series of Census periods will assist efforts to explore further the concept of a linguistic threshold. Analysing the 2006 Census data in light of the measures employed here will provide further information on how the different ED populations fare in relation to a threshold and potential shifts in the threshold itself.

CHALLENGES FOR THE EDUCATION SYSTEM

The first, and most significant, domain to experience the linguistic influence of demographic movements is the education system. Mac Donnacha *et al.* (2005) shows that one fourth of the school-going population of the contemporary Gaeltacht was born or raised outside of the Gaeltacht. When this group is combined with the numbers who live outside Gaeltacht districts but attend Gaeltacht schools and with those who are being raised with English as a home language, 46% of school-going children in the core Gaeltacht areas start school with little or no Irish. This linguistic complexity creates a serious and significant challenge for the Gaeltacht education system.

Gaeltacht schools are succeeding in their efforts to come to grips with one aspect of this challenge: the vast majority of students can communicate in Irish by the time they leave school. On the other hand, there is evidence from Harris (2006) that students in Irish-medium schools outside the Gaeltacht outperform Gaeltacht students in some of the language ability tests detailed in his research. It seems that the teaching of Irish to students as a second language in the Gaeltacht and the linguistic complexity present in such schools has negative implications for the ultimate academic outcomes which relate to linguistic attainment for children raised through Irish. Many parents who are raising their children through Irish at home (see Section 19.3 in the main report and Mac Donnacha 2005), reported that their children are not succeeding in reaching expected levels of ability in their native language. In other words, Irish-speaking children are not evidencing the full range of linguistic competencies expected of native speakers. Harris' (2006) research raises critical linguistic questions in relation to the educational aims and practices currently implemented in Gaeltacht schools, particularly in light of parental assessment of the linguistic ability of their own children and the assessment the young people make of their own ability in Irish (see Section 14.6 in the main report).[7]

The Gaeltacht education system is not succeeding in transforming those who come to school as English speakers into active Irish speakers. Indeed, data from Mac Donnacha *et al.* (2005) and from the survey on young people (Chapter 15 of the main report) show that it is having the opposite effect: the participation of English speakers in the education system in Gaeltacht schools is reinforcing the use of English among young native speakers of Irish.

Appropriate support systems, including relevant policy frameworks, expertise in language planning and immersion education, specialist teacher training and teaching resources, *inter alia*, have not been made available to Gaeltacht schools to come to grips with the challenges inherent in this situation. The conclusion is that a radical reorganisation of all elements of the Gaeltacht education system must be undertaken at this point as a central pillar of the State's approach to the management of the negative linguistic implications of demographic movements and the resulting social dynamic in the Gaeltacht. This reorganisation should be carried out with a view to maximising the social and economic benefits resulting from in-migration without undermining the status of Irish as a community and family language.

---

7 Ó Curnáin (2007: 59) delineates the linguistic implications of the incomplete acquistion of Irish for those being raised through the language: 'Nontraditional peer groups tend to exert an influence of lowest common denominator on the members so that the most extreme instances of reduction or nontraditional usage become prominent; in contrast with norm-enforcement within traditional vernacular' (referred to in Section 17.8 in the main report.) By corollary, it has also been observed that those who learn Irish outside the home setting exert a stronger effect on both language ability and language use patterns of native speakers of Irish than native speakers have on learners of the language.

CHALLENGES FOR THE PLANNING SYSTEM

One of the conditions that facilitates these demographic movements is the provision of housing in Gaeltacht areas to people who are not currently Gaeltacht residents. With the exception of houses within certain boundaries to which enurement clauses have been attached in recent years (arising from planning provisions connected to the preservation of the environment), there is no bar to, or requirement on, non-Irish speakers who wish to purchase second-hand housing within Gaeltacht districts at present. The only mechanism, therefore, to manage social and demographic movement into Gaeltacht districts is via the planning process and the Gaeltacht-related provisions of the *Planning and Development Act 2000*.

The research into planning undertaken for this study (see Part 3 of the main report) indicates that the number of planning applications passed within certain Gaeltacht districts since the enactment of the *Planning and Development Act 2000* far exceeds the number that would be expected had considerations concerning the linguistic composition of the community been integrated into the planning and decision process. In certain rural electoral divisions within the Gaeltacht districts of Donegal, Galway, Kerry and Waterford, the ratio between the number of new houses approved and the population of the electoral division ranged between 1:3.6 and 1:11. This study further demonstrates that, by a conservative estimate, speculative development accounted for between 30%–47% of the new houses awarded planning permission in the electoral divisions studied. If housing development continues at this rate in Gaeltacht areas in the absence of an effective mechanism to ensure that those who are accommodated in Gaeltacht housing are primarily active Irish speakers, the ability to sustain the use of Irish in the relevant Gaeltacht communities will be further compromised. If the proportion of active Irish speakers in a Gaeltacht population falls below 67%, the use of Irish as a community and family language becomes increasingly unsustainable.

This study also shows that the provisions of the *Planning and Development Act 2000* are having some impact on the planning system and development in the Gaeltacht. The approach currently in place is, however, limited in its effectiveness, and a more comprehensive approach is needed. The planning authorities involved must develop an integrated approach to Gaeltacht planning that is designed to support the linguistic sustainability of the Gaeltacht communities, rather than interpreting their obligations under the Act as a simple requirement to place ad hoc, and at times inconsistent, linguistic conditions on the granting of planning permissions.

3   LANGUAGE COMMUNITIES IN THE CONTEMPORARY GAELTACHT

The statistical analysis of language data from Census 2002 and the data from Scéim Labhairt na Gaeilge carried out in Part 2 of this report indicates that three distinct types of language community exist within the statutory limits of the Gaeltacht as currently defined. Sociolinguistic profiles for each type of community are set out below in categories designated for ease of reference when recommending targeted, appropriate interventions:

Category A Gaeltacht districts: refer to electoral divisions where more than 67% of the total population (3 years+) are daily speakers of Irish. These electoral divisions evidence the broadest spectrum of Irish language use and exhibit stable levels of Irish language use except in the language behaviour patterns of the younger age groups.

Category B Gaeltacht districts: refer to electoral divisions where between 44%–66% of the total population (3 years+) are daily speakers of Irish. Although English is the predominant language, these areas still contain some relatively strong Irish-speaking networks. The census data for these areas illustrate clear signs of language shift in the levels of Irish use between different age groups: it is usual that the number of daily speakers of Irish is higher among the school-going age cohorts than in the adult age cohorts. This implies that the use of Irish has declined as a communal language in the area and its use among young people occurs predominantly in an educational context. Despite active speakers of Irish being a minority in terms of the linguistic composition of the community as a whole, a significant percentage of the older age cohorts in this category may also be daily speakers. The statistical data indicate that Irish is still used as a community language to a certain degree, but this tends to be limited to specific age groups, and/or specific institutions, and/or specific social networks.

Category C Gaeltacht districts: refer to electoral divisions where less than 44% of the total population (3 years+) are daily speakers of Irish. This category includes a majority of Gaeltacht electoral divisions and of the Gaeltacht population as a whole. In general, school-going age cohorts report the highest level of usage of Irish in these districts, indicating weak communal use of the language. It must be noted, however, that some electoral divisions in Category C may contain small Irish-speaking enclaves which do not readily conform with the sociolinguistic traits common to the rest of Category C. Although it is clear from the sociolinguistic profile that Irish is used to a very limited extent as a community or institutional language in some of the electoral divisions in Category C, in some areas the data show that Irish is still used in some social networks and in community and educational institutions.

3.1   EXCEPTIONS AND STATISTICAL ANOMALIES

Gaeltacht electoral divisions are recommended for inclusion in categories as delineated in Tables 1–3 below, based on a sociolinguistic profiling process which took into account Census data, SLG data and information reported to researchers at public and focus group meetings held in the different Gaeltacht areas. The Census data provide an initial indication of the current status of Irish in the different electoral divisions, but the recommendations in this report are based on the overall sociolinguistic profile rather than a simple reliance on

raw data. In the few cases where the sociolinguistic profile did not clearly fit into a particular category, the general profile of the district surrounding the particular electoral division was taken into consideration for the purposes of recategorisation. In the majority of these exceptional cases, the suggested recatergorisation reflects those aspects of the sociolinguistic profile consistent with the category including higher proportions of Irish speakers. These recatergorisations are discussed below. It should be noted that there is a certain range of levels of Irish language use within any given category.

Exceptions and Statistical Anomalies in Category A

Co. Donegal
Census data indicate high levels of Irish language use in the **Dún Lúiche** electoral division (#CSO: 33035), but SLG data show that the use of Irish is more marginal in this area than the Census would suggest: only 49% of families with school-going children were awarded the full SLG grant in 2003/4. The sociolinguistic dynamics of this area appear to be closer to the Category B profile than that of Category A. It is recommended, however, that this electoral division retain its original statistical classification in Category A.

Based on Census data, the part-electoral division **Suí Corr** (#CSO: 33108) in Gaeltacht Láir could be included in Category A, but there are only two townlands in the Gaeltacht part of this electoral division, with a population of only 14 people in the age group 3 years + (Census 2002). No full SLG has been awarded in this electoral division for more than ten years. The sociolinguistic factors relating to this part-electoral division are consistent with the profile of the rest of Gaeltacht Láir, which is recommended for inclusion in Category B. It is recommended that this electoral division be recatergorised accordingly.

Co. Mayo
The electoral division **Cnoc an Daimh** (the Ceathrú Thaidhg district, #CSO: 29060) is included in Category A. Although 73% of the families with children of school-going age are awarded the full SLG grant, the public meeting brought to light the increasing marginalisation of the use of Irish as a family and community language in the district. The sociolinguistic dynamics in the Ceathrú Thaidhg area now evidence aspects of both Categories A and B profiles. At the public meeting, institutional support from the primary school was especially credited with supporting and developing Irish language competency among the young, as is evidenced in the statistical data from the SLG. On balance, it is recommended that this electoral division be included in Category A.

Co. Galway
As was noted in the case of the electoral divisions Dún Lúiche and Cnoc an Daimh above, the SLG data from **An Spidéal** (#CSO: 27063) evidence the pressure on Irish as the main community language in this district, with only 44% of families awarded the full SLG grant. The census data and the results of the SLG indicate that this area is situated both linguistically and geographically between the heartland of the South Conamara Gaeltacht and the westward extent of the suburbs of Galway city.

Greater demographic pressure from the city will almost certainly have a negative effect on the levels of communal use of Irish in this area. It is therefore imperative to maintain the proportion of Irish speakers in the population required to ensure the sustainability of Irish as the primary community language, and to foster the use of Irish in State and local institutions in this electoral division. It is recommended that this electoral division remain in Category A.

Co. Kerry

The electoral division **Márthain** (#CSO: 19042) in Corca Dhuibhne is classified statistically as part of Category A, despite the fact that fewer than half of the families in the area were awarded the full SLG grant (45%). The use of Irish is clearly under pressure among young families in this part of the peninsula. It is recommended that this electoral division remain in Category A.

Exceptions and Statistical Anomalies in Category B

Co. Mayo

The electoral division of **Abhainn Bhrain** (the Fionnaithe district, #CSO: 29047) should be included, based on statistical data, in Category B, but for the past ten years only a very small proportion of families have been awarded the full SLG grant. It is recommended, however, to leave electoral division Abhainn Bhrain in Category B.

Co. Galway

The **Cill Chuimín** (the Gleann Trasna district, #CSO: 27155) electoral division should be included, according to the statistical criterion, in Category B. The full SLG was granted to 38% of families in 2003/4. This electoral division is large and sparsely populated (114 people in the population 3 years +, Census 2002). The fact that this electoral division is so geographically spread out, however, disguises the fact that active speakers of Irish are more concentrated in the southern part of the electoral division, which is itself adjacent to the thirteen contiguous electoral divisions in Category A in Co. Galway. It is recommended, therefore, that the Cill Chuimín electoral division remain in Category A and that its boundaries be reviewed in future.

Co. Kerry

The electoral division **Dún Chaoin** (#CSO: 19034) should be included, based on statistical data alone, in Category B, with 64% of the population reporting themselves to be daily speakers of Irish in Census 2002. It must be noted, however, that 87% of the population 3 years + (168 people) reported themselves to be daily speakers of Irish in 1996, which represents a significant fall in the proportion of daily speakers over a period of six years. There was, however, a significant (23%) rise in population in this electoral division to 2002, and Census 2006 reports a fall in population in this electoral division between 2002 and 2006 back to approximately the same level as it had been in 1996. It is possible that the 2002 data represent a blip, i.e. there could have been a significant number of people visiting the area at the time of that census. If this is what occurred, it could have had an impact on the overall

percentage of Irish speakers in the area reported in Census 2002. For this reason, it is recommended that this electoral division be included in Category A if the Irish language data from Census 2006 show that the number of speakers of Irish in the electoral division is above 67%.

The electoral division **Na Beathacha** (#CSO: 19004) in Uíbh Ráthach should be included in Category B on the basis of census data alone, but there is only one townland in the Gaeltacht part of this electoral division, with a population of just 15 people 3 years + (Census 2002). No full SLG grant was awarded in this electoral division for more than ten years. This would tend to indicate that the sociolinguistic profile of Na Beathacha mirrors that of the other electoral divisions on the Uíbh Ráthach peninsula, which are all in Category C. It is recommended that this electoral division be reclassified and included in Category C in accordance with the overall profile of the area.

Census 2002 indicates that 43.7% of **An Mhin Aird** (#CSO: 19043) are daily speakers of Irish; however, only 13% of families were awarded the full SLG grant in 2003/4. It is recommended that this electoral division be included in Category C in accordance with the overall sociolinguistic profile of this part of the Corca Dhuibhne peninsula.

Co. Cork
The electoral divisions of **Béal Átha an Ghaorthaidh** (#CSO: 18199) and **Cléire** (#CSO: 18290) are included in Category B, even though only 16% and 17% of families in the respective areas were awarded the full SLG grant in 2003/4. It is recommended, however, that the areas remain in Category B.

Co. Meath
The part-electoral divisions of **An Ráth Mhór** (the Ráth Chairn area, #CSO: 11090) and **Baile Átha Buí** (#CSO: 11070) are included in Category B. Census data indicate that the Gaeltacht part-electoral division **Cill Bhríde** (#CSO: 11082) should be in Category C despite the fact that SLG data show stronger Irish social networks in Cill Bhríde (21% SLG) than in the electoral division of Baile Átha Buí (14% SLG). The manner in which the seven Gaeltacht townlands around Ráth Chairn are distributed across three part-electoral divisions disguises the relative strength of the Irish networks in the overall area, and it is recommended that the area be dealt with as a single unit. For that reason, it is recommended that the Cill Bhríde electoral division be included in Category B, and it is further recommended that the part-electoral divisions of the Ráth Chairn district be integrated into a single Gaeltacht electoral division.

Exceptions and Statistical Anomalies in Category C

Co. Donegal
The part-electoral division **Fánaid Thiar** (#CSO: 33115) is proposed for inclusion in Category C on the basis of census data, even though 47% of families were awarded

the full SLG grant. A comparative examination of the statistics relating to primary school children and the census data on adults shows that this relatively high result arises from the effective implementation of language policy in the local primary school. It is recommended that this electoral division be included in Category C as initially classified.

Co. Waterford

The three electoral divisions in the Waterford Gaeltacht should be included in Category C according to Census data. The census statistics show, however, that Irish language use in electoral division **An Rinn** (#CSO: 25034) is similar to the profile for Category B (43% are daily speakers). Indeed, this electoral division is where the majority of Irish-speaking social networks in the area are based: 16% of families were awarded the full SLG grant in 2003/4. The profiles of **Aird Mhór** (#CSO: 25019) and **Baile Mhac Airt** (#CSO: 25020) are more sociolinguistically consistent with the Category C profile. As with An Spidéal in Conamara, the Irish-speaking networks in An Rinn are under demographic pressure due to its physical proximity to an expanding urban area, in this case Dungarvan. It is recommended, however, that since this Gaeltacht region only extends over a small geographic area it be treated as a single unit and included in Category B.

3.1.1   THE RECLASSIFIED A, B, AND C GAELTACHT CATEGORY DISTRICTS

Tables 1, 2 and 3 list the electoral divisions by Gaeltacht category, taking into account the exceptions and statistical anomalies listed in 3.1 above.

ELECTORAL DIVISIONS: Category A	Tot. Pop. 3+	DS	SFR (DS)	%DS	County
149. Camas	375	341	**2.293**	90.933	Co. Galway
154. Garmna	1245	1148	**2.283**	92.209	Co. Galway
152. An Crompán	2192	1934	**2.274**	88.230	Co. Galway
39. Scainimh	625	576	**2.262**	92.160	Co. Galway
158. Leitir Móir	791	703	**2.238**	88.875	Co. Galway
161. An Turlach	460	394	**2.204**	85.652	Co. Galway
38. Mín an Chladaigh	1250	1070	**2.194**	85.600	Co. Donegal
54. Cill Chuimín	1249	1054	**2.184**	84.388	Co. Galway
53. Árainn	1247	1021	**2.114**	81.877	Co. Galway
61. Sailearna	1241	1028	**2.102**	82.836	Co. Galway
36. Gort an Choirce	1590	1326	**2.094**	83.396	Co. Donegal
33. An Cnoc Buí	808	658	**2.044**	81.436	Co. Galway
37. Machaire Chlochair	2555	2024	**2.035**	79.217	Co. Donegal
55. Cill Aithnín	806	632	**2.021**	78.412	Co. Galway
39. Cill Chuáin	438	349	**1.989**	79.680	Co. Kerry
38. Cill Maoilchéadair	536	417	**1.961**	77.799	Co. Kerry
35. Dún Urlann	407	317	**1.931**	77.887	Co. Kerry
35. Abhainn Ghabhla	334	251	**1.910**	75.150	Co. Galway
35. Dún Lúiche	665	486	**1.840**	73.083	Co. Donegal
42. Márthain	238	161	**1.759**	67.647	Co. Kerry
63. An Spidéal	1196	813	**1.758**	67.977	Co. Galway
60. Cnoc an Daimh	375	252	**1.662**	67.200	Co. Mayo
34. Dún Chaoin	207	132	**1.585**	63.768	Co. Kerry
155. Cill Chuimín (Gleann Trasna)	114	60	**1.356**	52.632	Co. Galway

TABLE 1: GAELTACHT ELECTORAL DIVISIONS IN CATEGORY A

ELECTORAL DIVISIONS: Category B	Tot. Pop. 3+	DS	SFR (DS)	%DS	County
108. Suí Corr*	14	10	**1.799**	71.429	Co. Donegal[7]
40. Árainn Mhór	529	332	**1.595**	62.760	Co. Donegal
160. An Ros	105	64	**1.551**	60.952	Co. Galway
42. Cró Bheithe	170	103	**1.519**	60.588	Co. Donegal
51. Gleann Léithín	167	96	**1.503**	57.485	Co. Donegal
48. Baile na Finne	296	175	**1.480**	59.122	Co. Donegal
53. An Ghrafaidh	192	109	**1.476**	56.771	Co. Donegal
45. Ceann Trá	448	249	**1.437**	55.580	Co. Kerry
47. Abhainn Bhrain	242	133	**1.422**	54.959	Co. Mayo
39. Anagaire	2138	1191	**1.412**	55.706	Co. Donegal
206. Gort na Tiobratan	411	218	**1.376**	53.041	Co. Cork
90. An Ráth Mhór*	372	195	**1.313**	52.419	Co. Meath
129. Allt na Péiste*	163	80	**1.266**	49.080	Co. Donegal
290. Cléire*	127	62	**1.230**	48.819	Co. Cork
199. Béal Átha an Ghaorthaidh	477	214	**1.133**	44.864	Co. Cork
70. Baile Átha Buí*	57	26	**1.080**	45.614	Co. Meath
34. An Rinn *	1026	442	**1.043**	43.080	Co. Waterford
20. Baile Mhac Airt	301	98	**0.840**	32.558	Co. Waterford
82. Cill Bhríde*	210	55	**0.688**	26.190	Co. Meath
19. Aird Mhór*	61	12	**0.539**	19.672	Co. Waterford

TABLE 2: GAELTACHT ELECTORAL DIVISIONS IN CATEGORY B

---

8   An asterix following the name of an electoral division denotes that only part of the electoral division is recognised as a Gaeltacht district (Suí Corr* for example).

ELECTORAL DIVISIONS: Category C	Tot. Pop. 3+	DS	SFR (DS)	%DS	County
4. Na Beathacha*	15	7	**1.113**	46.667	Co. Kerry
151. Conga	493	201	**1.070**	40.771	Co. Galway
43. An Mhin Aird	373	163	**1.065**	43.700	Co. Kerry
32. Na Croisbhealaí*	2130	886	**1.055**	41.596	Co. Donegal
33. Baile an Chalaidh	229	95	**1.052**	41.485	Co. Mayo
36. Na Gleannta	1419	584	**1.041**	41.156	Co. Kerry
108. Béal Átha an Ghaorthaidh* (T. Co.)	200	84	**1.036**	42.000	Co. Cork
51. Na Forbacha	1211	476	**1.010**	39.306	Co. Galway
52. An Geata Mór Theas	894	365	**1.005**	40.828	Co. Mayo
40. Cinn Aird	357	140	**0.998**	39.216	Co. Kerry
202. Claonráth*	142	52	**0.994**	36.620	Co. Cork
131. An Clochán*	488	186	**0.980**	38.115	Co. Donegal
49. Gleann Cholm Cille	689	261	**0.977**	37.881	Co. Donegal
29. Cé Bhréanainn	127	46	**0.954**	36.220	Co. Kerry
218. An Sliabh Riabhach	739	260	**0.927**	35.183	Co. Cork
56. Cill Ghabhlaigh	374	135	**0.911**	36.096	Co. Donegal
46. An Dúchoraidh	78	27	**0.911**	34.615	Co. Donegal
219. Na hUláin	523	186	**0.895**	35.564	Co. Cork
115. Fánaid Thiar*	218	76	**0.869**	34.862	Co. Donegal
62. Sliabh an Aonaigh	615	204	**0.857**	33.171	Co. Galway
126. Ros Goill	782	264	**0.857**	33.760	Co. Donegal
31. An Uillinn	91	29	**0.850**	31.868	Co. Galway
31. An Clochán	258	84	**0.826**	32.558	Co. Kerry
48. Partraí*	38	12	**0.790**	31.579	Co. Mayo
23. Toghroinn Fhíonáin	134	42	**0.789**	31.343	Co. Kerry
27. An Baile Dubh	131	43	**0.783**	32.824	Co. Kerry
5. Baile an Sceilg	346	107	**0.771**	30.925	Co. Kerry
153. An Chorr	158	48	**0.765**	30.380	Co. Galway

ELECTORAL DIVISIONS: Category C	Tot. Pop. 3+	DS	SFR (DS)	%DS	County
200. Ceann Droma	246	73	**0.760**	29.675	Co. Cork
53. Domhnach Phádraig*	528	155	**0.751**	29.356	Co. Meath
37. An Cheapaigh Dhuibh	328	96	**0.741**	29.268	Co. Mayo
35. Baile Óbha*	166	47	**0.734**	28.313	Co. Mayo
19. Loch Luíoch*	16	4	**0.696**	25.000	Co. Kerry
58. An Leargaidh Mhór*	378	104	**0.688**	27.513	Co. Donegal
205. Doire Fhínín	211	56	**0.679**	26.540	Co. Cork
9. Ceannúigh*	143	38	**0.674**	26.573	Co. Kerry
62. Málainn Bhig	377	99	**0.669**	26.260	Co. Donegal
33. An Daingean	1593	385	**0.668**	24.168	Co. Kerry
114. Fánaid Thuaidh*	493	132	**0.661**	26.775	Co. Donegal
133. An Corrán	730	188	**0.647**	25.753	Co. Mayo
124. Acaill	934	233	**0.628**	24.946	Co. Mayo
44. Bearna*	2367	586	**0.622**	24.757	Co. Galway
55. Cill Charthaigh	627	143	**0.592**	22.807	Co. Donegal
62. Moing na Bó	304	69	**0.561**	22.697	Co. Mayo
14. Doire Ianna	206	45	**0.558**	21.845	Co. Kerry
128. An Tearmann*	183	40	**0.556**	21.858	Co. Donegal
59. Maigh Cuilinn	1323	289	**0.554**	21.844	Co. Galway
20. Máistir Gaoithe	83	17	**0.536**	20.482	Co. Kerry
37. Cloch na Rón*	85	18	**0.533**	21.176	Co. Galway
65. Tulaigh Mhic Aodháin*	1003	213	**0.533**	21.236	Co. Galway
113. Creamhghort*	281	57	**0.528**	20.285	Co. Donegal
43. Cró Caorach	134	26	**0.525**	19.403	Co. Donegal
136. Dumha Éige	654	135	**0.517**	20.642	Co. Mayo
122. Loch Caol*	34	7	**0.512**	20.588	Co. Donegal
150. An Fhairche	890	175	**0.503**	19.663	Co. Galway
212. Cill na Martra*	327	64	**0.495**	19.572	Co. Cork

ELECTORAL DIVISIONS: Category C	Tot. Pop. 3+	DS	SFR (DS)	%DS	County
51. An Geata Mór Thuaidh	851	170	**0.491**	19.976	Co. Mayo
59. Leitir Mhic an Bhaird	650	126	**0.489**	19.385	Co. Donegal
54. Inis Caoil	112	21	**0.478**	18.750	Co. Donegal
44. An Sráidbhaile*	32	6	**0.474**	18.750	Co. Kerry
47. Ceathrú an Bhrúnaigh	723	136	**0.470**	18.811	Co. Galway
3. Bearna*	5508	943	**0.452**	17.121	Galway Co. Bor.
6. An Baile Breac*	64	12	**0.450**	18.750	Co. Kerry
13. Béal Deirg Mór	197	35	**0.442**	17.766	Co. Mayo
111. Carraig Airt*	382	65	**0.430**	17.016	Co. Donegal
46. An Carn Mór	1887	316	**0.427**	16.746	Co. Galway
61. Cnoc na Lobhar	816	142	**0.424**	17.402	Co. Mayo
50. Gleann Gheis*	154	25	**0.420**	16.234	Co. Donegal
61. An Machaire	615	97	**0.403**	15.772	Co. Donegal
47. An Clochán Liath	1785	278	**0.398**	15.574	Co. Donegal
118. Grianfort*	19	3	**0.396**	15.789	Co. Donegal
54. Barr Rúscaí	129	20	**0.391**	15.504	Co. Mayo
2. Baile an Bhriota*	60	9	**0.384**	15.000	Galway Co. Bor.
22. Binn an Choire*	116	17	**0.369**	14.655	Co. Galway
15. An tImleach*	319	46	**0.369**	14.420	Co. Kerry
24. Trian Iarthach*	126	19	**0.361**	15.079	Co. Kerry
63. Na Monga	249	37	**0.360**	14.859	Co. Mayo
13. Doire Fhíonáin*	151	20	**0.355**	13.245	Co. Kerry
156. Leitir Breacáin*	31	4	**0.355**	12.903	Co. Galway
57. Gleann Chaisil	476	67	**0.350**	14.076	Co. Mayo
30. Críoch na Sméar*	38	5	**0.349**	13.158	Co. Donegal
55. Béal an Mhuirthead	1808	250	**0.347**	13.827	Co. Mayo
41. Ard an Rátha*	52	7	**0.339**	13.462	Co. Donegal
48. Baile Chláir	1536	194	**0.332**	12.630	Co. Galway

ELECTORAL DIVISIONS: Category C	Tot. Pop. 3+	DS	SFR (DS)	%DS	County
63. Maol Mosóg*	137	18	**0.331**	13.139	Co. Donegal
52. Na Gleannta*	115	15	**0.330**	13.043	Co. Donegal
64. Cnoc na Ráithe	782	104	**0.330**	13.299	Co. Mayo
34. Maíros*	128	16	**0.325**	12.500	Co. Galway
41. Tailtin*	342	40	**0.296**	11.696	Co. Meath
4. An Caisleán Gearr*	1000	110	**0.287**	11.000	Galway Co. Bor.
56. Leacach Beag*	138	15	**0.283**	10.870	Co. Galway
8. Cathair Dónall*	97	10	**0.280**	10.309	Co. Kerry
40. Eanach Dhúin	1473	159	**0.279**	10.794	Co. Galway
10. Mionlach	4651	456	**0.273**	9.804	Galway Co. Bor.
121. Cnoc Colbha*	110	11	**0.249**	10.000	Co. Donegal
112. An Cheathrú Chaol*	20	2	**0.247**	10.000	Co. Donegal
82. Tamhnaigh na Graí*	50	5	**0.241**	10.000	Co. Mayo
64. Inis Mhic an Doirn	1410	132	**0.238**	9.362	Co. Donegal
34. Dún Fionnachaidh*	58	5	**0.227**	8.621	Co. Donegal
144. Mín Charraigeach*	11	1	**0.222**	9.091	Co. Donegal
42. Baile an Teampaill*	186	16	**0.219**	8.602	Co. Galway
59. Guala Mhór*	119	10	**0.206**	8.403	Co. Mayo
31. An Craoslach*	64	5	**0.199**	7.813	Co. Donegal
56. Gleann na Muaidhe	241	17	**0.178**	7.054	Co. Mayo
98. Mín an Lábáin*	51	2	**0.102**	3.922	Co. Donegal
58. Lisín an Bhealaigh*	39	1	**0.071**	2.564	Co. Galway
33. Caisleán na dTuath*	34	1	**0.069**	2.941	Co. Donegal
101. Gartán*	0	0	**0.000**	0.000	Co. Donegal
23. Loch Iascaigh*	5	0	**0.000**	0.000	Co. Donegal
12. An Bhinn Bhán*	6	0	**0.000**	0.000	Co. Donegal
8. Cnoc na Cathrach*	18	0	**0.000**	0.000	Galway Co. Bor.

TABLE 3: GAELTACHT ELECTORAL DIVISIONS IN CATEGORY C

3.1.2 DISTRIBUTION OF THE RECLASSIFIED A, B, AND C GAELTACHT CATEGORY DISTRICTS

The following map indicates the distribution of the reclassified electoral divisions in the three Gaeltacht categories.[9]

Cat. A: TR / ED > 67% CL / DS

Cat. B: TR / ED 44-67% CL / DS

Cat. C: TR / ED < 44% CL / DS

1:2,750,000
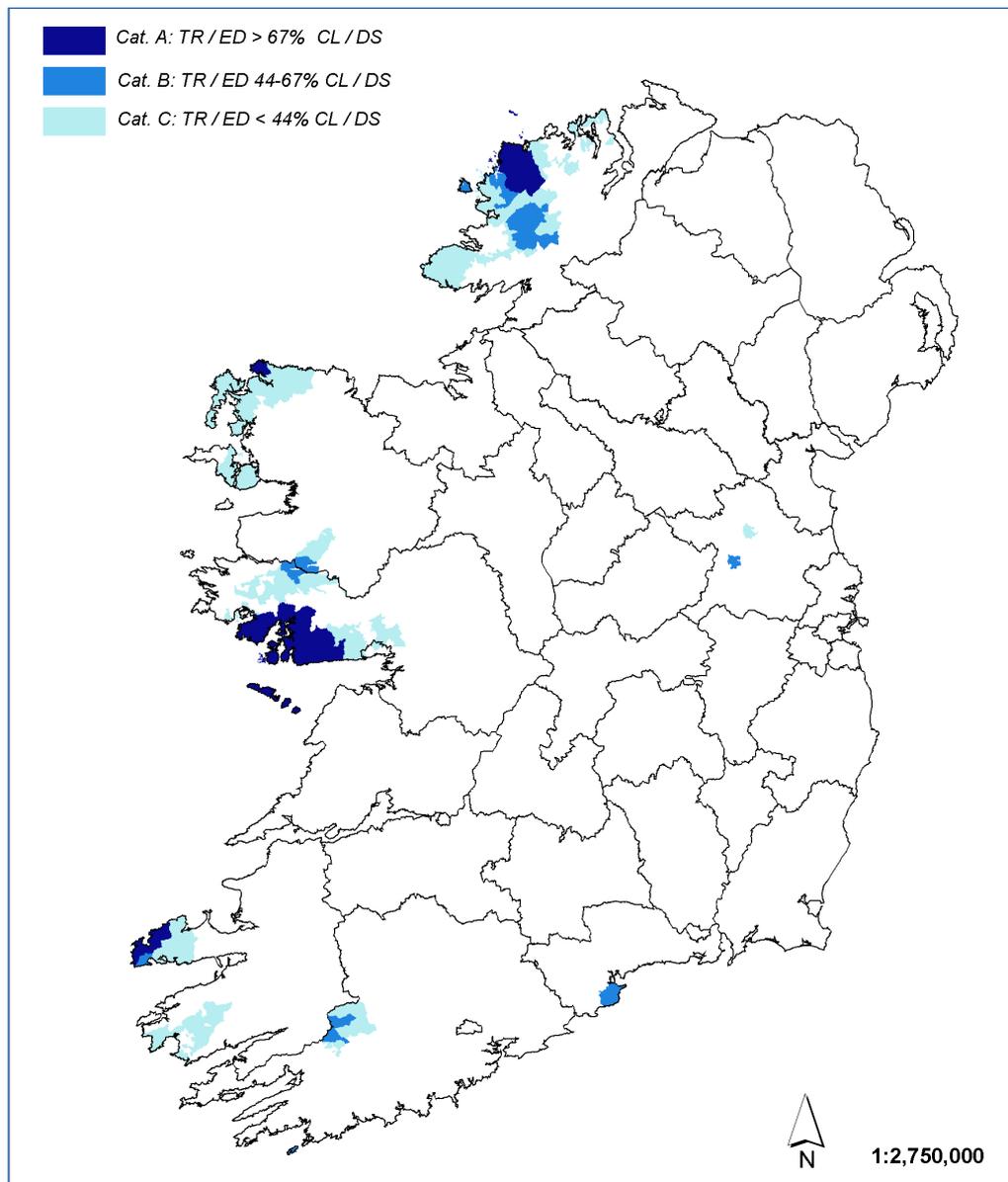
NIRSA a réitigh. Ceadúnas Uimhir MP 8252 / Prepared by NIRSA. Copyright permit number MP 8252
© Suirbhéireacht Ordanáis Éireann agus Rialtas na hÉireann / © Ordnance Survey Ireland and Government of Ireland
An Phríomh-Oifig Staidrimh – faisnéis SAPS an Daonáirimh / Central Statistics Office – Census SAPS Microdata File.

**THE THREE (RECLASSIFED) GAELTACHT CATEGORIES/
NA TRÍ RANGÚ CATAGÓIRE AR AN nGAELTACHT (ATHRANGAITHE)**

---

8   The following electoral divisions have been reclassified following consideration of the statistical anomalies and/or the sociolinguistic complexities associated with them: **Suí Corr** (71.4% DS, Census 2002) from Category A to Category B; **Cill Chuimín** (Gleann Trasna) (52.6% DS, Census 2002) from Category B to Category A; **Dún Chaoin** (63.8% DS, Census 2002) from Category B to Category C; **Na Beathacha** (46.6% DS, Census 2002) from Category B to Category C; **Cill Bhríde** (26.1% DS, Census 2002) from Category C to Category B; **An Rinn** (43.0% DS, Census 2002) from Category C to Category B; **Baile Mhac Airt** (32.6% DS, Census 2002) from Category C to Category B; **Aird Mhór** (19.7% DS, Census 2002) from Category C to Category B.

4   OUTLOOK FOR THE GAELTACHT

Irish is still the main community language in Category A Gaeltacht communities, although it is clear that the threat of language shift is intensifying. In Category B and C Gaeltacht districts, the Irish-speaking community is based on limited social networks. The networks in some of these communities clearly include a greater proportion of the community than in others, and the type of network varies from community to community. In the latter two categories, social networks are centred on one or more of the following:

- a limited number of families whose main language is Irish;

- Irish-speaking networks which pertain to the older age cohorts in the community;

- and in those cases where the networks are broader and more inclusive, they receive effective support from educational and other institutions which operate through the medium of Irish exclusively or bilingually.

In areas where Irish-speaking networks do not include a broad spectrum of the population, the use of Irish is generally limited to the oldest age cohorts and/or educational institutions only. In some of the communities in Category C, the only remaining Irish-speaking network is associated with primary school education. In others, even this domain does not include Irish-speaking networks.

The main objective of language planning in Category A districts should be to maintain and increase the proportion of Irish speakers above the sustainability threshold of 67% in the community and to support Irish as a family and community language. Specific language planning objectives for Category B and C districts, respectively, should be developed to establish and strengthen Irish-speaking social networks and Irish-medium institutions in these areas.

Within this framework, the key strategic focus of language policy in the Gaeltacht should be on supporting and empowering future generations of young Gaeltacht parents to raise their children through Irish. Young people's current language behaviour and attitudes, examined here as an integral part of this study, proffer a valuable insight into the challenges involved in achieving this objective.

4.1   YOUNG PEOPLE OF THE GAELTACHT

The survey of young people in the Gaeltacht carried out as part of this research project, described in Part 4 of the main report, reflects the sociolinguistic complexities of the contemporary Gaeltacht. It particularly highlights the patterns of language use:

- among young people themselves,

- between young people and those of other age cohorts, and

- changes in the language-use patterns of young people as they grow older.

It also demonstrates a contrast between young people's linguistic ability and attitudes, and their language behaviour. And, as would be expected, the survey confirms significant differences in the language-use patterns of young people in the three categories of Gaeltacht districts.

Certain sociolinguistic traits evidenced by the current generation of young Gaeltacht people, especially with regard to their attitudes towards Irish and the Gaeltacht, confirm their strong attachment to the language. In Category A areas, 94% of young people stated that they are *go láidir i bhfabhar na Gaeilge* [*strongly in favour of Irish*] or *fabhrach go leor* [*reasonably in favour*], as did 92% and 80% of young people in Categories B and C respectively. Moreover, more than 80% reported that they would be dissatisfied if English were to become the language of the Gaeltacht in future, or if the area in which they live had its Gaeltacht status rescinded.

In Category A areas, 53% of young people were raised with *Gaeilge amháin* [*Irish only*] or *Gaeilge den chuid is mó* [*mostly Irish*]. This decreases to 22% and 3% in the case of Categories B and C, respectively. Despite the low percentage of young people being raised mainly through Irish in Category A areas, the vast majority (91%) report that they speak *Gaeilge líofa* [*fluent Irish*] or *Gaeilge mhaith* [*good Irish*], which corresponds to 74% and 50% of the young people living in Categories B and C, respectively. This indicates the importance of the role played by educational institutions, particularly those in Category B and C districts, in developing the Irish language ability of the younger age cohorts within the Gaeltacht.

As for the patterns of language use among young people, a significant gap appears between their attitudes to and abilities in Irish, on the one hand, and their use of Irish on the other. Young Gaeltacht people most often use the Irish language within their family networks and with neighbours, although it is worth noting that only *circa* one fourth of them use Irish primarily in either of these networks. Even in the case of young people resident in Category A areas, only *circa* 60% reported that Irish was the main language of communication in their families and with neighbours.

Turning to language-use patterns within the peer group networks of young people, two significant characteristics stand out. First of all, the percentage of young people who report that they use Irish primarily to communicate with their peers is only 9% in the Gaeltacht nationally and 24% in the case of Category A. This is much lower than their reported use of Irish within their family networks and with neighbours. Moreover, it is remarkable that the reported use of Irish within young peer group networks decreases as they progress from primary school to the final years of post-primary: the percentage in the Gaeltacht nationally fell from 17% for those aged 5–8 to 9% for those aged 15–18; and in the case of Category A, the use of Irish in the same age groups fell from 41% to 24%, respectively.

Native speakers are initially socialised within families, but the wider community plays a critical role in the continuing language socialisation of young people as they participate in community activities and institutions. The evidence arising from the research carried out for the purposes of this study on the language behaviour of young people indicates that the social nexus that has been constructed by the parents of this generation, in conjunction with the Gaeltacht education system and other Gaeltacht institutions, is not succeeding in creating a sustainable

Irish-medium socialisation environment for young people. Ironically, the socialisation of Irish speakers through English has progressed in the Gaeltacht regardless of how well, in relative terms, educational institutions have succeeded in developing young people's general level of ability in Irish. The increasing marginalisation of the use of Irish within the social networks of the young is driven to a large extent by the dominance of English within the socialisation processes to which young people are exposed in the contemporary Gaeltacht, particularly by the position of English in the Gaeltacht education system and in the media. This in turn has seriously undermined the effective intergenerational transmission of Irish, even in Gaeltacht areas where Irish-speaking networks are most widespread and inclusive, i.e. those districts in Category A. The survey of young Gaeltacht people demonstrates that this is the case at present, and that the situation will be even more challenging for the next generation of parents. If the productive use of Irish cannot be established on a broader basis than within certain family and limited neighbourhood networks, and if the Gaeltacht education system is unable to establish an Irish language-centred socialisation process within its schools, this study will have unfortunately documented the dynamics presaging the final stages in the lifecycle of the Gaeltacht as an Irish-speaking community.

The unambiguous conclusion of the survey on young people is that, without a major change to language-use patterns, Irish is unlikely to remain the predominant community and family language in those areas with the most widespread and inclusive Irish-speaking networks (i.e. Category A Gaeltacht districts) for more than another fifteen to twenty years. By the time the young people surveyed for this study become parents, the networks of active speakers will not be widespread enough to reproduce another generation of Irish speakers unless a supportive sociolinguistic environment can be established in the interim. The medium-term prognosis for Gaeltacht districts in Category A is that there will be little difference in the future between their sociolinguistic profiles and the current sociolinguistic profiles of Categories B and C. In other words, Category A Gaeltacht districts will become language communities based on social networks, rather than a language community in which Irish is the main family and community language; the networks based on Irish will relate to the oldest age cohorts of the community, to a limited number of families raising their children through the medium of Irish and to educational and other community institutions.

The study carried out on Gaeltacht families as part of this project (see Chapter 19 of the main report) indicates that the challenge of raising a child through Irish in the Gaeltacht is made more difficult if the parents met initially in an English language setting, if English is the main language of communication in their personal relationships before their children are born, or if one parent cannot speak Irish. The challenges of raising another generation of native speakers of Irish in the Gaeltacht are obvious in light of the sociolinguistic behaviour of the current generation of young people in the Gaeltacht. Since English is the most common language used in the peer groups of the young, even in those areas with a large proportion of active Irish speakers, it is possible to predict that the next generation of Gaeltacht parents will include, for the most part, couples with only one active native speaker of Irish or two native speakers of Irish whose relationship has developed through the medium of English. In other words, most parental relationships will have been negotiated through English from the outset. If this is in fact the case, the future of Irish as a family language rests on parents who are able and willing to take the conscious decision to raise their families through Irish

– a decision which by necessity will be at variance with their previous language behaviour. This means that the vast majority of the next generation will have to make such a conscious decision with regard to the language they use with their own children. Moreover, they will have to deal with the challenges and obstacles which arise from decision-based language behaviour, as distinct from language choices established organically by a supportive Irish language community and family linguistic environment. In this context, family advisory and support services will be required to support families who choose to raise their children through the medium of Irish, if full benefit is to be drawn from the Irish language competencies of the current generation of young Gaeltacht people and from the preference indicated by the vast majority to raise their children as Irish speakers (see Section 16.9 of the main report).

5 CHALLENGES AND PRIORITIES FOR LANGUAGE PLANNING IN THE GAELTACHT

In light of the evident crisis in the current sociolinguistic situation of the core Gaeltacht areas, i.e. Category A districts, it is strongly advocated here that the recommendations of this report be implemented in a manner that gives priority to the language planning activities necessary to stabilise the position of Irish as the main community language in these areas.

There are key challenges arising from this study that require immediate attention if the threats to the sustainability of the Gaeltacht as a linguistic entity are to be overcome. The main aims of language planning for the Gaeltacht should focus on the following priorities:

- Linguistic instability gains momentum in Gaeltacht communities which do not succeed in sustaining a relatively high proportion of active Irish speakers. When this proportion falls below the critical threshold of 67% of the total population in an area, the linguistic sustainability of Irish as a community language (as opposed to its institutional use) becomes untenable. The areas proposed for inclusion in Category A represent those districts where such a proportion of Irish speakers currently exists.

    Main objective: To maintain and increase the proportion of active speakers of Irish in Category A Gaeltacht districts above the sustainability threshold of 67%, with a special focus on ensuring that the proportion of Irish speakers in the younger age cohorts is maintained and increased.

- In Category B and C Gaeltacht districts, extant Irish-speaking communities are based on linguistic social networks which are partially integrated into the broader communal networks operating in these districts. Various types of Irish-speaking networks are distinguishable in this context, including networks of those in the older age cohorts; the social networks which have been established by a small number of families still raising their children through Irish; networks based on educational institutions and/or other community institutions which still provide services through Irish or bilingually.

    Main objective: To support, maintain and strengthen Irish-speaking networks in Category B and C Gaeltacht districts.

- The current undifferentiated status of the statutory Gaeltacht does not adequately facilitate the various State and community organisations with responsibility in the Gaeltacht, including the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs, Údarás na Gaeltachta, educational authorities and community organisations, in pursuing language planning interventions appropriate to the different sociolinguistic communities which exist within the Gaeltacht categories as described above.

  Main objective: To provide a statutory mechanism enabling State and community organisations, and those officials with responsibility for dealing with the Gaeltacht, to differentiate between the different types of language communities, and to clarify the criteria which should apply in order for an area to be recognised as a statutory Gaeltacht district.

- The total number of families raising children through Irish in the Gaeltacht nationally is very low. This is especially true in Category B and C Gaeltacht districts. In Category A Gaeltacht districts, the proportion of families raising native speakers of Irish is insufficient to guarantee the continuation of Irish as the predominant community language. Moreover, there is evidence that even when Gaeltacht parents choose to raise their children through Irish, the complexities of their own linguistic background, the context in which they initially met, and the linguistic diversity of the communities in which they live pose significant challenges to the effective implementation of that decision.

  Main objective: To encourage and support Gaeltacht parents in raising their children through Irish. Advisory and other support services should be provided to support parents as early as is feasible in their relationship, to encourage them to establish the language patterns and behaviour which are likely to result in the successful linguistic outcomes they envisage when they choose to raise their children through the medium of Irish.

- Although the education system in the Gaeltacht is successful, from pre-school to post-primary levels, in significantly developing the general Irish language competency of Gaeltacht students, it is not succeeding in providing an effective educational context for the productive social and communal integration of young people as active speakers of Irish. Moreover, there is evidence to suggest that the dominant use of English is progressively established as native speakers of Irish advance from primary to post-primary level as a result of the pervasive English language-oriented socialisation process occurring in the education system in the Gaeltacht in general.

  Main objective: To ensure that Gaeltacht educational institutions adopt an approach which clearly supports the parental choice to raise their children as native speakers of Irish, and that participation in the education system entails an Irish-medium socialisation process.

- For the vast majority of young people in the contemporary Gaeltacht, English is the predominant means of communication due to the English language-centred socialisation

processes associated with participation in the education system, in youth culture as refracted through the media and, in some cases, their community networks. Despite this, however, the vast majority hold positive attitudes towards the Irish language and the Gaeltacht and wish to support the sustainability of the Gaeltacht as a linguistic entity in future.

Main objective: To engage with young Gaeltacht people on the issue of the fragility of their linguistic identity and to impress on them that their current language behaviour has implications for the future viability of Irish as a living language of Gaeltacht communities. Supports for the use of Irish in the social networks of young people should be specifically targeted at, for example, sporting organisations and youth support structures, with a view to promoting the Irish-medium socialisation of young people.

• The increasing influence of monolingual English speakers on Irish language-based networks poses a serious challenge even in those Gaeltacht areas with a large proportion of active Irish speakers.

Main objective: State, community and educational institutions in the Gaeltacht should focus primarily on the linguistic rights and needs of native speakers of Irish. Monolingual English speakers should be provided special support to learn Irish and benefit from local institutions in a manner that does not undermine provision for Irish speakers. Where this is not possible, specific arrangements should be made to meet the needs of non-Irish speakers.

• Evidently, some State agencies active in the Gaeltacht are not aware of or do not understand the language planning responsibilities that their role entails. In some cases, their role in the Gaeltacht is marginal to their core activities. The policies they seek to implement are not always in accordance with the statutory sociolinguistic status of the Gaeltacht, and in many cases their practices either do not support, or are counterproductive to, State language policy in the Gaeltacht.

Main objective: To include the activities of the main State institutions with responsibilities in the Gaeltacht within the framework of an integrated strategic language planning process for Gaeltacht communities, and to language- and Gaeltacht-proof all activities undertaken by State organisations which impinge upon the Gaeltacht, so that the delivery of all public services to the Gaeltacht community is through Irish and that policies implemented reflect the linguistic and other circumstances of the contemporary Gaeltacht.

• Some Gaeltacht districts remain underdeveloped, which puts additional pressure on the Irish language due to a lack of employment opportunities and a declining population. Moreover, the provision of structural, telecommunications and social infrastructure in the Gaeltacht remains deficient in comparison with more developed areas.

Main objective: To devise language-centred economic development strategies for these areas, and for the Gaeltacht as a whole, without impacting negatively on the

proportion of Irish speakers in the areas concerned; and to devise a planning process for Gaeltacht districts that integrates the main infrastructural, social, educational and economic developments within a language planning framework.

• The use of English in local companies and businesses within the Gaeltacht is increasing. Despite the fact that the business sector is the main recipient of the direct and indirect economic benefits which arise from the statutory status of Gaeltacht districts, some in the business community are not sufficiently aware of the link between their company/ business interests and the future sustainability of Irish as the primary language of the Gaeltacht. Moreover, it is evident that guidance on implementing good language practice in business needs to be more readily available.

Main objective: To give incentives and advice to the Gaeltacht business community with regard to good language practices in companies, and to raise awareness of the link that exists between the linguistic and economic interests of the Gaeltacht and the interests of their companies and businesses.

6 RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 STATUTORY REFORM

It is recommended that the *Ministers and Secretaries (Amendment) Act, 1956* be amended to:

1. Provide a statutory mechanism to differentiate between the different types of language communities which exist within the statutory Gaeltacht boundaries.

2. Grant statutory status to Gaeltacht Districts in Categories A, B or C as recommended above.

3. Define the minimum criteria for the awarding of statutory Gaeltacht status.

4. Clarify the statutory definition of the term 'Gaeltacht' in the context of the Act as 'limistéir shainithe phleanála teanga' [designated language planning districts], as distinct from any other linguistic or colloquial meaning the word Gaeltacht might otherwise have.

5. Include a provision whereby the statutory status 'Baile Seirbhíse Gaeltachta' [Gaeltacht Services Town] can be accorded to certain towns on the periphery of the Gaeltacht which play a significant role in the provision of services to the Gaeltacht communities adjacent to them.

6. Affirm the primary role of the Minister and of the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs, on behalf of the State, in assuring the cultural, social, economic, infrastructural and educational interests of the Gaeltacht.

A two-year period is recommended between the date on which the Act is passed by the Oireachtas and the date on which it comes into force, in order to allow the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs, other State organisations and the other main stakeholders to prepare for the implementation of the language planning process described in the proposed amended provisions.

If districts currently holding statutory Gaeltacht status do not comply with the criteria under the proposed new Section 2(2) (below) by the end of the interim two-year period, they will lose, *de facto*, their current Gaeltacht status (but they shall be able to re-apply for Gaeltacht status in due course once the minimum criteria have been met).

These proposed statutory provisions provide for a series of new orders to be laid before the Houses of the Oireachtas when the Act comes into force, granting statutory status to Gaeltacht districts as Category A, B or C Gaeltacht areas, or as Baile Seirbhíse Gaeltachta, to those areas and towns which have met the various linguistic criteria prescribed in the proposed amended Act.

As is clear from the recommendation made with regard to the planning process in the Gaeltacht, outlined in 6.3 below, a seven-year cycle is proposed for the language plans to be agreed between the Minister for Rural, Community and Gaeltacht Affairs and the key stakeholders in the relevant Gaeltacht districts. Progress under the plan is to be assessed and a new plan agreed for the following seven-year period prior to the conclusion of the ongoing plan. If the Minister is not satisfied with progress made in a given district and/or a new plan has not been agreed for the next period, it is accepted, *de facto*, that the district will lose its Gaeltacht status, although it will be able to reapply in due course.

The following is an indicative list of towns proposed for inclusion as Bailte Seirbhíse Gaeltachta, provided they have fulfilled the relevant criteria by the time the provisions of the proposed amended Act come into force:

- An Fál Carrach
- An Clochán Liath
- Béal an Mhuirthead
- Cathair na Gaillimhe
- An Daingean
- Cathair Saidhbhín
- Dún Garbhán
- Baile Átha Buí

Recommended legislative amendments to Ministers and Secretaries (Amendment) Act, 1956:

Revision 1

Delete Section 2(2) and insert the following two sections:[10]

---

10   As a result of this revision, the current Section 2(3) and 2(4) will consecutively become Section 2(4) and 2(5). Revisions to the numbering system will also arise in the case of the revision to Section 3(2).

2.—(2) The Government may from time to time determine by order the Gaeltacht areas of

(i)   Category A designated language planning districts, in which the majority of the population are active Irish speakers, according to data from the Census and Scéim Labhairt na Gaeilge, in which Irish-medium immersion education is available at primary level and at post-primary level, and in which language plans have been agreed between the Minister for Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs and key stakeholders within the community so as to promote the Irish language effectively as the predominant family and community language within the relevant districts.

(ii)   Category B designated language planning districts, in which a significant part of the community are active Irish speakers, according to data from the Census and Scéim Labhairt na Gaeilge, in which Irish-medium immersion education is available at primary level and at post-primary level, and in which language plans have been agreed between the Minister for Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs and key stakeholders within the community so as to promote the Irish language effectively within the Irish-speaking networks existing within the relevant districts.

(iii)   Category C designated language planning districts, in which a minority of the community are active Irish speakers, according to data from the Census and Scéim Labhairt na Gaeilge, in which Irish-medium immersion education is available at primary level and at post-primary level, and in which language plans have been agreed between the Minister for Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs and key stakeholders within the community so as to promote the Irish language effectively and develop the Irish-speaking networks existing within the relevant districts.

(3) For the purposes of this Act "Baile Seirbhíse Gaeltachta" shall comprise the areas for the time being determined to be Baile Seirbhíse Gaeltachta by order of this section and which are adjacent to the Gaeltacht areas prescribed in Section 2(2) above, and which play a significant role in the delivery of public services to those Gaeltacht areas and for which language plans have been agreed between the Minister for Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs and key stakeholders within the relevant towns to procure services through the medium of Irish.

Revision 2

Delete Section 3(2) and insert the following two sections:

3.—(2) It shall be the function of the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs to promote the cultural, social, economical, infrastructural and educational welfare of the Gaeltacht, and to encourage the preservation and extension of the use of Irish as a vernacular language.

(3) Departments of State and State bodies shall consult and take the advice of the Minister for Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs in respect of services and schemes administered by such Departments which effect the cultural, social, economical, infrastructural and

educational welfare of the Gaeltacht or which relate to the national aim of creating and sustaining a bilingual society.

6.2 ROLE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF COMMUNITY, RURAL AND GAELTACHT AFFAIRS

It is recommended that the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs adopt a policy and strategic role which should seek primarily to coordinate the activities of State bodies with responsibilities in the Gaeltacht, as is envisaged in the proposed legislative revisions to the 1956 Act as outlined above. The objective of this coordinating role is to ensure that the activities of other State bodies within the Gaeltacht operate in accordance with State aims with regard to the Gaeltacht, and that such activities support the use of Irish as a sustainable community language. These strengthened responsibilities shall give the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs the opportunity to develop integrated national policies over a period of time in order to curtail the counterproductive practices which are damaging the Gaeltacht as a linguistic entity at present.

Explicit in the above proposals for legislative reform is the requirement for key stakeholders in the various Gaeltacht districts to develop and agree a language plan with the Minister for Rural, Community and Gaeltacht Affairs. In this type of planning process, it is important to separate the review functions from the planning activities themselves. The Department should assess the plans which have been submitted for its approval, assess the outcomes of these language plans, and from time to time, review the impact of the planning process and provide feedback to key stakeholders. It is therefore recommended in 6.3 below that Údarás na Gaeltachta hold administrative responsibility for this planning work.

At the end of each seven-year planning period, it is recommended that the Department prepare a report on the overall planning process, including a review of the outcomes of the plans, an overview of the current status of Irish in the various districts, recommendations to overcome the remaining obstacles and barriers to progress in each district, and an outline of the primary aims and the main planning objectives for the following period.

6.3 THE PLANNING PROCESS IN THE GAELTACHT

As part of the requirement to prepare and implement agreed language plans for those Gaeltacht districts complying with the revised statutory provisions outlined in this report, it is also recommended that these plans be integrated into a comprehensive and cohesive planning process with respect to the other main domains of Gaeltacht life, including language planning, local and physical planning, educational planning, structural planning, social planning and planning for community development.

It is recommended that these plans be developed and implemented in seven-year cycles. The evaluation of the effectiveness of the initial/current plans should be completed in the beginning of the sixth year of the relevant cycle, prior to the preparation of the next plan in the seventh year of the cycle.

It is recommended that responsibility for the administration and coordination of this planning process should be delegated to Údarás na Gaeltachta and that the plans be prepared in consultation with the key stakeholders related to the various planning strands outlined in Tables 4, 5 and 6 below. In particular planning strands, it is assumed that Údarás na Gaeltachta itself will be the key stakeholder, while in other cases there will be more than one key stakeholder.

By virtue of their sociolinguistic profile, the range of planning strands to be included in this process for Category A Gaeltacht districts will be more comprehensive than for those in other Gaeltacht categories because of the requirement to incorporate every aspect of the planning process in the language plans of these districts. It must also be ensured that the planning process in Category A Gaeltacht districts operates in a manner that is primarily language-centred if Irish as a family and community language is to be supported and developed. In the case of the other Gaeltacht categories, it is proposed that their planning process focus solely on the primary targets of enhancing the use of Irish in the community and on strengthening the Irish-speaking networks that currently function in these districts. To this end, the range of planning strands proposed for inclusion in the planning process for each Gaeltacht category is outlined in Tables 4, 5 and 6 below.

The planning strands outlined in Tables 4–6 are not intended to be exhaustive, but the list highlights the primary planning strands and key stakeholders pertaining to a range of responsibilities and administrative functions important to the future sustainability of the Gaeltacht as a linguistic entity. It should be possible to expand the list of planning strands and organisations associated with various domains as the process develops. In the case of Gaeltacht Categories B and C and the Bailte Seirbhíse Gaeltachta, however, it is proposed to limit the language planning process to those planning strands which can clearly result in tangible language planning outcomes. Such an approach would clearly differentiate between State expenditure on the Irish language and State expenditure on other development strands in these target districts.

It is proposed that expenditure from the State's Gaeltacht budget, especially the expenditure of the principal State organisations operating in the Gaeltacht, i.e. the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs and Údarás na Gaeltachta, be primarily linked henceforth to development projects emanating from this comprehensive planning process. This shall act as a mechanism to ensure that language planning criteria shall be adhered to as a precondition of granting State supports within the Gaeltacht from now on and for clarifying the relationship between the sustainability of the Irish language and State expenditure in the Gaeltacht.

CATEGORY A

PLANNING STRAND	KEY STAKEHOLDERS
Language Planning	Údarás na Gaeltachta and various community organisations
Education Planning	An Chomhairle um Oideachas Gaeltachta agus Gaelscolaíochta, an tÚdarás Oideachais Gaeltachta (see recommendation 6.6 below), Comhar na Naíonraí Gaeltachta, Gaeltacht pre-schools and schools and Acadamh na hOllscolaíochta Gaeilge
Family Support Services including: Childcare services, pre-school services, language advisory services for families, after-school services, networks for Irish-speaking parents and children, pre-marital and ante-natal advice services, language awareness programmes for families, speech therapy and psychological services, and public health services	Údarás na Gaeltachta, Family Support Centres (see recommendation 6.7 below) and Health Service Executive
Youth Services including the promotion of language awareness among the young in the Gaeltacht, Gaeltacht summer colleges and camps	Údarás na Gaeltachta in cooperation with Óige na Gaeltachta and Gaeltacht youth and pertinent community organisations
Local government Services	Údarás na Gaeltachta in cooperation with the County Councils' Comhairlí Ceantair Gaeltachta (Gaeltacht District Councils)
Local and Physical Planning including infrastructural development, economic development, and housing and settlement policy	Údarás na Gaeltachta in cooperation with the County Councils' Comhairlí Ceantair Gaeltachta (see recommendation 6.4 below)
Community Development	Údarás na Gaeltachta in cooperation with Gaeltacht Co-ops and other community organisations
Planning for economic, industrial, and local business development, including the promotion of language awareness among business service providers in the Gaeltacht districts and in the Bailte Seirbhíse Gaeltachta	Údarás na Gaeltachta in cooperation with Cumainn Tráchtála na Gaeltachta (Chambers of Commerce) (see recommendation 6.10 below) and business organisations and local Gaeltacht businesses
Development of cultural/educational tourism	Údarás na Gaeltachta/Gaelsaoire in cooperation with business and Gaeltacht tourism services
Religious Services	Dioceses located in Gaeltacht Counties
Care for the Elderly	Údarás na Gaeltachta in cooperation with Gaeltacht social organisations and the Health Service Executive
Care of children with special needs	Údarás na Gaeltachta in cooperation with Gaeltacht social organisations and the Health Service Executive
Health Service	Údarás na Gaeltachta in cooperation with the Health Service Executive
Sport	Údarás na Gaeltachta in cooperation with sports organisations in the Gaeltacht

TABLE 4: OUTLINE LIST OF THE PLANNING STRANDS TO BE INCLUDED IN THE LANGUAGE PLANNING PROCESS FOR GAELTACHT DISTRICTS IN CATEGORY A

CATEGORIES B AND C

PLANNING STRAND	KEY STAKEHOLDERS
Language Planning	Údarás na Gaeltachta and various community organisations
Education Planning	An Chomhairle um Oideachas Gaeltachta agus Gaelscolaíochta, an tÚdarás Oideachais Gaeltachta (see recommendation 6.6 below), Comhar na Naíonraí Gaeltachta, Gaeltacht pre-schools and schools and Acadamh na hOllscolaíochta Gaeilge
Family Support Services including: Childcare services, pre-school services, language advisory services for families, after-school services, networks for Irish-speaking parents and children, pre-marital and ante-natal advice services, language awareness programmes for families, speech therapy and psychological services, and public health services	Údarás na Gaeltachta, Family Support (Centres see recommendation 6.7 below) and Health Service Executive
Youth Services including the promotion of language awareness among the young in the Gaeltacht, Gaeltacht summer colleges and camps	Údarás na Gaeltachta in cooperation with Óige na Gaeltachta and Gaeltacht youth and pertinent community organisations
Community Development	Údarás na Gaeltachta in cooperation with Gaeltacht Co-ops and other community organisations
Planning to enhance the use of Irish in business and community organisations	Údarás na Gaeltachta in cooperation with Cumainn Tráchtála na Gaeltachta, the local business community and other local organisations
Development of cultural/educational tourism	Údarás na Gaeltachta/Gaelsaoire in cooperation with business and Gaeltacht tourism services
Religious Services	Dioceses located in Gaeltacht Counties

TABLE 5: OUTLINE LIST OF THE PLANNING STRANDS TO BE INCLUDED IN THE LANGUAGE PLANNING PROCESS FOR GAELTACHT DISTRICTS IN CATEGORIES B AND C

BAILTE SEIRBHÍSE GAELTACHTA

PLANNING STRAND	KEY STAKEHOLDERS
Language Planning	Údarás na Gaeltachta and various community organisations
Education Planning	An Chomhairle um Oideachas Gaeltachta agus Gaelscolaíochta, an tÚdarás Oideachais Gaeltachta (see recommendation 6.6 below), Comhar na Naíonraí Gaeltachta, Gaeltacht pre-schools and schools and Acadamh na hOllscolaíochta Gaeilge
Family Support Services including: Childcare services, pre-school services, language advisory services for families, after-school services, networks for Irish-speaking parents and children, pre-marital and ante-natal advice services, language awareness programmes for families, speech therapy and psychological services, and public health services	Údarás na Gaeltachta, Family Support (Centres see recommendation 6.7 below) and Health Service Executive
Planning to enhance the use of Irish in business and community organisations	Údarás na Gaeltachta in cooperation with Chambers of Commerce, the local business community and other local organisations
Development of cultural/education tourism	Údarás na Gaeltachta/Gaelsaoire in cooperation with business and Gaeltacht tourism services
Religious Services	Dioceses located in Gaeltacht Counties

TABLE 6: OUTLINE LIST OF THE PLANNING STRANDS TO BE INCLUDED IN THE LANGUAGE PLANNING PROCESS FOR BAILTE SEIRBHÍSE GAELTACHTA

6.4 LOCAL AND PHYSICAL PLANNING AND DEVELOPMENT IN THE GAELTACHT

For the purposes of giving cohesion to the planning process discussed above, and of targeting the provisions of the *Planning and Development Act 2000* more effectively for the benefit of the Gaeltacht, it is recommended that the three planning authorities with responsibility for Category A Gaeltacht districts, i.e. Donegal, Galway, and Kerry[11] County Councils, establish Comhairlí Ceantair Gaeltachta (Gaeltacht District Councils) for the relevant Category A districts. Responsibility should be given to these District Councils to devise and administer local area plans which relate to the wider planning responsibilities as outlined in the *Planning and Development Act 2000*. It is recommended that the administration and management of planning responsibilities in Categeory A districts be delegated to Údarás na Gaeltachta. It is further recommended that the local Gaeltacht plans prepared as part of this process be accepted as local Gaeltacht plans under section 19(1) of the *Planning and Development Act 2000*.

It is also recommended that the *Planning and Development Act 2000* be revised to enable Údarás na Gaeltachta to act as the principal regional planning authority for the Gaeltacht as a whole.

In order to administer the planning and development process for the Gaeltacht more effectively, especially in Category A Gaeltacht districts, it is recommended:

1. That national policy and guidelines be prepared on a statutory basis to:

    a. Establish the principles underpinning language-centred planning and development in Gaeltacht districts.

    b. Provide set policy parameters to the planning authorities, including guidelines for increasing the proportions of Irish speakers in the resident populations of the Gaeltacht district(s) under their aegis.

    c. Provide guidelines for the regulation of housing and other developments within Gaeltacht districts.

    d. Protect traditional Gaeltacht settlement patterns (which are part of the cultural and linguistic heritage of the Gaeltacht) and facilitate young Gaeltacht people to settle in their own areas.

2. That the development plans prepared for Category A Gaeltacht districts, and for other Gaeltacht areas as appropriate, refer to the infrastructural, economic and social development needs of these districts; and that planning objectives related to housing and other types of development are clearly specified in such plans, for the benefit of both planning authorities and the wider community.

---

11   Because there is only one electoral division (Cnoc an Daimh) in County Mayo in Category A it is not considered practical to create a Rural Gaeltacht District Council in this county.

3. That, in the case of planning applications within Gaeltacht districts, information be sought on the applicant's linguistic background and connection to the locality, as well as the proposed use of the dwelling, as an integral part of the planning application process. Unless such information is made available, it is difficult to judge the linguistic implications of proposed developments. It is therefore recommended that there be a specific application form for planning permission in Gaeltacht districts, and that the same form be used by each planning authority.

4. That, in making decisions on planning applications for single houses and housing developments, the following factors should be given priority:

   a. The linguistic sustainability threshold; i.e. active Irish speakers in any given district need to represent at least 67% of the total population to ensure the sustainability of Irish as a family and community language.

   b. The importance of facilitating young people from the district who wish to build and live in their own area.

   c. The housing needs of the local community, and the number of new houses needed to support the organic growth of the population, with reference to the housing costs the local community is able to bear.

   d. The ability of social infrastructure, including childcare services, pre-schools, primary schools and post-primary education, to cope with any change to the sociolinguistic composition of the community resulting from the proposed development – without undermining the effectiveness of Irish-medium services provided for children who are native speakers of Irish.

5. That appropriate arrangements be made to ensure that professionals with responsibility for the planning and development process in Gaeltacht districts are qualified to undertake their work in the Gaeltacht and capable of carrying out their professional duties through the medium of Irish.

6. That each planning authority responsible for Gaeltacht districts provide a yearly statistical report setting forth detailed information on housing and other developments, and on the implications these developments have for the proportion of active Irish speakers in the district and therefore the linguistic sustainability threshold.

7. That the main objective of the planning process for the Gaeltacht be to maintain and increase the proportion of active Irish speakers living in Categories A and B, especially.

In view of the diminished proportion of active Irish speakers within the contemporary Gaeltacht generally, it is strongly recommended that language conditions be attached to every housing development, including once-off housing and developments of housing estates, in Category A and B Gaeltacht districts. This measure is proposed in order to prevent

a further diminution of the proportion of active speakers in a given area and to combat the pressures that are causing the remaining Irish-speaking communities to drop below the critical linguistic sustainability threshold.

6.5   ASSESSMENT CRITERIA FOR THE LANGUAGE PLANNING PROCESS

The following assessment criteria are recommended as the basis for adjudicating upon the relevance and effectiveness of the language plans submitted to the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs in accordance with the language planning recommendations listed in 6.3 above:

Category A Gaeltacht districts

It is recommended that the following assessment criteria apply, *inter alia*, to Category A Gaeltacht communities:

1. A minimum of 67% of the population are daily speakers of Irish as indicated by Census data; and 65% of families with children in the relevant age cohort are receiving support under the reformed SLG scheme (see Section 6.8 below).

2. Irish should be the predominant language in all of the community's social and institutional domains.

3. All instruction (except for English language classes) at primary and secondary level is to be through the medium of Irish from the first day of school; and schools should support the use of Irish as a social language outside of the classroom by implementing effective language policies.

4. A school curriculum which addresses the requirements of children who are native speakers of Irish should be implemented.

5. Special arrangements should be put in place in these districts to support the acquisition of Irish by children who do not speak Irish at home prior to enrolment in naíonra [Irish-medium pre-school], primary school or post-primary school (see Section 6.6 below), so that the educational institutions in Category A districts can implement school entry policies which ensure that children who register for school are capable Irish speakers.

6. Language-centred family support services are available (including childcare services, pre-school services and family advisory services), with appropriate and separate provisions put in place for children who are native speakers of Irish and for children who do not speak Irish in the home.

7. Youth clubs are run through Irish and implement an effective language policy.

8. Youth clubs, summer camps and sporting and other social events are run to provide entertainment and activities for the young and facilitate Irish-speaking networks of young people.

9. Sporting associations are run through the medium of Irish.

10. Religious services in the area are run through the medium of Irish.

11. Community organisations and comharchumainn [co-operatives] are run through the medium of Irish.

12. Local companies and businesses provide services to the community predominantly through the medium of Irish.

13. Employment/recruitment policy is implemented by the companies and businesses in their local area in a manner that ensures that they are capable of providing their services through the medium of Irish.

14. Priority and protection is accorded to the Irish language in the administration of the planning system so that the community can be assured that the use of Irish in the area is not marginalised due to inappropriate planning decisions.

Categories B and C Gaeltacht districts
It is recommended that the following assessment criteria apply, *inter alia*, to Category B and C Gaeltacht communities:

1. In the case of Category B, 44% of the population are daily speakers of Irish according to Census data and 30% of families with children in the relevant age cohort are receiving support under the reformed SLG scheme (see Section 6.8 below.)

2. In the case of Category C, 30% of the population are daily speakers of Irish according to Census data and 10% of families with children in the relevant age cohort are receiving support under the reformed SLG scheme (see Section 6.8 below.)

3. Irish-speaking networks are active in the community.

4. Education (except for English language classes) at primary and secondary level is provided through the medium of Irish for the students in the area.

5. Language policies are drafted and implemented in the schools to support the use of Irish as a social language outside of the classroom.

6. Language-centred family support services are available (including childcare services, pre-school services and family advisory services), with special arrangements made, as appropriate, for children who are native speakers of Irish and for children who do not speak Irish in the home.

7. Youth clubs, summer camps and sporting and other social events providing entertainment and activities for the young are run through the medium of Irish and effective language policies are implemented.

8. Religious services are available in the area through the medium of Irish.

9. The provisions of the *Planning and Development Act 2000* are enacted to maintain and strengthen the proportion of Irish speakers in the area (in the case of Category B) and to maximise the use and visibility of Irish in Category B and C districts in general.

Bailte Seirbhíse Gaeltachta

It is recommended that the following assessment criteria apply, *inter alia*, to applications for the status of Baile Seirbhíse Gaeltachta:

1. The implementation of an Irish language strategy in the public administration of applicant towns is to be specified.

2. A code of practice for the use of the Irish language is to be agreed between community leaders and institutions of the town.

3. The Irish-medium services to be provided to Irish speakers and to Gaeltacht communities in the area are to be specified.

4. Irish-medium immersion primary and secondary education services are available in the town.

5. Irish-medium pre-school and childcare services are available in the town.

6. Youth clubs and sport, social and other youth events are available through the medium of Irish in the town, and language policies are implemented.

7. The role of the Irish language in public entertainment in the town is specified.

8. Irish language signage is used in businesses and institutions of the town, and the City/County Council makes this a condition for the granting of planning permission.

9. An agreed local planning strategy is administered in a manner which does not exert linguistic pressure on Irish-speaking communities in the catchment area of the Baile Seirbhíse Gaeltachta.

6.6   THE GAELTACHT EDUCATION SYSTEM

A linguistically-appropriate education system is critical to the maintenance of Irish as a family and community language in the Gaeltacht. In light of the observed hindrances to the effective provision of an education system appropriate to the requirements of the Gaeltacht as a linguistic entity, it is proposed that the recommendations arising from the reports *Staid Reatha na Scoileanna Gaeltachta* (Mac Donnacha *et al*. 2005 and Mac Donnacha 2005) be immediately implemented. It is also proposed, in addition to these recommendations, to:

1. Establish An Chomhairle um Oideachas Gaeltachta agus Gaelscolaíochta as a statutory body, and have the Department of Education and Science delegate all policy considerations related to every aspect of the Gaeltacht education system to this statutory body. It is recommended that the following policy considerations be delegated, *inter alia*, to An Chomhairle:

   a. Pre- and in-service training of teachers;
   b. Content and implementation of the curriculum in Gaeltacht schools;
   c. Practices with regard to teacher recruitment in Gaeltacht schools;
   d. Schools' Inspectorate Service for Gaeltacht schools;
   e. Other support services, including psychological services for Gaeltacht schools;
   f. Entry policy for Gaeltacht schools;
   g. Resources and teaching materials for Gaeltacht schools; and
   h. The location and establishment of schools and new education services.

2. Establish, under the aegis of An Chomhairle, An tÚdarás or An Bord Oideachais Gaeltachta [Gaeltacht Education Authority or Board], the implementation body responsible for the delivery of the education system in the Gaeltacht.

3. Establish a Coláiste Oideachais [Education College] in the Gaeltacht to provide training courses through the medium of Irish to primary and post-primary teachers, to cover the specific professional requirements of teachers working in the immersion education system of Gaeltacht schools.

4. Establish language acquisition schools in Category A Gaeltacht districts for children who do not speak Irish at home. It is recommended that services be provided in these schools for children from pre-school to post-primary age so that they acquire a level of Irish which enables them to participate in the Gaeltacht education system. The aim of this recommendation is to ensure that all Gaeltacht children, from naíonra level to post-primary, speak Irish fluently before they enter the general Gaeltacht education system.

5. Devise an entry policy for Gaeltacht schools in Category A, which ensures that children must speak Irish in order to register at school. For Gaeltacht secondary schools, it is recommended that the entry policy be limited to children who speak Irish at home and to children who received an Irish-medium primary education.

6. Undertake a review of the provision of second level Irish-medium immersion education in the various Gaeltacht districts as a matter of absolute urgency.

7. Appoint a Minister of State reporting to the Minister for Education and Science and to the Minister for Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs with responsibility for Irish language and Gaeltacht affairs in the education system.

6.7   FAMILY SUPPORT SERVICES

It is recommended that a Family Support Centre be established in each Gaeltacht area to promote language awareness issues among young Gaeltacht couples, and provide the following services, *inter alia*:

1. Pre-marital and ante-natal courses
2. Childcare services
3. Pre-school services
4. Language advice and support services for parents raising their children through Irish
5. After-school and care services
6. Parenting courses
7. Other services for parents and children being raised through Irish
8. Speech therapy and psychological services (in cooperation with the health services.)

6.8   SCÉIM LABHAIRT NA GAEILGE

It is recommended that the SLG be reformed to:

1. Enable parent(s) to register for the scheme prior to the birth of the first child.

2. Outline and explain the language practices which the scheme seeks to support.

3. Limit the application of the scheme to families with children up to age 7.

4. Make provision under the scheme for the participation of families where one parent is not Irish-speaking on the understanding that the language practices being pursued in the family are in accordance with the aims of the scheme, i.e. that the Irish-speaking parent speaks Irish with the children and that the other parent supports this strategy.

5. Enrol children in exclusively Irish-medium childcare services in cases where both parents are working on a full-time basis, or in the case where the non-Irish speaking parent is involved in home duties.

6. Pay a grant of €5,000 per year for the period of the scheme to each family registered under the scheme in recognition of the costs of providing linguistically-appropriate child care or the opportunity costs borne by an Irish-speaking parent in caring for the children at home.

7. Assess the effectiveness of the scheme by visits to the family home.

It is recommended that applications from every family (with children of the relevant age) living in the various Gaeltacht districts be considered for the reformed SLG, but that no family participating in the current scheme be excluded from participation in the new scheme as a result of changes to the statutory districts that may occur in the future.

6.9   YOUTH SERVICES

It is recommended that strategies be implemented in order to:

1. Strengthen and develop Óige na Gaeltachta [youth services organisation] and
    enable the organisation to focus on two critical aspects of youth services in the
    Gaeltacht:

    a. The establishment of a strong Gaeltacht youth organisation which works
        entirely through the medium of Irish. It is recommended that this youth
        organisation focus on fostering young people's identity as citizens of the
        Gaeltacht, within a general focus on youth activities.
    b. The establishment of Irish-medium youth services in all Gaeltacht
        districts.

2. Establish Gaeltacht summer colleges for young Gaeltacht people with fluent Irish to
    give them the opportunity to meet their peers from other Gaeltacht districts.

3. Support, via the above proposals and other methods, the development of an Irish
    language 'youth culture', in so far as is possible.

6.10   THE BUSINESS SECTOR IN THE GAELTACHT

It is recommended that a Cumann Tráchtála [Chamber of Commerce] be established for
the business sector in the Gaeltacht, with responsiblity, *inter alia*, for raising language
awareness within this sector. The Gaeltacht Chamber of Commerce should also foster a
greater understanding among the business community of the link between the interests of
the Irish language and the economic interests of the Gaeltacht, as well as the success of their
own companies/businesses.

6.11   THE BOARD OF ÚDARÁS NA GAELTACHTA

In the context of the proposals made in this report to amend the statutory status of Gaeltacht
districts, it is recommended that the Board of Údarás na Gaeltachta be reformed as follows:

1. Establish two electoral colleges for the purposes of Údarás elections, one for
    Gaeltacht districts in Category A, and another for Gaeltacht districts in Categories
    B and C.

2. Elect ten (10) representatives to the Board from the Category A Gaeltacht electoral
    college as follows:

    a. The six (6) candidates residing in the Category A districts who obtain the
        highest overall votes in the electoral college i.e. two for each of the relevant
        counties (Donegal, Galway and Kerry Category A Gaeltacht districts.)
    b. The candidate (1) resident in the Category A district of Co. Mayo with the
        highest overall vote.
    c. The three (3) candidates with the next highest overall vote in the electoral
        college.

3. Elect eight (8) representatives to the Board from the Category B and C Gaeltacht electoral college as follows:

   a. The single candidate from each of the seven Gaeltacht counties with the highest overall vote in the electoral college.
   b. The single candidate with the next highest overall vote.

6.12   DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN RESOURCES

Implications arise from the recommendations and challenges outlined in this report for the range of skills currently available within the various organisations responsible for language and other planning activities in the Gaeltacht. In order to facilitate the implementation of the recommendations of this report, an assessment should be undertaken of the range of skills required in the language and other planning strands as compared to the range of skills already available within the organisations. Where gaps are identified, suitably qualified personnel should be recruited or employees from within the organisation should be upskilled.

6.13   REDRAWING THE BOUNDARIES OF CERTAIN GAELTACHT ELECTORAL DIVISIONS

Several Gaeltacht electoral divisions which (according to Census data) included only a very low number of active Irish speakers were nonetheless identified as including relatively strong pockets of Irish-speaking networks during the course of this research. Specific reference has been made to one example of this phenomenon, i.e. the Cill Chuimín electoral division in Co. Galway (see Section 3.1 above), although it is estimated that there may be a small number of other electoral divisions fitting this same profile. To facilitate this type of analysis in future, consultation with the Central Statistics Office is recommended, with a view to redrawing some electoral divisions. This redrawing should focus on part-electoral districts on the periphery of the Gaeltacht with a view to combining townlands including existing Irish-speaking networks with adjacent electoral divisions of the same sociolinguistic profile. The amalgamation of the Ráth Mhór, Baile Átha Buí and Cill Bhríde electoral divisions in Co. Meath (see Section 3.1 above) would be a case in point. As a result of this process, it is proposed that part-electoral divisions that have or will retain Gaeltacht status be combined with adjacent electoral divisions with Gaeltacht status.

7   CONCLUDING REMARKS

This study was undertaken to improve our understanding of the current sociolinguistic context in the Gaeltacht with a view to gaining further insight into the social dynamics and language use patterns which pose serious challenges to the sustainability of Irish as a community and family language. Clear threats to the sustainability of Irish as a community language have been documented in this report and specific recommendations have been made which form the basis of an integrated strategy to address the linguistic challenges facing the Irish-speaking community at present.

The main aims of the study were to identify the barriers to progress in the implementation of support strategies fostering the use of the Irish language, and to learn from these difficulties

in order to build on the advantages and the linguistic strengths which exist, so as to inform a positive and dynamic strategy for the future.

In this context it is necessary to highlight nine significant positive factors which can act as a central pillar in support of the strategies and the language plans recommended in this report:

- The positive attitude towards the Irish language noted by the research team in every area studied as part of this project, especially among the young people in the Gaeltacht.
- Relatively high levels of ability in the Irish language in the majority of the Gaeltacht areas, especially among the younger age cohorts.
- The willingness on the part of many community institutions in the various areas to carry out their work and discharge their responsibilities in accordance with the linguistic status of the Gaeltacht despite the low levels of use of Irish as a community language in some areas.
- The high levels of support different State organisations evince towards ensuring the sustainability of the Irish-speaking community.
- The broad support shown by all Governments since the foundation of the State to maintaining the Gaeltacht as a distinct linguistic community.
- The number of community and State institutions willing to foster the use of Irish in their activities and events.
- The great number of Irish speakers not of Gaeltacht origin who, as a result of the language policies of the Irish State, consider the Gaeltacht as an important element of their own cultural identity; and the solidarity shown by the people of Ireland generally to the Gaeltacht.
- The recent successes of the Irish economy have provided Ireland with sufficient resources to address the linguistic challenges outlined in this report.
- Despite the process of language shift away from Irish since the seventeenth century, Irish-speaking Gaeltacht communities remain in northwest Donegal, in south Conamara and the Aran Islands, in west Corca Dhuibhne and in northwest Erris, as do Irish-speaking networks in all of the seven current Gaeltacht counties.

In implementing effective language strategies that can address the linguistic crisis facing the Gaeltacht, we, as citizens, officials of public and community organisations, and as members of our language communities, should consider these and other positive factors as well as the clear challenges that exist to the sustainability of Irish as a community language. It is only through combining our strengths with a rational assessment of these challenges that we can hope to be effective in implementing language planning strategies to stabilise the current patterns of language shift and to ensure the future of the Gaeltacht as a distinct Irish-speaking community.

NOTE

Appendices and two series of maps indicating the distribution of various sets of language data are included in the final section of the Irish summary of this report.

ABBREVIATIONS, REFERENCES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abbreviations

Cat.   Category
CSO   Central Statistics Office, Ireland
DS   Daily Speakers
NIRSA   National Institute for Regional and Spatial Analysis, NUI Maynooth
SFR   Standardised Frequency Ratio
SLG   Scéim Labhairt na Gaeilge

References[12]

1.   State Sources

Reports and State/Government Publications

Coimisiún na Gaeltachta (1926). *Gaeltacht Commission: Report*. Dublin: Stationery Office.

Coimisiún na Gaeltachta (2002). *Tuarascáil*. Dublin: Department of Arts, Heritage, Gaeltacht and the Islands.

CILAR – Committee on Irish Language Attitudes Research (1975). *Tuarascáil*. Dublin: Stationery Office.

CNG – Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge (1945). 'Tuairisc ar chruinnithe Bhord na nOifigeach, Lúnasa 1945', available in Ní Chinnéide (1997: 14).

CNG (1947). 'Dul chun cinn na Gaeilge'. Dublin: Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge.

CNG (1949). *Tuarascáil Bhliantúil 1948–49*. Dublin: Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge.

CNG (1952). 'Memorandum to Mr. Seán Lemass, T.D., Minister for Industry and Commerce on the matter of the Preservation of the Gaeltacht' in File C1/ 2, Department of the Gaeltacht.

CNG (1953). *Memorandum for the Taoiseach: A Board for the Gaeltacht*. Dublin: Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge.

CSO – Central Statistics Office, Ireland (1926). 'Census of Population 1926'.

CSO (1956). 'Census of Population, 1956: Irish Language Inquiry', unpublished report.

CSO (2002). *Census 2002 Reports*.

Government of Ireland (2001). *Plean Forbartha Náisiúnta na hÉireann, 2000–2006*. Dublin: Stationery Office.

Government of Ireland (2002). *Straitéis Spásúil Náisiúnta 2002–2020*. Dublin: Stationery Office.

OAG – Oifig Aire na Gaeltachta (1956). 'Determination of Gaeltacht Areas' in File S15811B, Department of the Taoiseach.

OGCC – Oifig na Gaeltachta agus na gCeantar gCúng (1953). 'Observations of the Committee (Idir-Ranna) on the Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge Memorandum dated 22 October, 1953 and entitled "Memorandum for the Taoiseach: A Board for the Gaeltacht" ' in File A22, Department of the Gaeltacht.

---

12   The bibliography included in the main report is made available here.

OGCC (1954) 'Miontuairiscí an Choiste Eadar Roinne (Gaeltachta) 7 April 1954' in File A4, Department of the Gaeltacht.

OGCC (1955: 10-11). Nótaí Sheáin Mhig Fhloinn ar rún an tSeanaid: 'Forbairt agus Caomhnú na Gaeltachta – Tairiscint (2 November 1955)' in File A 22, Department of the Gaeltacht.

Údarás na Gaeltachta. (2004). *Tuarascáil Bhliantúil 2004*.

Reports and Local Authority Publications

Bwrdd yr Iaith (2005) *Planning and the Welsh Langauge: The Way Ahead*. Booklet prepared for local authorities in Wales, The Home Builders Federation and the National Assembly for Wales.

Comhairle Contae Chiarraí (2006). *Plean Limistéir Áitiúil, An Daingean 2006–2012*.

Comhairle Contae Chorcaí (2003). *Plean Forbartha Chontae Chorcaí 2003–2009.*

Comhairle Contae Dhún na nGall (2006). 'Cur Chuige Úr do Phleanáil Áitiúil Ceantair agus do Chur i bhFeidhm an Phlean i nGaeltacht Dhún na nGall' (Draft document).

Comhairle Contae Mhaigh Eo (2003). *Plean Forbartha Chontae Mhaigh Eo 2003–2009.*

Lynch, C. (2005) 'Planning in Gaeltacht Areas. Guidelines for Regional and Planning Authorities', unpublished document prepared by NASC for the Local Authorities.

PFCCC 2003–09 *Plean Forbartha Chomhairle Contae Chiarraí 2003–09.*

PFCD 2000–06 *Plean Forbartha Chontae Dhún na nGall 2000–06.*

PFCD 2006 *Plean Forbartha Chontae Dhún na nGall 2006.*

PFCG 1997–03 *Plean Forbartha Chontae na Gaillimhe 1997–2003.*

PFCG 2003–09 *Plean Forbartha Chontae na Gaillimhe 2003–09.*

PFCM 2001–07 *Plean Forbartha Chontae na Mí 2001–07.*

PFPL 1999 *Plean Forbartha Phort Láirge 1999.*

PFPL 2005–11 *Plean Forbartha Phort Láirge 2005–11.*

PGCRHS 2000 *Plean Gníomhaíochta do Cheantar na Rinne/Heilvic agus don Sean Phobal 2000.* CAAS (Environmental Services) Ltd. for Waterford County Council.

Debates of Dáil Éireann (DD):

DD (1946). 'Irish Language in the Gaeltacht – Motion', Vol. 99, 20 February.

DD (1946a). 'Irish-speaking Districts – Written Answer', Vol. 103, 20 November.

DD (1956). 'An Bille Airí agus Rúnaithe (Leasú), 1956 – An Dara Céim', Vol. 156, 19 April.
Available online:
http://www.oireachtas-debates.gov.ie/en.toc.dail.html, accessed 15 December 2005.

Debates of Seanad Éireann (DS):

DS (1955). 'Aireacht na Gaeltachta', Vol. 45, 2 November.
Available online:
http://historical-debates.oireachtas.ie/S/0045/S.0045.195511020004.html, accessed 4 January 2006.

State Files in the National Archives

Department of the Gaeltacht

A1/ 2: Oifig na Gaeltachta agus na gCeantar gCúng: Tuarascála [sic].

A1/ 3: Oifig na Gaeltachta agus na gCeantar gCúng: Tuarascála, 3 Aibreán 1954.

A4: Oifig na Gaeltachta agus na gCeantar gCúng 1951–56, An Coiste Eadar Roinne.

A4/ 1: Oifig na Gaeltachta agus na gCeantar gCúng, An Coiste Eadar Roinne, Miontuairiscí.

A22: Oifig na Gaeltachta agus na gCeantar gCúng, Aireacht na Gaeltachta: Bunú.

C1/ 2: Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge 1949–53.

D1B: Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge 1947–48.

Department of the Taoiseach

S13696A: Preservation of the Gaeltacht, 1945–53.

S15563: An Coiste i dtaobh na Gaeilge, Cóipeanna de Chomhfhreagras agus de Mheamraim, 1953–56.

S15811A: Gaeltacht Area.

S15811B: Gaeltacht Area, 1956.

S15744A: Gaeltacht Areas: Proposed Ministry to deal with Cultural and Economic Problems, 1954.

S15744B: Gaeltacht Areas: Proposed Ministry to deal with Cultural and Economic Problems, 1955–56.

S15744D: Gaeltacht Areas: Proposed Ministry to deal with Cultural and Economic Problems, 1956.

2.   Books/Articles/Chapters/Theses

de Blaghad, E. (1950). *The State and the Irish Language*. Westport: Foilseacháin Náisiúnta Teoranta do Chomhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge.

Fotheringham, A.S., C. Brunsdon agus M.E. Charlton (2000). *Quantitative Geography*. London: Sage.

Harris, J. (2006). *Irish in Primary Schools: Long-Term National Trends in Achievement*. Dublin: The Department of Education and Science.

Hindley, R. (1990). *The Death of the Irish Language*. London: Routledge.

Lindsay, P. (1992). *Memorie*s. Dublin: Blackwater.

Mac Aodha, B. (1971). *Galway Gaeltacht Survey*. Social Sciences Research Centre. University College Galway.

Mac Donnacha, S. (2000). 'An Bille Pleanála agus An Ghaeltacht' in *Pléaráca 2000*. Conamara: Pléaráca.

Mac Donnacha, S., F. Ní Chualáin, A. Ní Shéaghdha and T. Ní Mhainín (2005). *Staid Reatha na Scoileanna Gaeltachta*. Dublin: An Chomhairle um Oideachas Gaeltachta agus Gaelscolaíochta.

Mac Donnacha, S (2005). *Staid Reatha na Scoileanna Gaeltachta: Léargas ó na Príomhoidí, na Múinteoirí agus na Tuismitheoirí*. Dublin: An Chomhairle um Oideachas Gaeltachta agus Gaelscolaíochta.

MacKinnon, K. (1994). *Gaelic in 1994: Report to the Euromosaic Project*. Ferintosh, the Black Isle: SGRÙD.

McLeod, W. (eag.) (2006). *Revitalising Gaelic in Scotland: Policy, Planning and Public Discourse*. Edinburgh: Dunedin Academic Press.

Mooney, A. (2001). 'The Role of Planning in Protecting and Maintaining the Language and Culture of Gaeltacht Areas'. MA thesis. University College Dublin.

Nic Aoidh, M. (2006). 'Pròiseact Plana Cànain nan Eilean Siar: A' chiad ìre – rannsachadh air suidheachadh na Gàidhlig anns na h-Eileanan Siar', in McLeod 2006, 73-86.

Ní Chinnéide, M. (1997). 'Stair na Comhdhála', unpublished manuscript on the history of Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge.

Ní Ghrádaigh, N. (1993). 'Gaeltacht Ráth Chairn: Suirbhé Sochtheangeolaíochta 1993'. Unpublished survey.

Ní Labhradha, M. (2002). 'Staid agus Stádas na Gaeilge i Measc Óige Chorr na Móna Inniu'. MA thesis. National University of Ireland, Galway.

Ó Cinnéide, M., S. Mac Donnacha agus S. Ní Chonghaile (2001). *Polasaithe agus Cleachtais Eagraíochtaí Éagsúla le Feidhm sa Ghaeltacht*. Dublin: The Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs.

Ó Cuív, B. (1951). *Irish Dialects and Irish-Speaking Districts*. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Ó Curnáin, B. (2007). *The Irish of Iorras Aithneach, County Galway*. Vol. I–IV. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies.

Ó Giollagáin, C. (2002). 'Scagadh ar rannú cainteoirí comhaimseartha Gaeltachta: gnéithe d'antraipeolaíocht teangeolaíochta phobal Ráth Chairn', in *The Irish Journal of Anthropology,* Vol. 6, 25-56. Maynooth: National University of Ireland, Maynooth.

Ó Giollagáin, C. (2004). 'Ár scéal inár dteanga féin: Dinimicí teanga Ghaeltacht ár linne', pg. 153-70, in Ó Conaire, B. (ed.). *Aistí ag iompar scéil: In ómós do Shéamas P. Ó Mórdha*, Dublin: An Clóchomhar.

Ó Giollagáin, C. (2005). 'Gnéithe d'antraipeolaíocht theageolaíoch Phobal Ros Muc, Co. na Gaillimhe', in Kirk, J. and D. Ó Baoill (eag.). *Legislation, Literature and Sociolinguistics: Northern Ireland, the Republic of Ireland, and Scotland*. Belfast Studies in Language, Culture and Politics 13, 138-62. Belfast: Queen's University Press.

Ó Giollagáin, C. (2006). 'Gnéithe de Stair Theorainn na Gaeltachta: coimhlint idir dhá riachtanas', pg. 95-116, in Doyle, A. agus S. Ní Laoire (ed.). *Aistí ar an Nua-Ghaeilge in Ómós do Bhreandán Ó Buachalla*. Dublin: Cois Life.

Ó Gliasáin, M. (1990). *Language Shift among Schoolchildren in Gaeltacht Areas 1974–1984: An Analysis of the Distribution of £10 Grant Qualifiers*. Dublin: Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann.

Ó Riagáin, P. (1971). *The Gaeltacht Studies: A Development Plan for the Gaeltacht*. Dublin: An Foras Forbartha.

Ó Riagáin, P. (1978). 'The Language Factor in Regional Planning – The Gaeltacht Example'. *Administration*, Vol 26, No.2.

Ó Riagáin, P. (1982). 'Athrú agus Buanú Teanga sa Ghaeltacht', in *Taighde Sochtheangeolaíochta agus Teangeolaíochta sa Ghaeltacht.* Dublin: Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann: 3-28.

Ó Riagáin, P. (1992). *Language Maintenance and Language Shift as Strategies of Social Reproduction: Irish in the Corca Dhuibhne Gaeltacht 1926 – 1986*. Dublin: Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann.

Ó Riagáin, P. (1997). *Language Policy and Social Reproduction: Ireland 1893–1993*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Ó Riagáin, P. and M. Ó Gliasáin (1994). *National Survey on Languages 1993: Preliminary Report*. Dublin: Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann.

Ó Torna, C. (2005). *Cruthú na Gaeltachta 1893–192*2. Dublin: Cois Life.

Romaine, S. (1994 [2000]). *Language in Society: An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

4. Periodicals/Journals

Ó hÉallaithe, D. (1999). 'Uair na Cinniúna don Ghaeltacht', *Cuisle*, Volume 5, February, 10-13.

Ó hÉallaithe, D. (2002). 'Todhchaí na Gaeltachta', *Foinse*, 19 May, 10-12.

Ó hÉallaithe, D. (2003). 'Scéim Labhairt na Gaeilge: Anailís ar fhigiúirí 2001/02', *Foinse*, 5 January, 8-10.

Ó hÉallaithe, D. (2004). 'Cé mhéad a labhrann Gaeilge?', *Foinse*, 4 April, Faobhar 6: 20-21.

Ó hÉallaithe, D. (2005). 'Lagú cheantair láidre Gaeilge', *Foinse*, 27 November, 12-13.

Ó hÉigeartaigh, S. (1953). 'Gaeltacht Teoranta', *Comhar*, June, 17-23.

5. Oireachtais Legislation and Statutory Instruments

An tAcht Airí agus Rúnaithe (Leasú), 1956
Acht na mBéilí Scoile (Gaeltacht), 1930
An tAcht um Pleanáil agus Forbairt, 2000
An tAcht Oideachais, 1998
Acht na dTeangacha Oifigiúla, 2003
Acht na dTithe (Gaeltacht), 1929
Ordú na Limistéar (Gaeltacht), 1956
Ordú na Limistéar (Gaeltacht), 1967
Ordú na Limistéar (Gaeltacht), 1974
Ordú na Limistéar (Gaeltacht), 1982
Ordú na nOifigí agus na bhFeidhmeannas Áitiúil (Gaeltacht), 1928
Rialacháin na nOifigeach Áitiúil (An Ghaeilge), 1944
Na Rialacháin Phleanála agus Forbartha, 2001
Source: www.irishstatutebook.ie; www.achtanna.ie

6. Interviews, Telephone/Email Contacts and Conference Presentations

Carroll, P. (2006). Administrative Officer, Planning Office, Galway County Council. Telephone interview, March 2006.

Enright, M. (2006). Senior Planning Official, Planning Office, Kerry County Council. Telephone interview, February 2006.

Gavin, L. (2006). Senior Engineer, Planning Office, Galway County Council. Interview, March 2006.

Hynes, G. (2006). Senior Engineer, Planning Office, Waterford County Council. Interview, February 2006.

Kavanagh, L. (2006). Senior Engineer, Planning Office, Galway County Council. Telephone interview, June 2006.

Mac Giolla Chomhaill, P. (2006). Director of Planning and Economic Development, Planning Office, Donegal County Council. Telephone interview, September 2006.

McMahon, M. (2006). Director of Services, Planning Office, Kerry County Council. Email Contact, February 2006.

Nic Lochlainn, S. (2006). Planning Officer, Planning and Policy Department, Údarás na Gaeltachta. Telephone interview, February 2006.

Ó Ceithearnaigh, P. (2006). Chairman of Airdeall, Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge. Interview, April 2006.

Ó hÉallaithe, D. (2003). 'Acht Pleanála 2000 sa Ghaeltacht – Ach an Féidir é a chur i bhFeidhm!' Presentation at Tóstal na Gaeilge, Galway 2003.

Ó hÉallaithe, D. (2006). Member of Airdeall. Personal contact, October 2006.

O'Flaherty, A. (2006). Assistant Planner, Planning Office, Waterford County Council. Telephone interview, July 2006.

O'Neill, B. (2006). Assistant Planner, Planning Office, Galway County Council. Telephone interview, July 2006.

Sweeney, B. (2006). Local Administrator, Planning Office, Kells, Meath County Council. Interview, June 2006.

Switzer, H. (2006). Administrative Officer, Planning Office, Kerry County Council. Interview, January 2006.

7. Radio Programme

Ó hÉallaithe, D. (2006a). 'Adhmhaidin', RTÉ Raidió na Gaeltachta, 6 March 2006.