THE INFLUENCE OF THE PROMOTION OF IRISH LANGUAGE ON IRELAND'S SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

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This dissertation is entirely the work of the author, except where otherwise stated.

Signed

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ABSTRACT

This dissertation is an investigation of the influence of the promotion of the Irish language on Ireland's socio-economic development. The research question is based on a tradition of understanding of the link between the Irish language and Ireland's socio-economic development, stretching back at least 150 years. Various authors have argued that the promotion of Irish is not only about re-establishing the language as a means of communication, but that it will bring broader social, economic and cultural benefits to Ireland as a whole. In order to investigate the research question, the relationships which these authors posit are interrogated in the light of various bodies of theory in the social sciences (economics, sociology, political economy, development studies and sociolinguistics). A typology of competing approaches to language and development is presented and a theoretical framework appropriate to the analysis elaborated. This framework - the linguistic political economy of development - guides the remainder of the dissertation, which consists of a series of case-studies. In the case-studies, the empirical basis of the relationship between the Irish language and Ireland's socio-economic development is examined, and the tensions between the competing approaches to language and development are considered. The study concludes by drawing on the findings of the investigation and considers how it has addressed the research question.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND TERMINOLOGY

ADM	Area Development Management
BCI	Broadcasting Commission of Ireland
BMW	Border-Midlands-West (administrative region of NDP)
CILAR	Committee on Irish Language Attitudes Research
CnaG	Conradh na Gaeilge (Gaelic League), national voluntary Irish language body
CNnaG	Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge, umbrella body for Irish language voluntary sector (Republic of Ireland)
CSO	Central Statistics Office
DCAL	Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure (Northern Ireland)
DCRGA	Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs (Republic of Ireland)
DETI	Department of Enterprise, Trade and Industry (Northern Ireland)
DRD	Department of Regional Development (Northern Ireland)
DSD	Department of Social Development (Northern Ireland)
EBLUL	European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages
ED	Electoral Division
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency
FnaG	Foras na Gaeilge, cross-border implementation body for Irish language
FOI	Freedom of Information (legislation)
Foinse	Weekly Irish language newspaper
Forbairt Feirste	Economic body for promotion of Irish in West Belfast
Gaillimh le Gaeilge	Body to promote use of Irish among businesses in Galway City
GCDB	Galway County Development Board
GÉ	Gaeltarra Éireann (Gaeltacht development body, 1957-1979)
GSTF	Greater Shankill Task Force
IDA	Industrial Development Authority
IDF	Integrated Development Fund for supporting deprived areas of Northern Ireland
ITÉ	Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann (Linguistics Institute of Ireland)
Lá	Daily Irish language newspaper
LDSIP	Local Government Social Inclusion Programme (NDP)
LHRs	Linguistic human rights
MFG	Meitheal Forbartha na Gaeltachta (Gaeltacht community development structure)
NDP	National Development Plan
NISRA	Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency
NSS	National Spatial Strategy
NUIG	National University of Ireland, Galway

NUIM	National University of Ireland, Maynooth
PNUD	Programa de las Naciones Unidas para el Desarrollo (United Nations Development Programme in Latin America)
POBAL	Umbrella body for voluntary Irish language sector in Northern Ireland
RLS	Reversing language shift
RTÉ RnaG	RTÉ Raidió na Gaeltachta, Irish language radio channel
S&E	Southern and Eastern Region (administrative region of NDP)
SLG	Scéim Labhairt na Gaeilge (scheme administered by DCRGA under which parents of fluent Gaeltacht schoolchildren are awarded a grant for speaking Irish)
SPI	Screen Producers Ireland (association of independent television and film producers)
TG4	Irish language television channel
ÚnaG	Údarás na Gaeltachta, economic development agency for Gaeltacht (since 1979)
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WBPB	West Belfast Partnership Board
WBTF	West Belfast Task Force

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1. RATIONALE FOR STUDY

This dissertation is an investigation of the relationship between the Irish language and Ireland's socio-economic development. The rationale for this study is provided both by the gap of knowledge in Irish scholarship on the implications of language shift in the case of Irish[1] and by the international context of the threat to linguistic diversity. Despite the decline in the social status of Irish from the late 16th Century onwards, and the dramatic decrease in the percentage of speakers in the 19th Century (Wall, 1969: 81-82; Ó Murchú, M., 1985: 25-28; Ó Huallacháin, 1994: 18-26; Ó hÁinle, 1994: 746), scholarly investigation in general has either ignored or marginalised the language question, and has failed to consider the socio-cultural and socio-economic implications of rapid language shift and subsequent attempts to reverse language shift in Ireland. Therefore, there is no body of research about how the virtual replacement of Irish by English, and the subsequent attempts at gaelicisation or establishing some form of societal bilingualism or diglossia,[2] have influenced broader social, cultural and economic factors in

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[1] 'Language shift' is a term associated mostly with sociolinguist Joshua Fishman (1991 & 2001) to describe the process whereby speakers of a threatened language ('Xish', as described by Fishman), begin to abandon that language in favour of another language of greater socio-economic prestige ('Yish'). Fishman explains the change in terms of the social functions for which each language is used (1991: 1-2). 'Language displacement' is another term possessing similar meaning (Brenzinger, 1998: 282).

[2] Bilingualism refers to the ability of individuals to use two or more languages (for a detailed discussion, see Wei, 2000). Diglossia refers to the co-existence of two or more varieties of a single language, or two distinct languages, in the one society. The two varieties, or languages, are often ranked in a form of hierarchy: for instance, a highly valued language (H) may be used in government, education or religion, while a less valued language (L) may be used in home, family or informal work settings (Schiffman, 1998; see also Fishman, 2000 and Ó Murchú, M., 1970).

Ireland. The principal purpose of this study is to address this gap in knowledge.

The inspiration for the study was a short section of less than twenty pages' length in J.J. Lee's *Ireland 1912-1985: Politics and Society* (1989). The entry entitled 'Identity' (pages 658-674) raised probing questions about the influence of the decline of Irish on Ireland's poor developmental performance in the period under study. The following extract is one such example:

> There seems sufficient evidence to indicate that the loss of the Irish language carries a host of psychological consequences, which do not necessarily apply in other situations of language shift … In however complex and convoluted a way, it is quite possible that the manner in which the language was lost has damaged Irish potential for self-respect, with all the psychological consequences for behaviour patterns that flow from that, even in the purely material sphere (Lee, J.J., 1989a: 669).

Other questions included: was superior economic performance linked to a broader process of national renewal based on identity and language? How did small European countries such as Finland and Denmark manage to link cultural and linguistic revival with national development? Could economic performance be divorced from national identity and language? These questions are important, because it seemed that an investigation of them had the potential to provide a powerful philosophical base for ongoing efforts to revive Irish.

Professor Lee's comments are discussed in detail in Chapter Three. However, an indicative survey of recent works of Irish history written in English illustrates that few historians engage in a critical way with the implications of the decline and revival of Irish. Similarly, the Irish language is by and large neglected by other disciplines where it is reasonable to expect treatment of language: cultural studies and postcolonial studies. To the extent that the Irish language is treated at all, its treatment is largely inadequate in providing answers to the types of questions raised in the above extract. This is because

the Irish language is either neglected entirely or treatment of it is limited to largely factual description, avoiding an investigation of the implications of language shift.

1.1 History

The following review of contemporary historians is not exhaustive but is presented as an indicative sample of how the Irish language has been treated by this discipline over the past three decades.

Although Lyons' *Ireland Since the Famine* (1971) contains several references to the decline of Irish, only 10 pages (out of almost 800) are dedicated to a more detailed discussion (635-645). However, this discussion is limited largely to a description of revival efforts. There is no analysis of the effects of the language's rapid decline in the second half of the 19th Century.

Daly's *Industrial Development and Irish National Identity, 1922-1939* (1992) is of interest because it would be reasonable to expect, given the book's title and the language's elevated official position in the period in question (see Chapter Two), that the Irish language would feature in the discussion. However, the book contains only a handful of references to Irish, among them a description of the 'confused baggage of ideals' associated with the revival of the late 19th Century (9-11), and a half-page on economic policies on the Gaeltacht (110-111).[3] It is significant that this major historical work which purports to be about Irish national identity treats only very inadequately the question of language.

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[3] Native speakers of Irish are not thought to number more than two or three percent of the population of the Republic (Ó Riagáin & Ó Gliasáin, 1994: 5). They are located mostly in the Gaeltacht, 24 non-contiguous areas of territory in 7 counties designated by law as officially Irish-speaking districts (Walsh, McCarron & Ní Bhrádaigh, 2005). The linguistic reality within these borders is extremely complex, but bilingualism in favour of English is gaining the upper hand in all but a small number of core districts, mostly in County Galway. See Chapters Five and Six and Ó Torna, 2005.

Foster's *Modern Ireland: 1600-1972* (1988) similarly contains few references to Irish, although one of the defining features of the period in question was the almost total replacement of Irish by English as the dominant vernacular in Ireland (Wall, 1969; Ó Murchú, M., 1985; Ó hÁinle, 1994; Ó Huallacháin, 1994). His treatment of the question is limited largely to a criticism of the Gaelic League (for an example, see 448-9). However, Foster does not deal systematically with the implications of the language shift which occurred in Ireland during this period.

Lydon's *The Making of Ireland: From Ancient Times to the Present* (1998) makes very few references to Irish, although the work deals ostensibly with the history of Ireland from early times to the present. Similarly, Keogh's *Twentieth Century Ireland: Nation and State* (1994) contains only cursory references to Irish, and there is no systematic treatment of the language question. Ferriter's *The Transformation of Ireland: 1900-2000* (2004) contains several references to Irish, but only in 12 of over 750 pages are aspects of it (education policy, Gaeltacht policy) discussed in more detail (98-100, 349-353, 430, 599-601). There is no treatment of the wider social or economic impacts of the revival policy.

Brown is one of the few contemporary historians to grant Irish more than a few cursory references. In *Ireland: A Social and Cultural History, 1922-2002*, an entire chapter is devoted to the efforts to promote Irish in the years following independence. Brown attributes the failure to re-establish Irish as the common vernacular to the failure of the new government to link language revival with revolutionary social and economic change:

> [H]ad the efforts to revive Irish in the 1920s been conducted primarily on the basis of the kinds of humanism which generated the original enthusiasm of the Gaelic League together with a committed sense in the country as a whole of the need for genuine social as well as linguistic renewal, the policy might have met with real success ... As it was, in the absence of a revolutionary social policy attending the efforts for linguistic revival and making it possible ... conservative and authoritarian tendencies in the language movement quickly began to

cloud the radical humanism which for many had been the most attractive aspect of its ideology (2004: 49).

Brown's contribution focusses on Irish to a greater extent than the other historians mentioned above (there are almost 100 references to Irish, the Gaeltacht and the Gaelic revival). However, apart from the discussion of language policy in the years following independence, he does not investigate the social or economic implications of either language shift or its reversal. Recent published history, therefore, offers few answers to the kinds of questions posed by Professor Lee.

1.2   Cultural studies

A similar neglect of the implications of the decline of the Irish language is apparent in the contributions of commentators writing in English on aspects of Ireland's cultural identity. Once again, the following list is not exhaustive, but represents an indicative sample.

Fintan O'Toole is arguably Ireland's best-known political and cultural commentator, having published four volumes in the past 15 years on aspects of social and cultural change (*The Lie of the Land: Irish Identities* (1998); *Black Hole, Green Card: The Disappearance of Ireland* (1994); *The Ex-Isle of Erin: Images of a Global Ireland* (1997); *A Mass for Jesse James: A Journey through 1980s Ireland* (1990)). There are few references to Irish, although the question of identity in general is a constant theme (see, for instance, 1994: 14 and 1998: 3). Nowhere, however, does the author deal systematically with the role of language in identity, nor with broader questions about the influence of the language's decline or revival on other factors. There is a rare reference to Irish in *The Ex-Isle of Erin*, but the language is mentioned only very cursorily and is described as a 'small, and often esoteric, corner of Irish culture' (O'Toole, 1997: 143). O'Toole's treatment of Irish, to the extent that he deals with it at all, gives the impression that he views it at most as a cultural relic which may be preserved

for its historical value, but not as a resource to solve the cultural uncertainty to which he addresses himself.

Other contributions to the debate on Irish cultural identity are similar. There are practically no references to Irish in two key publications by Kearney on Irish culture and identity: *The Irish Mind: Exploring Intellectual Traditions* (1985) and *Across the Frontiers: Ireland in the 1990s* (1988). In a more recent volume, *Transformations in Irish Culture* (1996), Gibbons criticises the marginalisation of culture in academic investigation of Irish society:

> Though much valuable work has been done on Irish society from the point of view of economic development, political mobilization, and administrative structures, very little has focussed on culture as a set of material practices informing and constituting the social environment. Culture, for the most part, is limited to 'artistic' works, and refined out of existence, while historians and social scientists get on with the business of studying the facts, and determining how society really works (1996: 11).

Yet Gibbons does not refer to the Irish language in this volume. He expresses concern that historians and political commentators marginalise culture in their work, however he himself ignores a component of that culture, the Irish language.

Fallon's *An Age of Innocence: Irish Culture 1930-1960* contains a short chapter about Irish (14 of 295 pages). He claims in the chapter's opening sentence that the two great tragedies of contemporary Ireland were emigration and the failure of the state to revive Irish (1998: 159). However, he does not consider the wider implications of such a 'failure', emphasising only the cultural importance of the Irish language: 'Its social and political importance scarcely matters here; its cultural role, however, can hardly be exaggerated' (159). Given this belief, it is unsurprising that the bulk of Fallon's treatment of Irish is in the realm of literature alone.

The volume edited by MacLachlan and O'Connell, *Cultivating Pluralism: Psychological, Social and Cultural Perspectives on a Changing Ireland* (2000) is a recent example of work on increasing cultural diversity in Ireland due to immigration. It discusses various aspects of identity, in the context of refugees and asylum-seekers who have been coming to Ireland, in the main, since the early 1990s. The discussion covers racism, refugees in schools, multiculturalism and travellers but there is no reference to the Irish language.

A series of essays on the links between economy, society and culture, (Kirby, Cronin & Gibbons, 2002), contains a handful of references to Irish, including one which emphasises that there have been positive developments in relation to the language in recent years, despite the common tendency to have it 'consigned along with Faith and Fatherland to the trash-can of late modernity' (2002: 14). However, this volume does not engage with the language systematically. This is in contrast to its treatment of other aspects of culture and society, such as broadcasting, cinema, education and religion.

1.3   Postcolonial studies

Given the influence of the colonisation of Ireland on the Irish language (see, for instance, Crowley, 2000), postcolonial theory might well be expected to treat the question of Irish in detail, but the opposite is the case. For instance, Kenny does not mention Irish at all in his typology of characteristics of the 'postcolonial personality' in Ireland (1985). In her psychological analysis of colonialism in Ireland, Moane (1994) acknowledges that 'the psychological effects ... of the loss of the Irish language, have rarely been discussed' (256). She refers to a sense of 'inferiority and self-hatred' which is amplified 'by the erasure of indigenous culture and language' (257) and argues that recovering the Irish language and an associated identity is central to the process of 'decolonisation' (261). However, despite her stated concerns about the paucity of discussion of Irish, Moane herself does little to fill the gap, and her use of terms such as 'erasure' and 'loss' overstates the decline of Irish and

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depicts it as extinct. Similarly, in a later article, Moane laments the 'loss of the native language' and its 'implications for consciousness, creativity and identity' (2002: 117), without examining such implications in detail.

Nic Eoin, in a ground-breaking study of the cultural dislocation of contemporary literature in Irish, argues that the paradigm of post-colonial studies in Ireland has failed to engage constructively with the Irish language.[4] Most authors who write in English have ignored Irish completely:

> Is criticeoirí a ghlacann le tábhacht na paraidíme iarchoilíní iad cuid de na criticeoirí is bisiúla atá ag saothrú i ngort an Léinn Éireannaigh faoi láthair. Nuair a fhéachaimid go grinn ar shaothar foilsithe fhormhór na gcriticeoirí seo, áfach, feicimid go bhfuil ionad an-teoranta ag stair, ag cultúr agus ag litríocht na Gaeilge ann. Is í an ghné is suntasaí ar fad den fhaillí a dhéantar i gceist na Gaeilge mar cheist chultúrtha ina saothar ná an neamhshuim a dhéantar de staid nua-aoiseach agus de litríocht chomhaimseartha na teanga (2005: 26).[5]

While recent contributions such as those of Carroll (2003) and Deane (2003) have discussed elements of the Irish language question, Nic Eoin criticises them on the basis that they have failed to provide a critical perspective based on the literary sources of Irish itself (the same criticism can be directed at history and cultural studies for failing to draw upon existing sources in the Irish language). The great irony of this failure to engage with language, Nic Eoin argues, is that it could help the post-colonial paradigm to defend itself more robustly against those who dismiss its validity:

> Is é an mhóríoróin a bhaineann leis an mbearna sa dioscúrsa iarchoilíneach atá pléite agam thuas ná go bhféadfadh peirspeictíocht na Gaeilge a bheith ina taca do chriticeoirí agus iad ag iarraidh bailíocht an chur chuige iarchoilínigh i gcás na hÉireann a chosaint ó lucht a

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[4] For an earlier critique of the failure of English language literary scholarship to acknowledge the existence of a contemporary Irish language literature, see Ó Buachalla, 1996.

[5] Some of the most productive critics working in the field of Irish Studies at the moment are critics who accept the importance of the postcolonial paradigm. However, if we examine closely the published work of most of these critics, we see that the history, culture and literature of Irish has a very limited place there. In their work, the most noteworthy aspect of the neglect of the Irish language question as a cultural question is their indifference to the modern state of the language and its contemporary literature.

cháinte. Ba dhoiligh don chriticeoir ba sceiptí nó don staraí ba reibhisiní amuigh an gaol idir an próiseas coilíneach agus cúlú is cailleadh na teanga a bhréagnú, mar shampla. Ba dhoiligh a shéanadh go raibh gaol idir dán na teanga agus próiseas an chomhshamhlaithe chultúrtha agus ba rídhoiligh, cheapfaí, ceist sin an chomhshamhlaithe chultúrtha a dhealú ón gcaidreamh stairiúil ar leibhéal polaitiúil, eacnamaíoch agus sóisialta idir an tír seo agus an Bhreatain, go háirithe ón seachtú haois déag ar aghaidh (40-1).[6]

This brief indicative review of contributions from cultural studies and postcolonial studies indicates that Irish, at most, is treated as marginal to the discussion. Although there are exceptions, its decline is most often accepted as an inevitable consequence of modernisation, and the language is portrayed as dead and buried. There is neither systematic engagement with the social, cultural and economic implications of the language's decline, nor with Irish as a contemporary living language, with real speakers in real communities throughout Ireland (see Chapter Two). It is reasonable to conclude that the inadequate treatment of the Irish language is linked to the failure or inability of the majority of the English-speaking authors discussed to draw extensively upon both historical and contemporary sources in the Irish language.

Chapter Three contains a separate discussion of historical authors who *do* engage in detail with the implications of language shift in the case of Irish. There is a clear distinction between the two groups of literature. The survey above is of authors who are not concerned solely (or at all) with Irish, have published exclusively in English and who by and large neglect Irish language sources. The survey in Chapter Three is of authors who are concerned *in particular* with Irish. Although some of their contributions are in English,

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[6] The great irony of the gap in postcolonial discourse which I have discussed is that the perspective of Irish could be a support for critics attempting to defend the validity of the postcolonial approach in Ireland against those who condemn it. It would be difficult for the most sceptical critic or the most revisionist historian to refute the link between the colonial process and the retreat and loss of Irish, for instance. It would be difficult to deny that there was a link between the fate of the language and the process of cultural assimilation and it might be thought extremely difficult to separate that question of cultural assimilation from the historical relationship on a political, economic and social level between this country and Britain, especially since the 17th Century.

many of these latter authors are themselves bilingual and, therefore, have access to a far wider range of sources in both Irish and English.

1.4 International context

Another rationale for this study is its relationship to the broader global context of the threat posed to linguistic diversity. Estimates of the precise number of world languages vary considerably, but recent scholarship indicates that there are between 6,000 and 7,000. The vast majority of these languages are in a very fragile state, and will likely become extinct or moribund within the next 100 years. Irish is at risk of joining them. The decline is happening at a greater intensity than at any other time in recorded history and yet, in comparison with other international issues such as poverty or environmental degradation, has received relatively little attention (for recent discussion of a variety of languages, see Abley, 2003; Benton R. & Benton, N., 2000; Chalmers, 2003; Choi, 2004; Crystal, 2000; Ethnologue, 2004; Federation for Endangered Languages, 2004; Gorter, 2000; Hibbert, 2004; Hornberger & King, 2000; Mercator Education, 2001a & 2001b; McCloskey, 2001; Sproull & Chalmers, 1998; Terralingua; 2004; for a discussion of the marginalisation of language in the social sciences, see Strubell, 2000: 260). Although it is not an objective of this work to examine the relationship between Irish and development in a comparative or global context, or to consider other situations of language shift, this study also contributes to a growing international body of literature which concerns itself with linguistic diversity and the reversal of language shift in the case of threatened languages.

2. RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The principal objective of this study is to investigate and answer the following research question: does the promotion of Irish positively influence Ireland's socio-economic development? This question is based on a tradition of understanding of the link between the Irish language and Ireland's socio-

economic development, stretching back at least 150 years. Numerous authors during this period, writing mostly in Irish, have posited that promoting Irish is not solely about re-establishing the language as a means of communication, but that it has broader social, cultural and economic benefits for Irish society as a whole. In their view, the promotion of Irish has influenced positively a range of factors such as identity, self-confidence, national self-sufficiency, strength of character, participative citizenship, cohesion, innovation and social and economic success. According to these writers, the decline of Irish, and the failure to promote it effectively, has had a negative effect on such factors. These contributions are considered in detail in Chapter Three. The principal objective of this study, therefore, is to interrogate this tradition and to provide answers to the research question which arises from it.

Several secondary objectives emerge from the principal one. They can be expressed by a series of further questions: What are the various theoretical approaches to the link between language and development? How does the Irish language influence the political economy of development in the Gaeltacht and in other areas where Irish is no longer the dominant language? Is there a difference between the link in both cases? These questions are answered in the theoretical and empirical chapters which follow.

3. THEORETICAL APPROACH

This study is located within the social sciences and is interdisciplinary in its approach. This is necessary because of the broad nature of the field of research. A monodisciplinary approach would be inappropriate and inadequate to investigate the research question, because it covers two distinct variables of language and socio-economic development, and the relationships between them. Therefore, it is necessary to draw upon a combination of theories in order better to understand the relationship between the two variables. The study does not profess to be neutral or

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value-free. It adopts a critical stance towards dominant approaches to socio-economic development and is supportive of the theory and practice of reversing language shift in the case of threatened or minoritised languages such as Irish.[7]

The principal role of theory in this study is analogous to that of a map: it guides investigation of the research question. It also guides the case-studies, through the elaboration of a theoretical framework which identifies distinct approaches to the relationship between language and development. This section outlines briefly the bodies of theory drawn upon in this study, and explains what they offer an investigation of the research question. As they comprise a central part of the study's methodology, the theoretical framework and typology of approaches to language and development are explained in the next section (4 below).

Studying the relationship between the Irish language and society involves consideration of the discipline of macro-sociolinguistics,[8] which includes, among others, theories on the links between language and culture, and between language and cognition; theories of minority language rights and of

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[7] The nomenclature of languages is extremely contentious, as certain terms are deemed to be offensive or defeatist. 'Minority languages' is the most common and generic term to describe languages which are either numerically weak or which are not normalised in most domains. However, this term is rejected by some. As Irish is officially recognised as a 'national' language and 'first official language' in the Republic of Ireland, some do not accept the label 'minority language' (EBLUL, 2000; Ó Murchú, H., 2001; Walsh, 2001a & 2001b). Furthermore, in June 2005, Irish was recognised as an official working language of the European Union (Ó Muirí, 2005). The term 'lesser-used' is preferred by languages such as Catalan, which with over seven million speakers is numerically superior to state languages such as Danish or Finnish.

[8] 'Sociolinguistics' is the study of the relationship between language and society. It has roots in both sociology and linguistics, and is a very broad discipline. 'Macro-sociolinguistics' and 'micro-sociolinguistics' are the two main categories into which sociolinguistics can be divided. 'Micro-sociolinguistics' examines the changes under which languages go in relation to a number of social variables (for instance, social class or education). These changes are tracked in elements such as grammar, syntax, phonology or vocabulary. This part of sociolinguistics is not the concern of the present study. 'Macro-sociolinguistics' covers broader issues relating to the state or status of a language or languages in a society: language policy and language planning are the most obvious manifestations of this, and they are of central concern to this study (Coulmas, 1998).

language planning.[9]   Drawing on macro-sociolinguistics contributes to realising the principal objective, i.e. investigating and ultimately answering the research question, because it guides an examination of one of the two variables, the Irish language. By drawing attention to the links between language and cultural identity, macro-sociolinguistics provides guidance to understanding the claim that promoting Irish can have positive psychological results, through the affirmation of cultural and linguistic rights, through the cognitive benefits of bilingualism, or through re-establishing the language in a range of social domains by using language planning measures. Turning to theories of macro-sociolinguistics in the case of Irish also highlights the paucity of this type of scholarship in relation to the Irish language, and the broader failure of scholarship in general to engage with the social, economic and cultural implications of language shift in the Irish context.

The study also considers the theoretical basis of the other variable contained in the research question, socio-economic development. Development as an academic discipline has traditionally been associated with economic growth, modernisation and industrialisation of the 'Third World'. It has been challenged in recent years by a variety of perspectives and is now generally accepted to be broader than merely boosting national growth rates (Dutt, 2002: xii). However, what else the concept involves is far from universally accepted, as 'development' means very different things to different people. Martinussen (1997) analyses it through the triad of state, society and market. Others have argued that development comprises a more complex mix including issues as varied as poverty, empowerment, civil society, gender, environment, globalisation and, more recently, culture (Kingsbury, 2004; Remenyi, 2004). There is little consensus, however, about what precisely

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[9] 'Language planning' refers to a planned series of strategic interventions in favour of one language over another (or others) in any bilingual or multilingual situation. Several models have been pioneered in other bilingual countries. The most common categorisation refers to 'status planning' (increasing the status of the language); 'acquisition planning' (teaching the language), and 'corpus planning' (standardisation, terminology, dictionaries) (Cooper, 1989; Mac Donnacha, 2000). A key concept of language planning, associated strongly with Fishman, is 'intergenerational transmission', where parents who speak the threatened language are exhorted to pass it on to their children (1991: 92-95).

constitutes 'development' or which elements should be prioritised in this mix, and it remains a highly contested concept. The contested nature of development is discussed in more detail in Chapter Four.

As the 'theoretical heritage' of contemporary development theory lies in other areas of the social sciences - predominantly economics and sociology (Martinussen, 1997: 18) - this study also investigates the underlying assumptions about language and development which are contained in these founding disciplines. The contribution of political economy is also considered. 'Political economy' has been described as 'the interaction between economics and politics' (Lane & Ersson, 1997: 1, cited in Kirby, 2002: 118). However, as Kirby points out, it is a broad term which encompasses various schools of political economy. Dutt concurs with this view, and presents a concept which 'includes within it a range of approaches to the subject, rather than confining its attention to the single, unified, monolithic methodological approach of neoclassical economics' (2002: xi). Wilber (1996: xvi) emphasises non-economic elements such as social structures and cultural values while Strange (1994: 25) stresses the concept of power. Drawing upon political economy, therefore, facilitates a broader consideration of the dynamic interrelationship between economic, social and political forces and the influence of such a nexus on development. The next section explains the study's methodology and the relationship between theory and method throughout.

4. METHODOLOGY

This study is predominantly qualitative in its perspective, because most of the data gathered is not amenable to quantification or statistical analysis (some statistical evidence is presented but this quantitative element is fairly small). The focus is more firmly on meanings and contexts and on an attempt to explain a phenomenon, i.e. the influence of the promotion of the Irish language on Ireland's socio-economic development. There are two principal

aspects to the methodology: elaboration of a theoretical framework and the use of case-studies.

4.1   Elaboration of theoretical framework

A central part of this study's methodology is the elaboration of a typology of approaches to language and development based on a variety of theoretical foundations. Attention to several bodies of theory is necessary because of the diverse theoretical foundations of both development studies and of the study of language and the broad variety of ways in which one variable could influence the other. Therefore, contributions from economics, sociology, development studies, political economy and sociolinguistics are considered. In the case of each body of theory, key assumptions about the interrelationship between language and development are sought. Based on the findings, a typology of three over-arching approaches to language and development is elaborated: the minority language promotion approach; the socio-cultural development approach and the economic growth and modernisationist approach. The study goes on to investigate the adequacy of each of the three approaches in explaining the link between language and development. Concluding that none of the three approaches alone could explain adequately the relationship, the concept of a *linguistic political economy of development* is presented, in order to facilitate an analysis of the influence of language on the political economy of development, that is, the ways in which civil society, state and market interact to achieve developmental goals.[10] Drawing on sociolinguistics ensures that the social functions of language are kept in focus. The insights from political economy ensure that the relationships between market, state and civil society are examined and their implications for development considered. The contributions from development studies allow consideration of issues of wider social transformation and change. The theoretical approach of the linguistic political economy of development guides the remainder of the study and

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represents the integration of theory, practice and method. It is a key methodological tool in the dissertation and facilitates an investigation of how - in a number of settings - social, political, economic and linguistic actors interact in order to achieve developmental outcomes. Such a framework has never before been elaborated and used in the Irish case and as such, it is an original contribution, both to the theoretical literature and to an analysis of the Irish language.

4.2   Case-studies

The role of case-studies in the study as a whole is to investigate the research question by comparing contrasting cases of understandings of the relationship between language and development in practice. The case-studies also illustrate the utility of the linguistic political economy of development concept, as it helps to draw out the tensions between the various approaches to language and development which exist in a variety of settings in Ireland.

The case-studies are compiled using a combination of interviews with key participants and document analysis (see 4.3 below). Maximum variation sampling is employed to ensure that data is gathered from the broadest selection of participants possible. The case-studies are also influenced by an emergent design or 'snowball' approach to sampling, where one research participant or setting leads to another (Maykut and Morehouse, 1994: 56-62). The participants can be classified as follows: employees of language promotion organisations, local and national; employees of local authorities; community representatives; representatives from business, local and national; employees of developmental organisations.

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[10] The concept of 'civil society' is considered in Chapter Four.

4.3   Methods of data collection

Two principal methods were used to gather data: interviews and document
analysis. The interviews[11] followed a semi-structured format, with questions
based on themes associated with the research question and theoretical
framework. Therefore, each interview attempted to elucidate the participant's
views on the language-development link, and to situate them in the typology
of approaches to language and development. The interviews also provided
empirical evidence of how the influence of Irish on socio-economic
development was viewed in a variety of settings, thereby contributing to the
investigation of the research question.

In addition to interviews, several types of primary and secondary documents
were analysed in this study.[12] The primary sources included: statistical
information about speakers of Irish; legislation relevant to the Irish language
and the Gaeltacht; state language policy documents; policy documents from
the Irish language voluntary sector; surveys of public attitudes to Irish; policy
documents on local development; statistics on the socio-economic
development profile of each area; policy documents of local authorities; or
policy documents of state development organisations for the Gaeltacht; state
policy documents on national development; and journalistic sources from
print and broadcast media. The primary sources contributed in a variety of
ways to the investigation of the research question. They provided a great
deal of empirical data about aspects of the two variables of language and
socio-economic development (for instance, in the case of census returns on
Irish or local socio-economic development indices). However, they also
illustrated assumptions about the language-development link which could

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[11] Most of the 115 interviews were conducted personally with the participants in their natural
setting. Some were conducted by email or telephone due to restrictions of access. This
latter category is indicated as 'personal communications' in the text and references.
Interviews conducted anonymously are not listed, at the request of the participants.
[12] Primary and secondary sources are distinguished according to the recommendations of UC
Berkeley, 2005.

then be considered in terms of the typology of approaches (for instance, in central or local government documents).

The principal secondary sources consulted were reports of government-appointed commissions on national language policy; historical contributions by Irish authors to the debate on the Irish language and Ireland's development; theoretical material from macro-sociolinguistics, sociology, economics, political economy, cultural studies and development studies; and general histories of Ireland. Other sources included historical accounts of the status of Irish and policy towards it; analyses of Irish in education and local histories of case-study areas. The secondary sources also contributed in a variety of ways to the study's principal objective of investigating the extent to which the Irish language positively influences Ireland's development. For instance, the historical contributions by Irish authors provided the basis for the research question itself, while the theoretical material, as stated at 4.1 above, facilitated the elaboration of a typology of approaches to language and development and the theoretical framework of the linguistic political economy of development.

4.4   Data analysis and presentation of results

Following transcription of interviews, participants' answers were classified according to a number of categories: general information about geographical area; background/historical perspective; institutional information; reflection of triad of civil society, market and state; reflection of three theoretical approaches to language and development. The data was interpreted in the light of both the research question and the theoretical approaches, and the results presented in narrative text. A similar approach was employed while analysing documents. The document was classified according to the same categories as above, with the additional category of statistical information added (particularly relevant in the case of Census returns and information about the industrial operations of Údarás na Gaeltachta). Once again, the

data was interpreted in the light of the research question and theoretical approaches, and presented in narrative text form or, in the case of statistics, in tables.

5. USE OF IRISH AND OTHER LANGUAGES IN TEXT

Of the 115 interviews undertaken for this research, most were conducted in Irish, as this was the normal everyday language of many of the informants. Much of the secondary source material is also in Irish only, and there is a small amount of material in other languages. In the text, extracts from interviews and source material are given in their original language, and a translation to English is provided in a footnote. The translation is the author's own unless otherwise indicated. In the case of bilingual (Irish-English) publications, the English version is used in the text.

There have long been tensions between the types of Irish spoken in everyday life and the written, standardised language. It is not relevant to this research to discuss these tensions in detail, but a brief explanation is required because many of the Irish language extracts in this dissertation are not written in the standardised form. In some cases, this is simply because they date from before 1945 when the written standard was agreed (Ó Murchú, M., 1985: 66). However, in the case of contemporary interviews with Gaeltacht participants, an attempt has been made to reproduce the speech as authentically as possible in writing. Therefore, the main features of the local dialects are reproduced, and where English lexical borrowings or grammatical structures occur, they are left unamended. Because Irish is a threatened language which is not used widely in public domains, it is to be expected that there would be considerable divergence between the written and spoken standards, and that linguistic borrowings, interference and code-switching would occur (for a further discussion, see Nic Eoin, 2005: 50-92; Nic Pháidín, 2003).[13]

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[13] The terms 'borrowing', 'interference' and code-switching' are closely related and all refer to situations where elements from one language are inserted into the grammatical frame of

Finally, a note about the use of Gaeltacht placenames. In 2004, the Minister for Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs, Éamon Ó Cuív, signed the Placenames (Ceantair Ghaeltachta) Order into law, which gave legal status for the first time to the original Irish version of each placename. The Order stems from the Official Languages Act, 2003 (see Chapter Two). For official purposes, English translations of Gaeltacht placenames no longer have any legal standing. This does not interfere with the right of individuals, for instance, private business, to use the English names in signage etc. (DCRGA, 2004a). However, as these are the original historical names used in the Gaeltacht, they are the only versions used in this text. When geographical terms have been coined for the sake of convenience for this research (for instance, 'South Conamara Gaeltacht'), they are in English because no common Irish equivalent is used in the Gaeltacht.

6. OUTLINE OF STUDY

Chapter Two examines the current state of the Irish language, in both the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland, in particular in terms of its legal status and communities of speakers. It does not contribute directly to the substantive objective of the thesis, the investigation of the research question, but it is necessary to provide a context for the following chapters, in particular the case-studies of the Gaeltacht, Galway City and West Belfast. Without this chapter, far more background information would be needed in these chapters, at the risk of their becoming unwieldy.

As stated above, Chapter Three surveys the historical arguments that Irish has had a broader role to play in society than as a code of communication alone, but that it effects social, cultural and economic change in a variety of ways. In so doing, it provides the basis for the research question, the

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another language (Myers-Scotton, 1998: 228; Ferguson, 1998: 65; Mackey, 2000: 40-41). All are common in spoken Irish, particularly in the form of the language used in the Gaeltacht.

investigation of which is the central objective of this thesis. Chapter Four's main purpose is to elaborate a theoretical framework through which the link between language and development can be understood, by developing a typology of approaches to language and development. This framework and typology guide the remainder of the study.

Chapters Five, Six, Seven and Eight are case-studies. Their role in the thesis is to provide empirical evidence which can be used to provide answers to the research question. The first three deal with the Gaeltacht, examined in detail because it comprises the only remaining geographical areas where Irish remains dominant as a community language (although this position is now severely threatened). In Chapter Five, a typology of linguistic vitality and socio-economic development of the Gaeltacht areas is developed. Because of the internal variations from one area to the next, in linguistic as well as in socio-economic terms, it is important that the Gaeltacht is not presented as a monolingual, peripheral territory. Chapter Six examines three areas in detail: Na Déise (County Waterford), Múscraí (County Cork) and South Conamara (County Galway). In each case, the research question is investigated by examining the ways in which the language-development link is played out, and the ways in which it is understood by key local participants (in terms of the approaches to language and development outlined in Chapter Four). Therefore, this chapter continues to achieve the central objective of the thesis, the investigation of the research question, and follows directly from the previous chapters. Chapter Seven examines Údarás na Gaeltachta in detail, as an example of a state institution for the Gaeltacht. The changing nature of Údarás na Gaeltachta is considered, as are its links with the other state institutions for Irish and the Gaeltacht. This case-study examines how the language-development link is understood and operationalised by Údarás and how it contributes to the investigation of the research question.

Chapter Eight examines the links between Irish and development in the urban contexts of West Belfast and Galway City. As the research question suggests

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a link between promoting Irish and the *country's* socio-economic development, it is important to consider how it is operationalised in areas where Irish is no longer the dominant language. Finally, Chapter Nine draws further on both the case-studies and the theoretical framework and highlights the findings of the research, future research directions and implications for policy.

CHAPTER TWO

OVERVIEW OF IRISH LANGUAGE

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of the Irish language at the beginning of the 21st Century, its communities of speakers, its legal status and the institutional structures, both state and voluntary, which support it. It is not intended here to provide a detailed account of the decline of Irish as the dominant vernacular in both Ireland and Scotland to its present minoritised state as a threatened language. This study is not purely historical in its focus, and it is beyond its scope to investigate in detail the long history of language shift from Irish to English in Ireland. In any case, such research has already been conducted by several other authors (see, for example, Ó Cuív, 1950 & 1969; Ó Tuama, 1972; Ó Murchú, M., 1970 & 1985; Ó Riagáin, 1997; Ó Murchú, H. & Ó Murchú, M., 1999; Maguire, 1990; Hindley, 1990; Ó Huallacháin, 1994). Therefore, it provides clarity about the linguistic variable contained in the research question.

2. COMMUNITY OF SPEAKERS

Irish is spoken as a minority language throughout the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. The context of the language is very different in both jurisdictions, as will become apparent. In the Republic, although Irish occupies a marginal position in the public sphere, it has been an integral part of the policies of successive governments since the foundation of the state. This political support has waned considerably in recent years as perceptions grew that the revival was a failure (Ó Murchú, M., 2002). However, the education system has been relatively successful in creating a large number of second language learners. In fact, Irish is unusual in a global context

because its speech community now contains more second language learners than native speakers (McCloskey, 2001: 46). In Northern Ireland, Irish was ignored by Unionist governments and, since the outbreak of the Troubles, was demonised as an aspect of violent Republicanism. In the last fifteen years the British state began incrementally to enhance its position in public life, culminating in the institutional support which it was granted under the Belfast Agreement of 1998.

2.1   Irish in the Republic of Ireland

2.1.1 Census of Population

According to the most recent Census of 2002, 41.9 percent of the population of the Republic replied positively to the question 'Can the person speak Irish?' There has been a steady increase in the numbers of people claiming competence in Irish since the foundation of the state, as the following table illustrates:

Table 2.1: Percentages of Irish speakers in each province since 1861

Year	State	Leinster	Munster	Connacht	Ulster*
1861	24.5	2.4	36	44.8	16.7
1871	19.8	1.2	27.7	39	15.1
1881	23.9	2.1	33.5	44.6	19.5
1891	19.2	1.2	26.2	37.9	17.8
1901	19.2	2.3	25.7	38	20.7
1911	17.6	3.5	22.1	35.5	20.4
1926	18.3	8.8	20.4	31.7	22.9
3 years and over					
1926	19.3	9.4	21.6	33.3	23.9
1936	23.7	15.9	25.2	36.7	28.3
1946	21.2	15.1	22	33.2	26
1961	27.2	22.2	28.7	37.6	31.4
1971	28.3	24.5	30.6	37.2	29.5
1981	31.6	28.2	34.6	38.8	30.8
1986	31.1	27.4	34.8	38.7	30.1
1991	32.5	28.8	36.5	40.2	31.3
New question (3 years and over)					
1996	41.1	37.4	45.4	48.2	39.3
2002	41.9	39.2	46.8	48.5	39.4

* **Only Donegal, Cavan and Monaghan from 1926 onwards**
** **See below**

Source: CSO, 2004b: 12

There are many problems with a comparison of the percentages of Irish 'speakers' today with those from the period before the foundation of the state. Nationalist sentiment and the fact that, under independent government, all children were obliged to learn Irish at school may have contributed to the 'increase' in the percentages of Irish speakers between 1911 and 1926, for instance. Furthermore, not all of those who claim that they can speak Irish today have high levels of competence, whereas it is likely that the Irish 'speakers' of 1871 were just that, and many may not have spoken English well or at all. In essence, the main Census return on Irish is closer to an opinion poll on the language than an accurate illustration of an everyday speech community in which Irish is dominant in all social domains. A more accurate illustration of that community is found by examining the percentages of people who report that they speak Irish *every day*. This information is available since 1996 only, when Question 11 in relation to Irish was amended substantially in order to elicit information on frequency of use,

rather than competence claimed. If a person reported that they could speak Irish, they were asked whether they spoke it daily, weekly, less often or never. Although the question does not enquire about what level of competence the daily speakers consider themselves to have, and although the figures are inflated artificially by a large cohort of schoolchildren who must learn Irish, it is generally accepted that the daily speakers are a more accurate illustration of the actual speech community of Irish. Even allowing for the inflation caused by schoolchildren, the percentage of daily speakers is low: 9.3 percent or 339,541 people.

Table 2.2: Ability to speak Irish and use of Irish, Census 2002

Category	Number	Percentage
Entire population	3,750,995	--
Can speak Irish	1,570,894	42.8*
Cannot speak Irish	2,097,263	55.9
No response	82,838	2.2
Speak Irish daily	339,541	9.3*
Speak Irish weekly	155,039	4.2*
Speak Irish less often	585,300	16.0*
Speak Irish never	459,657	12.5*
No response	31,357	0.9*

* Less those who did not respond

Source: CSO, 2004b: 11 & 55

Table 2.3 indicates that the majority of those speaking Irish daily are concentrated in the age cohorts from 5 to 19 years. The percentages of daily speakers of Irish in the other age cohorts are very low, ranging from 2.2 percent from 25-34 years to 5.4 percent in the pre-school bracket. It is reported that the questions will be amended further in 2006 in order to distinguish between those people who use Irish daily both within and outside the education system (Ní Mhonacháin, 2005).

Table 2.3: Irish speakers 3 years and over according to frequency of use and age cohort, Census 2002

Age	Total	Irish speakers	Speak Irish daily	Daily speakers as % of Irish speakers	Daily speakers as % of age cohort
3-4 yrs.	111,422	10,450	5,991	57.3	5.4
5-9 yrs.	264,090	131,016	84,377	64.4	32.0
10-14 yrs.	285,708	191,893	107,957	56.3	37.8
15-19 yrs.	313,188	204,842	68,382	33.4	21.8
20-24 yrs.	328,334	165,520	9,111	5.5	2.8
25-34 yrs.	617,369	237,563	13,727	5.8	2.2
35-44 yrs.	562,890	197,073	15,982	8.1	2.8
45-54 yrs.	480,447	182,187	15,046	8.3	3.1
55-64 yrs.	351,546	119,250	9,304	7.8	2.6
65 yrs. +	436,001	131,100	9,664	7.4	2.2
Total	3,750,995	1,570,894	339,541	21.6	9.1

Source: CSO, 2004b: 26 & 68

Most native speakers of Irish are concentrated in the Gaeltacht. The Gaeltacht was first defined geographically in the 1920s, but the present boundaries are based largely on an order from 1956 (Walsh, McCarron & Ní Bhrádaigh, 2005; McCarron, Ní Bhrádaigh & Walsh, 2005; Ó Torna, 2005). Despite the official boundaries, however, sustained language shift to English has become the norm even in what were until recently strongly Irish-speaking areas. Large parts of the official Gaeltacht are virtually identical linguistically to the rest of the country, although in some areas active nuclei of Irish speakers exist. The future of Irish as a community language is severely threatened in its last remaining heartland. As Table 2.4 illustrates, a majority of people in the Gaeltacht (62,157 people or 71.8 percent) claim the ability to speak Irish, but only 33,789 people or 39.1 percent do so on a daily basis. This group is less than 10 percent of the total national figure for daily Irish speakers, a fact which underlines the importance of the education system in creating speakers elsewhere.

Table 2.4: Ability to speak Irish and frequency of use in the Gaeltacht, Census 2002

Category	Number	Percentage of total
Total population 3+	86,517	100
Total Irish speakers	62,157	71.8
Speak Irish daily	33,789	39.1
Speak Irish weekly	6,704	7.7
Daily/weekly combined	40,493	46.8

Source: CSO, 2004b: 27 & 69

These figures conceal considerable internal variations between various Gaeltacht areas. The Gaeltacht is considered in detail in Chapters Five and Six.

2.1.2 National surveys on language

Another important source of information about proficiency in and use of Irish is the series of national language surveys from 1973, 1983 and 1993. The 1973 survey was conducted by the Committee on Irish Language Attitudes Research (CILAR), and was the first major sociological survey of the Irish public concerning the Irish language. It was based on a sample of 2,443 respondents, augmented by a special Gaeltacht sample of 542. In 1975, the newly-founded linguistics institute, Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann (ITÉ) took over responsibility for ten-yearly annual surveys in order to develop the CILAR database. However, due to a lack of resources, the subsequent samples were much smaller, only 1,031 in 1983 and 976 in 1993 (Ó Riagáin & Ó Gliasáin, 1994: 3). Because of internal difficulties in ITÉ, which is threatened with closure, no updated national survey was produced in 2003. However, although the latest information is more than ten years out of date, it remains an important source of information on language ability, acquisition, use and on attitudes towards language. Table 2.5 illustrates ability to speak Irish among the sample group.

Table 2.5: Ability to speak Irish, national surveys 1973-1993

	1973 (%)	1983 (%)	1993 (%)
No Irish	21	16	18
The odd word	27	32	32
A few simple sentences	22	19	17
Parts of conversations	17	20	22
Most conversations	10	10	9
Native speaker ability	3	3	2
Total	100	100	100

Source: Ó Riagáin & Ó Gliasáin, 1994: 5

The survey indicates that there has been little or no change in language ability over the twenty year period of the surveys. In general, about half of those surveyed said they had little or no Irish, about 40 percent could manage simple sentences or parts of conversations, and a little over 10 percent had fairly high or very high levels of ability. However, compared with the mothers of the respondents, there has been a marked intergenerational improvement in language ability, albeit at lower or largely passive levels of ability (Ó Riagáin & Ó Gliasáin, 1994: 6). The surveys also provide valuable information on levels of *use* of Irish, at a time when this aspect of language was not investigated by the Census.

As stated above, no new national survey on language proficiency and use has been produced. However, some information can be gleaned from a national survey in 2004 on attitudes towards radio broadcasting in Irish, which included a small number of questions on language ability. The survey, conducted by the Broadcasting Commission of Ireland, was based on a sample of 1,200 people and not conducted by sociolinguists. It found that 32 percent described their Irish as 'very weak', 37 percent as 'fairly weak', 25% as 'fairly good' and 6 percent as 'very good'. These figures are not significantly different from the Census, although they must be treated with caution because of the smaller sample and because the primary aim of the

survey was to elicit information on attitudes to Irish language radio services, not on levels of language proficiency or use (BCI/FnaG, 2004: 6).

2.2   Irish in Northern Ireland

When Northern Ireland was established in 1922, there were pockets of native speakers of Irish in each of the six counties, although all had ceased to be functioning speech communities. The Census of 1911 was the last to ask a question on Irish, and it recorded 28,725 speakers (2.3 percent of the population), most of whom were concentrated in Tyrone (5.3 percent) and Derry (2.9 percent) (Dunn, Morgan & Dawson, 2001: 11). As late as 1955, there were eight native speakers on Rathlin Island off the Antrim coast; the last native speaker in the Glens of Antrim died in 1953, and there were as many as about sixty native speakers scattered through the Sperrin Mountains in Tyrone in 1950 (Hindley, 1990: 150). By the middle of the century, however, in the absence of any state policy in favour of Irish, these communities had ceased to exist. Their collapse was intimately linked with underdevelopment:

> Those areas in which Irish language maintenance did occur were isolated, impoverished, unproductive, very poor - and declining. They had ageing populations, low marriage and birth rates and high rates of emigration - an experience which still causes people to associate the Irish language, and other minority languages, with poverty, filth and backwardness, co-existing with a romantic cult of the Irish speaker as a noble poetic savage (Ó Donnaile, 1997: 197).

Eighty years elapsed before a question on Irish was re-introduced into the Census. In 1991 in a changing political climate, respondents were asked: 'Can the person speak, read or write Irish?' The returns for every county indicate a marked increase in knowledge of Irish in this period. 142,003 people or 9.5 percent returned themselves as having knowledge of Irish. The highest concentrations were in Tyrone (16.5 percent), Derry (11.9 percent) and Belfast (10.9 percent). However, as stated above, these figures provide no information about competence or use and cannot be relied upon as

evidence of a speech community where Irish is dominant. Furthermore, the Irish speakers recorded in 1911 were native speakers and some may not have known English; those who claimed a knowledge of Irish in 1991 had all learned the language (to varying degrees of fluency) and some may not have even been able to hold a simple conversation in it.

Claims of language ability corresponded with religious affiliation: between 21 and 22 percent of Catholics claimed competence in Irish, while less than one per cent of each of the three main Protestant denominations did so (Dunn, Morgan & Rawson, 2001: 17). Another source of information on knowledge of Irish is the Continuous Household Survey of 1987, which included questions on language proficiency. This research indicated that 26 percent of Catholics and 2 percent of Protestants claimed knowledge of Irish (Dunn, Morgan & Dawson, 2001: 19-20). A 1999 version of the survey, renamed the 'Northern Ireland Life and Times Survey', estimated that 14 percent of the population had a knowledge of Irish, 29 percent of Catholics and 3 percent of Protestants (communication with Mac Póilín, 2005).

The Census of 2001 recorded an 18 percent increase in the numbers of people in Northern Ireland claiming a knowledge of Irish. The increase was facilitated by seven new categories which left much room for ambiguity. The original question was broadened to include 'understanding of Irish' and four other categories involving various combinations of skills were created. A sixth category, 'have some knowledge of Irish', allowed many people of limited linguistic ability to include themselves in the community of 'speakers' (Ó Cairealláin, G., 2001: 9). 10.4 percent of the population chose this category. The highest proportions of people claiming knowledge of Irish were in Newry and Mourne (20.4 percent), Dungannon (19.1 percent) and Magherafelt (17.5 percent). 13.6 percent of the population of Belfast claimed a knowledge of Irish, mostly in the west of the city. In Northern Ireland as a whole, 4.6 percent reported that they could 'speak, read, write and understand Irish'. Generally, there is a correlation between areas where knowledge of Irish is

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strong and areas where relatively high percentages of the population claim the four skills, as Table 2.6 illustrates.

Table 2.6: Eight local authority districts in Northern Ireland where knowledge of Irish is strongest, based on Census 2001

Local government district	Some knowledge of Irish	Speak, read, write and understand Irish
Newry & Mourne	20.4	9
Dungannon	19.1	8.9
Magherafelt	17.5	7.7
Omagh	16.2	7
Armagh	14.7	6.6
Cookstown	14.4	5.9
Moyle	14.4	6.2
Belfast	13.6	6.6

Source: NISRA, 2002: 72

Table 2.7 illustrates the steady increase in the numbers of people claiming competence in Irish since 1911. As stated above, however, there are problems with direct comparisons with 1911 because of the vastly different political and sociolinguistic situation at that time.

Table 2.7: Comparisons between levels of people claiming knowledge of Irish, 1911, 1991 and 2001

Year	Total	Knowledge of Irish	Percentage
1911	1,250,031	28,725	2.3
1991	1,502,385	142,003	9.5
2001	1,617,957	167,458	10.4

Sources: Dunn, Morgan & Dawson, 2001: 10; NISRA, 2002: 72-3

As is the case in the Republic of Ireland, the Census statistics for Northern Ireland are difficult to interpret because of the imprecise nature of the questions. It could be assumed that people claiming the four skills of speaking, reading, writing and understanding represent the core Irish language community, something similar to the 'daily speakers' in the Republic. However, this too is fraught with difficulties because of lack of information about levels of competence in the four skills. Even leaving aside this concern, the percentages of people claiming the four skills are very low

and reflect the greater marginalisation of Irish north of the border. A detailed study of the Irish language community in West Belfast will be conducted in Chapter Eight.

3. STATUS

3.1   Legal status in Republic of Ireland

When the Irish Free State was established, the government began a process of attempting to reverse the dramatic language shift. Ó Murchú, H. and Ó Murchú, M. illustrate the challenge succinctly: in 1550, English was limited to 'a small minority ruling class confined to certain areas. Irish [was] dominant and prestigious among all social classes' (1999: 10) and a bilingual native aristocracy existed. In 1900, by contrast, English was 'widespread and the language of status' while Irish was 'now confined to less than 30% of the population, disadvantaged classes in peripheral areas, mostly older age groups' and intergenerational transmission was 'under huge threat. The factors responsible included plantations, penal laws, social upheaval following famine, emigration [and] lack of economic power' (10).

3.1.1 Constitutional status

Faced with this challenge, the state in 1922 declared Irish the 'national language' in the Constitution, it became a core subject of the school curriculum and competence in it was necessary for employment in the public service (Ó Murchú H. & Ó Murchú, M., 1999: 3). The constitutional provision granted equal status to Irish and English, while recognising the historical position of Irish:

> The National language of the Irish Free State (Saorstát Éireann) is the Irish language but the English language shall be equally recognised as an official language. Nothing in this Article shall prevent special

provisions being made by the Parliament of the Irish Free State (otherwise called and herein referred to as the 'Oireachtas') for districts or areas in which only one language is in general use (Article 4, Constitution of the Irish Free State, cited in Ó Máille, 1990: 3).

Ó Máille points out that the 1922 Constitution was unique among Commonwealth countries in that it gave prominence to a language other than English. The second part of Article 4 was inserted apparently to assuage Unionist concerns in Northern Ireland, in the event of reunification (1990: 3). There was considerable debate during this time about the use of the term 'national language' to describe Irish, which was confined largely to the remote Gaeltacht communities and was no longer widely spoken throughout the country. However, in the Dáil debates leading up to the adoption of a new Constitution in 1937, the President of the Executive Committee, Éamon de Valera, defended the use of the term 'national language' and in fact proposed enhancing the status of Irish (Ó Máille, 1990: 8; Dáil Éireann debates, 25 May 1936, cited in Ó Riain, 1994: 25-6).

A new Article 8 in the 1937 Constitution ('Bunreacht na hÉireann') read as follows:

> 1. The Irish language as the national language is the first official language.
>
> 2. The English language is recognised as a second official language.
>
> 3. Provision may, however, be made by law for the exclusive use of either of the said languages for any one or more official purposes, either throughout the State or in any part thereof.

As Ó Riain notes, the change in constitutional status between 1922 and 1937 was substantial: it enhanced the position of Irish from 'national language' to 'first official language' and relegated English from being 'equally recognised as an official language' to 'a second official language' (1994: 26). However, Nic Shuibhne identifies a key weakness in the wording of Article 8. She states that the Constitution allows for a choice to be made between Irish and

English but that no 'right' is conferred on speakers of Irish either in Article 8 or in Article 44 dealing with the fundamental rights of citizens (1999: 13-4).

Because of the failure to pass legislation to translate the constitutional aspirations into reality, various citizens had no option but to take the state to court to achieve such linguistic rights, leading to a series of often contradictory rulings, each offering its own interpretation either of Article 4 (1922) or Article 8 (1937).[1] The existing constitutional provision led to considerable confusion. Even if the provisions of Article 8 were interpreted in court as constituting rights for Irish speakers, they remained meaningless without the support of legislation. As Nic Shuibhne argues, '[w]hether at national or international level, declaring rights without providing a corresponding commitment to their implementation is an empty exercise' (1999: 17). The difficulties inherent in a constitutional provision which was not reflected in legislation were summed up elegantly by Justice Hardiman:

> Is é mo dhearcadh-sa go bhfuiltear tagtha chuig staid anois nach ndéanfadh ach duine a mbeadh neamhspleáchas agus dianseasmhacht thar an ngnáth ag baint leis nó léi iarracht ar gnó dhlíthiúil a dhéanamh trí Ghaeilge.....Ní féidir leo athrú ar bith a chur ar an bhfírinne lom go n-aireoidh an té a lorgaíonn bunábhar dlíthiúil i nGaeilge go bhfuil sé ag goilleadh ar na hoifigigh óna lorgaíonn sé iad agus is cinnte go n-aireoidh sé go ndéileáilfí níos gasta agus níos éifeachtúla lena ghnó má thaobhaíonn sé an Béarla. Ní fhéadfainn a rá ach gur cion i gcoinne meoin agus bhunbhrí na bhfocal sa Bhunreacht an staid seo (100/98JR, Supreme Court, cited in An Coimisinéir Teanga, 2005a).[2]

Such views formed the backbone of much of the campaign for language legislation in Ireland.

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[1] For comprehensive overviews of the legal status of Irish, including an analysis of key judgments, see Nic Shuibhne, 1999, Ó Máille, 1990 and Ó Tuathail, 2002.
[2] It is my opinion that we have now reached a position that only a person of unusual independence and persistence would attempt to conduct legal business through Irish ... They cannot change the hard truth that the person who seeks basic legal materials in Irish will feel that he is bothering the officials from which he seeks them and that he will feel that he will be dealt with more quickly and more effectively if he chooses English. I can only say that this situation is an offence against the spirit and basic meaning of the words of the Constitution.

3.1.2 Language legislation

The main requirement for language legislation stemmed from the abolishment in 1974 of the requirement for proficiency in Irish in order to obtain employment in the public service. The removal of this condition reduced considerably the ability of the service to deal with Irish-speaking customers. From the end of the 1970s, Irish language organisations began to agitate for a Bill of Rights, or Language Act for Irish speakers. In 1993, the state board for Irish, Bord na Gaeilge, produced guidelines for the public service on Irish language services. However, lacking any legal basis, the guidelines were largely ignored. In 2002, the government published the first draft of a Bill which aimed to provide more Irish language services of a higher standard to the public (An Coimisinéir Teanga, 2005a & 2005b). In July 2003 - 66 years after the 1937 Constitution and 88 years after the 1922 Constitution - President McAleese signed the bill into law and the Official Languages Act came into being. Based on the Canadian model, a language commissioner (An Coimisinéir Teanga) was appointed in February 2004 as an independent office, separate from government, to monitor compliance with the legislation. The Official Languages Act applies to a total of 650 public bodies. It imposes various types of obligations upon them, all of which are aimed at increasing the level of service in Irish (An Coimisinéir Teanga, 2005c & 2005d).

The Official Languages Act has far-reaching implications for the way in which public bodies in the Republic of Ireland engage with the Irish language. It is a piece of legislation with teeth and has the potential to increase significantly the amount of public services available in Irish. It is also a statement of increased state support for the status of Irish at a time when such support appeared to be on the wane. However, because of the almost complete anglicisation of the public service in Ireland, many public bodies will find it extremely challenging to comply with the Act when it is fully operational by 2006. Furthermore, given that Irish speakers have almost always been rejected in their attempts to use Irish with the state, a fundamental change of

attitude is required in order for them to seek services in Irish under the new regime. Finally, there are serious limitations to a rights-based approach in the case of a language as marginalised and as minoritised as Irish. The Irish language community is becoming increasingly scattered geographically as the Gaeltacht breaks downs linguistically. Many native speakers have low levels of literacy in Irish and the unstable diglossia which exist in the Gaeltacht militate against the use of Irish in formal domains. Despite a relatively large community of second language speakers, passive knowledge is far greater than active, and this group also displays problems with literacy (for a discussion, see Ní Mhianáin, 2003). For a large part of the population, Irish is important only in a symbolic sense (Ó Riagáin & Ó Gliasáin, 1994: 18-20). Given these restrictions, it is unreasonable to expect that large numbers of Irish speakers will demand to conduct their official business in Irish with the state. The legislation is both important and welcome, but it also underlines the need for a parallel strategy of network-based language planning aimed at increasing use of Irish in all domains, not only the official. This question will be dealt with further at 4 below and in Chapter Nine.

3.2 Legal status in Northern Ireland

There was enormous hostility towards Irish under decades of Unionist government. Irish was banned by BBC Northern Ireland for fifty years and attempts to use a few words of Irish in parliament were rejected on the ground that it was a foreign language (Mac Póilín, 1997a: 184; O'Reilly, 1999: 21). In 1936, Viscount Craigavon, who would go on to become Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, explained his decision to withdraw a grant for Irish:

> What use is it to us here in this busy part of the Empire to teach our children the Irish language? What use would it be to them? Is it not leading them along a road which has no practical value? ... We have stopped the grants simply because we do not see that these boys being taught Irish would be any better citizens (Northern Ireland Parliamentary Debates, 1936, cited in Maguire, 1991: 11).

According to Maguire, government policy on Irish was not always so openly hostile. For years, official policy was simply that the language simply did not exist, that the Irish language was 'a ghost of the past' (41-2).

There were a number of important developments for Irish at community level in Northern Ireland at the end of the 20th Century. These will be examined in detail in Chapter Eight. In 1989, the British government established the ULTACH Trust (Iontaobhas ULTACH), which was to use state funds to promote Irish, but only through the community relations budget. The cross-community nature of the organisation, and the fact that there were Unionists on its board, prompted suspicions among West Belfast Republicans that it was 'a government front, designed to regulate the Irish language revival by keeping control of its funding' (O'Reilly, 1999: 108). However, the Trust was important in campaigning for funding for key initiatives in education and broadcasting, and in re-introducing the Irish language to a highly sceptical and often hostile Protestant community (interview with Mac Póilín, 2004).

The next landmark development was the Belfast Agreement of 1998, in which the British government pledged to take 'resolute action to promote' Irish (see Appendix 1). Most significantly, the Agreement led to the establishment at the end of 1998 of a statutory cross-border implementation body to promote both Irish and Ulster-Scots,[3] The North/South Language Body (Article 26 (1), British-Irish Agreement Act, 1999). This is one body with two independent parts, one for Irish (Foras na Gaeilge - 'Irish Language Institute') and one for Ulster-Scots (Tha Boord o Ulstèr-Scotch). The functions and policies of Foras na Gaeilge will be discussed in further detail at 4.3 below (Ó Murchú, H., 2000; McCoy, 2001).

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[3] Ulster-Scots is a descendant of Scots, a Germanic language closely related to English which was brought from Scotland to what is now Northern Ireland in the 1600s. It is recognised by the British government under the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (see below). Its promoters claim that it is spoken by 'tens of thousands' of people in Counties Down, Antrim and Derry and in Donegal in the Republic of Ireland (Montgomery, 2002).

The final development of note was the decision of the British government to sign and ratify the Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (1992) in 2001. The Charter forms part of the body of international human rights law of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg. Ratification of the Charter obliges signatories to undertake a number of measures to promote the use of regional or minority languages in public life. These include measures in relation to education, judicial authorities, administration and public service, media, cultural activities, economic and social life and transfrontier exchanges. Ratification also obliges the government to prepare regular reports for the Council, outlining the measures which have been taken to implement the Charter's provisions. Furthermore, the Council dispatches a Committee of Experts to the territory in question to monitor compliance (see 4.4 below).

4. STATE INSTITUTIONAL SUPPORT FOR IRISH

There are four state bodies, in both the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland, which have either full or partial responsibility for promoting the Irish language: the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs; Foras na Gaeilge, Údarás na Gaeltachta ('Gaeltacht Authority') and the Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure (Northern Ireland).

4.1   Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs

Despite its misleading title, the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs (DCRGA) is responsible for Irish language policy throughout the Republic, including the Gaeltacht (DCRGA, 2004e: 25). The DCRGA was allocated a budget of €330 million by the exchequer in 2005, €92 million of which was spent on the Irish language and the Gaeltacht (Government of Ireland, 2005: 58-9). The most recent annual report from the DCRGA lists five main areas of responsibility: community and local development; national drugs strategy; rural development; islands; Irish language and Gaeltacht;

North-South co-operation (DCRGA, 2004e). It funds two statutory organisations which are responsible for promoting Irish, or for developing areas where Irish is the community language: Foras na Gaeilge and Údarás na Gaeltachta.

4.2   Údarás na Gaeltachta

Údarás na Gaeltachta was established in 1979 as an industrial development agency for the Gaeltacht, replacing the existing agency, Gaeltarra Éireann. Today, Údarás na Gaeltachta is a significant player in Gaeltacht economic development, receiving €32.7 million from the DCRGA in 2003 (DCRGA, 2004e: vii). Of the Gaeltacht workforce of 38,433 people, 7,346 (19.1%) are full-time employees in companies assisted by the Údarás. A further 4,220 people are employed on a part-time or seasonal basis in such companies (Údarás na Gaeltachta, 2003c: 24). Employment in Údarás-assisted companies reached a peak of over 8,000 in 2000 but has been falling since then (11). Despite the obvious success of Údarás in creating jobs, concerns persist that economic development of this type, which does not consider linguistic factors, is insufficient for the Gaeltacht's distinct needs. The changing roles and functions of Údarás na Gaeltachta are considered in detail in Chapter Seven.

4.3   Foras na Gaeilge

Foras na Gaeilge is the Irish language part of The North/South Language Body, one of six cross-border implementation bodies established under the 1998 Belfast Agreement. It is responsible for promoting Irish throughout the island of Ireland: 75 percent of its funding is provided by the DCRGA in the Republic, and the remainder by the Department of Arts, Culture and Leisure (DCAL) in Northern Ireland.

At the end of 1998, the Republic's state board for the Irish language, Bord na Gaeilge, was dissolved and its functions transferred to the Foras (Article 28 (1), British-Irish Agreement Act, 1999). In so doing, the Irish state effectively ceded its sovereign responsibility for promoting Irish to a structure which is linked to the British state and to an unstable peace process in Northern Ireland (Ó Murchú, M., 2002: 14-5). The new body's principal function was the 'promotion of the Irish language', but it was also required to advise both governments, to fund projects, to undertake research and promotional campaigns, to develop corpus planning and to support both Irish-medium education and the teaching of Irish (Part 5 of Annex 1 to British-Irish Agreement Act, 1999). The Foras took over responsibility for funding the Irish language voluntary sector, previously the responsibility of the Department of the Gaeltacht (Article 28 (2) (a), British-Irish Agreement Act, 1999). This was a contentious decision at the time, and continues to cause controversy (see 5 below). Foras na Gaeilge has a board of 16 members appointed by the North-South Ministerial Council established under the Belfast Agreement. Although Foras na Gaeilge is not prevented by the legislation by operating in the Gaeltacht, it has not done so since its inception.

The 2005 budget for Foras na Gaeilge is €22 million (€15.1 million from DCRGA and €6.8 million from DCAL) (personal communication with Shimmon, 2005).

4.4   Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure (Northern Ireland)

The Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure (DCAL) was established in 2001 as part of the devolved administration, the Northern Ireland Executive. Reflecting the principles of the Belfast Agreement, one of DCAL's key objectives is to 'recognise the importance of respect, understanding and tolerance in relation to linguistic diversity, including in Northern Ireland, the Irish language, Ulster-Scots and the languages of the various ethnic minority communities, all of which are part of the cultural wealth of the island of

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Ireland' (DCAL, 2005; Gorman, 2002: 7). However, DCAL has an even wider range of functions than the DCRGA in the Republic: as well as linguistic diversity, it is also responsible for the arts, fisheries, waterways, libraries, museums, the National Lottery and sports (DCAL, 2005).

Based on a variety of portfolios from existing departments, including the Central Community Relations Unit, a Linguistic Diversity Unit was set up within DCAL in 1999 to take responsibility for developing language policy on Irish, Ulster-Scots and other ethnic minority languages in Northern Ireland, such as Cantonese, Portuguese and Arabic (interview with Douglas, 2005; McAllister, 2003: 45). The main responsibility of the Linguistic Diversity Unit is in relation to the implementation of the Charter, and the part-funding of Foras na Gaeilge. The Unit does not appear to have any direct role in relation to language planning, and has no policy or strategic document in relation to Irish (personal communication with Shimmon, 2005).

There is little co-ordination between the various agencies promoting Irish. For instance, it is unclear whether the DCRGA or Údarás is responsible for language planning in the Gaeltacht. A survey in 2004 revealed how various community language projects, many of them in themselves worthy of support, were operating in complete isolation from each other and under different sources of funding (Ó Flatharta, 2004). The lack of co-ordination is to be expected given the lack of a national plan for Irish, or a national language planning structure (Walsh, 2005b). Another complicating factor is that, since the establishment of Foras na Gaeilge, the structures and policies of two sovereign governments have to be considered, as well as the different political and socio-economic contexts in both states. Lack of funding does not appear to be a problem, because the amount of money spent on Irish by the four agencies amounts to at least €100m per annum. This is higher than the amount of annual funding given to state language bodies in Scotland or Wales (Welsh Language Board, 2005; Bòrd na Gàidhlig, 2005). The lack of co-ordination also has implications for the voluntary Irish language sector, which

is funded largely by the state apparatus.

5. VOLUNTARY IRISH LANGUAGE SECTOR

There are various estimates of the total number of voluntary Irish language
organisations in existence. In 1997, a report for the then Department of Arts,
Culture and the Gaeltacht examined 15 such organisations in the Republic
only (Commission to Examine the Role of the Irish Language Voluntary
Organisations, 1997). Ó Murchú, H. lists 41 organisations (2003b: 31), while
Donoghue lists 53 (2004), in both the Republic and Northern Ireland.
However, as Donoghue points out, there is a high level of informality in the
sector, which may account for the uncertainty about 'organisations' some of
which have no formal legal existence or structure. Ó Murchú classifies the
sector according to 12 themes (community, co-ordination, education, youth,
women, families, religion, culture and entertainment, Gaeltacht, business,
miscellaneous and Celtic languages) (2003b: 29-31). As outlined at 4.3
above, many of the larger organisations are funded by Foras na Gaeilge since
1999. A bitter dispute broke out between both parties in 2005 after funding
for some projects was cut (Ní Mhárta & Ní Nualláin, 2005; Daily Ireland,
2005; Ó Néill, 2004c & 2004d; Ó Liatháin, 2005a & 2005c). Ó Murchú has
criticised the lack of a guaranteed funding structure and of co-ordinated
policy (2003b: 44-5; Donoghue, 2004: 35).

6. PUBLIC ATTITUDES TO IRISH

6.1   Attitudes in Republic of Ireland

As well as providing information on language proficiency and use, the
Committee on Irish Language Attitudes Research (CILAR) and the subsequent
surveys from ITÉ (see 2.1.2 above) are also a source of information on public
attitudes to bilingualism. The surveys reveal a high level of public support for

bilingualism (even though that concept is not defined), with over 20 percent claiming that they would wish to speak more Irish than English in a 'fully bilingual Ireland'. Between 18 and 25 percent would prefer to speak English, but a large majority (about two-thirds) are in favour of bilingualism (Ó Riagáin & Ó Gliasáin, 1994: 9). With regard to policy preferences for the future, only a small minority (around 5 percent) wants Irish to be forgotten. There is a high level of support for bilingualism, but with English dominant (34 percent). However, the highest level of support (43 percent) is for the preservation of Irish 'for its cultural value as in music and arts'. This is significant because in terms of language planning, it is the weakest option. 'Preserving' a language through music and arts does not imply any obligation to increase levels of usage of that language, either within its core speech community or in the wider general public (Ó Riagáin & Ó Gliasáin, 1994: 10).

Further attitudinal research has revealed that there is strong support for Irish as a symbol of ethnic identity, with majorities in favour of the statements 'no real Irish person can be against the revival of Irish' (66-72 percent); 'Ireland would not really be Ireland without Irish-speaking people' (60-64 percent) and 'without Irish, Ireland would certainly lose its identity as a separate culture' (56-61 percent). However, the majorities are not overwhelming, and there are minorities of between 25 to 40 percent which disagree with these statements (Ó Riagáin & Ó Gliasáin, 1994: 19).

In terms of state policy, there has been a substantial increase in favour of increased state support for Irish, even though this would entail additional expenditure. There is also support for increased use of Irish by public representatives, for improving the teaching of Irish, for providing Irish-medium schools, and for state services to be available in Irish. Most noticeably, there is a strong belief that the state, and not voluntary bodies, should bear the burden of responsibility for promoting Irish (Ó Riagáin & Ó Gliasáin, 1994: 20).

Finally, despite high levels of public support (albeit largely in the symbolic realm), and support for increased state expenditure on promoting Irish, there is also a high level of pessimism among the public about the future of Irish. Large majorities (65-79 percent) believe that most people 'just don't care one way or the other about Irish' and that 'if nothing is done about it, Irish will disappear in a generation or two' (66-71 percent). A slim majority (51-54 percent) believes that Irish cannot be 'revived as a common means of communication' and a larger majority (56-62 percent) believes that Irish 'cannot be made suitable for business and science' (Ó Riagáin & Ó Gliasáin, 1994: 21). The internal difficulties of ITÉ, and the lack of research by Foras na Gaeilge or any other state body, has created a major research deficit in this area in the Republic.

6.2   Attitudes in Northern Ireland

Information on public attitudes to Irish in Northern Ireland is far more recent and less comprehensive than similar work conducted in the Republic. As stated at 2.2 above, Irish was either ignored or ridiculed throughout decades of Unionist government. However, in the changed post-Agreement climate, a 'Social Omnibus Survey' was conducted in 2000, based on a sample of 1,525 individuals, 1,007 of whom took part. Respondents were asked four questions about 13 types of public service provision in Irish (ranging from government leaflets and websites to oral communication with government and reports or consultation documents). Between 7.7 and 9.3 percent thought that Irish language versions of these services should be provided as a matter of right; between 44.8 and 50.7 percent thought the Irish version should be available to those who requested it; between 9.7 and 12.5 percent thought that Irish versions should only be provided to those not literate in English (a highly improbable scenario) and between 20.7 and 25 percent thought that the Irish versions should not be provided in any circumstances (Dunn, Morgan & Dawson, 2001: 48-9). Not surprisingly, far higher percentages of Catholics than Protestants thought services should be

available as a matter of right and a very large majority of Protestants (as much as 85 percent) opposed providing Irish language services in any circumstances (50-51).

These findings provide only a snapshot of a small sample's views on provision of government services only, and are far less detailed than the work conducted by ITÉ.

7. IRISH IN OTHER AREAS OF SOCIAL LIFE

In this section, the position of Irish will be examined in two domains in which it has a relatively high profile: education and the media. Various aspects of these domains will be discussed further in later chapters.

7.1   Education

Education is probably more closely associated with Irish than any other domain and for most Irish people, it is the only formal contact which they have with the language. This is because Irish is part of the core curriculum and is offered to all students in all state schools from age 4-18 (Kelly, 2000). A pass in Irish is required in the Leaving Certificate Examination in order to enter constituent colleges of the National University of Ireland. All primary teachers are required to be competent to teach Irish. Primary teachers from outside the state who do not have competence in Irish are paid a lower salary until they reach the desired level. Secondary school teachers who do not have to teach Irish are no longer required to obtain a certain level of proficiency. Irish is offered in all universities in the Republic and Northern Ireland and there are also courses available in some of the institutes of technology (third level institutions) adjacent to Gaeltacht areas (Ó Murchú, H. & Ó Murchú, M., 1999: 19-20). There has been considerable debate in recent years over the creation of an all-Irish university, either in a physical form or through the use of information technology. The state has funded a series of

Gaeltacht campuses operated by the National University of Ireland, Galway, (NUIG, 2003a; see also Nic Pháidín agus uí Bhraonáin, 2004). In Northern Ireland, Irish is taught as a subject in upper classes of the primary sector and post-primary sectors in most Catholic schools and in newer interdenominational schools (Ó Murchú, H. & Ó Murchú, M., 1999: 23).

There is considerable hostility to what is referred to widely as 'compulsory Irish' in certain sectors of the media (see for instance Myers, 2000 & 2003). In 2002, the media highlighted apparently poor Leaving Certificate results in Irish, although a higher percentage of pupils that year obtained an honours qualification in Irish than in English or Mathematics (see Ó Murchú, H., 2003a). However, the Official Languages Commissioner prompted controversy in 2005 when he claimed that after 13 years of instruction in Irish, most schoolchildren are incapable of holding a conversation in the language. The Commissioner called for a fundamental review of policy in relation to the teaching of Irish (An Coimisinéir Teanga, 2005d). However, it is important to point out that the education system has been one of the more successful elements of Irish language policy generally, as illustrated by the Census returns: of the 42 percent of Irish people who report that they can speak Irish, most have learned it at school.

Irish-medium education outside the Gaeltacht has succeeded in creating many young speakers of the language who otherwise may not have had the opportunity to acquire Irish. In 2004-5, in both the Republic and Northern Ireland, there were 189 Irish-medium schools (gaelscoileanna), 153 at primary and 36 at post-primary level. Together these schools serve almost 32,000 pupils from over 18,000 families outside the Gaeltacht (about five percent of all pupils). There has been a significant increase in the past thirty years in the numbers of children receiving Irish-medium education, and demand for new schools continues to grow. A national co-ordinating voluntary organisation, Gaelscoileanna, is responsible for the strategic

development of the sector (interview with Ó Dúlacháin, 2004; personal communication with Walsh, 2005).

7.2   Media

Irish language media has grown considerably in recent years and has developed into a sector of the economy in its own right, creating significant employment opportunities for Irish speakers (Watson, 2003; Hourigan, 2003). The national television station, TG4 (at the time of writing still part of the national broadcaster Raidió Teilifís Éireann) has been on air since 1996 and has projected an innovative and imaginative approach to Irish language programming. It commissions much of its programming from independent television production companies, many of which are based in the Gaeltacht. TG4 faces many challenges, particularly due to the highly expensive cost of producing original television programming in Irish (see Screen Producers Ireland, 2004 and Chapter Six). There is also a national radio station broadcasting exclusively in Irish, RTÉ Raidió na Gaeltachta. Its programmes are geared mostly for a Gaeltacht audience but it also caters for listeners elsewhere. An independent community Irish language radio station, Raidió na Life, broadcasts to the Dublin area. Several local commercial radio stations also include a limited amount of Irish language or bilingual programming. There are two national newspapers: *Foinse*, a weekly, is based in the Galway Gaeltacht and *Lá*, a daily, is published in Belfast. Several monthly magazines are published as is a monthly magazine on the web, and a fortnightly electronic newsletter. Of the national newspapers in the Republic, only *The Irish Times* carries frequent articles in Irish. However, both nationalist newspapers in Northern Ireland, *The Irish News* and the new *Daily Ireland*, publish at least one entire page in Irish every day, reflecting the current political and cultural importance of Irish there. BBC Northern Ireland broadcasts 30 minutes of Irish language radio programmes each day and there is a limited amount of material on television. However, following a commitment in the Belfast Agreement, a fund for Irish language broadcasting

in Northern Ireland was created recently. This fund will be used to commission material from independent producers for broadcast on local television stations and/or on TG4 (interview with Killoran, 2005).

There are more employment opportunities in the Irish language media than at any time in the past, in journalism, presentation, research and in technical jobs. However, opportunities are greater and more sought after in broadcast than in print media and the latter sector faces challenges due to low levels of literacy in Irish.

8. CONCLUSIONS

Despite centuries of language shift to English, and sustained erosion of its core community in the Gaeltacht in the last fifty years, Irish survives as a spoken language of communities in both the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. More than 339,000 people report that they speak it every day in the Republic and over 1.5 million people claim some competence in it. More than 160,000 people in Northern Ireland have some knowledge of Irish. It is taught as a core subject to all children in every state school in the Republic and there is increasing demand for Irish-medium education, both in the Republic and Northern Ireland. It is supported by four state agencies and a large number of voluntary organisations, both in the Republic and Northern Ireland. There is a national television station whose core programming is in Irish, a national radio service, and several print media outlets. Irish is granted considerable legal protection by the Official Languages Act and all state bodies in the Republic are obliged to increase their levels of service in Irish. In Northern Ireland, Irish is granted legal protection under the Belfast Agreement and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages.

However, many significant challenges facing Irish. Levels of intergenerational transmission are low and it faces extinction as a traditional language of specific geographical communities in the Gaeltacht. There is no co-ordination

between state policies on the language and no national plan for Irish or language planning framework. There is a lack of research on language behaviour, and very little expertise in language planning approaches based on international best practice. Despite recent advances in legislation, Irish remains marginal in most areas of public life. The organisations which promote it remain excluded, either by themselves or by the state apparatus, from national policy-making on a range of issues, in particular in relation to socio-economic development. If Irish remains on the margins of society, developed only in limited domains, its long-term chances for survival as a community language are slim.

This largely factual overview of the current state of Irish was required in order to provide a context for the remainder of the study, which concentrates on investigating the influence of the promotion of the Irish language on Ireland's socio-economic development. Although not related directly to the investigation of the research question, it provides a succinct account of the legal status of Irish, its demographic position and institutional support. The next chapter addresses the research question directly by beginning the investigation of the link between the Irish language and Ireland's socio-economic development. It contains a survey of historical authors and commentators who have argued that the role of Irish is broader than communication alone, and that it influences aspects of the country's social and economic development. The claims of these authors led to the research question and formed the foundation on which this dissertation is built.

CHAPTER THREE

APPROACHES TO LANGUAGE AND DEVELOPMENT: CONTRIBUTIONS FROM HISTORY

1. INTRODUCTION

The research question which this study will investigate has its roots in arguments advanced by a variety of authors in Ireland over the last one hundred and fifty years, that the promotion of Irish has a positive effect on socio-economic development. Writers, commentators and political leaders from a variety of backgrounds have maintained that the Irish language plays a role in society beyond its obvious communicative function. They have argued that Irish effects social and economic change through its influence on factors such as identity, self-confidence, self-sufficiency, character, cohesion and innovation. The purpose of this chapter is to review these historical contributions and to illustrate how they understand the relationship between the Irish language and Ireland's socio-economic development.

2. CONTRIBUTIONS FROM HISTORY

This is not an exhaustive study of every contribution to this subject over the past 150 years, because that would be beyond the scope of this dissertation. What is presented here amounts to a chronological selection of some of the key writings on the wider role of Irish in society, particularly during the period of the cultural and linguistic revival of the late 19th Century, and since the 1960s.[1]

Certain types of contribution are avoided. Firstly, policy documents from government departments or state agencies concerned with the promotion of

Irish are not considered, because the primary aim of this chapter is to review one aspect of public debate about Irish rather than state policy towards the language. Secondly, overtly theoretical works on the relationship between language and society, or between language and culture, or between culture and development, are similarly ignored here, as they are the subject of the next chapter. This review sets the scene for Chapter Four, the purpose of which is to elaborate a theoretical framework through which to better understand the links posited by the historical authors.

2.1   Thomas Davis

Thomas Davis has been described as the 'unofficial, but unchallenged, leader of the Young Irelanders between 1842 and 1845' (Foster, 1988: 311).[2] In contrast to scholars of Irish in the early part of the 19th Century who studied it as an historical relic only (Ó hAilín, 1969), Davis believed that Irish should be used more widely as a vehicle of spoken communication. He expressed this view in two renowned essays published in *The Nation* in 1843, 'Self-Education' and 'Our National Language'. Davis argued for Irish to 'be cherished, taught, and esteemed, and that it ... be preserved and gradually extended' (Davis, 1843b [1974]: 105).[3] He deplored the view of the upper classes that Irish was 'a sign of vulgarity' and called on them to have their children taught Irish as it 'would be more useful in life' (105).

Davis and his followers were concerned mostly with the importance of Irish as the backbone of Irish identity and, as Ó Doibhlin points out, his views can be

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[1] A fixed period was chosen because of the necessary limitations of this study. This does not mean that the themes of the debate were limited to the period in question.

[2] Foster provides the following brief biography: 'Thomas Osborne Davis (1814-45): born in Mallow, County Cork; educated at Trinity College Dublin; called to the Irish Bar, 1838; joined the Repeal Association, 1840; contributor to the Dublin liberal press; co-founded *The Nation*, 1842' (1988: *311*).

[3] The second essay on Irish was published in *The Nation* on 30 December 1843 (Ó Murchú, M., 2002: 145).

traced back to German romanticism and Fichte and Herder (2004b: 2-3). Such influences are apparent in the following extract:

> Force the manners, dress, language, and constitution of Russia, or Italy, or Norway, or America, and you instantly stunt and distort the whole mind of either people. The language, which grows up with a people, is conformed to their organs, descriptive of their climate, constitution and manners, mingled inseparably with their history and their soil, fitted beyond any other language to express their prevalent thoughts in the most natural and efficient way. To impose another language on such a people is to send their history adrift among the accidents of translation (Davis, 1843b [1974]: 97-8).

However, the above extract also contains references to the belief that language was intimately linked to the thought patterns of the people who spoke it: that it could 'express their prevalent thoughts in the most natural and efficient way' and that denying it would 'stunt and distort' their minds. This psychological theme is also apparent in his description of Irish as the most suitable medium 'to the genius of the people' (103) and his reference to it as 'the soil of their genius' (107). The idea that Irish was a source of inspiration for achieving 'genius', without which the Irish mind would become 'stunted and distorted' was exceptional for the time because whatever interest there was in Irish tended to be antiquarian in its focus (Nic Pháidín, 1998: 10). Davis did not explain what exactly he meant by such 'genius' but his comments may be interpreted as meaning that Irish was resource which could be used to construct an independent Irish nation and which would have beneficial influences for Irish society in general.

Davis was also significant because his belief in the value of Irish as a modern vehicle of communication and as a resource for nationhood was in sharp contrast with the hostile views of Daniel O'Connell to the language. Despite his being a native speaker from Doire Fhíonáin on the Iveragh Peninsula in County Kerry[4], O'Connell viewed Irish as an impediment to progress:

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[4] For a comprehensive study of the decline of Irish in this region, and of the role of O'Connell in this process, see Ní Mhóráin, 1997.

Therefore, although the Irish language is connected with many recollections that twine around the hearts of Irishmen yet the superior utility of the English tongue, as the medium of all modern communications is so great that I can witness without a sigh the gradual disuse of Irish (O'Neill-Daunt, W.J., 1848: 14-15, cited in Ní Mhóráin, 1997: 32).

Indeed, Davis' views pre-dated many of those of the Irish revival movement half a century later, particularly in the areas of education and media (Ó hAilín, 1969: 93-4; Lyons, 1971: 112). His essays on Irish in *The Nation* were important because they identified the language as part of the array of indigenous resources which could be used by all Irish people to forge an independent state. It was an idea which would later be taken up by Hyde, Moran and others.

2.2   Douglas Hyde (Dubhglas de hÍde)

Douglas Hyde (Dubhglas de hÍde), a Protestant who grew up in Frenchpark, Co. Roscommon, alluded to the role of culture and language in the process of national renewal. A leading figure in the language revival movement of the end of the 19th and early 20th Centuries, Hyde emphasised repeatedly the manner in which the Irish, through adopting the customs and speech of the English, had become expert imitators. This theme is evident in his most   · famous address, 'The Necessity for De-Anglicising Ireland', delivered in Dublin in 1892:

> I should also like to draw attention to the illogical position of men who drop their own language to speak English ... protesting as a matter of sentiment that they hate the country which at every hand's turn they rush to imitate ... It has always been very curious to me how Irish sentiment sticks in this half-way house - how it continues to apparently hate the English, and at the same time continues to imitate them; how it continues to clamour for recognition as a distinct nationality, and at the same time throws away with both hands what would make it so (Hyde, 1894: 119).

Hyde returned to the theme of imitation later in his address:

So shall we de-Anglicise Ireland to some purpose, foster a native spirit and a growth of native custom which will form the strongest barrier against English influence and be in the end the surest guarantee of Irish autonomy? (158).

We must create a strong feeling against West-Britonism, for it ... will overwhelm us like a flood, and we shall find ourselves toiling painfully behind the English at each step following the same fashions, only six months behind the English ones; reading the same books, only months behind them: taking up the same fads, after they have become stale *there*, following *them* in our dress, literature, music, games, and ideas, only a long time after them and a vast way behind. We will become, what, I fear, we are largely at present, a nation of imitators, the Japanese of Western Europe, lost to the power of native initiative and alive only to second-hand assimilation ... We are probably at once the most assimilative and the most sensitive nation in Europe (160, emphasis in original).

In another section, Hyde speculates what would happen if Ireland were to be industrialised with no regard for the Irish language. If the English were to develop 'to the utmost our national resources, whilst they unremittingly stamped out every spark of national feeling, making Ireland a land of wealth and factories, whilst they extinguished every thought and every idea that was Irish', such development would be meaningless and should be rejected (121). There was no point in being 'fat, wealthy and populous, but with all our characteristics gone ... all our Irish names of places and people turned into English names; the Irish language completely extinct' (123).

Hyde's colourful, idiosyncratic style has invited ridicule from some quarters, and historians have claimed that he was 'anti-materialist' (Foster, 1988: 448) and 'anti-modern' (Lee, J.J., 1989b: 138). Lee continues:

The whole infrastructure of modernisation appalled him, and he assumed that the Irish could not survive in a modernised world. They should, therefore, unlike every other European people, opt out from the modernisation process and continue to dwell in a mythical world of kneebreeches, free suits, and martial ballads (138-9).

Yet at no stage in his address does Hyde advocate continued poverty in Ireland or state that he is opposed to material progress. In fact, his speech was revolutionary because it argued, for the first time, that maintaining Irish as a living language of communication was part of the array of conditions required to begin the process of national regeneration. Kiberd is more positive about Hyde's legacy:

> The Gaelic League, acting on Hyde's precepts, became in effect one of the earliest examples of a Workers' Education Movement, at a time of limited opportunity for many. It was also, in some respects, a precursor of the movement for multiculturalism which, in later decades, would seek to revise and expand syllabi, with the introduction of subaltern cultures and oral literatures (1996: 144-5).

Kirby rejects suggestions that Hyde and his contemporaries were anti-modernisation, arguing instead that they were focussed firmly on the future (2004: 16). Hyde's analysis was significant for its time because of the fresh insights which it provided into the role of Irish culture (including the Irish language) in the process of national regeneration.

In conclusion, therefore, we can conclude that Hyde views the precise contribution of Irish to Ireland's development as follows: the restoration of the language will 'foster a native spirit', increase 'the power of native initiative', reduce 'second-hand assimilation' and put an end to the 'nation of imitators'. The comments about initiative and imitation have a strong resonance in contemporary concepts such as innovation (Lundvall, 1992; Johnson, B., 1992). His references to the links between Irish and fostering a 'native spirit' infer that a strong cohesive identity is one of the results of promoting the language. His view of the contribution of Irish to development, therefore, is primarily *psychological* and *social*, rather than economic.

2.3 The Gaelic League (Conradh na Gaeilge)[5]

Hyde is best known for his association with the Gaelic League (Conradh na Gaeilge), which was established on July 31 1893 at a meeting in 9, Lower Sackville Street in Dublin. It is by far the best known of the organisations established during the language revival period and remains active to this day on a 32-county basis.[6] The League played a key role in consolidating policies for Irish in the new state after 1922. Its founding aim, advanced by Hyde as its first president, was to strengthen and preserve the speaking of Irish, particularly in its linguistic heartlands, in a non-political and non-religious manner (Mac Aonghusa, 1993: 53).

The Gaelic League has been criticised because of the tendency of some of its members to romanticise the poverty of the Irish-speaking west (Ó Danachair, 1969: 115; Foster, 1988: 448-9).[7] However, alongside the romantic accounts of the west, there is ample evidence that many leading Gaelic League members, and figures in the language movement in general, were in fact aware of the dire economic situation in the west and considered it of the utmost importance to link socio-economic and linguistic regeneration. There are numerous references in the League's newspaper, *An Claidheamh Soluis*, to the positive influence of promoting Irish on the country's economic development, most notably in the first edition of the paper on March 18, 1899:

> The people of a country are its wealth. They till its soil; they raise its produce, ply its trade. They serve, sustain, support, save it. They are its farmers, its merchants, its artists, all that enrich and adorn it. Contrast the condition of things existing in the average town in the south or west of Ireland with that which obtained even twenty years

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[5] The Gaelic League is today known normally by its Irish title, Conradh na Gaeilge. The Irish term is used when discussed the contemporary organisation (see, for instance, Chapter Eight). The historical organisation is described using its English title, as that is the practice of contemporary historians writing in English.

[6] For an account of an earlier organisation, Cumann Buan-Choimeádta na Gaeilge, see Ó Murchú, M., 2001.

[7] See, for instance, 'Smaointe ar Chonnachtaibh', *An Claidheamh Soluis*, vol. ii, pp 419, cited in Ó Torna, 2000: 61.

ago. Strongly-built granaries stand empty; mills are silent; tanyards are closed; the cooper is gone; the shoemaker is disappearing; the nailer, with his little forge, has been swept away; the stray loom has vanished; the spinning-wheel is but a memory. With the industries have gone the people and their language. Take the statistics for the whole of the country - they tell the same tale as the little town. Enquire into the history of other nations under the rule of another race and another language. One law will be found exemplified throughout, except in one or two cases. The decay of the native language is everywhere accompanied by industrial and general decadence. The converse holds equally true. Wherever a language revival has taken place material prosperity also has been restored (CS, 18.3.1899).

The writer cites the perceived successes of other countries in linking linguistic and socio-economic development:

Finland, where for more than six centuries the people had been sunk in the direst poverty and ignorance, affords the example of a most extraordinary industrial and commercial advance resulting from a language movement. Equally striking is the case of Bohemia. This country, too, was sunk in poverty and ignorance. Now, though Bohemia furnishes only 35 per cent. of the entire population of Cisleithania, she has more than 33 per cent. of all the manufactories; and, whereas some years ago such undertakings were financed and owned almost exclusively by Germans (as English companies furnish the electric lighting and make the butter of certain Irish places to-day), at least half the great business concerns are owned by Czechs, while nearly all the employees are Czechs. In Hungary, the language movement soon led to an industrial movement, and so intense became the latter that Austrian firms doing trade with Hungary were forced to move their factories into the latter country to escape a complete boycott. In East Prussia too, where the Poles maintaining their language risk absorption by the Germans, it appears that many of the handicrafts are in the hands of the Poles, who, moreover, are often the small shopkeepers of the villages and small towns. The inference to be drawn from these instances is obvious. The language, the industries, and the very existence of a people are all interdependent, and whoever has a living care for the one cannot be unmindful of the others (CS, 18.3.1899).

Contributors to the newspaper argued that the dire economic situation in which Ireland found itself was due to its unequal insertion into the imperial British economy (CS, 18.3.1899). Such an unequal exchange led to poverty in many areas where Irish was still the community language. Therefore, it

was felt that the continued link with Britain was destroying the economy of Irish-Ireland (CS, 13.12.1902). The editors of *An Claidheamh Soluis* believed that such poverty could be tackled in the context of a 'buy Irish' campaign, if Irish-speakers (and Irish people in general) supported native industries, especially those owned by Irish-speakers (CS, 6.9.1902). However, despite the idealism of some of the exhortations, the fundamental idea of supporting native producers was radical for the time, and has been repeated at various stages in the history of development theory, from import-substituting industrialisation (ISI) to parts of the contemporary sustainable development and anti-globalisation movements (Castells, 1997; Robins, 2003; Tomlinson, 2003; Held, 2003). The challenge facing the Gaelic League was implementing its theories and moving beyond the rhetoric of some of the above accounts.

In terms of the research question - whether the Irish language influences positively Ireland's socio-economic development - the precise nature of the link posited by the authors cited above is unclear. Apart from a general assertion that such a link exists, they provide little concrete information about how exactly it is to occur. The only clear direction is for Irish speakers to support Irish-owned and Irish-speaking businesses. However, given the demographics of the time, it is doubtful that there were either enough Irish speakers or Irish-speaking businesses to transform the entire *country's* economic fortunes in this way.

2.4   Gaelic League Industrial Committee

Further information about this link in practice was provided after July 1902 when the Gaelic League established an Industrial Committee ('Coisde an tSaothair'), including both Arthur Griffith and D.P. Moran, both of whom would go on to play key roles in political nationalism and the cultural revival respectively (CS, 12.7.1902). There was a clear increase in coverage of industrial matters in *An Claidheamh Soluis* following the establishment of the

Industrial Committee,[8] but in contrast with reports from other committees, industrial matters were somewhat sidelined.[9]

However, by 1903, the executive committee of the Gaelic League was calling on all its members to give active support to industries in Irish-speaking areas (Gaelic League, 1903: 9-10). In the same year, the League's annual conference discussed the establishment of an employment bureau for Irish speakers, urged the Industrial Committee to open regional offices, and suggested that the League set up businesses along co-operative lines (9-10). It reported that a factory for the production of rugs had already been established by League members in Co. Kildare (21). Some of the early enthusiasm was misplaced, however: in 1904, the Industrial Committee expressed disappointment that some of the branches 'do not yet understand the meaning and importance of this part of the League's work' (Gaelic League, 1905: 16). Furthermore, some Irish businesses relying on exports to England were afraid to support the Industrial Committee openly (17).

A breakthrough came in 1904-5, when the League joined representatives of 49 public bodies and trade unions to establish the Dublin Industrial Development Association. It soon reported a membership of 60 manufacturers and was able to open its own offices. The produce of Irish-Ireland was being presented to the public more regularly than ever before, at industrial exhibitions and during the St. Patrick's Day festivities (Gaelic League, 1905: 16-7). The Industrial Committee also arranged for Irish

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[8] See, for instance, the edition of August 23, 1902, "'Work for the Gael", a review 'by a member of the Industrial Committee' of *Ireland; Industrial and Agricultural*, edited by William P. Coyne and issued by the Department of Agricultural and Technical Instruction. See also on September 20, the commentary on Donegal homespuns, 'A Flourishing Industry', by P.T. MacGinlay, member of the Industrial Committee.

[9] For instance, in October 1902, a large advertisement was published for an 'Industrial Conference' in Cork organised by the Department of Agricuture and Technical Instruction. However, there were no Gaelic League officials among the other speakers, and the event itself generated no commentary in *An Claidheamh Soluis*. This is despite the fact that the entire range of indigenous Irish industries was to be discussed. Why there were no speakers from the Industrial Committee is surprising, considering the moral support given by the newspaper to the theme of indigenous industry (CS, 18.10.1902).

produce to be presented at schools around the country (Gaelic League, 1907: 38).

Despite the early claims in *An Claidheamh Soluis* that linguistic and national regeneration went hand in hand, there is no evidence that the Industrial Committee ever became hugely important for the Gaelic League. Its work was never as prominent as, for instance, the campaign to have Irish introduced as a university subject or the growing network of language classes for adults. By 1909, the Committee had been disbanded. From then until 1916, when the League was damaged by the political turmoil of the uprising, report after report bemoans the dire economic state of the country, particularly the Gaeltacht, and urges that something be done to remedy it. References to the work of the Industrial Committee less than ten years earlier are absent from these later reports, suggesting that it never became a highly influential part of the movement. As early as 1903, it became apparent that the impetus for action was coming from elsewhere: on this occasion from Arthur Griffith, who would go on to establish Sinn Féin in 1906 (Foster, 1988: *456*). Although Griffith was one of the founding members of the Industrial Committee, by this time he was editing his own newspaper, *The United Irishman*, which in 1903 made a practical suggestion about how to link the Irish language and Ireland's development:

> In this connection we are reminded of a capital suggestion made last week by the *United Irishman*. It is to the effect that an exhibition of Irish industries should be arranged in connection with the forthcoming Oireachtas [Irish language cultural festival]. We think that, for the present, such an exhibition might well be restricted to a display of the special industries - more particularly the cottage industries - of the Irish-speaking districts: frieze and woollens from all quarters, lace, carpets from Killybegs, basket-work from Letterfrack, and so on. The industrial movement is still largely only a vague sentiment, expressing itself in rough and ready form, when and wherever it can: it badly requires to be steadied and organised. We commend this phase - the development of the cottage industries of the Irish-speaking districts - to Gaelic Leaguers as their own peculiar province. We may return to the subject in a future number. Meanwhile we hope that the

suggestion of the *United Irishman*, as modified by us, will be taken up by the Oireachtas Committee (CS, 28.3.1903).

The fact that a rival newspaper to *An Claidheamh Soluis* - the Gaelic League's organ - was making the most practical suggestions concerning one of the League's founding themes, suggests that the League had difficulties translating its theories into practice. However, taking together the suggestions of the Industrial Committee and of Arthur Griffith, the precise shape of the language-development link being posited is not much clearer than that asserted by the early editorials of *An Claidheamh Soluis*. Their arguments can be summarised as follows: promoting Irish positively influences Ireland's *economic* and *industrial* development. This is achieved by support for Gaeltacht cottage industries, the establishment of an employment bureau for Irish speakers, and by Gaelic League members opening their own businesses. Once again, however, the weakness of this argument is that, even if it were to be mobilised to its full potential, it is unclear how strong an influence such a relatively small sector would have on the *country's* economic development as a whole.

2.5   D.P. Moran

D.P. Moran was a journalist who established his own newspaper, *The Leader*, in 1900 having returned to Ireland from London. He was a charismatic figure, urging frequently that the Irish language be linked to the process of national regeneration. As a journalist, his work is more polemical than theoretical, but it reflects a view in some Irish language circles at the time that restoring Irish had broader psychological consequences beyond the mere speech patterns of a community. The following extract from the first edition of *The Leader* of September 1, 1900 is one such example of Moran's characteristic directness:

> A self-governing land, living, moving and having its being in its own language, self-reliant, intellectually as well as politically independent, initiating its own reforms, developing its own manners and customs, creating its own literature out of its own distinctive consciousness,

working to their fullest capacity the material resources of the country, inventing, criticising, attempting, doing (quoted at Lyons, 1971: 231).

Moran edited *The Leader* for thirty-six years, thereby reaching a wide audience (Lyons, 1971: 230). Some of his best-known writings, however, are contained in a volume published in 1905, *The Philosophy of Irish Ireland*. In one such essay, 'The Future of the Irish Nation', Moran denounces the economic subordination of Ireland to Britain and the United States, facilitated by the 'perfect accord as regards language' which exists between the three countries (1905: 16). He bemoans the lack of innovation, claiming that '[e]very incentive comes from abroad, and the Irish nation so deeply despises itself that it has ceased to develop by force of its own vitality' (17). In his other essay, 'The Battle of Two Civilizations', Moran develops further his views on cultural identity, language and development:

> At the first blush it may appear a far-fetched idea that there is a strong connection between the development of a native civilization having its roots in the native language and the production of economic wealth … We have come now to see that land, though an (sic) indispensable, is by no means the main source of modern economic wealth. Human skill in all its manifold manifestations has taken the premier place, and conditions precedent to the production of that skill are the existence of initiative and self-dependence. If you have to begin with a self-distrusting people who are afraid to rely on their own judgment, who have learnt by a long and reluctant effort to imitate a rich and highly-developed people foreign to their genius, to conceive a mean and cringing opinion of themselves, you will never get much economic initiative out of them (110-1).

What, therefore, is the relationship between Moran's arguments and the research question which investigates the influence of the Irish language on Ireland's socio-economic development? Similar to Hyde and Davis, his arguments are largely *psychological*, but with an economic edge. Promoting Irish allows Ireland to develop 'by force of its own vitality', rather than being economically subordinated to Britain, and increases 'initiative' and 'self-dependence'. It reduces the need to 'imitate' the British and therefore, the extent to which Irish people are 'self-distrusting' and 'afraid to rely on their

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own judgment'. Moran, therefore, relies heavily on the argument that the failure to restore Irish has led to a lack of innovation which has stymied economic development. The weakness of his argument is that he does not show *how* precisely Irish reduces self-dependency and the desire to imitate, and how it increases self-trust and initiative.

Foster dismisses Moran's writings as an 'authentic shudder at the material world that characterized Gaelic revivalism' (1988: 455). However, such a view reflects a selective analysis of the revival movement. While it is undeniable that a strong, and perhaps dominant strand provided romantic accounts of the Irish-speaking poor, it is untrue to suggest that Moran was opposed to material progress. Both strands co-existed within the League and the language movement generally. A more serious criticism of the League is that it failed to achieve its founding aim: the strengthening of Irish in the Gaeltacht, as contributors to a 1993 publication commemorating 100 years of the organisation were quick to point out.[10]

2.6   Horace Plunkett

Sir Horace Curzon Plunkett (1854-1932) was the driving force behind the establishment of the Irish co-operative movement. Originally a Unionist MP for South Dublin in 1892, by 1911 he had transferred his support to Home Rule. His publication, *Ireland in the New Century* (1904), was highly controversial, sparking criticism for its attack on Catholicism. A new edition was published in 1905 including a epilogue from the author defending his

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[10] See, for instance, Ó Muilleoir, 1993. In the same volume, Ó Ciosáin quotes from a 1914 Sinn Féin policy document criticising the Gaelic League for maintaining its headquarters in Dublin: '[M]y proposition, however revolutionary it might seem, is that the Gaelic League's headquarters be transferred holus bolus from the centre of anglicisation and the point of the native tongue's greatest weakness, Dublin, to some central place in the Gaelic-speaking fringe of the North, West and South, say Galway, and there reorganised on an industrial, instead of scholastic basis. The strength of its activity and the bulk of its funds would be diverted to the main purposes of developing industries ... Irish-speaking communities alone would benefit by this help and all the work would be carried on in Irish' (cited in Ó Ciosáin, 1993b: 103)

views. Plunkett is relevant to this discussion because he devotes a large section of a chapter to the relationship between the Gaelic League and the agricultural co-operative movement which he spearheaded. Furthermore, he suggests that the League's aims of consolidating the Irish language are a valid part of the process of socio-economic rehabilitation in Ireland. Plunkett introduces the League as an *intellectual* movement which complements his own *industrial* work:

> Of this movement [the Gaelic League] I am myself but an outside observer, having been forced to a variety of attempts which aim at the (sic) doing in the industrial sphere of very much the same work as that which the Gaelic movement attempts in the intellectual sphere - the rehabilitation of Ireland from within. But in the course of my work of agricultural and industrial development I naturally came across this new intellectual force and found that when it began to take effect, so far from diverting the minds of the peasantry from the practical affairs of life, it made them distinctly more amenable to the teaching of the dry economic doctrine of which I was an apostle ... For the co-operative movement depended for its success upon a two-fold achievement. In order to get it started at all, its principles and working details had to be grasped by the Irish peasant mind and commended to his intelligence. Its further development and its hopes of permanence depend upon the strengthening of character, which, I must repeat, is the foundation of all Irish progress (148-9).

In another reference, Plunkett refers again to the complementary roles of the Irish revival movement and co-operativism: 'Both will be seen to be playing an important part - I should say a necessary part - in the reconstruction of our national life' (149). Plunkett also refers to the realisation, at least in some quarters of the language movement, that it must be linked to a broader project of socio-economic renewal to be successful:

> The Gaelic movement has brought to the surface sentiments and thoughts which had been developed in Gaelic Ireland through hundreds of years, and which no repression had been able to obliterate altogether, but which still remained as a latent spiritual inheritance in the mind. And now this stream, which has long run underground, has again emerged even stronger than before, because an element of national self-consciousness has been added at its re-emergence. A passionate conviction is gaining ground that if Irish traditions, literature, language, art, music, and culture are allowed to disappear, it

will mean the disappearance of the race; and that the education of the country must be nationalised if our social, intellectual, or even our economic position is to be permanently improved (153).

Therefore, Plunkett's precise understanding of the contribution of the Irish language to Ireland's development can be summarised as follows: the restoration of Irish adds to 'Irish progress' and 'our social, intellectual or even our economic position' through providing an 'intellectual force' and through 'strengthening of character' in Irish people. In keeping with Davis, Hyde and Moran, this is a largely *psychological* influence, but one which has social, cultural and economic outcomes.

Plunkett also suggests practical co-operation between the Gaelic League and the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society which he had founded in 1894 to foster the growth of creameries and co-operatives:

> The Organisation Society, the clergy, and the [new Department of Agriculture] thus working together will, I hope, be able to get the people of the selected districts to effect an improvement in their domestic surroundings which will act as an invaluable example for other districts to follow. But in order that this much needed contribution to the well-being of the peasant proprietary, upon which all our thoughts are just now concentrated, may be assisted with the enthusiasm which belongs in Ireland to a consciously national effort, it is hoped that common action with the Gaelic League may be possible, so that this force also may be enlisted in the solution of this part of our central problem, the rehabilitation of rural life in Ireland (159).

A history of the Gaelic League to mark its centenary in 1993 makes only one reference to Plunkett, however, indicating that his suggestions for co-operation were not acted upon in a systematic way. A Gaelic League member from Loughrea, County Galway, Fr. Diarmuid Ó Donnabháin, is noted as being involved in the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society, but there is no reference to a more formal alliance between the two organisations (Mac Aonghusa, 1993: 213). It is likely that Plunkett's attacks on Catholicism in *Ireland in the New Century* alienated League members: the organisation was overwhelmingly Catholic despite being officially non-sectarian. Furthermore,

as the Gaelic League became associated after 1915 with the movement towards independence, an alliance with Plunkett, by then a supporter of Home Rule, would have been politically impossible (Mac Aonghusa, 1992: 136-150). Had the co-operation been forthcoming, however, the Gaelic League could have become involved in co-operativism, a significant movement aimed at the socio-economic development of rural communities. This could have strengthened its base in the Gaeltacht and helped it to implement some of its economic policies. The co-operative movement was to become very important in the Gaeltacht, but not until the 1970s (see Ó Fiannachta, 1994 and Chapter Six).

2.7 'You may Revive the Gaelic Language ...'

This was the title of a pamphlet published some time around 1936 (no publication date is given) by the Gaelic League. It discusses many aspects of the language revival movement, including industrialisation and the Gaeltacht. The title refers to a lecture given by W.B. Yeats on 'Radio Athlone' in October 1935 in which he referred to doubts being raised about the revival efforts. Apart from a short introduction in Irish, the pamphlet is written in English, in order to influence a wider audience (Gaelic League, c. 1936: 4). In a section dedicated specifically to industrialisation, it is argued that the economic self-sufficiency being preached at the time by Fianna Fáil would fail without the restoration of Irish:

> Industrialism [sic] has made phenomenal strides in the twenty-six counties within the past decade, and in particular within the last five years when England's onslaught in our economic existence accelerated the rate at which the existing government's policy of self-sufficiency should fructify. Without our language there can be no self-sufficiency. The attack on its existence being of longer standing and more insidious in nature, its survival demands an acceleration of the pace at which it also be revived and propagated. In its approach to the consciousness through the visual sense, industrialism in its success, extent and ramifications offered and continues to offer a wonderful opportunity to work towards that end. And who can measure fully the psychological effect of associating the language revival with the industrial revival?

Not the least in favour of such association is that it could be effected with a minimum of inconvenience to the general adult population, the majority of which is still ignorant of Irish (Gaelic League, c. 1936: 15).

The argument, therefore, is that promoting Irish promotes self-sufficiency and that positive psychological effects stem from such an association. However, similar to some of the early editorials in *An Claidheamh Soluis* and the reports of the Gaelic League's Industrial Committee, the link between language and development is asserted only in vague and general terms, and there is no information about *how* precisely Irish would lead to either self-sufficiency or bring about psychological benefits.

2.8 Ernest Blythe (Earnán de Blaghd)

Ernest Blythe (Earnán de Blaghd) (1889-1975) was a leading Gaelic League member who went on to become Minister for Finance in the Cosgrave government of 1922-32. In 1949, as president of the language organisation Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge (see Chapter Two), he argued that the survival of Irish was linked to the very survival of the Irish nation itself:

> **The final stage of the age-long struggle for freedom and individuality of the Irish nation is now being fought out, and if we are defeated in it the fruit of all the successes we have heretofore achieved will be utterly lost.** With the passage of time, it constantly becomes clearer that situated as we are, geographically and economically, we cannot hope to preserve for long even a tinge of national distinctiveness if the Irish language should be allowed to disappear' (CNnaG, 1949: 9, emphasis in original).

Blythe also denounced utilitarianism as a threat to small nations:

> The short-sighted, narrow-minded utilitarianism which desires the elimination of separate nationalities over wide areas would, if it achieved its object, create a cultural dust-bowl and, perhaps, bring spiritual disaster, comparable to the economic disaster that resulted from the foolish utilitarianism which created the various agronomic dust-bowls (10).

Blythe posits that without the promotion of Irish, the 'freedom', 'individuality' and 'distinctiveness' of the country itself are threatened, leaving a 'cultural dust-bowl' and 'spiritual disaster'. These would lead to the loss of the 'fruit of all the successes heretofore achieved'. Although not explicit, it can be inferred from the above that the 'successes' referred to by Blythe included the policy of fiscal rectitude which he had pursued as Minister for Finance and the predominantly agricultural development policy of the Cosgrave government (Lee, J.J., 1989a: 107-113). However, he shares the views of many commentators that promoting Irish brings psychological and even spiritual benefits for the country as a whole, rather than tangible economic benefits.

In 1958, at the end of his long political career, Blythe wrote an article questioning the decline of Irish which had occurred since the foundation of the state. In the article, he touched on issues related to the relationship between Irish and socio-economic development. He argued that the decline of the language left an unpatriotic business class which failed to develop indigenous enterprise, and a population which cared little for its country of origin. These attitudes, in turn, stymied development:

> Anglicisation has prompted emigration in two ways. It has left the bulk of our moneyed class exceptionally devoid of civil patriotism or Irish loyalty, with the result that, in business, members of it have been too much more disposed towards speculation abroad than towards enterprise at home. The effect of this has been to limit development and provide less employment here than there would have been available if our capitalists, major and minor, had for the most part had a normal sense of being rooted in this country. But Anglicisation has also worked in favour of emigration in another way. Because in the main we adopted the language of another country, which through the centuries was an enemy country, and because we thereby forfeited much that would have given variety and colour to Irish life and would have strengthened the interest of the ordinary citizen in the country and in what was being done in it, we produced a situation in which people could emigrate from Ireland without a pang and scarcely feel that they were going abroad. Indeed, our rejection of Irish and all that went with it, and all that would have sprung from it, meant that those who departed to work abroad left, in too many cases, practically nothing behind them that they missed' (1958: 12).

Blythe's comments illustrate a view of the socio-economic consequences of *failing* to promote Irish. This failure brought about a 'lack of civil patriotism or Irish loyalty' and a lack of a 'sense of being rooted in this country' among the business class, which contributed to a decline in 'enterprise at home' and to 'less employment', and reduced 'the interest of the ordinary citizen in the country and in what was being done in it'. Although Blythe does not state it in the article, it can be inferred from the above that he would view positive social and economic benefits stemming from *success* in promoting Irish. Once again, there are echoes of the *psychological* arguments advanced by Hyde and others in the above extract. The weakness of Blythe's argument is that he does not outline his views on the social and economic outcomes of the *opposite* of what he describes, i.e. the restoration of Irish. He hints at these views but does not elaborate them.

2.9   Seán de Fréine

A major contribution to the debate about the positive contribution of language to development was made in the 1960s by writer and civil-servant Seán de Fréine. However, *Saoirse gan Só* (1960) and its English language version, *The Great Silence* (1965), are rarely considered in any discussion of language issues in Ireland. This is unfortunate, because they present a more engaged analysis than many previous authors with understandings of the contribution of language to what de Fréine calls 'national [and] social well-being' (1965: 5).

De Fréine draws on contemporary theories of sociology (for instance, the work of Ogburn & Nimkoff) which held that language is an inseparable part of social behaviour, and not merely a system of communication (1965: 181, 196, 218, 220). According to these theories, language plays a key *psychological* role in any social group, is the strongest bond uniting the group, and is the symbol and safeguard of their common life. Therefore, through consolidating the group's cultural identity, language is an essential element of that society's

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well-being. By extension, the removal of this essential element will lead to social disintegration. Inspired by this theory, de Fréine argues that the rapid decline of the Irish language in the 19th Century led to the collapse of its associated culture and was the cause of an array of socio-economic problems:

> Is fiú ... féachaint ar na torthaí sóisialta a tháinig de bharr na réabhlóide sóisialta agus cultúrtha a dtugtar uirthi meath na Gaeilge. Easpa comharaíochta, easpa tuisceana do dhualgais phoiblí, nósanna pósta, easpa shuncáil airgid agus féinchabhrach, cailliúint bhrí na náisiúntachta i measc mionlaigh mhóir - ní le cúrsaí geilleagair amháin a bhaineann na rudaí aisteacha seo, ach le cúrsaí na hintinne chomh maith (1960: 147-8).[11]

This 'cultural cataclysm' (83) was unique, de Fréine argues: Irish is the only European language in modern times which, in the space of a century and a half, changed from being the national language of millions of people to 'the badge of a scattered minority' (3). If any other country had so quickly replaced its national language with the language of the coloniser, such a situation would be assumed to exert a profound influence on national well-being, he argued. Yet in Ireland, the 'linguistic upheaval' which occurred is treated as being utterly normal (5).

Just as the *break* in cultural continuity caused by the collapse of Irish led to socio-economic disintegration, de Fréine argues that the *restoration* of Irish is part of a process to reverse that trend. Irish is among the 'sufficient factors to enable the Irish people to be creative in accordance with their incentive to be a nation, that is, a community capable of providing all the things needed for sufficiency in life' (239). Put another way, the maintenance of a historically-associated language is linked to sustainable socio-economic development because of its centrality to the culture and psychology of the

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[11] It is worth ... looking at the social results of the social and cultural revolution which is known as the decline of Irish. A lack of mutual assistance, a lack of understanding for public duties, marriage patterns, lack of investment and self-help, the loss of the meaning of nationality among a large minority - these strange things are not only associated with economy, but also with matters of the mind.

group in question, and due to its contribution to such factors as 'creativity' and 'well-being'.

2.10 Martin Brennan

Brennan (1969) draws upon a broad range of disciplines - as diverse as biology, spirituality and psychology - to argue that the Irish language increases national self-esteem because it is a resource unique to Ireland only and therefore a cause for pride:

> [I]t was not the acquisition of English but the loss of Irish, the violent rupturing of this unity of mind and language that did the harm. For to the extent that we lost Irish, to that extent we lost the cohesion, the continuity, the consciousness of belonging and the sense of personal and national worth that is the basis of all significant achievement; and with it too we lost the self-knowledge, the understanding of our personality in its origins and in all its moods and tenses that gives us a purpose as well as a direction to the achievement (77).

Brennan concludes: 'Each group can survive only by cultivating its own wholesome uniqueness, its own personality, of which language is at once the main source and that most striking expression' (80). Therefore, Brennan perceives that Irish contributes to development through boosting such factors as 'cohesion', 'continuity', 'belonging', and 'personal and national worth', all of which are 'the basis of achievement' in society. Taken together, the arguments of both de Fréine and Brennan have contributed significantly to research question, the investigation of which is the principal aim of this dissertation.

2.11 Máirtín Ó Cadhain

In 1969, Máirtín Ó Cadhain delivered his renowned address, 'Gluaiseacht na Gaeilge: Gluaiseacht ar Strae' ['The Irish language movement: a movement adrift'] in which he attacked the respectability of the Irish language movement and urged people to carry out a revolution in order to re-establish

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Irish and transform society, in parallel. Ó Cadhain, arguably the most critical and controversial Gaeltacht voice in the 20th Century, wanted to change the political, social and economic order and to re-organise society along socialist lines, with Irish occupying the central role. In a pamphlet published around 1970 (no date is given), he argued that reviving Irish was a central part of *reclaiming* Ireland: 'an Réabhlóid, réabhlóid intinne agus réabhlóid anama, réabhlóid i gcúrsaí maoine, seilbhe agus maireachtála, maireachtáil mar Ghaeil leis na rudaí is dual dúinn mar Ghaeil' (Ó Cadhain, c. 1970: 9).[12]

Ó Cadhain's pamphlet was published at the same time of the emergence of a more organised civil society in the Gaeltacht, represented by the Gaeltacht Civil Rights Movement (itself heavily influenced by similar movements in Northern Ireland and the United States). This movement wanted to draw attention to the poverty and deprivation in Conamara and other Gaeltacht areas (see Chapter Six). Ó Cadhain argued that solving such problems could only be achieved in a national context:

> Siad lucht labhartha na Gaeilge sa nGaeltacht an aicme is dearóile agus is buailte den mhuintir seo againn in Éirinn. Is mar a chéile agamsa, an aicme sin, pobal na Gaeilge, a shlánú agus an Ghaeilge a shlánú. Ní féidir an slánú seo a dhéanamh ach le Athghabháil na hÉireann - seilbh na hÉireann agus a cuid maoine uilig a thabhairt ar ais do mhuintir na hÉireann (9-10).[13]

The Gaelic League was among those organisations vilified by Ó Cadhain. He argued that their festivals and gatherings had frozen Irish in the past. Instead of this backward-looking approach, he argued that Irish should be linked to renewal and change:

> Bíodh an Ghaeilge ag stiúra na réabhlóide, ar an gcaoi seo bíodh an Ghaeilge ar na smaointí is forásaí in Éirinn: is ionann sin agus slánú na

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[12] ... the Revolution, a revolution of the mind and the soul, a revolution in terms of property, ownership and livelihood, living as Irish people with those things destined for us as Irish people.
[13] Irish speakers are the most miserable and downtrodden class of all the people of Ireland. Saving that community, the community of Irish speakers, is to me the same as saving the Irish language. They cannot be saved without reclaiming Ireland - by giving ownership and all of its wealth back to the people of Ireland.

Gaeilge. 'Sí an Ghaeilge Athghabháil na hÉireann agus is í Athghabháil na hÉireann slánú na Gaeilge. 'Sí teanga na muintire a shlánós an mhuintir. Mar sin, an áit is tréine an agóid bíodh an póstaera Gaeilge le feiceáil agus an gháir Ghaeilge le cloisteáil (10).[14]

Therefore, Ó Cadhain's understanding of the contribution of language to development is expressed in highly *politicised* and revolutionary terms, in contrast with many of the previous authors who concentrated on psychological or cultural aspects. The weakness of his argument is that, apart from the revolutionary rhetoric, there is very little precise information in his address about *how* to achieve the goals for which he aims.

2.12 J.J. Lee

The discussion of Irish by Lee is one of the most significant of all the historical contributions and, as stated in Chapter One, inspired this study. In *Ireland 1912-1985: Politics and Society*, Lee devoted 16 pages to a discussion of the Irish language in the context of national development, the only contemporary historian to undertake such a lengthy analysis. He wrote that academics in general had ignored what was a complex issue, but that were it not for the decline of Irish, there would be no discussion about identity in Ireland.

The crux of Lee's argument is that psychological factors are significant for the language-development relationship. He believes that there may be a link between the maintenance of a native language and economic and social progress and, therefore, that the promotion of Irish may play a role in the process of national development. Lee compares Ireland to Denmark and Finland, other European countries with small populations. The economies of these countries grew quickly in the 19th Century, but the Irish economy

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[14] Let Irish direct the Revolution, and in this way let Irish be among the most progressive ideas in Ireland: that will save Irish. Irish is the reclaiming of Ireland and the reclaiming of Ireland is the salvation of Irish. The language of the people will save the people. Therefore, let the Irish poster be seen and the Irish cheer be heard at the greatest protests.

collapsed during the same period. However, neither Denmark nor Finland rejected their national languages as part of this development:

> There were numerous reasons for the superior Danish achievement. Abandoning their obscure language in favour of English was not one of them ... Their superior economic performance has been widely linked to the national revival which fostered a growing sense of identity throughout the nineteenth century (1989a: 663).

On Finland, he writes:

> Far from being associated with the abandonment of her language, her economic performance seems, if anything, to have derived a certain impetus from a highly self-conscious national revival, including considerable emphasis on the language as a bearer of national culture in defiance of imperial power (663-4).

Lee goes on to raise a series of questions about the psychological implications of the decline of Irish:

> There seems sufficient evidence to indicate that the loss of the Irish language carries a host of psychological consequences, which do not necessarily apply in other situations of language shift and which can only be tentatively addressed here. It would need the social psychologist or the cultural anthropologist to answer whether the loss of the language may not have affected the national personality by fostering further the inferiority complex that required as a reflex compensating mechanism an exaggerated anglophobia, leading, as Douglas Hyde sardonically observed, to the hibernian habit of denouncing England while imitating everything English (669).

> In however complex and convoluted a way, it is quite possible that the manner in which the language was lost has damaged Irish potential for self-respect, with all the psychological consequences for behaviour patterns that flow from that, even in the purely material sphere ... Identity cannot be divorced from the general level of national performance (674).

Lee does not state with the same certainty as, for instance, Moran or de Fréine, that promoting Irish contributes positively to the country's development, as the following extract illustrates:

There may be no direct connection between the loss of then language and the economic performance. Abandoning the language as a master stroke in the struggle for material progress, however, scarcely seems to count among mankind's more inspired initiatives (664).

However, he raises probing questions about the influence of language shift to English, a world language 'of international communications networks and global mass culture' on 'a tiny country, shorn of her own linguistic defences'. Such a situation has negatively influenced the ability of the Irish to learn, he argued. The attempts to replace Irish with English meant that 'Ireland has learned less effectively from the English-speaking world than have countries who have retained their own languages'. These latter countries (which became multilingual while retaining their own languages) had a broader range of experiences on which to draw, and 'were able to choose more discriminatingly among those features of English experience most appropriate to their own circumstances' (667). Lee also argues that increased provincialism has resulted from language shift to English, in both the fields of academic endeavour and business:

> If Ireland failed to adjust to changing market opportunities, it was not because she clung to an obscure, petty, peasant patois. Ironically, her world language exerted a peripheralising influence on her perspectives. It erected a barrier between Ireland and both the language learning process and the wider learning process in general which was so crucial to her welfare (668).

In conclusion, although he does not state it with certainty (he raises more questions than he provides answers), it can be inferred from Lee's comments that the promotion of Irish would have a positive psychological influence, leading to enhanced 'self-respect' and a greater ability to learn. These factors, in turn, could positively influence national socio-economic development.

2.13 Hilary Tovey, Damian Hannon & Hal Abramson

In 1989, the then state board for Irish, Bord na Gaeilge, published a bilingual essay by three sociologists outlining the case for the defence of Irish and its restoration to a more central role in society. Two of the authors, Hilary Tovey of Trinity College Dublin and Damian Hannan of the Economic and Social Research Institute, were already members of the Bord's Planning Advisory Committee. The third, Hal Abramson, was a visitor to Ireland from the University of Connecticut. The essay - *Cad Chuige an Ghaeilge?/Why Irish?* - was written for a general readership with the aim of providing an updated rationale for language policies in favour of Irish. At its heart was the argument that promoting Irish can have a positive effect on national development.

The authors stated that the social, economic and political malaise in Irish society at the end of the 1980s was rooted in the deeper failure to express 'a coherent and authentic sense of Irish identity, or a broadly acceptable philosophy of what it means to be Irish in today's world' (i). The basic task facing the Irish people, they argued, was 'that of reconstructing their national identity' (ii) and the key to that reconstruction was the Irish language:

> Own our view is that the Irish language, even in its present attenuated and threatened condition, still offers us as a people one of the richest and potentially most liberating links to our past that is available to us. To say this is not to suggest another 'de-anglicisation' of Ireland, or that only an exclusively Irish-speaking people could call themselves an 'Irish nation'. We are making a very much more modest suggestion: were Irish to be relegated to a merely symbolic position in the identity system of the majority of Irish people we would not only deprive ourselves of a most valuable resource in the task of ethnocultural reconstruction, but would find it very difficult to replace it with an effective alternative (28).

Tovey, Hannon and Abramson noted the argument that promoting Irish would do nothing to solve the dire social and economic problems facing Ireland at the time (1989). They did not claim that a more widespread use of Irish

would cause poverty and unemployment to disappear, but neither did they accept that the language issue was irrelevant to such problems, for two reasons:

> The first reason is that the Irish language, because it is our language alone, provides us with a medium for making ourselves the centre of our own world. If that sounds like an invitation to ethnocentrism, then as long as we continue also to speak English our ethnocentrism will be tempered by a recognition that other groups also have their own cultural realities … It is needed the more … we are incorporated into international communication systems and networks within which we can be little more than passive consumers of values and ways of being that have no organic connection to the reality that faces us (31-2).

The authors argued that the 'gravitational force' of development in Ireland 'has always tended to be centrifugal rather than centripetal. Our belief is that this is intimately connected with the fact that we almost exclusively speak English' (32). The second reason advanced by Tovey, Hannon and Abramson was that a genuine bilingualism would increase our capacity to move between different realities and different points of view, with enriching and liberating effects on our capacity to deal with problems' (31-2). There are several similarities between these arguments and those of Lee, particularly in the emphasis on the peripheralising influence of speaking English and the concomitant weakening of Irish ability to search for original solutions to problems. It is also in the same vein as many of the previous contributors: that the Irish had become imitators of other countries' development, rather than creators of their own development. In conclusion, therefore, the work of Tovey, Hannon and Abramson argues that promoting Irish influences positively Ireland's development. Although not overtly theoretical because of the general audience for which it was written, it also benefits from the support of sociological and sociolinguistic theory.

2.14 Helen Ó Murchú

Ó Murchú, in her discussion of the relationship between the state and the voluntary Irish language sector, has also participated in the debate on language and development in the Irish context. In a recent pamphlet, she argued that the voluntary language sector contributes to the consolidation of democracy in Ireland. In order to achieve this goal, the sector needs a new definitional basis of fundamental values, a new philosophy. The original concept of nationalism which led to the foundation of the state has weakened, the influence of social and religious institutions has declined and the notion of community is being redefined. Therefore, a new concept of republicanism is needed, based on civil society:

> Tá gá, dá réir, le poblachtánachas de chineál nua, le poblachtánachas *síbhialta* a chothóidh as an nua na suáilcí síbhialta ... Is í an earnáil dheonach Ghaeilge - earnáil na saoránach, earnáil a thaispeáin i gcónaí dílseacht ar leith do choincheap an stáit fhlaithiúnaigh le tuiscintí leathana cultúrtha - an earnáil ba chóir a bheith ag múnláil fealsúnachta nua do chúinsí nua, agus coibhnis úrnua leis an Stát agus le huirlisí an Stáit a bheith ina gcuid bhunúsach den fhealsúnacht sin (2003b: 16, emphasis in original).[15]

For Ó Murchú, the advancement of this civic republicanism by the voluntary sector is a liberating and empowering force enabling citizens to participate in society and to take control of their own destinies:

> In aonad polaitiúil ar poblacht é ... is *poblachtánachas síbhialta* an fhealsúnacht atá á cur chun cinn ag an earnáil dheonach Ghaeilge, dá dtuigfidís é; ag cothú náisiúin don Stát, nó pobal atá ar aon tuiscint faoi na tréithe atá luachmhar agus riachtanach chun an leas coiteann a chur chun cinn, chun an t-idirspleáchas fónta a chur ag feidhmiú ar son cách. Ag tús an Stáit, sheas cúrsaí teanga agus cultúir don saoirse pholaitiúil. Is don saoirse dhaonna a sheasann siad anois. Is saoradh daoine atá i gceist, saoradh ón tuiscint go bhfuilid spleách, go dtarlaíonn rudaí dóibh, nach bhfuil lámh acu ina dtodhchaí chultúrtha

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[15] Therefore, a new of republicanism, civic republicanism is required, which will encourage civic values once again ... It is the Irish language voluntary sector - a sector of citizens, a sector which was always particularly loyal to the concept of the sovereign state with broad cultural values - which should be forming new philosophies for new circumstances, and fresh relationships with the State and the instruments of State should be a fundamental part of that philosophy.

féin a chruthú. Is cumasú daoine chun saoirse an rogha a bheith acu, rogha teanga; agus chun ceart, cearta teanga, a bheith acu (2003b: 51, emphasis in original).[16]

Ó Murchú views Irish as a positive influence on 'civic values', 'the common good', 'interdependence', 'human freedom' and 'empowerment'. These views echo those of de Fréine and Brennan. They also find expression in the literature of human development, which will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four.

2.15 Peadar Kirby

Kirby, in a recent pamphlet, took up Ó Murchú's challenge to define a new ideological basis for the promotion of Irish, and its integration into community. The contrast between the central role of Irish in the cultural revival of the late 19th and early 20th Centuries and its total marginalisation today, he argued, illustrates how Ireland's definition of itself as a community has forgotten completely about language (2004: 19). However, new moral terms of reference, native to Ireland, are needed to enable Irish people to assess external influences, filter them and integrate them into our attitudes: Irish is the most useful resource to undertake this task (20):

> [T]á gá le foclóir agus teanga a ligfidh dúinn dioscúrsa poiblí a
> sholáthar a dhíreoidh ár n-aird orainn féin, ar ár bhféidearthachtaí
> dúchasacha, ar ár stair agus ceachtanna saibhre na staire sin, ar an
> todhchaí a roghnóimid. Tá an t-ádh linn go bhfuil a leithéid
> d'acmhainn againn sa Ghaeilge, a ligfidh dúinn ár samhlaíocht a
> ghríosú, a athcheanglóidh sinn lenár stair féin, agus a osclóidh
> féinmheas orainn (29) ... Thabharfadh athbheochan na Gaeilge cúis

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[16] In the political unit which is a republic ... *civic republicanism* is being promoted by the Irish language voluntary sector, if they understood this; creating a nation for the State, or a community which is in agreement about the valuable and necessary characteristics to promote the common good, to make sound interdependence work for all. When the state was founded, language and culture stood for political freedom. They now stand for human freedom. This means the liberation of people, liberation from the understanding that they are dependent, that things happen to them, that they do not have control over their own cultural future. It means the empowerment of people to the freedom of having a choice, a choice of language; and to having a right, language rights.

dhúshlánach do dhaoine rud mór agus fónta a bhaint amach, rud atá go mór in easnamh sa lá atá inniu ann, ach go háirithe don aos óg. Chothódh sé idéalachas agus d'aontódh sé daoine mar go dtabharfadh sé comh-aidhm dóibh (32).[17]

In response to those who may claim that such idealism is misplaced, Kirby points out that Ireland is not exceptional in linguistic terms, as most of the world's population speaks two or more languages. If we do not take up this challenge, he argues, we are rejecting an unsurpassed richness and resource (42). Therefore, Kirby views the language-development link occurring through the positive influence of the 'richness' and the 'resource' of Irish on stimulating 'imagination' and providing a 'common aim' for society.

2.16 Breandán Ó Doibhlin

The former Professor of Modern Languages at Maynooth University, Ó Doibhlin has offered some of the most scholarly and original insights into the role of Irish in society over the past thirty years. In a ground-breaking essay reviewing the revival effort published about 1973 (no date is given), Ó Doibhlin states that it was largely a failure due to the fact that those involved failed to understand that language policies had to be linked with socio-economic policies (c. 1973: 236-7). The main problem of the time, he argues, was to develop a cultural consensus, a series of values which would satisfy every individual member of the community. The Irish language was the key to creating this consensus, and this new revival would bring about major social change:

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[17] A new vocabulary and language are needed to provide a public discourse which would focus our attention on ourselves, on our native possibilities, on our history and on the rich lessons of that history, and on the future which we will choose. We are lucky to have such a resource in the Irish language, which allows us to stimulate our imagination, which will re-connect us with our history, and which will open up our self-respect ... The revival of Irish would challenge people to achieve something important and worthwhile, a challenge which is sorely absent at the moment, particularly among young people. It would encourage idealism and unite people because it would provide them with a common aim.

D'fhéadfaí an tuairim a chosaint, is dóigh liom, gurb í is fíorfhadhb chultúrtha don ghlúin seo againn ná consensus cultúrtha a éabhlú, córas a bheadh comhdhéanta de luachanna agus de chuimhní agus de dhóchas, nós agus cleacht a thabharfaidh saol saibhir sásaíoch do gach ball den phobal. Is é a bheadh le déanamh ag lucht na hathbheochana ná a chur ina luí ar mhuintir na hÉireann gur slí tábhachtach, nó b'fhéidir riachtanach, athbheochan na Gaeilge chun an consensus sin a bhunú agus a dhaingniú. Éilíonn an athbheochan sin mórathrú sóisialta, óir caithfidh ár gcóras sóisialta teacht i gceist, chomh maith lenár dteanga phobail, ó tharla gur toradh iad an dá cheann ar phróiséas stairiúil nach nglacann an t-athbheochantóir leis (c. 1973: 245-6).[18]

Criticising the tired romanticism of much of the revival, Ó Doibhlin warns that any new approach must be based on a wider process of social renewal:

[B]a cheart go dtuigfeadh athbheochantóirí an lae inniu cad is bun leis [an athbheochan]. Agus níor cheart dóibh bheith sásta gan polasaí úr don athbheochan a bheadh suite go daingean ina chuid de pholasaí atógála le haghaidh pobail úrnua ar fad (c. 1973: 247).[19]

More than thirty years later in 2004, Ó Doibhlin contributed to a series of essays on the contemporary relevance of Irish, in which he amplified many of the original themes touched upon in the earlier work. Several of Ó Doibhlin's arguments are relevant to the debate about language and development. For instance, he contrasts the promoters of Irish with other minority language movements whom he claims view their campaigns as part of a struggle to reverse the alienation caused by underdevelopment, and to create a new sense of self-confidence and self-reliance:

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[18] It could be claimed, I believe, that the principal cultural problem of this generation is to evolve a cultural consensus, a system comprising values, memories, hope, tradition and habit which would provide a satisfying and rich life to every member of the community. Those promoting Irish would have to convince the people of Ireland that the revival of Irish is an important, or perhaps necessary way to create and consolidate that consensus. That revival demands major social change, because it has to involve our social system, as well as our community language, because both are results of an historical process not accepted by the revivalist.

[19] Today's revivalists should understand what [the revival] means. And they should not be satisfied unless a new policy for the revival is firmly rooted in a policy of regeneration for an entirely new community.

These younger movements are above all fired by the social break-up of their communities, the familiar blight of emigration, economic decline, corrupt political control, remote centralised government and the condescension of the great urban centres for what they regard as remote and backward people. The feeling would not be by any means uncommon on Ireland's western seaboard or in large areas of the provinces, but few so far have seen any connection between cultural revival and opposition to this indigenous colonialism. Unlike Ireland, these young movements have concluded that the dynamism necessary to reverse such decline cannot be generated merely by establishing the material objectives of economic progress, a truth which countries like Denmark and Finland recognised a century ago. As they would put it, they are engaged in an effort to end the alienation which a colonial-type exploitation brought upon their society, and nothing less than a rejuvenation of the whole person, the whole culture, can restore fundamental self-respect and self-reliance (2004a: 147-8).

Ó Doibhlin called for 'an enterprise of the spirit' in order to 'remedy the long-standing failure of the Irish state to resolve our economic, social and cultural difficulties' (151). He rejected claims that Irish has nothing to do with socio-economic factors:

[L]anguage and community are interdependent realities and the ultimate option of our people in regard to their monolingual or bilingual status will be a decision of central importance, with profound implications for the psychological foundations of the community. Conversely, it should be pointed out that those who feel that economic development or social organisation, or any of the myriad practical concerns of modern society (from tax policies to town planning to ecology to health services to prison reform), are more realistic should reflect that the basis for tackling and resolving such problems is the human raw material of the Irish people, and that their morale and sense of purpose and direction will be of decisive importance. These in turn repose on the basic values which inspire our community, the way we see ourselves and the objectives we assign ourselves (2004a: 153-4).

In his recent pamphlet, Ó Doibhlin - in a similar vein to Kirby - situates the present state of Irish in an international context of economic, social and cultural globalisation. In this context, he describes the efforts to consolidate languages such as Irish as 'the protection of humanity':

[P]é todhchaí atá i ndán dóibh, borradh agus biseach nó síothlú go himeacht as, is é an smaoineamh ba mhaith liom a chur ina láthair mar

bhuntuiscint, agus sinn ag plé leis an chultúr dúchais, gurb í cosaint agus beochan na daonnachta atá á shaothrú againn, á cosaint ar mheicniúlacht shaol na teicníochta agus an rachmais, á beochan in aghaidh fhórsaí millteacha an éadóchais, an chomhthís agus an bháis … Sa ré seo an domhandúcháin, cosnóidh sé sinn ar iompú amach inár gcréatúir de chuid an mhargaidh agus na cumarsáide, nó inár gcancaráin de chuid na hidé-eolaíochta (2004b: 34).[20]

Ó Doibhlin is a trenchant critic of the dominant global economic and technical order, but he does not advocate a Luddite retreat into an unsullied cultural idyll. Instead, he argues that language, far from being irrelevant to social and economic development, should be considered as part of it, a position which finds echoes in some of the arguments about the social and cultural 'embeddedness' of economic activity (see Chapter Four).

What is the precise nature of the language-development link, according to this view? Ó Doibhlin views promoting the ancestral language as a cause of 'self-respect', 'self-reliance', 'consensus', 'values', 'hopes', an 'entirely new community', 'morale', 'sense of purpose, 'direction', even 'humanity' itself. Many of these factors have been emphasised by the previous authors, and will find expression in the theoretical material reviewed in Chapter Four.

3. CONCLUSION

These contributions from recent Irish history represent but a selection of the writings on the Irish language and Ireland's socio-economic development which have appeared in the past century and a half or so. More material remains unexamined: an entire study could be undertaken on references to the contribution of language to socio-economic development in *An*

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[20] Whatever future is in store for them, growth and recovery or decline and extinction, the idea which I want to present as fundamental, in discussion of native culture, is that we are protecting and reviving humanity, protecting it from the mechanical world of technology and wealth, reviving it in the face of dire forces of despair, alienation and death … In this era of globalisation, it will protect us from turning into creatures of the market and communications, or into cranks of ideology.

Claidheamh Soluis alone, or in the other nationalist press of the same era (see Uí Chollatáin, 2004; Nic Pháidín, 1998).

What unites the writers surveyed here is their conviction that the Irish language is not just a code of communication, but a force which positively influences social and economic development. Three themes can be identified in the language-development link being posited, although all are inter-related and there is some overlap between them:

- Irish as a basis for cultural development: identity, cultural values, a sense of belonging (Hyde; Ó Doibhlin; Lee)
- Irish as a basis for social development: initiative, innovation, learning, self-respect, self-reliance, interdependence, human freedom, resource, empowerment, participation, a force for overcoming alienation (Davis; Hyde; Blythe; de Fréine; Ó Cadhain; Tovey, Hannon & Abramson; Ó Murchú; Kirby; Ó Doibhlin)
- Irish as a basis for economic development: innovation, industrialisation, employment creation, broader national performance (Gaelic League, Moran, Plunkett, Lee)

There is little overt reference to a direct link between promoting Irish and *economic* development. However, it can be concluded from the survey that the historical authors view the influence of Irish as being mediated via *social* factors such as those listed above. Many of those factors have a strong *psychological* flavour.

All of the works surveyed offer rich insights into understanding of the influence of language on development. Some of them have been written by academics, but many are the work of journalists or political leaders. The latter category in particular lacks an explicitly theoretical basis, which leaves them vulnerable to criticisms that they do not explain the relationships which they posit between language and development. For instance, the

contributions of the Gaelic League do not outline precisely in what manner the Irish language is supposed to aid economic progress, or through what channels this contribution is made. Similarly, Davis, Hyde, Moran, Plunkett and Blythe avoid theoretical explanations. De Fréine grounds his work in sociological theory, but does not consider any of the literature from sociolinguistics, which was in existence at the time of writing. Ó Cadhain, similarly, eschews theoretical explanations while Lee has acknowledged that no theoretical framework was employed (interview with Lee, 2003). The academic contributions of the social scientists surveyed are more explicitly informed by theory, although the fact that these publications were designed to raise consciousness of the importance of Irish among a general, non-academic audience, means that these writings in themselves are not overtly theoretical.

These comments are not intended to dismiss the significant set of insights which the writers surveyed provide into the influence of Irish on Ireland's development. They throw light on an aspect of development and of language which has never been examined in full. These writings require further investigation, particularly in the context of various bodies of theory (economics, sociology, political economy, development studies, sociolinguistics), in order for us to understand more deeply the relationships which they posit. That examination of their theoretical basis is the aim of the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

LANGUAGE, CULTURE AND DEVELOPMENT:
ELABORATING A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to examine the theoretical basis for the links between language, culture and development posited by the commentators surveyed in Chapter Three. These links may be better understood in the context of various bodies of theory which have emerged (predominantly in the last century but which have deeper historical roots). This chapter examines the nature of how the link between language and development is understood by these theories, and assesses their appropriateness for investigating the research question: does promoting the Irish language influence positively Ireland's socio-economic development?

Because this is an interdisciplinary project, a wide range of material has been reviewed from a variety of disciplines (economics, sociology, development theory, political economy, sociolinguistics), each of which has a contribution to make to understandings of the relationships between language, culture and development. Due to the wide and disparate nature of the theory involved, Chapter Four elaborates a typology to help identify three overarching approaches to the language-development relationship. This theoretical framework serves to guide the remainder of the study. Chapters Five to Eight are case-studies which gather empirical evidence with which to investigate the research question.   Such a typology of approaches to language and development has not been elaborated before and represents, therefore, an original contribution to both the case of the Irish language and the theoretical literature.

In terms of methodology, the typology of approaches was elaborated by first identifying key assumptions about language and development in the various bodies of theory surveyed. These assumptions were then grouped together on the basis of the ways in which they understood the language-development link (for instance, some of the theories prioritised language, while others emphasised the primacy of social or economic factors). The diverse nature of the theories involved necessitated broad categories of classification. Three overarching strands were identified: (1) the minority language promotion approach (2) the socio-cultural development approach and (3) the economic growth and modernisation approach. There is the potential for overlap, especially between the first and second approaches, and each approach itself contains a number of variations, reflecting the diversity of influences. This Chapter examines each approach and draws out what exactly it contributes to an understanding of the language-development link. It identifies which elements of the theories are best equipped to provide answers to the research question, and elaborates a more appropriate theoretical framework through which to analyse the influence of language on development.

2. CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THEORY: THE MINORITY LANGUAGE PROMOTION APPROACH

The minority language promotion approach is the name given to a cluster of perspectives which theorise the position of a given minority language or languages in relation to another larger, majority language, and which prioritise the promotion of the weaker language. As outlined in Chapter One, the term 'minority language' is contested but it is used here to describe any language which is not normalised in all domains throughout the territory in which it is used. It may be a language such as Catalan, with over 7 million speakers in Spain, France, Andorra and Sardinia which - although it enjoys considerable legal and administrative status in at least part of the territory where it is spoken - is 'minoritised' in contrast with the more dominant

position of Spanish (personal communication with Strubell i Trueta, 2005). It may be a language such as Quechua, which although it is spoken by between 8 and 12 million people in Peru (and to a lesser extent in Ecuador and Bolivia), is threatened due to its low social status compared to Spanish (Hornberger & King, 2000; see also 3.1 below). It may also be Māori, the aboriginal language of New Zealand, which appears to be undergoing a revival on the back of substantial legal and administrative protection in recent years (Benton, R. & Benton, N., 2000; May, 2001). At the other end of the spectrum, it may be a highly threatened language such as Tlingit, an aboriginal language spoken by perhaps only a few hundred people on the south-eastern Alaskan archipelago and in parts of British Columbia in Canada (McMillan, 1995: 7). All these languages share the characteristic of being threatened *in relation* to the majority language with which they co-exist, and their future existence cannot be guaranteed. Irish is within this category, despite its constitutional and legal protection, because it is far from normalised in most domains nationally, experiences falling levels of intergenerational transmission and is under threat in key domains in the Gaeltacht (see Chapters Five to Seven).

The minority language promotion approach is based on a variety of theoretical foundations, most of which can be said to fall under the banner of macro-sociolinguistics, the branch of sociolinguistics which deals with 'macro' issues such as language policy and planning (as opposed to 'micro' issues related to internal structural variations within the languages themselves; see Coulmas, 1998: 1). Some of these theories relate to the relationship between language and culture or language and cognition. Others are based on linguistic rights or on language planning. There is considerable overlap between these themes, as the next four sub-categories reveal.

Sociolinguistics is a very broad discipline bringing together insights from sociology and linguistics, each of which has tended to ignore the other historically (Coulmas, 1998: 4-5). There is also considerable debate - but

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little agreement - among sociolinguists about the discipline's theoretical foundations (Williams, G., 1992: 124; Blommaert, 1996: 213). However, although there is no 'single, all-embracing sociolinguistic theory' (Coulmas, 1998: 6), there are several different sociolinguistic *theories*. Some of those theories will now be examined.

2.1 Culture, identity and cognition

A body of theory within macro-sociolinguistics posits that language influences cognition and is linked intimately to culture. The idea that language is a formative factor in the culture of its speakers is not new: it came into its own in the work of Enlightenment figures such as Johann Gottfried Herder, who claimed that there was a 'parallelism' between the thoughts of a nation and its language, and that language was the medium through which culture was transmitted (Schlesinger, 1991: 12-13; May, 2001: 57-8). In the early part of the 20th Century in the United States, much scientific work was conducted on the links between language and cognition, leading to the 'linguistic relativity principle' (Lee, P., 1996: 84) - known widely as the 'Sapir-Whorf hypothesis' - in memory of the American linguists to whom it is attributed, Edward Sapir (1884-1939) and, in particular, Benjamin Lee Whorf (1897-1941). This principle, articulated by Whorf around 1940 (Lee disputes the widely-held belief that it is a hypothesis), holds that each language influences differently the ways in which its speakers conceptualise the world:

> Whorf considered that socially generated and sustained patterns of language use become physically entrenched in cognition and in doing so condition physiological (including neurological) structures, processes, or associated energy fields and bring about adjustments to the overall patterning of mental behaviour (Lee, P., 1996: 30)

> The linguistic relativity principle is concerned ... with the conceptual and experiential ramifications of one's linguistic resources. As such it is concerned with the role of language in cognition (Lee, P., 1996: 87).

The implication of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis is that because the particular structure of each language results in a specific structuring of reality, people who speak different languages have different cultural outlooks. Extensive empirical research was carried out, particularly among indigenous languages in North America, in an attempt to confirm the hypothesis. The research was contentious and inconclusive (Lee, P., 1996: 136-143). While some scholars have rejected Whorf's and Sapir's views out of hand (for a discussion, see Lee, P., 1996: 84-89), the sociolinguist Joshua Fishman has modified and refined them in several seminal works (1989, 1991, 1996, 2000). He has argued that language and cultural identity are linked in three ways: indexically, symbolically and in a part-whole fashion. The indexical link between language and culture is explained as follows:

> That language which has traditionally been linked with a given ethnoculture is, at any time during which that linkage is still intact, best able to name the artifacts and to formulate or express the interests, values and world-views of that culture ... That is not to say that the traditionally associated language is a perfect or isomorphic map to its traditionally related culture. The two, language and culture, change at related but not at identical rates (Fishman, 1991: 20-1).

The symbolic link relates to identity, the sense of belonging to a community. The language stands for, or represents, the community of speakers:

> By dint of long-term association, the two are not only well attuned to each other, but they stand for each other in the minds of insiders and of outsiders too ... Little wonder, then, that almost all of the languages of the world have also come to stand for the particular ethnic collectivities that speak them, for the ethnocultures that traditionally utilize them and, where we are dealing with official languages of nations or regions, for the polities that implement them. Speakers of English (and other languages used across national boundaries) sometimes tend to forget this. English is so omnipresent in the world (at least, in the world of native English speakers) that it is easy to begin to think that it is simply neutral and natural everywhere. Speakers of languages that are regionally competitive with or conflict with English have an understandably different view. They know that English is symbolic of Anglo-American might, money and life-styles, not

all of which may be congenial to their own interests, views and goals (1991: 23).

The 'part-whole' link, Fishman argues, is represented by the partial identity between a particular language and culture. This occurs because so many aspects of a culture (such as songs, histories, laws and philosophies) are verbally constituted, they are expressed through the language with which that culture is most closely associated (1991: 24). Recently, Stephen May has questioned aspects of Fishman's hypothesis. What are we to do, he asks, in the light of continued language shift in the case of individuals or groups for whom a separate language is *not* a key element of their identity? May concludes that while language is not a *determining* feature of identity, it is a *significant* feature in many cases (2001: 129).

Although the theoretical approaches referred to above do not consider explicitly the role of language and culture in socio-economic development, they contribute to understandings of the language-development link because they substantiate and deepen the arguments that language has a broader role in society than that of communication alone. Even if they do not mention development itself, they provide support for the contention that speaking a particular language influences the thought-patterns of its speakers and is intimately linked to their cultural identity. Therefore, this largely *psychological* understanding of the role of language in culture, identity and cognition provides a basis for understanding the arguments advanced by many of the historical contributors surveyed in Chapter Three. For instance, some of the arguments of Davis and Hyde are reflected here, as are later contributions from the Gaelic League and from de Fréine, Ó Doibhlin and Brennan. Rather than influencing directly, for instance, economic indices of development such as growth or employment creation, these authors argued that promoting Irish bolstered such factors as initiative, innovation, social cohesion, self-confidence and national well-being, factors which underpin social and economic development. The weakness of this approach in contributing to an understanding of the influence of the Irish language on

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Ireland's socio-economic development is that it does not consider *explicitly* links between language and wider societal issues such as development. It may not be expected to do so, but this limits its usefulness for the purposes of this dissertation.

2.2   Reversing language shift

Fishman's theory of reversing language shift (RLS) contributes to understanding the minority language promotion approach and to the debate over the role of language in development. His seminal work, *Reversing Language Shift* (1991), considers the condition of endangered languages in relation to their marginalisation by the dominant global socio-economic model, what he calls 'econotechnical power' (1991: 6). The book's subtitle - *Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages* - leaves the reader in little doubt about Fishman's concern with reversing the processes which, he argues, have left most of the world's languages in a perilous state:

> [I]t is precisely because most modern democracies engage in conscious or unconscious cultural genocide, and precisely because they do so via many of their most central and most prized and admired social, economic and political processes, that LS is so common and that RLS is so difficult to attain and so heartbreaking to pursue ... At a superficial level of analysis, modernization and democratization themselves constitute cultural dislocation risks as far as RLS is concerned (Fishman, 1991: 62-63).

For Fishman, RLS is a process which plans social and cultural change:

> [I]t is the twentieth and the twenty-first century that this book is about: about efforts to make the post-modern present and the future more meaningful and more comforting for ordinary folk, more creative and humanistically nurturing for all, rather than merely about giving late-comers and losers a leg up in the ongoing race towards new records in popular consumerism, cultural pap and governmental pomp. 'Good problems' may be defined as problems whose solutions contribute to the solutions of related problems rather than to their

exacerbation. Language shift is a by-product of unequal rates of social change and of growth in econotechnical power and, therefore, of self-regulation, i.e. the very same processes that also contribute to the widespread anomie and alienation that typify so much of modern life among the culturally dominant and the culturally recessive alike. Reversing language shift deals with a 'good problem' because it is itself a potential contribution to overcoming some of the endemic sociocultural dislocation of society. Indeed, RLS is a contribution to many of the central problems that eat away at modern life, at modern man and at modern society' (1991: 6-7).

Although Fishman does not use the term 'development', the above extracts illustrate that he views reversing language shift as part of a wider *societal* process which reduces 'anomie and alienation' and the 'sociocultural dislocation of society'. He describes the original, historically-associated (and now threatened) language as 'Xish' and its speakers as 'Xians'. The dominant, neighbouring language is 'Yish' and its speakers 'Yians'. 'Xians-via-Yish' are created when people abandon their historical language, Xish, but consider that their identity, Xishness, can still be attained through Yish, the dominant, imposed language. However, based on research in the realms of psychology and medical anthropology, he argues that such a situation is not without its negative consequences:

> Dependency interaction between between Xmen and Ymen, a process in which those Xmen who are most like Ymen are the ones most rewarded by the power structure of Yish, continually erodes Xish: its demography, its society and its culture … The promise of social mobility via Yish is far from universally realized and the need to leave Xish behind in order to pursue that promise is far from entirely justified. Transethnification and translinguification bring with them their own problems and exact their own steep prices, medically (as revealed by elevated and aggravated illness patterns among dislocated assimilating populations), psychologically (as revealed by mental stress patterns among dislocated assimilating populations) and socioculturally (as revealed by crime and violence among dislocated assimilating populations) (60).

Many of the arguments advanced by the historical authors surveyed in Chapter Three are reflected in Fishman's theory. For instance, de Fréine's hypothesis that the historical decline of Irish led to severe social and cultural

dislocation in Ireland, and Lee's argument that the decline of Irish reduced the country's ability to learn, innovate and, hence, develop, are both echoed here. The references to language as a 'resource' find expression in the contributions of Kirby and Ó Doibhlin, and in many of the earlier contributions of Moran, Hyde and other prominent leaders of the cultural and linguistic revival of the late 19th and early 20th Centuries.

In conclusion, Fishman's contributions can be summarised as follows. He argues that the failure to reverse language shift has a 'steep price' attached and has negative medical, psychological and socio-cultural implications: in short, it causes severe social corrosion. He also argues that 'transethnification' and 'translinguification' have negative psychological consequences which lead to a decline in social well-being. Although Fishman does not consider development explicitly, his work goes considerably further than theories about cultural identity and cognition in contributing to an understanding of the language-development link. This is because he considers *explicitly* rather than *implicitly* the influence of both language shift and its opposite, reversing language shift, not only on culture, but on society in general. The weakness of his approach, from the point of view of investigating the research question, is the fact that his theories do not intersect adequately with theories of socio-economic development. Fishman's 8 stage language planning model is considered at 2.4 below.

2.3   Rights-based approach

An approach of language promotion based on the 'rights' of the speakers of that language has become important and influential in recent years. Elements of this approach contribute to an understanding of the language-development link. The corpus of international law in the field of minority protection which has emerged since World War II has often included references to linguistic and cultural rights. The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, referred to in Chapter Two, is but one element of an

emerging European norm of over 80 treaties, declarations and other documents adopted by the European Union, European Parliament, Council of Europe and other organisations (Dunbar, 2001; de Varennes, 2003: ii). An important historical milestone - itself outside the legal sphere - towards an affirmation of linguistic rights came in 1953 in UNESCO's seminal report, *The Use of Vernacular Languages in Education*. In this document, it is recognised that instruction in the mother tongue is the most effective way to educate students and has positive psychological and sociological benefits (UNESCO, 1953: 11).

Advocacy of minority language rights, or of linguistic human rights (LHRs), has become well established in recent years in the literature of macro-sociolinguistics, language planning and human rights in general (see, for instance, Kymlicka, 1995; for a survey, see May, 2003). In a trenchant defence of 'linguistic human rights', Phillipson, Rannut and Skutnabb-Kangas argue that the failure to grant such rights leads to the denial of other social, cultural and economic rights:

> People who are deprived of LHRs may thereby be prevented from enjoying other human rights, including fair political representation, a fair trial, access to education, access to information and freedom of speech, and maintenance of their cultural heritage. There is therefore a need to formulate, codify and implement minimal standards for the enjoyment of LHRs. These should be an integral part of international and national law (1995: 2).

They also refer to the hostility of linguistic majorities to linguistic minorities, based on 'myths' about economic growth and the nation state:

> When we affirm categorically that *all* individuals and groups should enjoy universal LHRs, this claim needs to be seen in the light of the political reality of unequal access to power. Most linguistic majorities seem reluctant to grant 'their' minorities rights, especially linguistic and cultural rights, because they would rather see their minorities assimilated ... But this antagonism towards linguistic minorities is based on false premises, and in particular on *two myths*, that monolingualism

is desirable for economic growth, and that minority rights are a threat to the nation state (3-4).

Similar to the high social price of language shift identified by Fishman, they warn of dangerous outcomes if linguistic rights are not granted:

> Lack of linguistic rights often prevents a group from achieving educational, economic and political equality with other groups. Injustice caused by *failure to respect linguistic human rights* is thus in several ways one of the important factors which can contribute to inter-ethnic conflict - and often does (1995: 7, emphasis in original).

Therefore, this approach posits a connection between a failure to respect linguistic rights and a range of social, economic and political problems, including even the possibility of violent conflict. Although not stated explicitly in terms of development, it can be argued that these authors view the promotion of a threatened language (through a rights-based framework) as facilitating the participation of that language group in social, economic and cultural activities which may then form the basis for development. May's seminal volume on the rights of linguistic minorities concurs with this view:

> [M]y argument throughout this book is that ethnic and national conflicts are most often precipitated when nation-states ignore demands for greater cultural and linguistic democracy, not - as is commonly assumed - when they accommodate them. Given the increasingly parlous state of the world's minority languages and the increasing fractiousness of modern social and political life, these questions, and their potential resolution, take on even greater urgency (2001, 17-8).

May's work is based on a challenge to liberal political theory, the view that there is an urgent need 'to radically rethink, or *reimagine*, the traditional organisation of nation-states since it is this … more than anything else, which most threatens the ongoing survival of minority languages' (15-6, emphasis in original). May is in no doubt about the embeddedness of the minority/majority dichotomy in wider social and political processes and calls for the deconstruction of

> ... the orthodoxy that ascribes 'majority' or 'minority' status to particular languages, valorising the former and stigmatising the latter. This must be recognised for what it is - a social and political process, deeply imbued in power relations, and arising out of the political nationalism of the last few centuries ... Similarly, the apparently inexorable association of majority (national) languages with modernity and progress - and conversely, of minority languages with tradition and obsolescence - is a product of the same historical, social and political forces, and needs to be interrogated accordingly (2001: 16).

Although May refers to the general context of social, political and economic inequality in which minority languages are located, his primary focus is on the dangers posed by dominant theories of social science, particularly liberalism, to such languages. As such, his work does not treat explicitly the language-development link, although implicit in his criticism of liberal theory is a critique of the dominant theories of economic growth and modernisation (see 4 below). Therefore, although he does not discuss directly how language influences socio-economic development, he throws light on some aspects of the unequal relationship of power between minority and majority languages.

The rights-based approach is not as apparent in the historical contributions of Chapter Three as are the psychological arguments about language. This is unsurprising because the rights discourse is relatively new and post-dates much of the historical material. However, elements of the revolutionary rhetoric of Ó Cadhain and the type of civic republicanism advocated by Ó Murchú are reflected in the rights approach.

In conclusion, the rights-based approach to minority languages contributes *indirectly* to understandings of the language-development link by positing links between the grant of linguistic rights and other social, economic and cultural rights. The failure to grant such rights is linked to social, economic and cultural discrimination against speakers of minority languages. Similar to the language and cultural identity approach, the links with development are

implicit rather than explicit, through participation in society, and the granting of social, cultural and economic rights.

2.4   Planning-based approach

Language planning is a branch of sociolinguistics which involves deliberate intervention at a number of levels in favour of a specific language in a bilingual or multilingual context. It also contributes to understandings of the language-development link. Mac Donnacha (2000), based on Cooper (1989), identifies three strands: status planning (recognition of the language or languages by government); corpus planning (creation of new forms, terminology) and acquisition planning (teaching and learning of languages). Language planning has been around for some time. However, as part of the relatively modern discipline of sociolinguistics, it dates from the 1960s and 1970s and the decolonisation of multilingual states in the developing world and, to a lesser extent, new states in the developed world such as Israel and Singapore. In many cases, undoing the colonial legacy often entailed a different type of language usage in education and administration. At this time, language planning theory and practice was restricted almost entirely to 'the decolonized third world nations' (Blommaert, 1996: 202-3). However, the focus shifted to Western countries in the 1980s and to languages such as Welsh, Catalan and Basque. Another surge in interest in language planning occurred in the early 1990s, when the new South African government declared eleven official languages (Blommaert, 1996: 203; see also Louw, 2004). Blommaert views historical language planning efforts as rooted in the European nation-state and motivated by the need to reduce rather than increase linguistic diversity within such states (212). This may have been the case in the earlier years of post-colonial language planning, but the focus in much of Europe at the moment is in favour of mostly non-state minority languages (once again, Welsh, Basque and Catalan are the most obvious European examples: see Eusko Jaurlaritza, 1999; Strubell, 2000; Welsh Assembly Government, 2003).

Models of language planning are relevant to this study for two reasons. Firstly, they explain more clearly what is meant by the first part of the research question, 'the promotion of Irish'. This is a very general term which needs clarification, and language planning models provide such clarity by answering the question: what is language promotion? Secondly, language planning models are maps which guide efforts to normalise threatened languages. They explain how the normalisation of a threatened language is brought about. Thirdly, they draw attention to broader questions about the relationship between language and development.

Two recent language planning models are examined here. The first, developed by the Irish sociolinguist, Joe Mac Donnacha, is an 'integrated language planning model' based on a number of 'primary activities', directly influencing language behaviour, and a number of 'support activities', which form the backbone of the language planning effort.

Figure 4.1 Integrated Language Planning Model

SUPPORT ACTIVITIES	Organisational structure and effectiveness				
	Language planning process				
	Human resource management				
	Research				
	Corpus planning				
	Convergent planning				
PRIMARY ACTIVITIES	Nurturing of positive attitudes towards language	Increasing level of ability in language	Increasing level of language usage	Nurturing and strengthening language community	Increasing level of organic inter-generational transmission

Source: Mac Donnacha, 2000: 16.

The five primary activities - attitudes, ability, usage, community and intergenerational transmission - are the bedrock of any language planning initiative, Mac Donnacha argues. Each is designed to achieve the greater consolidation of the target language, its normalisation in as many social

domains as possible. All five are interdependent. It is not necessary to discuss them all in detail here, but a link can be identified with the arguments of the historical authors in Chapter Three. The first four categories amount to a summary of the aims of the language revival. Implicit in the extracts cited in Chapter Three, ranging from Davis and Hyde to the recent contributions of Ó Murchú and Ó Doibhlin, is the universal desire to foster positive attitudes to Irish, to increase levels of ability and usage and to strengthen the language community, either in the Gaeltacht or elsewhere. The fifth category, intergenerational transmission, is not mentioned by the historical authors, but that is to be expected as it is a technical term specific to sociolinguistics, and because sociolinguistics itself post-dates a lot of the historical material reviewed. The fourth category ('nurturing and strengthening the language community') merits further comment because it raises questions about the relationship between language and development, and about the particular sociolinguistic context of Irish. As Mac Donnacha argues:

> For language planning to be successful, the long-term viability of the community expected to support the language has to be taken into account. This calls for activities which promote the economic viability of the community; ensure they have access to services such as education, health and social welfare; and to develop the community's own sense of self-belief and esteem ... The strategic intent of such community development should be to prepare and enable target-language communities to take control over the decisions that affect them and their language (19-20).

Therefore, because the principal focus of language planning is on specific interventions in favour of a specific language and the consolidation of that language in a number of domains, Mac Donnacha's model raises the possibility of closer integration of language and development through his hypothesis that supporting the development of the community of speakers consolidates their language. This approach has relevance to the Gaeltacht, as the last remaining geographically-concentrated community of native Irish speakers, but it is also pertinent to the other, scattered communities of Irish speakers elsewhere in the state and in Northern Ireland. Although the

concept of community has referred traditionally to 'a collection of people in a geographical area', it has more recently been used to refer to a mental construct, indicating 'a sense of identity or belonging that may not be tied into geographical location' (Abercrombie, Hill & Turner, 2000: 64-5). This decoupling of the link between communities and specifically defined locations has been advanced by time-space compression and the emergence of the worldwide web (Mayhew, 2004: 100). Therefore, the concept of language planning may be applied to minority languages which have differing degrees of geographical concentration (this issue is considered in more detail in Chapter Nine). The different ways in which geographically concentrated and dispersed languages may influence development will be considered in further detail at 2.5 and 5 below. The usefulness of Mac Donnacha's model, in conclusion, is that it underlines the need for language planning to be holistic and integrated with other areas of social, cultural and economic life, while allowing that scattered and concentrated communities require different spatial divisions of planning (for a further discussion, see Williams, C.H., 1991 & 2000).

Fishman has also elaborated a theoretical model of language planning aimed at reversing language shift. His 8-stage 'Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale' is the centrepiece of *Reversing Language Shift*. It sets out a series of stages which are to be undertaken in order to stem the decline of a given language, according to its strength or weakness. Stage 8 relates to the reconstruction of a language ('Xish') which has died and its re-acquisition by adults; Stage 1 relates to the use of Xish in high-profile and high-prestige spheres such as work, mass-media and national government. The 'fulcrum' of the scale is Stage 6, intergenerational transmission of Xish in the home/family/community domains: without achieving this stage, attempts to reverse language shift are ultimately doomed, because the language is no longer being acquired naturally by children (2000: 458). Once again, although the model does not explicitly consider development, when considered in conjunction with Fishman's comments at 2.2 above, it gains

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further transformative powers as a general theory of social change, rooted in language.

Insights from language planning are less obviously related to the link between the promotion of Irish and Ireland's socio-economic development than are theories of language and culture/cognition, linguistic minority rights and the reversing language shift approach. However, they provide much-needed clarity on the precise manner in which language promotion can be conducted, a detail often lacking in the historical material, for instance in the very broad and sometimes vague pronouncements of the Gaelic League. Furthermore, as explained above, part of the Mac Donnacha model deals specifically with the relationship between language and development and underlines the need for language planning to take cognisance of social and economic factors among the community of speakers. Therefore, although the planning approach does not throw much new light on the link between the promotion of Irish and Ireland's socio-economic development posited in the research question, it clarifies the linguistic variable and provides practical suggestions for normalising the threatened language. Although not explicitly stated by all, it is reasonable to infer that such a normalisation is the shared aim of many of the authors surveyed in Chapter Three.

2.5   Conclusions on minority language promotion approach

The purpose of this section has been to assess the ways in which the link between language and development is understood by theories from macro-sociolinguistics. We can draw several conclusions:

(a) The theories of language and cognition, and language and culture, go some way towards substantiating the essentially psychological arguments advanced by many of the historical authors: that Irish is an integral part of national cultural identity and that promoting it has a positive influence on factors such as self-esteem, initiative,

and ability to learn. Although stronger versions of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis have failed to demonstrate conclusively that language *causes* cognition, weaker versions of the hypothesis - that language *influences* cultural outlook in a more general sense - appear reasonable and plausible. This raises the question: what about Ireland, where cultural identity does not depend on the active use of an ancestral language? How can Irish be said to influence cultural outlook when it remains so marginal in national life? Although levels of usage are low, a majority of Irish people *believe* that Irish *is* an important element of their cultural identity (see the national surveys on language in Chapter Two) even though few of them possess high levels of competence in it and fewer still speak it fluently or frequently. Therefore, is the language-culture link, as described by Fishman, intact in Ireland? Based on the survey results, the simple answer is yes, but with the proviso that the role played by the Irish language in Irish identity is passive rather than active for the majority of Irish people. In other words, they do not feel the need to use it themselves in order for it to be part of their identity; the fact that only a small minority uses it regularly suffices. However, this passive and symbolic support is hardly that envisaged by many of the historical authors surveyed. The inference to be drawn from their arguments is that the consolidation of Irish as a more widely spoken living language for a larger number of Irish people positively influences Ireland's development, but that such potential would be reduced were Irish to remain largely symbolic and marginal in national life.

(b) The insights from the rights-based approach also contribute to understandings of the link between language and development. The theorists surveyed posit a link between language rights and social, cultural and economic rights: failure to recognise or support the languages of specific groups impedes their right to participate fully in society. Conversely, cultural, social and economic rights

flow from the granting of such linguistic rights.

(c) Fishman's theory of reversing language shift offers the most in terms of understanding the link between language and development. This is because he considers more explicitly than other theorists surveyed the links between promoting a traditionally-associated language and overcoming the social dislocation and economic subordination of that speech community. Both the linguistic human rights and RLS approaches give expression to some of the later contributions of the historical authors, and ground in theory the contention that promoting Irish influences positively Ireland's socio-economic development.

(d) The language planning models are not as closely related to the research question as the other approaches identified. However, they are useful because they bring clarity to 'language promotion' and suggest practical ways of consolidating a threatened language, which is ultimately the aim of all of the historical authors surveyed.

(e) The main weakness of the sociolinguistic approach in terms of this dissertation's central research topic is that it does not intersect adequately with theories of development. Fishman comes closest to doing this, but he does not draw upon theories of development in his work. The purpose of this section was to investigate the adequacy of sociolinguistics as a tool to analyse the relationship between language and development. It is concluded that sociolinguistics, while offering rich insights into elements of that link, is in itself unable to investigate it comprehensively.

Therefore, the next two sections turn to theories of development, firstly socio-cultural development and finally, economic growth and modernisation. Each of those bodies of theory will be interrogated in the same manner as sociolinguistics in order to assess their adequacy in understanding the language-development link. The final section will consider what each of the three approaches can offer and elaborates an appropriate theoretical

framework through which the language-development link can be understood and which will guide the remainder of the study.

3. CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THEORY: THE SOCIO-CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT APPROACH

Recent innovations in the field of development theory contribute to a framework within which to analyse the link between language and socio-economic development. The bulk of this contribution comes from the field of human development, which is represented currently by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), but which has deeper historical roots in the work of theorists who challenge dominant understandings of development (see 4 below). There are also contributions from the field of cultural political economy, national systems of innovation theory and from the emerging approach of 'socio-economics'.

3.1   Human development

'Human development' as a unified concept emerged only in 1990, in the form of the first *Human Development Report*, published by the UNDP. This approach does not reject economic growth, but its concept of the role of growth in development is fundamentally different from that of the dominant paradigm (see 4 below). Growth is a means by which human development is to be achieved, not an end in itself. The central tenet of such development is expanding people's choices, as the UNDP outlines:

> Previous concepts of development have often given exclusive attention to economic growth - on the assumption that growth will ultimately benefit everyone. Human development offers a much broader and more inclusive perspective. It demonstrates that economic growth is vital: no society has in the long run been able to sustain the welfare of its people *without* continuous injections of economic growth. But growth on its own is not sufficient - it has to be translated into improvements in people's lives. Economic growth is not the *end* of

human development. It is one important *means*. Thus, human development and economic growth are closely connected. People contribute to growth, and growth contributes to human well-being (UNDP, 1992: 12, emphasis in original; see also Goulet & Wilber, 1996; Gall, 1996; Green, 2002; Kothari & Minogue, 2002).

The theoretical foundations of human development are diffuse. Arising out of the gross inequalities between rich and poor in 'developing' countries, and between 'developing' and 'developed' states, it has its roots in the social well-being approach pioneered by development economists such as Amartya Sen, Paul Streeten and the compiler of the first *Human Development Report* in 1990, Mahbub ul Haq (Sen, 1984, 1987; Drèze and Sen, 1990). Haq questioned the dominant wisdom that a causal link existed between economic growth and development: such a relationship, he argued, 'depends on the quality and distribution of economic growth, not only on the quantity of such growth' (Martinussen, 1997: 303). These economists also argued that market mechanisms alone could not be relied upon to link economic growth and human development: that could only come through conscious effort. Sen, in his discussion of the concept of 'development as freedom', emphasises the importance of expanding the 'capabilities' of individuals:

> Development can be seen, it is argued here, as a process of expanding the real freedoms that people enjoy. Focussing on human freedoms contrasts with narrower views of development, such as identifying development with the growth of gross national product, or with the rise in personal incomes, or with industrialization, or with technological advance, or with social modernization. Growth of GNP or of individual incomes can, of course, be very important as *means* to expanding the freedoms enjoyed by the members of the society. But freedoms depend also on other determinants, such as social and economic arrangements (for example facilities for education and health care) as well as political and civil rights (for example the liberty to participate in public discussion and scrutiny). Similarly, industrialization or technological progress or social modernization can substantially contribute to expanding human freedom, but freedom depends on other influences as well. If freedom is what development advances, then there is a major argument for concentrating on that overarching objective, rather than on some particular means, or some specially chosen list of instruments. Viewing development in terms of expanding substantive freedoms directs attention to the ends that

make development important, rather than merely to some of the means that, inter alia, play a prominent part in the process (1999: 3, emphasis in original).

Another influence came in the 1970s from what have been called 'theories of people's participation'. Advancing this approach, it was asserted that people's participation was important for promoting development and that the state could help the poor to mobilise in order to achieve this aim. This view rejected both the class-based antagonism inherent in neo-Marxist theories of development and the hostility of modernisation theory to popular participation (Martinussen, 1997: 233-4).

Human development traces its own roots to 1970s movements such as 'Basic Needs', which sought to redress the social imbalance perceived to have been created by the dominant growth-led paradigm (UNDP, 1996: 47-8). Established by another branch of the United Nations, the International Labour Organisation, 'Basic Needs' argued that 'comprehensive measures targeted at the poor and unemployed were required - measures that involved a diffusion of capital and other resources, instead of the concentration to which mainstream economic theories had given priority' (Martinussen, 1997: 298). In practice, this meant ensuring three elements: basic necessities for survival, access to public services and some form of democratic participation in society (see also a discussion of 'another development' by Hettne, 1990: 176-185).

Since 1990, the UNDP has used a distinct method to measure levels of human development, which it calls the Human Development Index (HDI). The HDI is based on three variables: adult literacy and education, life expectancy at birth and *per capita* income. Therefore, similar to GNP/GDP rates, it is somewhat crude in that it provides only one figure for an entire country surveyed. However, its concept of development is broader than that encapsulated by GNP/GDP. Since 1990, modifications have been made to HDI in order to broaden it further to include variables such as social exclusion

or access to safe water supplies (UNDP, 2000: 18). The concept of human development has also been extended to issues such as empowerment, co-operation, sustainability and security (UNDP, 1996: 55-6). In the 1999 report, ten years after 'human development' as a concept was launched, Streeten described the concept in these terms:

> More income is only one of the things poor people desire. Adequate nutrition, safe water at hand, better medical services, more and better schooling for their children, cheap transport, adequate shelter, continuing employment and secure livelihoods and productive, remunerating, satisfying jobs do not show up in higher income per head, at least not for some time. There are other non-material benefits that are often more highly valued by poor people than material improvements. Some of these partake in the characteristics of rights, others in those of states of mind. Among these are good and safe working conditions, freedom to choose jobs and livelihoods, freedom of movement and speech, liberation from oppression, violence and exploitation, security from persecution and arbitrary arrest, a satisfying family life, the assertion of cultural and religious values, adequate leisure time and satisfying forms of its use, a sense of purpose in life and work, the opportunity to join and actively participate in the activities of civil society and a sense of belonging to a community. These are often more highly valued than income, both in their own right and as a means to satisfying and productive work. They do not show up in higher income figures. No policy-maker can guarantee the achievement of all, or even the majority, of these aspirations, but policies can create the opportunities for their fulfilment (UNDP, 1999: 17).

The above extract mentions 'cultural values': in more recent years, the role of culture in the development process has been examined in greater depth by proponents of the human development concept. In 1995, the World Commission on Culture and Development stated that '[d]evelopment divorced from its human or cultural context is growth without a soul. Economic development in its full flowering is part of a people's culture' (UNESCO, 1995, cited in UNDP, 2004: 91). The following year, there was some discussion of culture in the annual UNDP report, when it was acknowledged that, by fostering co-operation between people, culture had a role to play in development:

Human development necessarily involves a concern with culture - the ways people choose to live together - for it is the sense of social cohesion based on culture and shared values and beliefs that shapes individual human development. If people live together well, if they cooperate in a mutually enriching way, this enlarges their individual choices. So, human development is concerned not just with people as individuals but also with how they interact and cooperate in communities (1996: 55).

The same report also identifies a link between language and development, in both positive and negative terms. In its introduction, the UNDP outlines what it terms 'rootless growth'

... which causes people's cultural identity to wither. There are thought to be about 10,000 distinct cultures, but many risk being marginalised or eliminated. In some cases minority cultures are being swamped by dominant cultures whose power has been amplified with growth. In other cases government have deliberately imposed uniformity in the pursuit of nation-building - say, with a national language (1996: 4).

In the above extract, the imposition of a dominant language is identified as an integral part of a culturally-repressive form of development, which destroys other cultures and languages in the pursuit of nation-building. The UNDP refers to how some Latin American countries historically viewed indigenous cultures and languages as an impediment to development - such as Peru, where 50 percent of the population was indigenous yet no indigenous language had official status (1996: 62).[1] The UNDP added, however, that the most successful states tended to be those which have recognised and respected cultural and linguistic diversity, such as Switzerland, Malaysia and Mauritius (4, 62).

In 2002, the UNDP published a seminal report on human development in Chile, which focussed primarily on the role of culture in development. This is

not unusual, given the historical importance of Latin America in the elaboration of development theory. The report, *Desarrollo Humano en Chile. Nosotros los chilenos: un desafío cultural* ['Human development in Chile. We Chileans: a cultural challenge'], states that kinship and solidarity are essential if a community is to develop successfully. According to the report, that community is bound together by its culture:

> ...se necesita un sentimiento de pertenencia y solidaridad de un pueblo consigo mismo y con sus hermanos para potenciar el desarrollo, sustenar la democracia e integrar la nación. Ése es el papel central de la cultura como cemento de la sociedad (2002: 4).[2]

However, the UNDP uses a very general and broad definition of culture in this case, based on notions of 'vivir juntos' ['living together'] or 'la practica y el imaginario de la vida en común' ['the practice and imagining of living together'] (16). Furthermore, the 'cultural challenges' which it describes are considered largely in terms of globalisation:

> Chile está viviendo un profundo cambio cultural. En este proceso desempeñan un papel central las dinámicas de globalización de la sociedad e individualización de las personas, la centralidad del mercado y de las nuevas tecnologías. Los cambios culturales crean oportunidades pero también dificultades para la convivencia cotidiana (18).[3]

There is no mention of language in the report, unsurprising given the linguistic homogeneity of Chile compared to other Latin American countries

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[1] Technically, the UNDP is not correct to state that in 1996 no indigenous language in Peru had official status. The new Peruvian constitution of 1993 granted Aymara, Quechua and other indigenous languages official status in the areas where they are spoken, alongside Spanish (La constitución española, 2005). However, as outlined in Section 2 above, indigenous languages in Peru are marginalised in terms of social functions and are spoken by sections of the population which are economically deprived.

[2] A feeling of belonging and solidarity of a community with itself and with its brothers is necessary in order to encourage development, sustain democracy and integrate the nation. This is the central role of culture as the cement of society.

[3] Chile is experiencing profound cultural change. The dynamics of the globalisation of society and the individualisation of people, the centrality of the market and of new technologies play a central role in this process. The cultural changes create opportunities but also difficulties for the ways in which people live together everyday.

(Skidmore & Smith, 1997: 114). The report is a good example of how a discussion of culture can ignore language.

Another contribution to the debate came in 2004, when the UNDP's *Human Development Report* was dedicated entirely to the question of cultural liberty. Similar to its earlier references, the UNDP stresses the central role of culture in human development:

> Cultural liberty is a vital part of human development because being able to choose one's identity - who one is - without losing the respect of others or being excluded from other choices is important in leading a full life. People want the freedom to practice their religion openly, to speak their language, to celebrate their ethnic or religious heritage without fear of ridicule or punishment or diminished opportunity. People want the freedom to participate in society without having to slip off their chosen cultural moorings. It is a simple idea, but profoundly unsettling (2004: 1).

The 2004 report goes further than its predecessors in its discussion of language. It recognises the challenges of implementing fair language policies in multilingual states, warning that restrictive choices can lead to certain linguistic groups being excluded from society and therefore from development: 'In multilingual societies, a multiple language policy is the only way to ensure full democratic participation' (63). It suggests a 'three language formula' for such multilingual states, which gives public recognition to the use of an international language, a national lingua franca and the use of the mother tongue, in education and in government institutions (60, 63).

How, therefore, does human development contribute to understandings of the language-development link? Hoes does it aid an investigation of the influence of the Irish language on Ireland's socio-economic development? How does it give expression to the historical views surveyed in Chapter Three? The principal contribution of human development is that it takes a *broad* view of development which includes economic growth but which prioritises other social and cultural factors. These range from expanding freedom and human

capabilities to empowerment, interaction and co-operation in the community, choice of identity and cultural values. Culture is seen as giving meaning to the process of development, by embedding it in people's everyday experiences and shared identity. Many of these factors were emphasised by the historical authors surveyed in Chapter Three, particularly the later contributions of de Fréine, Lee, Kirby, Ó Doibhlin and Ó Murchú. The drawback of the human development approach for analysing the language-development link is that *language*, as opposed to *culture*, remains relatively marginal to the discussion.

3.2   Cultural political economy of development

'Political economy' is defined here as the interaction of political power and economic outcomes, which emphasises in particular the relationship between state and market (Kirby, 2002: 96). The 'political economy of development' may be understood as the ways in which market, state and *society* interact to achieve socio-economic development (129). The 'cultural political economy of development' focuses on the influence of *culture* on these interactions between state, society and market.[4]

The 'cultural turn' in developmental studies, as it has become known, focuses on the systems of meanings and values held by communities of people and places these systems - culture - at the centre of their own development (Verhelst, 1990; Jessop and Sum, 2001). This approach is relatively new but is fundamentally different to dominant understandings of development (see 4 below), because it prioritises the cultural needs of people who have been viewed historically as underdeveloped or culturally inferior. The Irish sociologist, Vincent Tucker, posits a connection between the denial or

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[4] Based on Eagleton (2000) and Castells (1997), culture is understood here as the sum of the constantly changing elements of life which have symbolic meaning or value for national, linguistic or ethnic groups, or for groups other than these who are bound by a shared identity.

suppression of a specific cultural identity and the exclusion of such a group from the process of socio-economic development:

> When a people is stripped of its identity it is no longer capable of self-determination, they become subject peoples whose future and whose past is shaped by others, and whose projects, dreams, values and meanings are supplied by others. In the eyes of the developers their societies are stagnant and fossilised, incapable of self-directed development and portrayed as obstacles to development' (Tucker, 1997a: 6-7).

In this case, Tucker argues, development amounted to a form of social engineering where one dominant culture is imposed on a diversity of ethnic groups (1997a & 1997b). Tucker states that the meanings and ideas which constitute a people's culture are also present in its language (1997a: 10), but he does not elaborate this point.

The distinguishing feature of the socio-cultural approach is that it holds as central the relationship of culture to development. According to Tucker, the motivation for introducing culture in development theory and practice is 'an attempt to move away from the ethnocentrism which characterises much of development thinking' (1997a: 3). Therefore, Tucker writes, '[w]hen we speak of culture we draw attention to differences, to ethnicity, to community, to identity, to local diversity and to conflicts around these' (3). The failure to consider culture to date may be due to the fact that these notions represent such a fundamental challenge to the belief that all underdeveloped peoples are to follow the same Western-oriented development path. Therefore, he argues, it is no surprise that some of the most challenging work on the meaning of development is being carried out in Africa, Asia or the Middle East, large swathes of which have traditionally been written off as underdeveloped (6).

The work of Rodolfo Stavenhagen is also worthy of comment, because of his attention to the 'ethnic' factor in development. Rather than focusing on the

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class based divisions of society, 'ethnodevelopment' examines critically differences in ethnic identity and their relationship to development Stavenhagen, 1990).   As Hettne points out, ethnodevelopment 'is a radical concept since it turns the table on the conventional conception of ethnicity as an obstacle to modernization' (1990: 198). Hettne's own theory of 'Another Development' is also relevant. His principle of 'territorialism' - 'a group of people living in a geographically bounded community, controlling a certain set of natural resources, and united through a certain set of cultural values' (200) - is likely to be appealing to many minority language groups whose traditional communities have become undermined or scattered (as is the case with Irish). Furthermore, his 'principle of cultural pluralism as a counterpoint to standardized modernization' (199) may also appear attractive to such groups (for a commentary on Hettne and Stavenhagen, see Nederveen Pieterse, 2001).

In the light of the arguments of Hettne, Tucker, Stavenhagen and others, the tripartite division of state, society and market (Martinussen, 1997) may be further refined. There is little agreement among sociologists about what precisely is meant by 'society' (Marshall, 1998: 625; Abercrombie, Hill & Turner, 2002: 330). However, the approaches of 'ethnodevelopment' and 'another development' are more concerned with the role of *civil* society in the development process. Although there is no consensus about the meaning of 'civil society', the following definition serves as a guide for this study:

> There are several competing definitions of what this concept involves. However, its key attributes are that it refers to public life rather than private or household-based activities; it is juxtaposed to the family and the state; and it exists within the framework of the rule of law. Most authorities seem to have in mind the realm of public participation in voluntary associations, the mass media, professional associations, trade unions, and the like ... Civil society is always seen as dynamic and embraces the notion of social movements. It can also be seen as the dynamic side of citizenship, which, combining as it does achieved rights and obligations, finds them practised, scrutinized, revamped, and redefined at the level of civil society (Marshall, 1998: 74).

'Civil society', therefore, refers to dynamic collective action in the public, often voluntary sphere (social movements) which aims at achieving social re-organisation. The link between 'civil society' and 'social movements' is useful for this study, because the 'movements' in question may be dedicated to reversing language shift, to use Fishman's term, or to dealing with some of the socio-cultural challenges facing those engaged in human development and the other alternative approaches outlined above (see also Giddens, 2002: 439-441 & 684). In conclusion, these insights from cultural political economy and civil society help us to understand the link between language and development by bringing attention to the role of culture in influencing the ways in which state, civil society and market interact to bring about development. In general, however, the cultural political economy approach is characterised by a paucity of explicit references to language.

3.3   National systems of innovation

Some of the literature on national systems of innovation (NSI) is also noteworthy because it posits that a strong sense of national identity or cohesiveness is required to stimulate and guide innovation and socio-economic development. This echoes many of the arguments surveyed in Chapter Three, ranging from the early comments of Hyde and Moran to the more recent contributions of Lee.

A national system of innovation has been described as 'the institutions and economic structures which affect the rate and direction of innovative activities in the economy' (Mjøset , 1992: 45). Culture is also deemed to have a role to play. In his 'diamond' analysis of competitive advantage, Porter (1990) mentions that '[c]ultural factors are important as they shape the environment facing firms' (cited in Mjøset, 1993: 48) and that '[d]ifferences in national economic structures, values, cultures, institutions, and histories contribute profoundly to competitive success" (cited in Mjøset, 1993: 47). Johnson's work on the nature of institutions accords greater importance to the role of

culture in NSI. He describes culture as 'a core concept' which plays an important 'role in shaping human cognitions and actions' (1992: 25).

In addition, Johnson infers that national systems of innovation are contingent upon the existence of distinct, national cultures. He writes: 'As long as we can identify *national cultures*, we should expect national differences in production and innovation' (1992: 39, emphasis in original). This point has the potential to deepen the arguments of the historical authors that promoting Irish positively influences Ireland's development, because of their association of Irish with national cultural identity.

However, there are a number of problems with the NSI approach in general. Firstly, it fails to identify what constitutes a 'national culture', prompting a number of questions: what are the constituent elements of national cultures and, therefore, national systems of innovation? What is the relationship between these 'national cultures' and language or languages (if any)? Johnson neither poses nor answers these questions. Secondly, NSI theory infers a high degree of cultural homogeneity within the borders of the state analysed, a point acknowledged by Lundvall (1992: 3). Yet most states contain national minorities, including the 'homogenous' Nordic examples with which Johnson and Lundvall are most acquainted (there are indigenous Sami minorities in Norway, Sweden and Finland; other indigenous minorities in Sweden; Finland is officially bilingual – see Kaplan & Baldauf, 2005). NSI theory does not explain how these sub-national minorities (and/or their languages) impede or contribute to the development of NSI.

3.4   'Socio-economics' of language

The 'economics of language' approach pursued by the Swiss economist, François Grin, has its origins in an interest in language and economics which emerged particularly in Canada in the 1970s, based on arguments by economists such as François Vaillancourt and Robert Lacroix that bilingualism

in Québec and throughout Canada was beneficial to the economy (see, for instance, Vaillancourt and Lacroix, 1982; Vaillancourt and Carpentier, 1989; Vaillancourt and Leblanc, 1993). More recently, similar work has been carried out in Wales on Welsh as an economic engine rather than a symbol of underdevelopment and economic decline (Casson et al, 1994; Price, Wynne Jones & Ó Torna, 1997).

In 1996, an array of papers related to the theme of language and economics was published in a special volume by the *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*. In that volume, referring to the dominant approach in economics, Grin states that 'language characteristics have always been assumed to have little impact on resource allocation in modern societies and are therefore not considered worthy of sustained attention' (1996a: 4). Grin does not agree with this approach, however. Declaring himself opposed to neoclassical economics' emphasis on dividing people 'into producers and consumers, owners of capital and labor force, or countries trading with each other' (1996a: 4-5), he argues that economic and linguistic processes influence each other and that economics can be used to study linguistic variables (1996b: 30). Grin refers to the importance of 'socioeconomics' which emphasises the 'social, psychological and environmental embeddedness of human action' (34). Any theory of the economics of language should aim 'to build upon the best of the economics tradition, while integrating tools and concepts from other social sciences, to provide some of the analytical foundations of what I will call the *politics of plurality* (35, emphasis in original). Grin elaborates this to mean 'an economic theory of language planning in which appropriate account is taken of the mutual effect of linguistic and economic variables' (35).

Recently, Grin outlined the changing relationship between minority languages and economic activity in recent years. Traditionally, there has been much antagonism: '[t]he discourses extolling the importance of "languages" and "diversity" on the one hand, and of "economic activity" or "prosperity" on the

other hand, have a history in which mutual estrangement and distrust dominate' (2003a: 213). Grin concludes that while much work remains to be done on the causal links between language processes and economic processes, there is far more circumstantial evidence today than before that linguistic diversity is worth cultivating from an economic viewpoint (Grin, 2003b).

Therefore, the work of Grin and others engaged in the economics of language contributes to an understanding of the language-development link, by assessing the interplay between linguistic and economic variables. While a general theory of the economics of language is a long way off, by Grin's own admission, the growing evidence that linguistic diversity is economically beneficial helps to provide an answer to the question: does promoting the Irish language positively influence Ireland's socio-economic development? Grin's references to 'socio-economics', emphasising the 'social, psychological and environmental embeddedness of human action', illustrate a willingness by these economists to recognise other disciplines. However, the predominantly economic nature of this approach - although entirely reasonable given the background of those who have developed it - narrows its applicability to this study, which is concerned with the link between language and *socio*-economic development.

3.5   Conclusions on socio-cultural development approach

The purpose of this section has been to assess the ways in which the link between language and development is understood by socio-cultural theories of development. We can draw several conclusions:

(a)   The human development approach offers a broad and inclusive understanding of development which reflects many of the social factors identified by the historical authors as outcomes of the promotion of Irish: social cohesion, self-confidence, initiative,

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innovation, ability to learn, participative citizenship, empowerment, development of civil society, expanding freedom and capabilities. More recently, it has begun to question the role of culture in helping people to achieve such outcomes, most obviously in the work of the UNDP. However, language remains marginal in the human development approach.

(b)   A cultural political economy of development approach examines the complex web of inter-relationships out of which development emerges. The interplay of state, civil society and market draws attention to the dynamic nature of development and its links to a wide-range of stakeholders. Adding culture brings it greater richness, as it underlines the importance of cultural identity in shaping the process of development. However, it too does not consider language in any detailed manner.

(c)   The national systems of innovation literature emphasises the influence of a cohesive national cultural identity on development. This supports the arguments of several of the historical authors. However, there are main weaknesses in the NSI approach from the point of view of investigating the research question. The precise component elements of culture are not outlined, and it is not clear whether or not language is included. NSI theory does not explain the role of minority cultures (or languages) in the process of building a national system of innovation.

(d)   The 'economics of language' approach deals directly with the relationship between the variables of language and economics and acknowledges the social 'embeddedness' of economic activity. However, it deals predominantly with only the economic aspect of the language-development link.

(e)   Finally, the socio-cultural approach is appropriate to analyse the influence of *culture* on socio-economic development. It is not

sufficient, however, to analyse the influence of *language* on socio-economic development, because discussion of language remains marginal to it. Some of the discussion of culture is very vague and general (for instance, the UNDP Chile report) and has no obvious connection to language. The socio-cultural approach contributes significantly to understanding *aspects* of the language-development link (for instance the cultural political economy of development, the influence of national cultural identity on development, the influence of expanding human capabilities on development, the relationship between language and economics) but is inadequate on its own to analyse the link in its *entirety*.

The minority language and socio-cultural development approaches exist in opposition to the third overarching category, the economic growth and modernisation approach. This approach has already been alluded to in passing. It will now be examined in detail, and its contribution to understanding the language-development link considered.

4. CONTRIBUTIONS FROM THEORY: ECONOMIC GROWTH AND MODERNISATION APPROACH

The association of development with modernisation is significant, as it provides a link to one of the most influential paradigms of the 20th Century, modernisation theory. Various theories of modernisation, which have been profoundly influential on modern development thinking, will now be examined. Both economics and sociology will be considered in order to elucidate how both disciplines have contributed to understandings of modernisation and development, and of the place of culture in this process.

4.1 Background to economic theories of modernisation

4.1.1 Adam Smith and the Scottish Enlightenment

The Scottish philosopher Adam Smith (1723-1790) is credited with creating modern economic thought in the West through his key work *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (1776). In order to increase the wealth of nations, Smith argued that society should exploit the natural drives of all humans, rather than suppress them. He wrote: 'It is not from the benevolence of the butcher, the brewer, or the baker, that we expect our dinner, but from their regard to their own interest' (Smith, 1776 [1976]: 26-27, cited in Buchholz, 1999: 20-1). Smith's emphasis on individual entrepreneurship, guided by the free market, was to become a resounding theme for generations of future economists. The renowned reference to the butcher, brewer and baker and the distinction drawn between benevolence and self-interest forms the backbone of much of influential contemporary economic thought. By making such a distinction, Smith was drawing a line between a reciprocal, kinship-based approach to economic activity and an approach in which financial gain to producers was paramount.

Through his work, Smith underlined the central role of market mechanisms which ensured that the production of goods was to the benefit of society: in other words, some producers may produce inferior goods at high prices, but competition will force them eventually to deliver proper goods at reasonable prices. This notion, the 'invisible hand' of the market, would soon become a central tenet in economic theory. Debates continue to rage over the extent to which the state should or can intervene to impede or facilitate market mechanisms (see, for instance, Martinussen, 1997: 257-274). Smith's other key theoretical contribution to modern economics was his belief that the emerging industrial sector was more productive than agriculture and that industry would be the main engine of growth. This would occur when industrialists accumulated and then invested profits in working and fixed

capital (Martinussen, 1997: 19-20). For Smith, this 'invisible hand' was the true source of social harmony: the free market. The key concept of *laissez-faire* - that government intervention in industry was inappropriate and harmful and that the market would take care of society's needs - was established. It also represented the triumph of rationality over chaos and, by extension, the triumph of modernity over tradition (Heilbroner, 1967: 62-4).

The Scottish Enlightenment with which Smith was closely associated was located at the centre of conflicting identities in Scotland at the time. The Enlightenment emerged following the Act of Union in 1707 and looked south to London. Smith and his followers turned their backs on the Gaelic-speaking, Catholic Highlands with its culture of kinship and traditions, and allied themselves with emerging concepts of 'Caledonia' and 'North Britain'. They set their sights on the English-speaking world of London commerce. In so doing, Smith sent a powerful message that tradition-bound cultures were inimical to commerce, that they were doomed to extinction unless they embraced it, and that English represented the rationality needed for economic transactions.

Smith had strong views on Gaelic culture, which in the 18th Century remained strong throughout much of the Highlands and Western Isles. The Enlightenment's views on progress and rationality were expressed in the stages theory of history, which charted 'the development of society along a linear path of progress from humanity in a primitive state of nature to the pinnacle of commercial and market relations' (Gibbons, 2003: 84). In the Scottish context following the Union and the Jacobite defeat at the Battle of Culloden in 1746, the doomed or obsolete race were the Gaels who remained stuck in the early stages of development. Following Culloden, the Gaelic clan system in the Highlands was in retreat. Smith and his followers believed that such a society, based on kinship, familiarity and sentiment was anathema to the reason and individualism of *laissez-faire*, which held that the rising tide would lift all boats (Herman, 2001: 95):

From Adam Smith's point of view, the difficulty with such cultures was not that they were *a*social but that they were *too* social for the abstract relations of a market economy, and the impersonal protocols of civil society. Smith did not have to venture far to confirm his worst fears or prejudices in this regard, for such excessive sociability was already too close for comfort in the Gaelic outposts of the Highlands, and in the underground culture of Ireland during the Penal Laws (Gibbons, 2003: 84, emphasis in original).

For Smith, Gaelic culture was inconducive to rational calculation and in contradiction to a work ethic: 'while Gaelic facilitated poetry and things of the spirit, it was useless in the humdrum world of the marketplace. Culture, in a sense, became a consolation for injustice, for all those areas of experience - nature, community, the past, even physical pleasure itself - excluded from the march to progress' (Gibbons, 2003: 90).

The emphasis on rationality was a formative influence on economics as a distinct discipline. The result was that the foundations of economic theory were based on a premise that human freedom and an individual's value were dependent on material possessions (Kirby, 1997: 101-2). These conclusions about empirical rationality in economics have implications for that discipline's relationship with culture (and, by extension, language). If certain cultures (and their associated languages) were viewed as traditional or custom-bound - as was the view of some Scottish Enlightenment figures towards Gaelic - and if economic development was based on the natural advance of industry and science, then these cultures and languages were intrinsically anti-development. It follows from this, of course, that the Lowlands culture shared by Smith and his contemporaries was superior, through its links with London as the centre of the English-speaking world.

Such a view was also expressed in France in the triumphalism following 1789: France was to be imposed as the language of the Republic, at the expense of 'barbarous' tongues such as Breton and Basque, or any language other than French. According to a report of 1794:

La fédéralisme et la superstition parlent bas-breton; l'émigration et la haine de la République parlent allemand; la contre-révolution parle l'italien, et le fanatisme parle le basque. Cassons ces instruments de dommage et d'erreur (de Certeau, Julia & Revel, 1975, cited in May, 2001: 159).[5]

In the next section, the development of classical economics is considered and the assumptions about language and culture therein contained are examined.

4.1.2   David Ricardo, utilitarianism and classical economics

While Smith laid the foundations, classical economics is deemed to have begun with David Ricardo, the British-born son of a Jewish immigrant from Holland who in 1803 began publishing his views on the economy. Ricardo refined and developed Smith's theories, but the strong anti-interventionist message remained unchanged: as a Member of Parliament, Ricardo became one of the staunchest critics of the 'Corn Laws' of 1815, which prohibited the import of cheap grain in order to protect British farmers (Heilbroner, 1967: 73).

Ricardo was also a fervent adherent to utilitarianism, a doctrine which subordinated society to individuals, supported the maximisation of individual freedom and opposed government interference in the personal sphere (Rubin, 1979: 236). Such an approach was in opposition to the collective bonds of traditional society, where individual freedoms were severely curtailed. Therefore, traditional cultures had no place in the modernisation project.

The neoclassical school of economics, developed by Alfred Marshall after 1890, developed the non-interventionist message further. Marshall took a gradualist approach to the economy: the world could improve, but only cautiously and slowly. Marshall stridently opposed any attempts to

dramatically reorganise society, describing government intervention as evil (Dasgupta, 1985: 120).

4.2 Background to sociological theories of modernisation

4.2.1 Émile Durkheim and Max Weber

From the 1890s on, French sociologist Émile Durkheim emphasised the importance of social roles as a major difference between traditional and modern society. The main change which accompanied industrialisation was an increase in a society's division of labour. In pre-industrial societies, roles were diffuse, in that workers undertook a variety of tasks in order to ensure survival. Furthermore, such roles were allocated by society, or dictated by the person's social standing at birth. In contrast, Durkheim argued that in industrial society, each worker specialised in a single activity in which he or she became fully skilled. This complex 'division of labour' allowed various tasks to be accomplished simultaneously. Furthermore, workers gained greater individual freedom to achieve the roles which they desired, rather than remaining bound by custom or tradition. Specialised societies were 'organic societies', according to Durkheim, while 'mechanical societies' were homogenous and non-differentiated (Kirby, 1997: 46; Tovey & Share, 2000: 9; Ní Riain, 2002: 13-17).

Therefore, in common with classical and neo-classical economic theories, early sociological theories of modernisation placed considerable emphasis on *individual* rather than *collective* action. Furthermore, Durkheim emphasises the importance of common norms and values which hold society together and prevent social dissolution. Durkheim's concept of *anomie*, as he termed such social dissolution, was his most significant contribution to sociology. Max

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[5] Federalism and superstition speak low Breton, emigration and hatred of the Republic speaks German, the counter-revolution speaks Italian and fanaticism speaks Basque. Let us break these instruments of damage and error (author's translation).

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Weber, a contemporary of Durkheim's, further developed the importance of ideas and values in the process of social change (Tovey & Share, 2000: 15).

The key concepts of the sociology of modernisation, therefore, are on the one hand the pursuit of individual aims but on the other the parallel necessity for societal rules to prevent *anomie*. Both elements have significant implications for culture. An emphasis on individual rights is problematic for concepts of culture which are based on collective rather than individual goals: in the case of Ireland, the socio-economic concept of *meitheal* (working party) is an example of a society in which individual members sacrificed personal gain and co-operated to achieve global goals of self-sufficiency (Ó Fiannachta, 1994). The second element, social norms to avoid *anomie*, is also problematic, as it raises the question: who decides the values which are deemed to hold society together, and on what basis? If norms are decided and implemented by powerful social actors, cultural groups whose norms are different, or who form minorities within, for instance, a state's borders, will suffer through the implementation of such norms. A concept of modernisation based on the achievement of individual goals irrespective of social or cultural differences does not hold as an aim the advancement of weaker cultures sharing territory with cultures of status. This raises the possibility that modernisation theory is *itself* a culture, existing in opposition to other views of the world which do not share its values. This point will be elaborated upon at 4.4 below.

4.2.2 Ferdinand Tönnies and the urban/rural divide

A further aspect of sociological theories of modernisation concerns the association of modernisation with urbanisation. The concentration of factories in towns and resultant urban sprawl was criticised by early sociologists, among them German Ferdinand Tönnies, who believed that urban society was not instilled with a sense of community. The close personal relationships (*Gemeinschaft*) of pre-industrial society (based on intimate, face-to-face interactions, and on ties of kinship) were replaced by impersonal calculative

relationships (*Gesellschaft*) of modern, industrial society (based on a limited knowledge of others, and guided by formal rules of association). This division between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* came to be understood as a rural/urban dichotomy (Tovey and Share, 2000: 338).

4.3   Development Studies

Development Studies did not emerge as a distinct academic discipline until after the Second World War, in response to the destruction of some Western countries and the political decolonisation of large parts of Asia, the Middle East and Africa. It was during the same period that the terms 'developed' and 'underdeveloped' entered common usage, as did the terms 'First World' and 'Third World'. Although 'development' in the sense of a separate discipline is relatively new, it has deep roots in historical theories of economics and sociology (Martinussen, 1997).

Traditionally, development as a discipline was dominated by a modernisationist approach to economic growth and economic transformation:

> It is not an exaggeration to say that through at least the 1950s and 1960s, and probably well into the 1970s, development of poor countries was seen by a vast majority of development professionals, policy makers and academics as synonymous with economic development. Almost no attention was given in the modernization- and investment-driven development strategies of those years to development as being about the improvement of people and their circumstances at household level (Remenyi, 2004: 25).

During this period, development was associated almost exclusively with major institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, which between them divided the world into 'developed' and 'developing' states and devised strategies which the 'developing' states were to follow (Martinussen, 1997: 5). This approach was based on a strong assumption that growth in successful regions or countries would 'trickle down' to poorer areas:

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Thus, poor countries can catch up and benefit from the earlier growth experiences of others, and pass through a similar process of development, albeit at a later date. This is the essence of the theories of modernization that were popular in the 1950s and 1960s, and which, in a modified form, made a return to the mainstream of policy making in the 1980s. These ideas still inform the dominant international institutions in the development field, notably the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (McKay, 2004: 45).

Some of the theorists most closely associated with this position, in both economics and sociology, are considered now, in chronological order.

4.3.1   Clarence Ayres

The modernisation thesis is employed forcefully by Massachusetts-born economist and philosopher Clarence Ayres (1891-1972). In his *Theory of Economic Progress* (1944), Ayres argues that the level of development of a society depended not on its sensibility, but on technological advances. The emphasis on scientific rationality is a common theme of modernisation theory. Ayres contrasts this principle of technological progress with 'one inhibitory of change - man's tendency to ceremonialise and deem as sacred the way things are now and have been in the past. From this backward-looking principle come the values embodied in the cultural superstructure. All such values hinder progress' (Barry, 1987: 8-9). The only objective values are those of science, he argues:

> This [scientific] conception of truth and of human values generally is at variance with all tribal legends and all tribal authority; and since the technological revolution is itself irresistible, the arbitrary authority and irrational values of pre-scientific, pre-industrial cultures are doomed. Three alternatives confront the partisans of tribal values and beliefs. Resistance, if sufficiently effective, though it cannot save the tribal values, can bring on total revolution. Or ineffective resistance may lead to sequestration like that of the American Indians. The only remaining alternative is that of intelligent, voluntary acceptance of the industrial way of life and all the values that go with it (Ayres, 1944 [1962], cited in Barry, 1987: 9)

This extract, stridently pro-modernity and anti-tradition, is noteworthy in a number of ways. The conclusion which can be drawn here is not that traditional culture exists in opposition, or in subservience to modernity, but rather that anything other than 'the industrial way of life' is doomed to extinction. There is also a strong evolutionary undercurrent: modernisation is 'irresistible', and acceptance of 'the industrial way of life and all the values that go with it' is the only 'alternative'.

4.3.2   Arthur Lewis

One of the influential economic works of this period was Arthur Lewis' *The Theory of Economic Growth*, published in 1955. It also paints economic growth as a inevitable, evolutionary process, which is beneficial for all, although not in quite as stark terms as Ayres. While concerned primarily with describing the key growth variables, Lewis also considers the influence of non-economic factors on growth, such as 'knowledge'. This he defines according to scientific rationality:

> [I]n considering the growth of knowledge one must distinguish three eras, the pre-literate, the era of writing without scientific method, and the era of scientific method. In the same way we must distinguish between societies according to whether they are illiterate, and according to whether their culture and philosophy are imbued with the scientific outlook (1955: 165).

Societies whose cultures are not based on modern science find it very difficult to modernise:

> Behind many of the problems of adjustment to industrial life lies the greater problem of the adjustment of ethical codes. The recruit to industry from tribal conditions has a very highly developed ethical code, which lays down for him patterns of obligation to a wide range of persons in relationships of kinship, age, political or religious status (195).

Yet such social and cultural changes are inevitable for modernisation to be achieved:

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> Painful transitions are inherent in the transformation of a society from one way of life to another; they cannot be altogether avoided except by avoiding change itself. This no one can do. The propensity of change is inherent to the nature of man ... It is therefore a waste of time to think in terms of stopping social change, and a waste of sentiment to regret that all established institutions must pass away (433).

In his conclusions, Lewis re-states the case for growth in robust terms:

> The case for economic growth is that it gives man greater control over his environment, and thereby increases his freedom ... At primitive levels, man has to struggle for existence ... Economic growth enables him to escape from this servitude ... Also, it is economic growth which permits us to have more services, as well as more goods or leisure ... The raising of living standards over the past century has widened the opportunity to appreciate and practise the arts ... Women benefit from these changes even more than men ... [F]or women to debate the desirability of economic growth is to debate whether women should have the chance to cease to be beasts of burden, and to join the human race (421-423).

Although there are few direct references to culture (and none to language), the work is underpinned by a strong sense of inevitability about the social and cultural transformation of traditional societies. This does not augur well for the survival of minority languages which have been closely associated with traditional societies.

4.3.3   W.W. Rostow

W.W. Rostow's seminal work, *The Stages of Economic Growth*, first published in 1960, was immensely influential on understandings of development (Martinussen, 1997: 61-66). Its sub-title *A Non-Communist Manifesto* reflected the Cold War politics of the time and guaranteed the close association of 'development' with the fight against communism. Rostow's work was based on the premise that all societies, regardless of their location in the world, could follow the same path to development, given the existence of certain conditions:

It is possible to identify all societies, in their economic dimensions, as lying within one of five categories: the traditional society, the preconditions for take-off, the take-off, the drive to maturity, and the age of high mass-consumption (Rostow, 1968: 4).

Similar to Lewis and Ayres, there is a sense of inevitability about Rostow's prescription: every poor society can take solace from the hope of 'take-off' to 'the age of high mass-consumption'. Although Rostow emphasised the importance of high rates of savings and investments in achieving this transformation, there were social and cultural repercussions as well as economic ones:

> [W]e are, after all, merely clearing the way in order to get at the subject of this book; that is, the post-traditional societies, in which each of the major characteristics of the traditional society was altered in such ways as to permit regular growth: its politics, social structure, and (to a degree) its values, as well as its economy (6).

Rostow returned to his stages of growth theory several times during his career, and in 1990 wrote that it had been vindicated by the fall of communism. However, he also hinted that cultural factors may have slowed down the transition to high mass-consumption:

> Evidently no uniform time period could be defined for developing the preconditions for takeoff. I concluded that, basically, the people of every country, suffused with their respective cultural, social and political heritages, would determine if, when, and how their entrance into sustained growth would begin: each case would be different; but the advanced countries - especially their development economists - owed the lagging aspirants more thought and attention than they had been thus far given plus a good deal of patience. The African heritage - including strong tribal attachment and arbitrary boundaries derived from colonial history that violated tribal locations - was likely to make the interval between independence and takeoff rather long but, I would guess, shorter than for China or Mexico (1990: 500-1).

Therefore, although he does not engage systematically with culture (or language) in his work, Rostow appears to view certain countries or cultures (China, Mexico, 'tribal attachment' in Africa) as less amenable than others to

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the modernisation project. He does not explain why, but presumably the reason was political in the case of China, and cultural in the other cases.

4.3.4   Other economic theories of modernisation

Some of the terminology used to described poorer countries during the heyday of modernisation theory is symbolic of a deep ethnocentrism, asserting the superiority of Western societies in a form of global hierarchy. For instance, Baran urges the replication in 'backward' countries of the successful 'revolutions' achieved in the West:

> What France, Britain and America have accomplished through their own revolutions has to be attained in backward countries by a combined effort of popular forces, enlightened government, and unselfish foreign help. This combined effort must sweep away the holdover institutions of a defunct age, must change the political and social climate in the underdeveloped countries, and must imbue their nations with a new spirit of enterprise and freedom (Baran, 1958: 91).

Similar to Baran, Myint distinguishes between 'advanced' and 'backward' peoples. He insists that he is referring only to economic and not cultural 'backwardness', but it is hard to escape the conclusion that such loaded terms amount to a value judgement in favour of the superiority of Western culture and values, as well as Western policies of economic growth (Myint, 1958: 93).

4.3.5   Talcott Parsons

From the late 1940s onwards, the work of sociologist Talcott Parsons began to influence American sociological thought. 'Parsonian sociology', as it would be called, was to become one of the most significant influences on 20th Century social theory. Parsonian sociology has its roots in scientific theories of evolution: the belief that organisms could adapt and change regardless of their environments and move from lower to higher forms of life. Based on his biological model, Parsons argued that societies too could advance to the

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higher stage and modernise autonomously by following processes of differentiation and cultural change, universally applied (Hamilton, 1983 & 1985; Robertson, 1991).

'Evolutionary universals' such as money, markets, bureaucratic structures, government and legal systems were identified by Parsons as the key components in modern society (Robertson, 1991: 9). Another key element of Parsonian sociology was his theory of 'pattern variables', or sets of options from which social actors could choose. These choices, between traditional and modern ways of life, show clearly the influence of Durkheim and Tönnies while the evolutionary nature of the theory is reminiscent of Rostow (Hamilton, 1983: 102). In common with other theorists of modernisation, Parsons also placed significant emphasis on the diffusion of common social values and his own cultural background played a key role in his work: Parsonian versions of modernisation were infused with concern for the cultural core of the American socio-cultural system (Robertson, 1991: 9-14).

4.4 Conclusions on theories of economic growth and modernisation

The purpose of this section has been to assess the ways in which the link between language and development is understood by the theories underpinning the dominant paradigm of economic growth and modernisation. Several conclusions can be drawn from the above:

(a) Modernisation and economic growth are presented as both evolutionary and inevitable, and as goals which can be achieved by all societies. Imposing a uniform development trajectory on all, the end-result of which is market-based economies, technological advancement or high mass-consumption, has implications for societies which are culturally distinct, and whose values may diverge from the dominant paradigm. Such cultures and values

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may be disrupted by the imposition of a development model from elsewhere, with little regard for local circumstances.

(b) This approach posits a dichotomy between scientific rationality on the one hand, and custom-bound tradition on the other. Traditional cultures are presented as impediments to change and development. As outlined at 4.1.1 above, the Scottish Enlightenment, critical to the origins of classical economics, was linked to a long-standing clash of cultures in Scotland between, in general terms, Gaelic Highlands and non-Gaelic Lowlands. On the one hand was the defeat of Culloden in 1746, and the subsequent association of Gaelic culture with the savage and primitive: on the other were the Act of Union of 1707, the reorientation towards London, the emergence of concepts of 'North Britain' and, through Enlightenment ideals, the association of progress and development with industry, commerce and trade. Smith and his followers turned their backs on irrational, traditional and savage Scotland in order to embrace a universal, rational, utilitarian notion of progress.

(c) Despite the absence of overt references to culture, the historical and contemporary theories outlined above are *themselves* deeply cultural. What these theorists share is an antipathy for culture or cultures viewed as traditional or anti-modern, because of their custom-bound or collective nature. Most leading figures in the development of modern economics were from either Britain or the United States, where English-speaking modernising élites were gaining domination over indigenous, traditional cultures.

(d) Although there are few direct references to language in these works, because the minority cultures disparaged by many of the theorists (either directly or indirectly) were intimately associated with ancestral languages, it can be argued that such languages too would be viewed as impediments to progress. This likelihood is increased by the fact that the heyday of modernisation theory, the 1950s and 1960s, post-dated the articulation of the highly

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influential Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, which posited that language and culture, or language and cognition, were intimately linked. The view that language and culture were two sides of the one coin ensured that the dismissal by modernisationists of minority *culture* could not be separated from minority *language*.

(e) Although the literature does not make it explicit, there is a strong linguistic element to colonisation and de-colonisation, both of which are intimately associated with development. The fact that English is today the dominant world language, in trade as well as other domains, is no historical accident. Early industrial expansion began in Britain and was linked to imperialism, whereby irrational, custom-bound cultures were damaged or destroyed. The imposition of English in England's colonies, and the suppression or outlawing of indigenous languages, was an integral part of the process of 'civilising' native populations (Holborow, 1999; Phillipson, 2003). This linguistic and cultural hegemony was imposed in order to achieve economic development. The emergence of contemporary modernisation theory and its association with the new discipline of development studies, coincided with the de-colonisation of large parts of Africa and Asia. Modernisation of the newly-independent states often involved imposition of a single 'national' language, usually backed by political and economic élites, at the expense of weaker linguistic groups. Therefore, historically at least, rather than imposing a form of global monolingualism to match the uniform development trajectory, modernisation favoured dominant élites (and their languages) who had taken over the reins of power at national level. Of course, sometimes the élites simply adopted the former colonial language as the new 'national' language, but ancestral languages associated with élite groups were sometimes elevated to this position. The situation has changed considerably in recent years with the emergence of English as an unparalleled world language of considerable status

and power. However, whether the de-colonisation of the 1960s or the current advance of English is discussed, the linguistic victims of modernisation, again and again, are minority groups within existing or emerging states, whose assertions of their cultural and linguistic distinctiveness are perceived as impeding the state-building process, or as irrelevant to the state's contemporary development. This is illustrated by references to various unnamed African 'tribal' groups, or to Basques, Bretons and Scottish Gaels in the literature surveyed.

(f) Due to the language shift away from Irish towards English, Ireland is, of course, now part of the English-speaking world. This common linguistic link has led to Ireland's being heavily influenced by perspectives from other English-speaking countries (as argued by Lee; see also Chapter One). As the economic growth and modernisationist approach has strong roots in English-speaking countries, it is reasonable to conclude that it has had a particularly powerful influence upon Ireland, a predominantly English-speaking country. In their recent review of the origins of Irish sociology, Tovey and Share state that sociological and economic research, in the universities and the state-sponsored Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI), has been dominated by staff from Britain and the United States. This, they argue, resulted in 'a form of "technology transfer" in the importation to Ireland of British and American models of sociological theorising and research' (Tovey & Share, 2000: 31). Therefore, it is concluded that the strong influence of the dominant approach on Ireland implies the imposition of a culture of modernity. This has major implications for both policy on the Irish language and for policy on development (see Chapter Nine).

5. CONCLUSIONS

The main objective of this chapter was to develop a typology of approaches to language and development, in order to explore different understandings of the link between language and development. Three overarching strands were identified: (1) the minority language promotion approach (2) the socio-cultural development approach and (3) the economic growth and modernisation approach. While describing the minority language and socio-cultural approaches, the link with the historical material surveyed in Chapter Three was also considered. There was no palpable link between the historical arguments and the third, dominant approach, because all of the historical contributors write from a perspective of engagement with the importance of the Irish language as a factor in influencing broadly social and cultural (rather than narrowly economic) factors. The strengths and weaknesses of each approach in understanding the language-development link were then identified. Based on these findings, this final section elaborates an appropriate theoretical framework through which to better understand the link being posited.

The dominant economic growth and modernisation approach is not an adequate lens through which to view the influence of the Irish language on Ireland's socio-economic development. Firstly, it is too narrowly focused on economic growth and investment to analyse the broader and more holistic concept of socio-economic development which comprises a range of social as well as economic variables. Secondly, its imposition of a uniform model of economic development and social modernisation does not facilitate an analysis of minority cultures which may attempt to resist such a process or to redefine it on their own terms. Thirdly, its opposition to 'pre-scientific', 'illiterate', 'tribal' cultures rules out any constructive engagement with the view that Irish benefits Ireland's development.

Both the minority language and the socio-cultural approaches contain several elements each of which contributes in different ways to a deeper understanding of certain aspects of the influence of Irish on Ireland's development:

- From the minority language approach: the weaker versions of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis which posit that language influences cognition and is intimately linked to cultural identity;
- Fishman's approach to reversing language shift, which analyses the promotion of minority languages in a broader context of reversing socio-cultural dislocation and economic subordination;
- Models of language planning, because of their application to every domain of society, including the socio-economic;
- From the socio-cultural approach: the insights from human development theory which emphasise the importance of expanding human capabilities, of civil society and of culture in achieving development;
- The cultural political economy of development, because of its attention to the influence of culture on the ways in which market, state and civil society interact to achieve development;
- The concept of 'civil society', because it illustrates the role of often voluntary collective action in the public sphere and the ways in which it interacts with state and economy in order to achieve social re-organisation.

These theoretical contributions can be drawn together in a new framework, a *linguistic political economy of development.* This framework facilitates an analysis of the ways in which a minority language in *particular*, as opposed to minority culture in *general*, influences the inter-relationships between market, state and civil society and their achievement of developmental outcomes. Applied to Ireland, the linguistic political economy of development guides an investigation of how the Irish language influences the market-state-civil

society nexus and the developmental outcomes which emerge from this nexus. This nexus may be influenced by state language planning policies in favour of Irish, or through community efforts to strengthen or revitalise it at local level, or through general social attitudes supportive of the language (even among people whose active knowledge of Irish is low). The linguistic political economy of development also contains the flexibility required to analyse language communities which are geographically scattered or geographically concentrated. It is amenable to the particular sociolinguistic context of Irish, which is not used widely as a community language except in a small number of scattered districts, but which benefits from relatively high levels of largely passive knowledge due to the education system (see Chapter Two). Therefore, the linguistic political economy of development also facilitates a consideration of the possible differences between the influence of Irish on development in areas where the language is strong and areas where it is weak. This distinction will be fleshed out in the case-studies and in the overall conclusions in Chapter Nine.

The linguistic political economy of development is the map which guides the remainder of this dissertation. As stated above, it is an innovative approach which has not before been applied to the Irish situation or to theoretical understandings of development in general. The following four chapters are case-studies which commence the empirical investigation of the research question. They will investigate in greater detail not only the research question itself but, in tandem with the multi-faceted nature of the theoretical framework, the broader inter-relationship between the Irish language and Ireland's socio-economic development. The remaining chapters deal both with the Gaeltacht and with other areas of Ireland where Irish is no longer dominant. However, because the Gaeltacht itself contains significant internal variations, Chapter Five will first outline a typology of linguistic vitality and of socio-economic development in the Gaeltacht. Three Gaeltacht areas will be examined in detail in Chapter Six.

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE INFLUENCE OF THE IRISH LANGUAGE ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE GAELTACHT

1. INTRODUCTION

The following four chapters are case-studies of the influence of the Irish language on socio-economic development in a variety of settings in Ireland. As stated in Chapter One, the role of case-studies in the dissertation is to investigate the research question by comparing contrasting cases of understandings of the relationship between language and development in practice, and by comparing the contrasting outcomes achieved. The theoretical framework of the linguistic political economy of development is used in the case-studies, in order to draw out the tensions between the various approaches to language and development in different places. Some of the case-studies relate to the Gaeltacht, spatially-defined areas which are deemed by the state to be Irish-speaking (Chapter Six and Seven). Others relate to predominantly anglicised urban centres (Chapter Eight). The purpose of Chapter Five is to illustrate the linguistic and socio-economic variety contained within the official Gaeltacht boundaries, and to elaborate a typology of relationships between the Irish language and socio-economic development in these areas. This typology guides the choice of the more detailed Gaeltacht case-studies in Chapter Six.

As stated in Chapter One, the Gaeltacht is spread over 24 non-contiguous areas of territory spread over seven separate counties, which together comprise what remains of the traditional Irish language speech community which once extended throughout Ireland and most of Scotland (for a discussion of the boundaries, see Walsh, McCarron & Ní Bhrádaigh, 2005; McCarron, Ní Bhrádaigh & Walsh, 2005; Ó Torna, 2005). The Gaeltacht is

examined in detail because it is the only geographically defined territory in which Irish is still used as a community language by relatively large concentrations of native speakers. Therefore, it is important in terms of language maintenance and, in particular, intergenerational transmission of Irish. However, this attention to the Gaeltacht is not intended to detract from the fact that Irish is spoken throughout Ireland by networks rather than in geographically compact communities. Furthermore, considering the Gaeltacht in isolation from the remainder of the country is misguided, because there is little difference between levels of usage of Irish in many of the weaker Gaeltacht areas and the remainder of the country. Therefore, while these case-studies recognise the historical significance of the Gaeltacht as the original Irish speaking heartland, they should be considered as part of a national continuum of bilingualism, ranging from the small number of strongly Irish speaking communities to the rest of the country where passive knowledge of Irish is relatively high but where levels of frequent usage are low.

2. INTERNAL VARIATIONS IN THE GAELTACHT

The official Gaeltacht is a highly diverse region, linguistically, culturally, socially and economically. It contains a small number of communities where Irish is dominant in all domains as a normal medium of communication, and where high levels of intergenerational transmission of Irish are the norm. At the other end of the spectrum are a larger number of communities where Irish has ceased to have any significant public function, except in a symbolic sense, similar to the rest of the country. In between are areas where Irish exists in varying states of health. In some of these, a high percentage of the population claims the ability to speak Irish, but uses the language only infrequently or not at all.

In socio-economic terms, some of the Gaeltacht areas are very affluent, approaching or exceeding national norms, while others suffer exceptionally

high levels of deprivation and unemployment rates as much as four times the national average. In some isolated rural communities, social services are virtually non-existent, while other areas have been transformed into suburban housing estates on the edge of Galway City. Some Gaeltacht communities maintain the distinct traditional culture associated with the Irish language, as expressed in music and folklore. Others are culturally indistinct from any part of English-speaking Ireland. It is a diverse and complex picture of interaction between linguistic vitality and socio-economic development.

3. LINGUISTIC VITALITY

In this chapter, 'linguistic vitality' is taken to mean the extent to which Irish is *used* by a Gaeltacht community as an everyday language of communication. As discussed in Chapter Two in relation to the census results, it is essential to distinguish between levels of *ability* in the language and actual *use*, because the formal does not lead automatically to the latter. The two principal sources of information about ability in and use of Irish in the Gaeltacht are the census and results of Scéim Labhairt na Gaeilge ('Scheme for Speaking of Irish', henceforth SLG), administered by the Department of Rural, Community and Gaeltacht Affairs. Under the scheme, parents of children deemed to be fluent in Irish are awarded a grant (see below). This choice of sources is based on the approach of the English geographer, Reg Hindley, who conducted research throughout the Gaeltacht from the 1950s to the late 1980s (Hindley, 1990: 47). His work, *The Death of the Irish Language: A Qualified Obituary*, examined in detail census returns and information from the SLG. Hindley was sceptical of official census figures indicating Irish-speaking majorities in parts of the Gaeltacht which he deemed to be 'so audibly anglicized and which are notoriously the radiating centres of anglicization in their districts. This seems nonsensical unless it is realized that knowledge of a language is relative and bears little relationship to actual use' (1990: 46). He suspected that the vague nature of the question asked ('does the person speak Irish?') allowed people to exaggerate their proficiency in

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Irish, in order to ensure that their area would continue to receive preferential treatment by the state (47). Hindley's controversial findings and blunt style provoked anger in the Gaeltacht (for a equally robust response, see Ó Ciosáin, c. 1991). Despite the opposition to his work, it is an inescapable fact that the percentages of Irish speakers in the Gaeltacht have been falling since it was recognised as a distinct region by independent government. Based on the 1996 Census, the government-established Gaeltacht Commission of 2000-2004 stated that '[o]f the 154 district electoral divisions contained in the Gaeltacht, there are only 18 which have 75% or more who are daily speakers of Irish. 12 of these are in County Galway, 4 are in County Donegal and 2 are in County Kerry' (Coimisiún na Gaeltachta, 2002: 10). The Commission compiled a list of the electoral divisions in question.

Table 5.1: EDs with daily Irish-speaking populations of > 75%, based on Census 1996

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

Source: Coimisiún na Gaeltachta, 2002: 24 (spelling of placenames amended according to An tOrdú Logainmneacha (Ceantair Ghaeltachta) 2004).

The census statistics are borne out by SLG returns. When established in 1934, the scheme offered £2 to parents in the Gaeltacht for each child at primary school who could demonstrate fluency in Irish (Ó Riain, 1994: 102-103). The amount given to families has been increased on a number of occasions and is currently worth €260 per year. According to an analysis of SLG for the school year 2001/2002, over 10,000 people live in Gaeltacht areas where not a single family receives the grant. Only 20,000 people, or one quarter of the full population of areas officially designated as Gaeltacht, live in areas where more than 70 percent of families receive the grant, predominantly around Gaoth Dobhair in north-west Donegal, Cois Fharraige and west Conamara in Galway and a small pocket in Corca Dhuibhne, Co. Kerry (Ó hÉallaithe, D.A., 2003: 8-9). Based on these figures, Table 5.2 illustrates four categories of Gaeltacht.

Table 5.2: Analysis of Scéim um Labhairt na Gaeilge, 2001-2

Gaeltacht area	Families with school-children 2001 (based on 1996 census)	Number of families awarded full grant 2001/2	% of number of families with children awarded full grant 2001/2	Population (over 3 years, Census 1996)
Category 1 (>70%)				
An Cheathrú Rua	234	200	85.5	2,097
Ceantar na nOileán	224	189	84.4	2,441
Árainn	125	97	77.6	1,251
Gaoth Dobhair/Cnoc Fola/Gort an Choirce	621	477	76.8	6,124
Camas/Ros Muc	95	72	75.8	1,040
Corca Dhuibhne	214	155	72.4	2,081
Cois Fharraige	349	251	71.9	3,139
Iorras Aithneach	197	140	71.1	1,847 TOTAL: 20,020
Category 2 (10-50%)				
Árainn Mhór	52	23	44.2	589
Anagaire/Cró Bheithe	215	88	40.9	2,235
Na Forbacha/An Spidéal	221	62	28.1	2,161
Ráth Chairn	67	18	26.9	589
Cléire	15	4	26.7	142
An Fál Carrach	222	55	24.8	2,203
Gaeltacht Láir Dhún na nGall	121	26	21.5	1,498
An Daingean	226	37	16.4	2,590
Oirthear Dhuibhneach	112	17	15.2	1,279
An Rinn	128	18	14.1	1,306 TOTAL: 14,592
Category 3 (5-10%)				
Iorras	758	75	9.9	7,633
Múscraí	322	28	8.7	3,369
Iardheisceart Dhún na nGall	304	23	7.6	2,873
Dúiche Sheoigheach	156	11	7.1	1,798
Oirthuaisceart Dhún na nGall	219	15	6.8	2,422
Tuaisceart Chonamara	46	3	6.5	664
Uíbh Ráthach	157	8	5.1	1,952 TOTAL: 20,771
Category 4 (0-5%)				
Deisceart Mhaigh Eo	96	3	3.1	1,119
Maigh Cuilinn	319	9	2.8	2,441
Ard an Rátha/Na Gleannta	72	2	2.8	583
Clochán Liath/Ailt an Chorráin	400	11	2.8	4,433
Bearna	228	6	2.6	2,022
Acaill/An Corrán	205	5	2.4	2,372
Cathair na Gaillimhe	1,165	11	0.9	9,275
Achréidh na Gaillimhe	573	4	0.7	4,749
Baile Ghib	101	0	0.0	757
Imeall thoir Gh. Dhún na nGall	54	0	0.0	427 TOTAL: 8,178
TOTAL	**8,613**	**2,143**	**24.9**	**83,501**

Source: Ó hÉallaithe, D.A., 2003

SLG in itself cannot provide a definitive description of language vitality in any given area. People who do not have children also speak Irish, and anecdotal evidence from all the areas surveyed suggests that some Irish-speaking parents do not apply for the grant at all because they are uncomfortable with being 'paid' by the state to speak Irish to their children. However, figures for daily or weekly speakers of Irish from the Census, *combined* with statistics from SLG, provide a reasonably accurate indication of the strength of Irish as an everyday language of communication in the Gaeltacht.

The downward trend has continued in the Census of 2002. Although almost three-quarters - 71.8 percent - of the Gaeltacht population of 86,517 people aged 3 years and over returned themselves as 'Irish speakers', only 39.1 percent of them did so on a daily basis (see also Chapter Two). Table 5.3 reveals the regional differences between various Gaeltacht areas.

Table 5.3: Ability in and use of Irish in the Gaeltacht

County	Number	Irish sp. as % of total pop.
Cork		
Total population 3+	3,403	--
Total Irish speakers	2,809	82.5
Daily Irish speakers	1,269	37.3
Donegal		
Total population 3+	22,823	--
Total Irish speakers	16,964	74.3
Daily Irish speakers	10,264	45.0
Galway (city)		
Total population 3+	11,237	--
Total Irish speakers	6,008	53.5
Daily Irish speakers	1,518	13.5
Galway		
Total population 3+	27,281	--
Total Irish speakers	21,171	77.6
Daily Irish speakers	13,790	50.5
Kerry		
Total population 3+	8,264	--
Total Irish speakers	6,243	75.5
Daily Irish speakers	3,443	41.7
Mayo		
Total population 3+	10,612	--
Total Irish speakers	7,050	66.4
Daily Irish speakers	2,482	23.4
Meath		
Total population 3+	1,509	--
Total Irish speakers	906	60.0
Daily Irish speakers	471	31.2
Waterford		
Total population 3+	1,388	--
Total Irish speakers	1,006	72.5
Daily Irish speakers	552	39.8
All Gaeltacht		
Total population 3+	86,517	--
Total Irish speakers	62,157	71.8
Daily Irish speakers	33,789	39.1

Source: CSO, 2004b: 27 & 69

Both sets of statistics suggest that the vitality of Irish is seriously threatened in much of the official Gaeltacht: it is a sobering fact that daily speakers of Irish are in a majority in one only Gaeltacht in the country, County Galway, and that the majority is very slim (50.5 percent). Based on the statistical evidence, therefore, no more than 28,000 people are living in electoral divisions (EDs) which return more than 50 percent of daily Irish speakers.

Only about 11,000 people live in EDs with scores of higher than 75 percent. These figures represent the most generous possible assessment of the final fragments of the contemporary Irish Gaeltacht, as it has been traditionally understood as a geographically defined area. These areas, in Galway and to a lesser extent, Donegal and Kerry, are the only in the world where Irish has some degree of dominance as the everyday vernacular. Most people in the Gaeltacht live in areas where Irish is no longer used extensively, apart from small networks of native speakers. These weak Gaeltacht areas do not contain significantly higher percentages of daily speakers of Irish than any English-speaking part of Ireland. Therefore, the linguistic profile of much of the Gaeltacht is not dissimilar to the rest of the country.

4. SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Chapter Four concluded that the dominant economic growth and modernisationist position was inadequate to analyse the influence of the Irish language on Ireland's socio-economic development. Based on the theoretical framework outlined in Chapter Four, the case-studies are based on a broader and more holistic understanding of development, comprising social, economic, cultural and infrastructural elements. This is also linked to the historical authors surveyed in Chapter Three, who viewed Irish as contributing to largely psychological and social factors, many of which were identified by the socio-cultural development approach as bases for achieving development.

4.1   Socio-cultural development

The indices by which social development is measured in the case-studies are: demographic structure, social class, unemployment rate, labour force participation rate, educational achievement, affluence and deprivation. It is accepted that some of these are economic as well as social, but they are placed in this category because of the influence which they exert on social well-being and social cohesion in any community. This reflects both the

theoretical framework and the historical contributions, both of which have emphasised the social aspects of development. This section also considers local cultural activities and the existence of a Gaeltacht identity based on the Irish language.

The Gaeltacht is noteworthy because of its abnormal demographic structure, higher than normal levels of deprivation and the presence of a myriad of non-governmental community organisations representing civil society. There has been considerable demographic change in the Gaeltacht in recent years. The collective population has grown by 9.8 percent in the period 1991-2002. This is higher than the Border-Midlands-West (BMW) administrative region of the National Development Plan (NDP) region at 9.5 percent, but lower than the Southern and Eastern (S&E) region (11.7 percent) and the national average of 11.1 percent. Between 1996 and 2002, the Gaeltacht population increased by 6.2 percent, with the highest increases around Galway City. Despite the overall increase, there has been a decrease in the population of the two youngest age cohorts (0-14 years and 15-24 years). The Gaeltacht has a higher age dependency (35.5 percent) than the BMW region (34.6 percent), the S&E region (21.4 percent) and the national figure (32.3 percent). EDs of very high dependency (i.e. over 40 percent) are to be found mostly in Counties Donegal and Mayo. The Gaeltacht also contains higher than average populations of 65 years and over, a situation which has significant implications for the provision of services for the elderly in what are often remote, rural areas (GAMMA, 2004).

The Gaeltacht has a significantly higher level of poor educational achievement than the NDP regions or the national average. In 2002, 30.8 percent of the Gaeltacht population aged 15 or over had either no formal education or primary level education only, compared to 27.2 percent for the BMW region, 20.4 for the S&E region and 22.2 percent for the country as a whole (all as a percentage of population whose education had ceased). Similarly, the Gaeltacht has a lower than average percentage of people with third level

qualifications. At 23 percent, this is slightly higher than the BMW region (21.1 percent), but lower than the S&E region (27.7 percent) and the national figure (26 percent). Again, the lowest levels of educational achievement are to be found in the Gaeltacht of Donegal and Mayo. All but one ED each in Donegal and Mayo had over 30 percent of their populations with either no formal education or primary education only. More than half of the EDs in Donegal had populations of 40 percent or more with no formal or primary education only. Almost three-quarters of the EDs in Mayo were in this category. Several EDs in Counties Galway and Kerry also registered high levels of their population aged 15 and over with the poorest educational levels.

Table 5.4: Demographic structure and educational attainment by region in the Gaeltacht

DEMOGRAPHIC STRUCTURE/EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT					
	Pop. Density.	Pop. change 91-02	Age Dep.	Pop. with no formal ed./ primary only	Pop. with 3rd level
Acaill & Iorras (Mayo)	37.7	-10.1	38.5	47.5	10.4
Cois Fharraige (Galway)	523.7	33.2	33.2	18.2	29.3
Corca Dhuibhne (Kerry)	249.6	10.9	33.9	23.9	27.2
Dúiche Sheoigheach (Galway/Mayo)	16.3	-7.1	32.4	38.8	19.5
Gaeltacht Láir & Na Rosa (Donegal)	33.8	-2.2	38.0	41.4	13.6
Galway City & An Achréidh	137.9	31.7	32.5	19.9	30.5
Iarthar Chonamara (Galway)	73.9	-2.5	34.7	42.5	14.9
Múscraí (Cork)	35.0	-1.0	35.7	27.2	19.0
Na Déise (Waterford)	55.0	8.7	38.7	25.5	21.0
Northeast Donegal	54.5	-1.6	37.5	41.0	15.8
Northwest Donegal	77.2	-1.2	38.7	39.2	16.2
Ráth Chairn & Baile Ghib (Meath)	111.6	17.0	35.0	22.7	20.9
Southwest Donegal	29.9	3.5	32.4	42.6	11.2
Uíbh Ráthach (Kerry)	23.8	-10.3	35.8	32.0	17.2
All Gaeltacht	46	9.8	35.5	30.8	23
BMW	81	9.5	34.6	27.2	21.1
S&E	214	11.7	21.4	20.4	27.7
National	146	11.1	32.3	22.2	26

Source: GAMMA, 2004[1]

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[1] Pages in the GAMMA document are not numbered.

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A deprivation and affluence index for the Gaeltacht, compiled by the economic consultancy company GAMMA, contains social and economic indices, but they are considered in this section because of their implications for social well-being. GAMMA considers three dimensions of social disadvantage: demographic decline, social class disadvantage and labour market deprivation. The scores in the deprivation index range from -50 (extremely disadvantaged) to 50 (extremely affluent). In 2002, the national average was 17.4, slightly lower than the S&E region (18.9). The BMW region scored 13 while the figure for the collective Gaeltacht is lowest at 9.2. This indicates that the Gaeltacht is only about half as affluent as the country as a whole. However, although the Gaeltacht lags behind considerably, there has been a significant increase in affluence since 1991, as illustrated by Table 5.6.

Table 5.5: Absolute and relative affluence/deprivation in the Gaeltacht, 2002, 1996 and 1991

Area	Absolute Affluence/Deprivation			Change in deprivation score 91-02	Relative Affluence/Deprivation		
	2002	1996	1991		2002	1996	1991
Gaeltacht	9.2	-0.5	-7.7	17	-6.0	-7.4	-7.7
BMW	13	5.1	-1.9	14.9	-2.2	-1.8	-1.9
S&E	18.9	10.6	3.3	15.6	3.7	3.7	3.3
National	17.4	9.1	1.9	15.4	2.2	2.2	1.9

Source: GAMMA, 2004

The highest levels of deprivation are in Counties Donegal and Mayo. 44 out of 49 EDs in the Donegal Gaeltacht are categorised as either 'disadvantaged', 'very disadvantaged' or 'extremely disadvantaged'. In Mayo, 19 of 22 EDs are in these categories as are some EDs in west Galway and in south Kerry. Only one Gaeltacht ED, Bearna in Galway, is listed as 'very affluent'. Most EDs in the 'affluent' category are situated around Galway City (see also Delap, 1997 & 1998; Haase, 1997).

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The social economy in the Gaeltacht is important because it has long fulfilled an important role which the state has either been unwilling or unable to carry out (PLANET/Cumas, c. 1999: 3). Despite its official status as a sector of the economy in its own right, alongside the market and the public sector, it is considered in relation to social development because of its not-for-profit dimension. In 1998, Údarás na Gaeltachta commissioned a report from the National University of Ireland, Galway on 'social entrepreneurship' in the Gaeltacht, as part of its attempts to strengthen its operations in the social realm. In the report, the severe challenges facing the Gaeltacht in terms of social services provision are set out. It is stated that public policy has paid little attention to the question of access to community social services, particularly when the number of people affected negatively may be small, elderly and restricted to small, isolated areas (O'Shea, Keane and O'Connor, 1998: 1-2). Breaking this cycle of socio-economic decline, broadening its approach to encompass social as well as economic development, and embedding the entire process in the Irish language are the key challenges for Údarás na Gaeltachta in the years ahead. This issue will be discussed in detail in Chapter Seven.

As outlined in the discussion of the socio-cultural approach in Chapter Four, the role of culture in development has gained attention in recent years. Much has been written in recent times about the cultural dislocation of the Gaeltacht, and of the Irish language itself, in an increasingly globalised world (Nic Eoin, 2005). It is a very changed Gaeltacht from that idealised by the language revivalists of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and by official policy after independence:

> An idealization of rural life, of 'traditional' life-styles in the Gaeltacht, an implicitly anti-industrial bias; an extraordinarily static vision of Gaeltacht society, timelessly in tune with the elemental values of the Irish people; the repository of the linguistic elixir of Irish nationhood; a vision encapsulated in the phrase 'tobar fíor-ghlan na Gaeilge' - the uncontaminated well-spring of the national language, from which the

rest of the country could continue to draw sustenance (Ó Tuathaigh, 1990: 11).

It is clear from the discussion of linguistic vitality at 3 above that the 'well-spring' is in danger of drying up completely. In the remaining districts where Irish is dominant, code-switching to English and interference from English are commonplace and traditional language forms are breaking down with each generation (Ó Dónaill, 2000; Ó Neachtain, 2000; Ní Laoire, 2000). However, it appears that at least a segment of the Gaeltacht population retains a clear sense of distinct cultural identity as the last remaining traditional Irish-speaking community. This segment probably comprises those who speak Irish regularly, but it also appears to include other passive speakers or semi-speakers who do not speak Irish well or often but consider it part of their identity. Such an identity is expressed at pan-Gaeltacht or Irish language cultural events such as the Oireachtas na Gaeilge ('Irish Language Gathering') festival or the inter-Gaeltacht football championships, or through Gaeltacht media such as RTÉ Raidió na Gaeltachta and, to a lesser extent, TG4. The role of this collective cultural identity, based upon Irish, is considered in the detailed case-studies in Chapter Six.

Another meaning frequently attributed to culture is artistic endeavour (Eagleton, 2000: 17-19). The Gaeltacht has a strong tradition of culturally-associated activities expressed in local arts, heritage and community festivals. Although many aspects of this tradition have been weakened by the sweeping social change of the last fifty years, Údarás na Gaeltachta has begun to support this sector through its subsidiary company, Ealaín na Gaeltachta ('Gaeltacht Arts') (Ealaín na Gaeltachta, 2001 & 2004b). The Gaeltacht also has a relatively strong media sector (see also Chapter Six).

4.2   Economic development

Economic development is investigated by considering the historical development of the economy, in particular investment by state bodies for the

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Gaeltacht. Sectoral employment and infrastructural investment are also considered.

In general economic terms, the Gaeltacht is less developed that the rest of the country. An analysis of the 2002 census reveals that it has lower than average percentages of people in social classes 1 and 2 (higher and lower professionals) and considerably higher than average percentages of people in social classes 5 and 6 (semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers). 28.9 percent of the Gaeltacht population belong to social classes 1 and 2, compared to 27.7 percent for the BMW region, 33 percent for the S&E region and the national average of 31.6 percent. 21.3 percent of the Gaeltacht population belong to social classes 5 and 6, considerably higher than the BMW region (18.6 percent), the S&E region (15.7 percent) and the national average (16.5 percent). The highest concentrations of semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers are in west Conamara, Mayo and Donegal. The lowest percentages of same are again found around Galway (GAMMA, 2004). Although the Gaeltacht experienced a 24 percent decrease in unemployment between 1996 and 2002, the unemployment rate is still well above the national average. Based on the findings of the census in 2002, there is a 14.1 percent unemployment rate in the Gaeltacht, compared to 10.4 percent for the BMW region, 8.3 percent for the S&E region and 8.8 percent nationally.[2] Parts of the Gaeltacht suffer from exceptionally high levels of unemployment. The Mayo Gaeltacht records more than three times the national unemployment rate (22 percent) while Donegal (20.2 percent) is almost as high (Ní Ghallchóir, 2003). One ED in Donegal, Árainn Mhór, has an unemployment rate of 55.4 percent, seven times the national average (GAMMA, 2004). The CSO has reported that of the six worst unemployment black spots in the country, five are located in the Gaeltacht: Cnoc na Lobhar, Co. Mayo (40.1 percent); An Geata Mór Theas, Co. Mayo (37.4 percent); Leitir

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[2] There are various ways of measuring unemployment. These statistics are based on the CSO definition, 'the number of persons who classified themselves as unemployed on the basis of their stated Principal Economic Status' (2004c: 15). This definition is employed in the GAMMA report.

Móir, Co. Galway (36.4 percent; Scainimh, Co. Galway (35.3 percent) and Garmna, Co. Galway (35 percent) (CSO, 2004c: 15; see also Chapter Six).

The census also indicates that sectoral employment in the Gaeltacht is different from the national average. The Gaeltacht has more workers in agriculture and fishing (9.5 percent), building and construction (11.6 percent), professional services (17.5 percent) and other professions (15.9 percent) than either of the NDP regions, or the country as a whole. It has considerably fewer workers engaged in commerce (19.2 percent), and fewer in public administration (4.8 percent), than any other region or nationally. The numbers employed in manufacturing industry are slightly above the national average (17 percent) but lower than that of the BMW region (17.7 percent). Further analysis indicates considerable differences from one Gaeltacht area to another. In some cases, reliance on traditional sectors such as agriculture and manufacturing is extremely high. In Múscraí (Cork) and Na Déise (Waterford), almost one quarter of the population depends on agriculture, four times the national average. In Uíbh Ráthach (Kerry), this figure reaches almost 28 percent. Some areas, Donegal (19 percent), Múscraí (21 percent) and Na Déise (22 percent) are heavily dependent on manufacturing industry, returning higher percentages than either of the NDP regions or the national figure (GAMMA, 2004). Over-dependence on either agriculture or manufacturing increases the vulnerability of these areas, as both sectors are in decline nationally (Ó Gráda & O'Rourke, 2000).

Table 5.6: Sectoral employment in the Gaeltacht, by region

	% at work by industry, 2002 (all persons at work 15+)							
	Agr.	Building & Constr.	Manu-facturing	Comm.	Trans.	Pub. Admin.	Prof. Services	Other
Acaill & Iorras (Mayo)	19.8	16.3	12.5	16.1	4.7	3.8	15.4	11.5
Cois Fharraige (Galway)	3.8	11.9	17.0	20.4	4.3	5.8	21.8	14.9
Corca Dhuibhne (Kerry)	21.2	10.1	11.4	14.8	3.5	3.9	14.0	23.4
Dúiche Sheoigheach (Galway/ Mayo)	18.6	13.8	15.2	13.8	5.5	3.4	12.0	17.8
Gaeltacht Láir & Na Rosa (Donegal)	10.4	12.7	16.3	18.7	5.1	6.2	16.4	14.2
Galway City & An Achréidh	6.2	12.4	18.4	24.4	4.9	4.9	18.5	10.3
Iarthar Chonamara (Galway)	10.6	14.4	16.3	12.1	4.6	4.0	14.1	24.1
Múscraí (Cork)	23.9	11.6	20.9	14.2	3.8	3.0	13.0	9.5
Na Déise (Waterford)	24.1	10.7	22.3	11.5	2.6	4.9	15.6	8.3
Northeast Donegal	13.9	14.1	11.2	15.9	3.3	6.4	18.3	17.0
Northwest Donegal	3.3	11.6	28.0	15.9	5.0	3.6	16.5	16.1
Ráth Chairn & Baile Ghib (Meath)	11.5	14.4	15.9	21.7	4.0	5.0	14.5	13.1
Southeast Donegal	9.9	11.2	34.7	12.5	3.4	2.6	11.7	14.0
Uíbh Ráthach (Kerry)	28.0	15.5	10.1	12.8	3.0	3.8	10.6	16.3
All Gaeltacht	**9.5**	**11.6**	**17**	**19.2**	**4.4**	**4.8**	**17.5**	**15.9**
BMW	9.3	10.6	17.7	21.3	4.4	6	16.5	14.1
S&E	4.8	8.6	15.4	28.7	6.4	5.7	15	15.4
National	**5.9**	**9.1**	**16**	**26.9**	**5.9**	**5.8**	**15.4**	**15.1**

Source: GAMMA, 2004

Although the Gaeltacht has lagged behind the rest of the country in terms of infrastructural provision, significant investment by the Department of the Gaeltacht (in its various guises since 1956), mostly in the roads network, has made it much more accessible than before. There has also been considerable

investment in marine and community infrastructure and in housing stock, as Table 5.7 illustrates.

Table 5.7: Gaeltacht housing grants and improvement schemes, 2003, by investment, percentage of total investment and by county

Department of Gaeltacht investment 2003: Gaeltacht housing grants and improvement schemes		
Category	**Investment (€)**	**% of total investment**
Housing grants	4,397,410	26.9
Strategic roads	6,557,645	40.1
Road improvements/urban renewal	1,520,544	9.3
Community halls/Irish colleges	1,137,559	7.0
Small quays	725,174	4.4
Strategic quays	2,008,602	12.3
Total	16,346,934	100
Investment by county	**Total amount (€)**	**Percentage by county**
Donegal	4,071,171	24.9
Mayo	3,709,256	22.7
Galway	5,486,102	33.6
Kerry	1,908,547	11.7
Cork	738,437	4.5
Waterford	203,820	1.2
Meath	229,600	1.4
Total	16,346,933.00	100

Source: DCRGA, 2004e: 26

Housing grants paid by the DCRGA do not, however, give any indication of the amount of new housing being built in any Gaeltacht area. However, other statistical evidence can be used to estimate the amount of new housing in the Gaeltacht. Although the Gaeltacht population has increased more slowly than that of the country as a whole (9.8% versus 11.1%), the Gaeltacht EDs closest to Galway City have recorded the highest increases in population between 1991 and 2002, an average of 45 percent or more than four times the national average. In Bearna and Na Forbacha, the increases were 143 percent and 51.6 percent respectively for the same period. Other EDs returning abnormally large increases were An Daingean in Kerry (29.5 percent) and Áth Buí in Meath (30.5 percent). Many EDs throughout the

Gaeltacht also recorded huge increases from 1996-2002 in percentages of the population working in building and construction. Such an increase may or may not account for new housing in the Gaeltacht, as such employees can work elsewhere. However, it appears from these statistics, and from anecdotal evidence, that much of the Gaeltacht has experienced the national building boom of recent years.

The granting of planning permission for housing is one of the most contentious issues in the Gaeltacht at the moment, and has significant implications for language planning, because it alters the demographic profile of an area. This issues are examined at local level in Chapter Six, but the background to the problem will be explained here. The reason for the controversy is due largely to the rapid growth of Galway City, which has led to a proliferation of housing estates in what were once small Gaeltacht villages. This is perceived to have had a deleterious impact on the vitality of Irish in many areas close to the city because it has brought large numbers of non-Irish speakers into them. The problem is also happening, albeit on a smaller scale, in other Gaeltacht areas which are located close to urban centres. In an attempt to stem the perceived negative linguistic impact of such uncontrolled housing, Gaeltacht and Irish language organisations put pressure on legislators to amend the existing Local Government (Planning and Development) Acts (1963-1999) in order to protect the Gaeltacht. The new Planning and Development Act (2000) contains a provision which obliges all local authorities which cover Gaeltacht areas to adopt measures to protect Irish in their county development plans:

> Without prejudice to the generality of subsection (1), a development plan shall include objectives for –
>
> (m) the protection of the linguistic and cultural heritage of the Gaeltacht including the promotion of Irish as the community language, where there is a Gaeltacht area in the area of the development plan (section 10 (m), Planning and Development Act, 2000)

Based on the existing model of an 'environmental impact statement' (EPA, 2002), this provision has been interpreted as requiring a 'linguistic impact statement' to be attached to housing developments, in order to restrict their sale to Irish speakers. A survey was conducted in 2004 of all eight local authorities with responsibility for the Gaeltacht, to ascertain the extent to which they were implementing the above section. The survey found that only two local authorities – Galway County and Meath – had refused planning permission for housing on linguistic grounds, and that the provision was being implemented most rigorously in Galway (Ó hÉallaithe, D.A., 2004b).

Another aspect of infrastructural development is telecommunications. Broadband provision in Ireland has been identified by government as a strategic priority in the *National Development Plan 2000-2006* (Government of Ireland, 1999: 67-68). Ireland's broadband infrastructure is very poor in international terms, and as the Gaeltacht generally occupies remote parts of the country, broadband provision there has been almost non-existent. This has created major difficulties for Údarás na Gaeltachta in recent years in their attempts to attract outside firms to locate in Gaeltacht areas (Ó Catháin, 2003 & 2004a). However, Údarás has begun to invest heavily in broadband provision in recent years (Norcontel, c. 2001; Údarás na Gaeltachta, 2003c: 30-31).

5. TYPOLOGY OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LINGUISTIC VITALITY AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE GAELTACHT

Based on the above discussion and statistical evidence, a typology of the relationship between linguistic vitality and socio-economic development in the Gaeltacht is now presented. There is considerable variety in how these variables relate to each other. In Table 5.8, there are three possible levels for each variable (high, medium and low), which are represented by stars. An

additional, bracketed star (*) is used to denote rankings which are unclear, for instance, if an area experiences low to medium linguistic vitality.

Table 5.8: Typology of linguistic vitality and socio-economic development in the Gaeltacht

Area	Linguistic vitality	Economic development	Social development	Cultural development	Infra-structural development
Acaill & Iorras (Mayo)	*	*	*	*(*)	*(*)
Cois Fharraige (Galway)	**(*)	***	**(*)	**(*)	***
Corca Dhuibhne (Kerry)	**(*)	**(*)	**	***	**(*)
Dúiche Sheoigheach (Galway/ Mayo)	*(*)	*(*)	**	**	*(*)
Gaeltacht Láir & Na Rosa (Donegal)	*(*)	*	*	**	*
Galway City & An Achréidh	*	***	***	*	***
Iarthar Chonamara (Galway)	***	*	*(*)	***	*(*)
Múscraí (Cork)	*(*)	**(*)	**	**(*)	***
Na Déise (Waterford)	*(*)	**	**	**(*)	**(*)
Northeast Donegal	*	*	*	*	*
Northwest Donegal	***	*(*)	*(*)	***	**
Ráth Chairn & Baile Ghib (Meath)	*(*)	***	**(*)	**	***
Southeast Donegal	*	*	*	**(*)	*
Uíbh Ráthach (Kerry)	*	*(*)	*	**	*

*	Weak
**	Medium
***	High
( )	Between two levels

6. CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this chapter has been to set the scene for the more detailed Gaeltacht case-studies of Chapter Six, by illustrating the social, economic, cultural and linguistic variety contained within the Gaeltacht. This variety was illustrated by elaborating a typology of the relationship between linguistic vitality and socio-economic development in the Gaeltacht. Although the Gaeltacht represents the official designation of the traditional Irish-speaking heartland, its linguistic profile is varied, ranging from three strongly Irish-speaking core areas (in Galway, Donegal and Kerry) to a large, anglicised periphery. Furthermore, it is varied in social and economic terms, with some areas experiencing high levels of deprivation and other approaches or exceeding national levels of affluence. The typology suggests that linguistic vitality and socio-economic development interact in a variety of ways. Some of the most deprived parts of the Gaeltacht are the strongest in terms of language (Iarthar Chonamara, Northwest Donegal), but there are also deprived areas where Irish is weak (Acaill and Iorras, Uíbh Ráthach, Southeast Donegal), and affluent areas where Irish is weak (Galway City and An Achréidh). Two areas experience combine high levels of development and linguistic vitality: Cois Fharraige, to the west of Galway City, and Corca Dhuibhne in west Kerry.

In order to investigate more completely the research question – does the promotion of Irish positively influence Ireland's socio-economic development - the next chapter examines three separate Gaeltacht areas *in detail*: South Conamara (including Cois Fharraige) in Co. Galway; Múscraí in Co. Cork and Na Déise in Co. Waterford. The chapter is guided by the theoretical framework of the linguistic political economy of development: the ways in which the promotion of Irish influences the interaction of state, civil society and market in order to achieve developmental outcomes. It considers how the tensions between the competing approaches to language and

development interact in practice and draws conclusions on how precisely Irish influences the socio-economic development of each area.

CHAPTER SIX

CASE-STUDIES ON THE INFLUENCE OF THE IRISH LANGUAGE ON SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE GAELTACHT

1. INTRODUCTION

Based on the findings of Chapter Four, the following three chapters investigate *empirically* the research question, and examine how the three competing approaches to language and development in theory are reflected in practice in a number of settings. Drawing on the typology developed in Chapter Five, this chapter contains three case-studies on the Gaeltacht. Chapter Seven examines the understandings of the language-development link in the state institution for Gaeltacht development, Údarás na Gaeltachta. Chapter Eight investigates these understandings in the case of two areas which are not part of the traditional contemporary Gaeltacht, Galway City and West Belfast. In choosing the case-studies, an attempt has been made to provide examples which are varied in their linguistic and socio-economic features, and in terms of the approaches to language and development which are likely to be illustrated in each. These chapters are guided by the theoretical framework of a linguistic political economy of development. The central focus is the influence of Irish on the interplay between market, state and civil society, and the ways in which this interplay leads to developmental outcomes. Therefore, consideration is given to the inter-connections of various stakeholders in both the realms of the Irish language and of development: state and non-state Irish language actors (government institutions for Irish, voluntary Irish language bodies); state and non-state developmental actors (branches of central and local government, state development agencies, local community development organisations); private industry in general and private industry related to the Irish language.

Atlantic Ocean

Donegal

Mayo

Galway

Meath

Irish Sea

Kerry

Waterford

Cork

Data supplied by Ordnance Survey Ireland.
Data copyright of Government of Ireland.

Kilometres
0   25   50   100
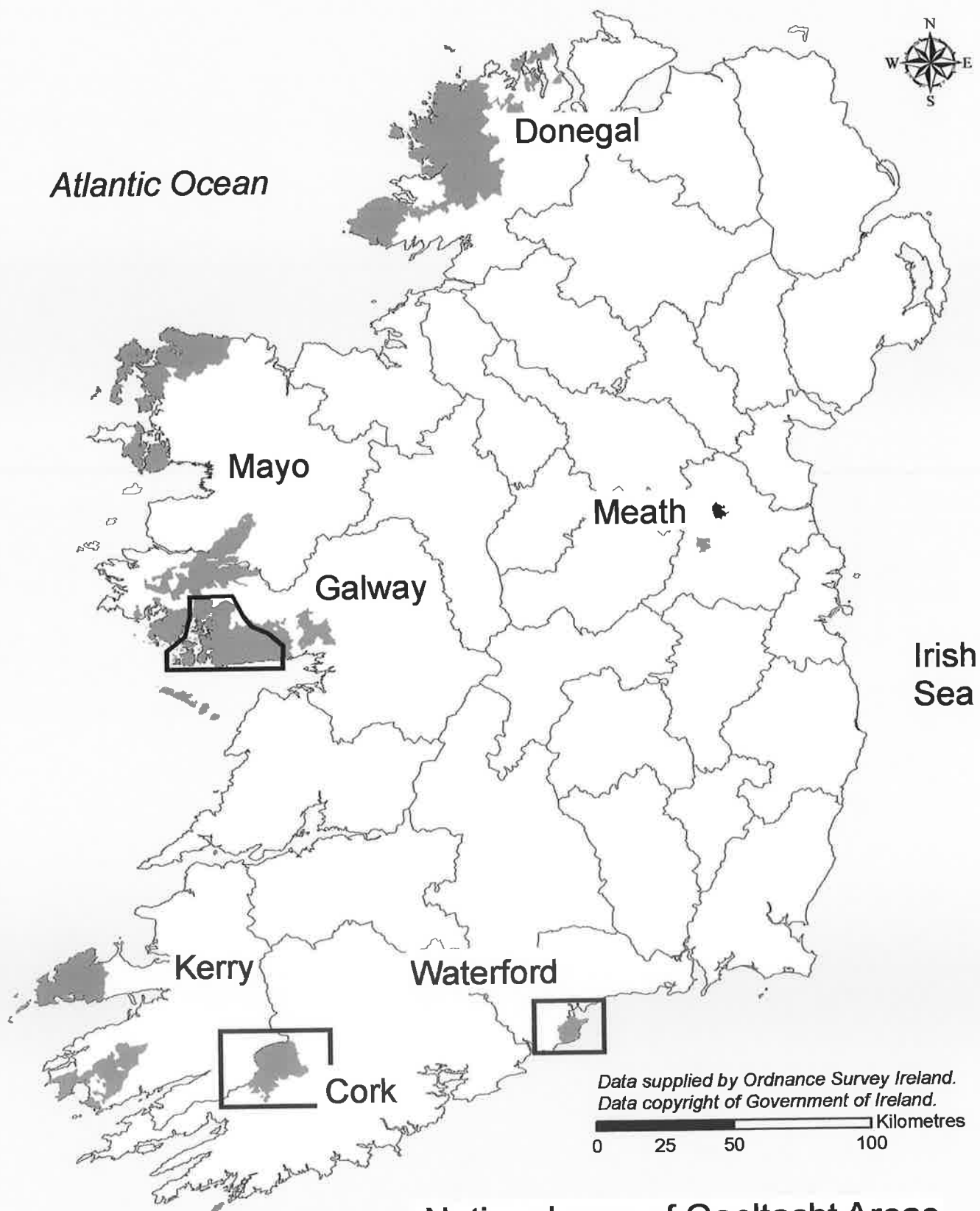
National map of Gaeltacht Areas

There are considerable differences between the three areas to be investigated in this chapter. The small pocket of Na Déise in Co. Waterford has been chosen because, historically, it was largely ignored by the state's industrial development strategies for the Gaeltacht, and relied instead on fishing and agriculture for its income. From the 1970s until very recently, there was a period of relative vitality for Irish in Na Déise. The second case-study is of the Múscraí Gaeltacht in west Cork. This has been chosen because it has been the target of vigorous industrialisation by Gaeltarra Éireann and Údarás na Gaeltachta. Irish is under severe strain here, except in some isolated pockets. The final area chosen is the South Conamara Gaeltacht in Co. Galway. 'South Conamara' is an amalgamation of two areas outlined in the typology in Chapter Five: Cois Fharraige and Ceantar na nOileán. These two areas were merged for the purposes of this case-study because, as a unit, they contain high levels of industrialisation and the highest levels of use of Irish in the country, although the latter is under strain (see map on previous page). Table 6.1 illustrates the categorisation of each of these three communities according to the typology outlined in Chapter Four.

Table 6.1: Typology of linguistic vitality and socio-economic development in the Gaeltacht

Area	Linguistic vitality	Economic development	Social development	Cultural development	Infra-structural development
South Conamara (Galway)	***	**(*)	**(*)	**(*)	**(*)
Múscraí (Cork)	*(*)	**(*)	**	**(*)	***
Na Déise (Waterford)	*(*)	**	**	**(*)	**(*)

*** **High**
** **Medium**
* **Low**

Brackets ( ) indicate that the area is between two levels

2. NA DÉISE, WATERFORD

'Na Déise' ('Decies') refers to a historic barony in east Munster in an area covering much of present-day County Waterford and part of south Tipperary (personal communication with Nic Dhonnchadha, 2004). Although the present Irish-speaking area is much smaller than this territory, 'Gaeltacht na nDéise' is used here to describe the remaining Irish-speaking part of this once extensive Gaeltacht. The two parishes in Gaeltacht na nDéise, An Rinn and An Seanphobal, lie about five miles south-east of Dungarvan in west Waterford. The Gaeltacht contains only one entire Electoral Division (Baile Mhac Airt), and parts of two others (An Rinn and Aird Mhór). Although augmented slightly following a review in 1974, this is one of the smallest Gaeltacht areas in the country, containing 6,110 hectares or just over 23.5 square miles. Much of the land is used for agriculture and forestry, reflecting the area's rural character, although this is changing rapidly due to intensive housing development in recent years (Breathnach, 2001: 1).

2.1   Linguistic vitality

Na Déise is isolated from the other Gaeltacht areas of Munster. Even in 1926 when the first government commission on the Gaeltacht produced its maps, Gaeltacht na nDéise was a linguistic island, the only of its type east of Cork, although it stretched north across the Tipperary border and east almost as far as Waterford city (Ó Cuív, 1950; Walsh, 2002a). Before independence, there had long been strong anglicising influences within the Gaeltacht itself: an RIC station was built at Baile na nGall, there was a coastguards' station at Heilbhic and the nineteenth century landlords, the Villiers Stuarts, had brought in a number of English-speaking tenants (Murray, 1980: 54). Irish has also endured the high level of socio-economic dependence on the English-speaking towns of Ardmore, Dungarvan and Youghal a short distance away. However, even in the 1920s witnesses from Na Déise expressed concern to the Gaeltacht Commission that Irish was under threat (Walsh, 2002a: 36).

In common with the remainder of the country, the extent of Gaeltacht na nDéise was reduced drastically in 1956 following a review of the boundaries. In 1926, Na Déise comprised 61 electoral divisions; 30 years later, it was reduced to only one full ED and part of one other. Writing in 1963, Máirtín Ó Cadhain was in little doubt about the weak state of Irish in Na Déise: 'Ten years ago there was little if any Irish spoken in Ring and I doubt if the situation has improved in the meantime' (Ó Cadhain [Ó Laighin], 2002: 75). However, there is a perception among many Irish speakers in Na Déise that the language underwent a revival in the 1960s and 1970s (Uí Fhoghlú, 2000: 635; interviews with Mhic Ghiolla Chuda, Mac Murchú, Suipéil, Breathnach, Ó Céilleachair, F., 2004). One person who experienced such a change as a child recalls what happened:

> Is deacair a rá ach is dócha dá bhféachthá go doimhin sa scéal, is é mo thuairim fhéin go raibh sé fite fuaite le cúrsaí polaitíochta. Bhí gluaiseacht cearta sibhialta sa Tuaisceart, is ceantar poblachtánach go maith í an Rinn, agus is dócha go raibh éifeacht aige sin. Bhí cúpla duine ansan a tháinig isteach sa cheantar b'fhéidir, muid féin ina measc is dócha, agus cuid desna daoine a bhí anso [cheana], bhí saghas cinnirí teangan a spreag daoine agus a thug saghas mórtas do dhaoine aríst ins an teanga (interview with Mhic Ghiolla Chuda, 2004).[1]

Statistics from SLG illustrate an increase in the percentages of families who received the full grant, particularly between 1966 and 1973 (personal communication with Bhreathnach, 2005). Perhaps as a result of this, in 1974, the Gaeltacht was extended slightly, by adding 30 townlands, mostly in An Seanphobal. However, the apparently strong position of Irish in Na Déise was disputed by Hindley, who classified An Rinn as a 'lower transitional zone', where more English was used than Irish, and An Seanphobal as 'effective Galltacht', no different in linguistic terms to the rest of the country (1990:

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[1] 'It's difficult to say but I suppose if you examined the situation in depth, I suppose that it was linked to politics. There was the civil rights movement in the North, An Rinn is a fairly republican area, and I suppose that had an effect. Then there were a few people who came into the area, ourselves included I suppose, and some of the people who were here

125-136).[2] Nevertheless, in the Census of 1981, 1986 and 1991, between 80 and 85 percent of the population of Gaeltacht na nDéise returned themselves as Irish speakers (CSO, 2004d). By 1996, when more detailed questions were introduced in the Census, 85.6 percent reported the ability to speak Irish, but only 692 people, or 53.4 percent, said they did so on a daily basis (CSO, 2004d; Ó hÉallaithe, Donncha, 1999). The population of the Gaeltacht was generally static over this period. However, by 2002, when the population increased significantly, there was an equally significant decline both in those claiming ability in Irish and those speaking it regularly. According to the Census of 2002, 1006 persons over the age of 3, or 72.5 percent of the population, could speak Irish while only 552, or 39.8 percent, said that they did on a daily basis (CSO, 2004d). Table 6.2 outlines this information in greater detail.

[already], there were language leaders who inspired people and gave people pride once again in the language'.

[2] Historically, 'Galltacht' referred firstly to English-speaking people in a predominantly Irish-speaking Ireland, and later to geographical areas where English speakers were concentrated (originally towns but eventually most of the country) (see Ó Gadhra, 1989: 2; Ó Torna, 2000; 51). Although employed extensively by the Gaeltacht Commission of the 1920s to refer to English-speaking districts, it is no longer in common use. Recently, the remainder of the country outside the Gaeltacht was described as 'iar-Ghaeltacht' ['post-Gaeltacht'] (Coimisiún na hiar-Ghaeltachta, 2000).

Table 6.2: Irish speakers as percentage of total population aged 3+ years and according to frequency of use, Gaeltacht na nDéise, Census 1981-2002

	1981		1986		1991		1996		2002	
Pop. 3+	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total	1306	--	1362	--	1309	--	1294	--	1388	--
Speak Irish	1103	*84.5*	1094	*80.3*	1035	*79.1*	1111	*85.9*	1006	*72.5*
Cannot speak Irish	203	*15.5*	268	*19.7*	274	*20.9*	173	*13.4*	288	*20.7*
Speak Irish daily	--	--	--	--	--	--	692	*53.5*	552	*39.8*
Speak Irish weekly	--	--	--	--	--	--	112	8.7	145	10.4
Speak Irish less often	--	--	--	--	--	--	265	20.5	245	17.7
Speak Irish never	--	--	--	--	--	--	35	2.7	44	3.2

Source: CSO, 2004d

The latest statistics from Scéim Labhairt na Gaeilge also illustrate a fall in the percentage of families awarded the full grant. Hindley reports that, in 1985/6, 58 families, or 29.6 percent of those eligible, were successful (1990: 285). In 2001, only 18 families, or 14.1 percent, were awarded the full grant under the scheme, the vast majority of whom live in An Rinn (Ó hÉallaithe, Donncha, 2003: 10). In 2003/4, there were just 20 successful applicants (personal communication with Ó Finneadha, 2004). Despite the recent decline, it appears that the last thirty years in particular have been a time of relative confidence for the language in Na Déise. Many local companies and many civil society institutions (community councils, church, schools and the local GAA branches) maintain a strong Irish-language ethos, and conduct their public activities in that language, a fact which became a campaign issue during the Údarás na Gaeltachta elections in 2005 (Ó Céilleachair, F., 2005b). An Rinn and An Seanphobal have both won awards in An Baile Beo ('The Living Village'), the competition for Gaeltacht communities who make a special effort to promote Irish. This competition is jointly sponsored by the local authority and Údarás na Gaeltachta (personal communication with Ó Cuinn, 2005). However, it is clear from the statistical evidence that the

dominance of Irish as the everyday language of public communication is severely threatened.

2.2   Socio-economic development

2.2.1   Social development

According to the Census of 2002, the population of Gaeltacht na nDéise was 1,454 persons, an increase of 8.6 percent on 1991. This is slightly lower than the average population increase for the collective Gaeltacht (9.8 percent), and the national average increase (11.1 percent). The population density - 55 persons per square mile - is higher than the Gaeltacht average of 46 but much lower than the national figure of 146 (CSO, 2004d; GAMMA, 2004). Population density is concentrated in the three townlands of Heilbhic, Baile na nGall and Maoil an Choirnigh in An Rinn. There are disproportionately high numbers of children aged 10-14 years, influenced by the presence of permanent boarders at the secondary school, Coláiste na Rinne (see 2.3.2 below). The cohorts 20-24 and 25-29 are also under-represented, possibly reflecting the departure of these age-groups for third-level education or job opportunities elsewhere, particularly in nearby Dungarvan.   In fact, the age dependent population (38.7 percent of the total) is greater than the Gaeltacht average (35.5 percent) and significantly higher than the national average (32.3 percent). The percentage of people aged 65 and over and living alone is also higher than average, 12.1 percent, compared to 11 percent for the Gaeltacht and 8.9 percent nationally (GAMMA, 2004).

Table 6.3: Demographic structure, Gaeltacht na nDéise in comparison with regional and national statistics

Area	Population Density (per sq. mile)	Pop. Change 91-02 (%)	Age dependency (%)	Pop. 0-29 (%)	Pop. 65+ alone (%)
Aird Mhór	19	9.1	40.4	45.5	10
An Rinn	116	5.1	38.9	48.6	9.6
Baile Mhac Airt	30	11.8	36.8	44.2	16.7
TOTAL	**55.0**	**8.7**	**38.7**	**46.1**	**12.1**
All Gaeltacht	46	9.8	35.5	42.1	11.0
BMW	81	9.5	34.6	44.7	10.4
S&E	204	11.7	31.4	45.8	8.3
National	**146**	**11.1**	**32.3**	**45.5**	**8.9**

Source: GAMMA, 2004[3]

Gaeltacht na nDéise contains a significantly higher than average proportion of higher and lower professionals, many of whom are probably employed in the television industry or other language related activities. It has a higher percentage than even the national average (34.6 percent versus 31.6 percent) and is significantly higher than the rest of the Gaeltacht (28.9 percent). Its unemployment rate is virtually identical to the national average, and its labour force participation rate is consistent with the largely rural areas of the Border, Midlands and West region.

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[3] The GAMMA survey was compiled from statistical evidence from entire EDs only. However, the Gaeltacht is comprised of 90 full EDs and 66 part EDs/wards. For reasons of anonymity, the CSO does not release information at more local level than ED. Therefore, the information based on the GAMMA survey in this chapter refers to an area slightly larger than the official Gaeltacht.

Table 6.4: Social class, unemployment rate and labour force participation rate, Gaeltacht na nDéise

Area	Social Class 1 & 2*	Social Class 5 & 6**	Unemployed	Lab. Force Participation Rate
Aird Mhór	34.6	9.6	10	53.6
An Rinn	29.8	21.6	7.2	57.2
Baile Mhac Airt	39.5	20.9	8.8	56.7
Total Na Déise	**34.6**	**17.4**	**8.7**	**55.8**
All Gaeltacht	28.9	21.3	14.1	54.7
BMW	27.7	18.6	10.4	56.2
S&E	33	15.7	8.3	59
National	**31.6**	**16.5**	**8.8**	**58.3**

*   Social classes 1 and 2: higher and lower professionals
**   Social classes 5 and 6: semi and unskilled manuals

Source: GAMMA, 2004

In terms of educational attainment, Gaeltacht na nDéise has considerably fewer persons who have no formal educational qualification, or have attended primary education only, than the collective Gaeltacht (25.5 percent vs. 30.8 percent). This probably reflects the strong tradition of education in the area, bolstered by the secondary school, Meánscoil San Nioclás, since 1959, and the presence of Coláiste na Rinne (Ó Domhnaill, 1987: 128). The lower than average percentage of people with a third level qualification (21 percent verses 23 percent for the Gaeltacht as a whole), may be due to the attractiveness of Dungarvan for school-leavers, who may choose a job there rather than seek further education.

Table 6.5: Educational attainment, Gaeltacht na nDéise

Area	Pop. with no formal ed./primary only	Pop. with 3rd level qual.
Aird Mhór	31.5	17.4
An Rinn	15.8	25.6
Baile Mhac Airt	29.1	19.9
Total Na Déise	**25.5**	**21.0**
All Gaeltacht	30.8	23.0
BMW	27.2	21.1
S&E	20.4	27.7
National	**22.2**	**26.0**

Source: GAMMA, 2004

In terms of deprivation and affluence, the EDs in Gaeltacht na nDéise are classified as either 'marginally above average' or 'marginally below average'. While their combined figure is significantly lower than the Gaeltacht average (0.97 vs. 9.2), they are more affluent than many large areas of the Gaeltacht, particularly in Mayo and Donegal.

Table 6.6: Absolute deprivation/affluence index, Gaeltacht na nDéise

ABSOLUTE DEPRIVATION/AFFLUENCE INDEX	
Aird Mhór	2.3
Baile Mhac Airt	-1.3
An Rinn	1.9
TOTAL Na Déise	**0.97**
All Gaeltacht	9.2
BMW	13
S&E	18.9
National	**17.4**

Source: GAMMA, 2004

Because of its small area, Na Déise depends heavily on outside agents, predominantly Waterford County Council, to provide social services. However, the Gaeltacht is well served in terms of education, with three primary schools and one secondary school teaching through Irish. Údarás na Gaeltachta has also supported local child care and crèche services (interview with de Paor, 2004). There are two community-based voluntary development

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associations: Comhairle Pobail na Rinne and Coiste Forbartha an tSeanphobail. Unlike many other Gaeltacht communities, there is no community co-operative movement, although a co-operative exists for the fishing industry (Meitheal Mara na Rinne). However, early in 2005, a community facilitator was appointed, with state support, to take responsibility for co-ordinating community development.

Another important element of the area's development - primarily in cultural terms but also in economic and social terms - is the Irish-medium boarding school, Coláiste na Rinne. The school attracts pupils from all over Ireland to learn Irish, organises summer courses for teenagers and hosts an annual summer school for adults (Ó Domhnaill, 1987; see also 2.3.2 below). Gaeltacht na nDéise also has a strong musical heritage, particularly in traditional singing, and several local musicians have won awards in national competitions such as Oireachtas na Gaeilge. Several national festivals have been organised here also in recent years covering sport, music, drama and literature, evidence of the area's strong cultural traditions (Uí Fhoghlú, 2000: 635). About 10 local festivals are organised annually, drawing the attention of both local people and visitors to the area's cultural heritage (GaelSaoire, 2003). Interviews with participants revealed the existence of a strong Gaeltacht identity rooted in Irish, even among those who are less frequent users of the language.

2.2.2   Economic development

Traditionally, fishing formed the backbone of the local economy in Gaeltacht na nDéise. Local folklore is replete with references to boats and fishing tackle, trawling, curing and construction of the piers at Baile na nGall and Heilbhic (Ó Cionnfhaolaidh, 1956; Murray, 1980; Uí Fhoghlú, 2000). Dungarvan men had a proud tradition of deep sea hake fishing going back to Tudor times, and large quantities of dried ling, cod and hake were exported to Britain and Spain (Murray, 1980: 55; interview with Ó Muirí, 2004). In the

evidence of the Gaeltacht Commission of 1926, there is an account of three hundred boats fishing out of Dungarvan Harbour in the mid-nineteenth century, with more than 1,000 tonnes of fish landed in one year (Walsh, 2002a: 62). At this time, many fishermen were also part-time farmers, the majority of them on holdings less than an acre in size (Murray, 1980: 54). However, the drop in population following the Famine reduced pressure on the land and encouraged larger farm units. Relatively good land, especially in comparison with other Gaeltacht areas, led to the development of a dairying industry and the establishment of creameries in An Seanphobal at the beginning of the 20th Century (Ó Druacháin, 1999: 113-115; de Paor, 2000: 645). Times were not always plentiful for the fishermen of An Rinn: the Gaeltacht Commission evidence reveals how the industry had declined substantially by the 1920s, and how a curing facility was needed in the area (Walsh, 2002a: 63).

Gaeltarra Éireann, a dedicated industrial development agency for the Gaeltacht, was established in 1958 following the enactment of the Gaeltacht (Industries) Act a year before (see Chapter Seven). Gaeltarra took over the running of the small industries within the Gaeltacht which had been administered since the 1940s by the Gaeltacht Services Division, a division of the Department of Lands. These industries were mostly in the clothing sector (wool, tweed, lace, embroidery, knitted goods) or involved the manufacturing of toys.

The most striking aspect of the history of industrialisation in Na Déise in the second half of the 20th Century is its absence. From the late 1950s until the mid 1980s, there was virtually no investment by either Gaeltarra Éireann or its successor, Údarás na Gaeltachta (after 1979), in Gaeltacht na nDéise. Even the Meath Gaeltacht, another tiny, isolated pocket, received more investment per capita during this period. Gaeltarra established a handknitting factory in An Rinn which lasted, apparently, until the mid-1960s (GÉ, 1967). However, Gaeltacht na nDéise is not mentioned in annual reports until 1971, when a

'minor industry' was grant-aided. That year, only 3 jobs in Gaeltacht na nDéise depended on Gaeltarra support, compared with 91 such jobs in the Cork Gaeltacht (GÉ, 1971). At the same time, Gaeltarra was establishing industrial estates in many other Gaeltacht regions, based on its own subsidiary companies and, after 1965, through investment in private industries, many of which became considerable local employers. Throughout the 1970s and early 1980s, Gaeltarra-sponsored employment in Na Déise was negligible, in minor industries based on glass-cutting, land drainage, cheese production and even fox and mink farming (GÉ, 1977; ÚnaG, 1983 & 1986). In 1982, there was some support for the newly formed fishermen's co-operative, Meitheal Mara na Rinne, which was established to support the area's primary economy activity, fishing (ÚnaG, 1983; interview with Ó Muirí, 2004). It was not until 1984 that Gaeltacht na nDéise received its first 'major industries': a rubber factory, which was relatively short-lived, and engineering firms which continue to operate today.[4] It is unsurprising that public awareness of Gaeltarra or Údarás was low during this period (Breathnach, 1999: 83).

The breakthrough in Na Déise did not come until the early 1990s when Údarás na Gaeltachta assisted in the establishment of a group of shellfish producers in Dungarvan Harbour. By this time, Údarás had identified aquaculture as a strategic sector particularly suited to the Gaeltacht. In the case of Na Déise, this was a shrewd decision, as it acknowledged the area's strong marine tradition but recognised the decline in traditional fishing methods along the coast. 786 tonnes of fish were landed at Heilbhic in 1995, but this figure had been reduced to 423 by 2002 (CSO, 2004a). In 1991, the shellfish production company, Meitheal Trá na Rinne, was established in An Rinn, prompting a major increase in the number of small oyster producers in the area. The director attributes the company's success to the support of Údarás na Gaeltachta, particularly following a major setback due to disease in 1995. Due to the investment, Meitheal Trá na Rinne became a subsidiary

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[4] At this time, a 'major industry' was one which received grants of £100,000 or more.

company of Údarás in 1997. According to the company, the clean waters of Dungarvan harbour are ideal for oyster farming and the industry has been welcomed by local people because it is not threatening to the environment (Mhic Ghiolla Chuda, 1997; interview with Mhic Ghiolla Chuda, 2004).

The establishment of the Irish language television station, Teilifís na Gaeilge (now TG4) has had a strong influence on the economic development of Gaeltacht na nDéise. As early as 1987, Údarás na Gaeltachta had targetted audio-visual industries as a strategic sector for the Gaeltacht (ÚnaG, 1987). This led to the establishment of many independent television production companies which would provide programmes for the new channel (TG4 commissions most of its programmes from outside producers). In Na Déise, the independent company Nemeton was established in 1993 as a one-person operation, but it became a associate company of Údarás na Gaeltachta following major investment in 1996, the year that TG4 was established. Nemeton quickly gained a reputation as a provider of high-quality sports programmes for the new channel. In fact, Údarás went as far as to describe it as 'the largest independent producer of sports programmes in the country' (ÚnaG, 1995). Nemeton has 20 full-time employees, and as many as 30 more on a part-time basis (Mac Murchú, 1997; interview with Mac Murchú, 2004; ÚnaG, 1997 & 2000).

It is unclear why Gaeltarra Éireann/Údarás na Gaeltachta did not invest more heavily in Gaeltacht na nDéise before 1990. For many, the fishing industry provided a source of living, particularly if combined with small farming (interview with Ó Muirí, 2004). The lack of investment may have also been influenced by the availability of plentiful employment in both industry and services in the nearby town of Dungarvan, only a short distance outside the Gaeltacht. There is a strong tradition of people from An Rinn going to Dungarvan for work, particularly in the branch factory of Waterford Crystal

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(interviews with Mac Murchú and Ó Céilleachair, F., 2004).[5] The fact that, in Gaeltacht na nDéise, almost twice the national average (22.3 percent) is employed in manufacturing industry, reflects the dominance of Dungarvan and other towns in the local economy. Within the Gaeltacht itself, manufacturing employment has been provided since the early 1980s by the two electronics companies in An Rinn (the Power Group), and a smaller furniture factory, Troscán na nDéise ('Déise Furniture') in An Seanphobal. The population of Gaeltacht na nDéise is still highly dependent on agriculture, fishing and forestry, with four times the national average employed in the primary sector (24.1 percent). Following a period of consolidation, smaller farmers have left the land and there are now several larger farms, particularly in An Seanphobal (interviews with Mac Murchú, Breathnach, 2004).

Table 6.7: Percentage of population at work by industry, Gaeltacht na nDéise, Census 2002 (all persons at work aged 15 and over)

Area	Agr./Fish./ Forestry	Build./ Constr.	Manu.	Comm.	Trans.	Pub. Adm.	Prof. Serv.	Other
Aird Mhór	27.8	11.1	29.6	11.1	0	5.6	13	1.9
An Rinn	17.2	6.5	18	11.2	4.7	6	22.4	14
Baile Mhac Airt	27.4	14.5	19.4	12.1	3.2	3.2	11.3	8.9
TOTAL Na Déise	**24.1**	**10.7**	**22.3**	**11.5**	**2.6**	**4.9**	**15.6**	**8.3**
All Gaeltacht	9.5	11.6	17	19.2	4.4	4.8	17.5	15.9
BMW	9.3	10.6	17.7	21.3	4.4	6	16.5	14.1
S&E	4.8	8.6	15.4	28.7	6.4	5.7	15	15.4
National	**5.9**	**9.1**	**16**	**26.9**	**5.9**	**5.8**	**15.4**	**15.1**

Source: GAMMA, 2004

An early example of infrastructural development in Na Déise was the building of the piers at Baile na nGall and Heilbhic. Today, Gaeltacht na nDéise is relatively better off than other Gaeltacht areas in terms of infrastructure. It is close to the main Cork-Waterford road and is within easy reach of both cities. However, the absence of broadband is a cause of concern for local industry

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[5] Citing difficulties in the Irish manufacturing sector, this major employer announced in May 2005 that it was to close down. 500 people were employed in the factory (Cullen, 2005).

(interviews with Mhic Ghiolla Chuda, Ó Céilleachair, F. and Mac Murchú, 2004). The Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs has responsibility - in co-operation with local authorities - for infrastructural investment in the Gaeltacht. In 2003, it invested €203,820 in infrastructure in Na Déise, through housing improvement grants and expenditure on roads, community facilities and quays (DCRGA, 2004e: 26). This is 1.3 percent of the total investment throughout the entire Gaeltacht and is in line with this area's population in relation to the overall Gaeltacht population.

However, more than any other aspect of infrastructural development, housing is the most controversial. In 2001, the environmental consultancy CAAS published a local development plan for Gaeltacht na nDéise. It pointed out that the large demand for housing in An Rinn and An Seanphobal was similar to that in the rest of the country: of the 150 planning applications submitted between 1998 and 2001, most were for once-off housing. CAAS warned that such large-scale housing developments planned for the area could not be supported by the existing infrastructure (2001: 27). The report recommended restricting housing to the existing villages of Maoil an Choirnigh, Baile na nGall and Heilbhic (42-3). This was a controversial report, particularly in relation to Irish, and it will be discussed in further detail in the following section.

2.3 Linguistic political economy of development in Na Déise

Based on the theoretical framework of a linguistic political economy of development elaborated in Chapter Four, this section examines the influence of Irish on the ways in which state, civil society and market interact to achieve developmental outcomes in Na Déise. It considers state, civil society and market in turn, while maintaining a focus on the interactions between all three. It concludes by considering how this case-study contributes to an investigation of whether or not promoting the Irish language influences positively Ireland's socio-economic development.

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2.3.1   State

Of the many state actors whose activities influence Na Déise, three are considered in this case-study: Waterford County Council, Údarás na Gaeltachta and the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs.

Waterford County Council

The planning policies of Waterford County Council represent an interaction between state, civil society and market. The Council's local area plans determine the social and community services available to civil society and shape the built environment through planning permission for housing, built mostly by private industry (market). As stated at 2.2.2 above, planning has been one of the most contentious issues in Na Déise in recent years. Large-scale housing in recent years has led to concerns about the inadequacy of local infrastructure and, in particular, about the perceived deleterious effects on the Irish language of attracting large numbers of non-Irish speakers into the area (see 2.3.2 below). References to the Gaeltacht in the 1999 Waterford County Development Plan are couched in very general and vague terms under the category 'Maintenance of Cultural Identity' and the development of the Gaeltacht is described in economic terms only (Waterford County Council, 1999: 17). This is unsurprising, as the plan was written and implemented at a time when there was no distinction in national legislation between the Gaeltacht and the rest of the country in planning terms. Therefore, similar to the imposition of a uniform view of development characteristic of the modernisationist and growth-led approach (see Chapter Four), a 'one-size-fits-all' planning policy applied to the entire country. However, in 2001, as a result of the new Planning and Development Act (see Chapter Five), the environmental consultancy, CAAS, recommended restrictions on the type of 'development' which was occurring in the Gaeltacht:

This development strategy is aimed at protecting the Gaeltacht status of the Ring Gaeltacht and preserving its existing character and rural nature. It is proposed that there should be strict controls on development within the overall area, with particular regard to the impact that development has on the Irish language ... and the sensitive landscape of the Ring-Helvick area (2001: 38).

CAAS recommended that the County Council seek a 'linguistic impact statement' if it felt that a specific 'development' would have a 'significant negative impact' on Irish (2001: 55). Although the CAAS plan appeared to support Irish strongly, a dispute broke out in 2001 around the planning issue (see 2.3.2 below). In response to such local pressures, and due to the provisions of the Planning and Development Act, the new draft County Development Plan (2005-2011) contains a stronger provision on the Irish language:

The greatest challenge facing the Gaeltacht is to prevent diluting of its unique linguistic and cultural environment through the influx of non-Irish speaking groups, with no affinity for the language. Pressure for housing developments is increasing, and there is now an urgent need for proactive policies to protect the area from insensitive development. Such measures may include an obligatory Linguistic Impact Statement (LIS) outlining how the proposed development will support and sustain the Gealtacht (sic) community and any reconsideration of the zoning policy for the area (Waterford County Council, 2005: 24).

Given the low level of ability in Irish in this and other local authorities, the absence of a culture of bilingualism and the historically modernisationist approach of the planning system, it is difficult to classify Waterford County Council as anything other than modernisationist. However, the conflict between the state (Waterford County Council), the market (the building industry) and civil society (local community groups in Na Déise) over the place of Irish in Council policies has led to a modification of the Council's approach. Waterford County Council has appointed an Irish language officer (herself from the Gaeltacht) and an internal plan to increase the use of Irish has been produced. The Council was preparing a language scheme in 2005, as part of its obligations under the Official Languages Act. Although the

Council has been quintessentially modernisationist up to now, it is being forced by legislative change and by public pressure over housing to amend its policies. Therefore, although Irish has been threatened by an aspect of state development policy, civil society is attempting to tackle that threat by tying Irish language conditions into the development process (see 2.3.2 below).

State institutions for the Gaeltacht

As illustrated at 2.2.2 above, both the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs and Údarás na Gaeltachta interact with civil society and market in Na Déise through their substantial investment in the area's social and economic infrastructure. Údarás has played a role in the development of major local employers in the private sector, such as Nemeton. More recently, both state bodies have combined to provide funding for a community facilitator to co-ordinate the area's social development. Neither the Department nor Údarás would operate here were it not for the presence of Irish as a community language in this area. Therefore, through their investment, Irish has contributed positively to the socio-economic development of Na Déise.

The approach of Údarás na Gaeltachta as an organisation is considered in detail in Chapter Seven. The local board representative in Na Déise, Fiachra Ó Céilleachair, is difficult to categorise in terms of his approach to language and development. On the one hand, he has supported strongly further investment in language-based industries:

> Is dóigh liom féin go bhfuil TG4 b'fhéidir ar an dtogra is fearr riamh ar chuir an stát infheistíocht ann chun an Ghaolainn a chothú. Is rud dearfach é. Ní bhíonn mórán daoine diúltach i dtaobh TG4 agus thá deis tógtha ag muintir na Rinne agus an tSeanaphobail buntáiste a bhaint as sin agus de bharr go bhfuil éirithe chomh maith sin le Nemeton measaimse féin go bhfuil sé mar réamhshampla don Údarás a thuilleadh infheistíochta a dhéanamh ina leithéid de thionscal

teangabhunaithe sa Rinn agus sa Seanaphobal (interview with Ó Céilleachair, 2004).[6]

On the other hand, Ó Céilleachair did not give unambiguous support to linguistic conditions on housing during the 2005 Údarás na Gaeltachta election (see Chapter Seven). He was one of only three board members of Údarás who in 2004 went on the record to oppose such a condition, on the grounds, he claimed, that it was not constitutional and 'go bhfuil sé beagáinín déanach má táthar ag iarraidh iachall a chur ar dhaoine an Ghaeilge a labhairt' ['and that it's a bit late if people are being forced to speak Irish'] (Ní Mhárta, 2004: 2). At the most, Ó Céilleachair could be said to represent a weak version of the minority language promotion approach, with strong influences from the dominant modernisationist approach. The demand for linguistic conditions on housing and other developments is far from unanimously supported, however. On a radio programme about the Údarás na Gaeltachta elections early in 2005, only one of the four local candidates was willing to express unconditional support for a linguistic impact statement (Ó hUallacháin, 2005). Ó Céilleachair retained his seat, and the candidate who supported the condition was not elected.

This section has outlined the approaches of selected state organisations in Na Déise to the link between Irish and development. It concluded that while quintessentially modernisationist in their approach, this is being increasingly challenged by opposition from social groups. The role of civil society in the linguistic political economy of development is considered in the next section.

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[6] I think that TG4 is perhaps the best project ever in which the state invested in order to promote Irish. It's a positive thing. Not many people are negative about TG4 and people in An Rinn and An Seanphobal have taken advantage from that, and because Nemeton has done so well, I think that it's an example to Údarás to invest further in that type of language-based industry in An Rinn and An Seanphobal.

2.3.2   Civil society

This section considers the role of non-state social groups in socio-economic development in Na Déise, their interaction with state and market, and the influence of Irish on them. As stated at 2.2.1 above, there are two community development councils in Na Déise, although their voluntary work is being supported since early 2005 by a community facilitator funded by the state. This latter appointment is a good example of an interaction between civil society and state in order to achieve development. It is strongly dependent on Irish because the appointee is an Irish speaker and acts as a point of contact between and source of funding for local Irish-speaking voluntary activities. Although this research was carried out before the appointment was made, it is to be expected that this position would reflect the socio-cultural development approach.

Comhairle Pobail na Rinne

As stated at 2.3.1 above, civil society has interacted with the state over planning issues in Na Déise. The chairperson of one of the voluntary community councils, Comhairle Pobail na Rinne, shows signs of considerable frustration with Waterford County Council over its planning policy which she believes has been detrimental to the Gaeltacht:

> Ón taithí athá agam fhéin ar Chomhairle Contae Phort Láirge, níl sé iontach oiriúnach Comhairlí Contae a bheith freagrach as ceantracha Gaeltachta. Níl mé á lochtú á rá go bhfuil gach rud a dheineann siad go holc ach dáiríre is *disaster* iomlán a bhí i gceist le pleanáil anso. Bhí ana-bhaint agam fhéin le Gaeltacht i mBaol, eagraíocht a bhí againn [anso]. Chuireamar i gcoinne iarratas pleanála amháin mar chás samplach agus idir comhairleoirí contae agus oifig na pleanála, bhí sé fé mar a bheifeá amannta ag caint le falla. Ní chíonn siad, ní thuigeann siad i mo thuairim fhéin tábhacht na Gaeltachta, ní thuigeann siad gur suíomh fé leith athá ann agus thá na comhairleoirí

contae, thá siad oscailte do bhrú ó dhaoine (interview with Mhic Ghiolla Chuda, 2004).[7]

The community council is strongly pro-Irish, and reflects the minority language promotion approach. The above extract indicates that the lack of understanding between the minority language promotion and dominant modernisationist approaches is deeply ingrained.

The pressure group referred to in the above extract, Gaeltacht i mBaol ('Gaeltacht in Danger') was set up in 2001 to lobby Waterford County Council on the housing issue. The group was formed after the Council granted planning permission for a cluster of 18 houses in the area. The group argued that 'the Gaeltacht would not survive large numbers of English-speakers moving into newly built housing estates' (Irish Times, 2001). The issue was very divisive in the community. When this research was being conducted in 2003 and 2004, it was clear that some local people were very unhappy that the County Council had allowed unrestricted housing in the Gaeltacht which they believed would destroy the Irish language there. One participant said it was ironic that one arm of the state - the Department of the Gaeltacht and Údarás - were attempting to protect the Gaeltacht while another - Waterford County Council - was trying to destroy it (interview with Mac Murchú, 2004). Concerns were also expressed that Waterford County Council had not sought linguistic impact statements on housing developments. Criticisms were also voiced elsewhere. One Conamara-based language activist who has a high-profile nationally on the planning issue, was extremely critical of Waterford County Council:

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[7] From my experience of Waterford County Council, it's not very suitable for County Councils to be responsible for the Gaeltacht. I'm not blaming them by saying that everything they do is bad but really planning here has been a disaster. I was very involved with Gaeltacht i mBaol, an organisation which we had [here]. We opposed one planning application as a sample case and, with county councillors and the planning office, it was sometimes like talking to the wall. They don't see, they don't understand, in my view, the importance of the Gaeltacht, they don't understand that it's a specific case and the county councillors are open to pressure from people.

Is tubaiste pleanála é seo agus is scannal é nár sheas na háisínteachtaí Gaeilge agus Gaeltachta in aghaidh an scrios atá déanta ag Comhairle Contae Phort Láirge ar Ghaeltacht bheag na nDéise. Ní fhéadfaidís a rá nach raibh a fhios acu go raibh sé ag tarlú. Bhí an eagraíocht 'Gaeltacht i mBaol' ag tarraingt aird ar an scrios a bhí ag bagairt orthu. Ach sheas Údarás na Gaeltachta, Roinn na Gaeltachta agus Foras na Gaeilge siar (Ó hÉallaithe, D.A., 2004b).[8]

Despite an apparently stronger proposal in relation to Irish in the new County Development Plan (see 2.3.1 above), Comhairle Pobail na Rinne has continued to agitate for a housing strategy which will protect the Gaeltacht. In a submission to the Council on the draft plan, the Comhairle called for a linguistic impact statement to be made obligatory with each planning application of more than one house (Comhairle Pobail na Rinne, 2005: 10). The submission warned of the negative implications for the area if Gaeltacht status were lost: 'Tá baol ann go mbeimis ag féachaint ar scrios iomlán eacnamaíochta, sóisialta, oideachasúil agus cultúrtha an cheantair, má chailltear stádas Gaeltachta' ['There is a danger that we would be looking at the total economic, social, educational and cultural destruction of the area, if Gaeltacht status is lost'] (2005: 6; see also Walsh, 2005a).

The above extract also illustrates the strong sense of Gaeltacht identity which exists in Na Déise. Many participants spoke of a local sense of pride in Irish, even among those less likely to use Irish frequently or at all (interviews with Breathnach, Suipéil, Mac Murchú, Ó Céilleachair, F.). The cultural tradition of Na Déise is closely associated with Irish and while only a minority now use Irish on a daily basis, levels of ability to speak the language are still relatively high. Furthermore, the strong turnout in Na Déise in the 2005 Údarás na Gaeltachta elections may be interpreted as an illustration of support for the

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[8] This is a planning disaster and it is scandalous that the Irish language and Gaeltacht agencies did not oppose the way in which Waterford County Council has destroyed the small Gaeltacht of Na Déise. They couldn't say they didn't know it was happening. The group 'Gaeltacht i mBaol' was bringing attention to the destruction with which they were threatened. But Údarás na Gaeltachta, the Department of the Gaeltacht and Foras na Gaeilge stood back.

continuation of this Gaeltacht as a distinct linguistic entity (Ó Céilleachair, F., 2005a).

Coláiste na Rinne

The local boarding school, Coláiste na Rinne (see 2.2.1 above) employs up to 50 people and is estimated to contribute up to €1 million annually to the local economy (interview with Suipéil, 2004). However, as it is a company with charitable status whose profits are re-invested in the business, it is included in the category of civil society. Coláiste na Rinne is an example of a local employer which, through using Irish as the basis for its operations, contributes positively to social development (through education) and to economic development (through employment creation) in Na Déise. Because of the historical funding structure of Údarás na Gaeltachta (see Chapter Seven), the college has received far less financial support from the state than local productive industries (interview with Suipéil, 2004). However, it straddles both civil society and market and is clearly dependent on Irish for its survival. The changing strategy of Údarás na Gaeltachta (see Chapter Seven) may lead to its being granted further state support in the future.

In conclusion, civil society in Na Déise have ensured that Irish influences the local development process. They are backed by a community which has relatively strong local knowledge of, and support for Irish, even if daily levels of usage are falling. As well as pressuring the state to strengthen its policies on Irish, many Irish speakers involved in voluntary community activity also interact with the market through their involvement in the operation of local businesses. This ensures that at least part of the local economy and society operates through Irish, providing institutional support for Irish in the community. The next section considers the role of the market in the linguistic political economy of development.

2.3.3 Market

The housing market and the associated controversies over Irish have already been discussed. This section examines local private industry in more detail, considers how it is influenced by Irish and how it interacts with state and civil society. Local private industry is dependent on Údarás na Gaeltachta for investment. According to the organisation's most recent annual report, five 'small industries', were supported in 2003, receiving grants of less than €317,435 each. Údarás held shares in three subsidiary or associated companies (ÚnaG, 2003b). A recent socio-economic study of the area listed almost 20 local businesses (Breathnach, 2001). Many of the larger local employers are strongly pro-Irish in their operations, and are managed or owned by people who are also involved in local community groups.

Nemeton

As stated at 2.2.2 above, the television production company, Nemeton, is both a large local employer and an important factor in consolidating the Irish language in Na Déise, particularly among young people who tend to dominate the independent television production sector. Nemeton's founder and managing director, Irial Mac Murchú, represents the minority language promotion approach. He argues that Irish will be supported best through local industries which are based upon it:

> Bhí fealsúnacht ana-láidir i gcónaí. Bhí sé i gcónaí i gcúl mo chinn fhéin nach slánófaí an teanga i gceantar beag mar seo riamh gan [comhlachtaí] a bheith teangabhunaithe agus thá fhios agam gur saghas frása nua-aimseartha é sin ach ... níl tú chun fadhbanna dífhostaíochta na Rinne a réiteach leis an ngnó so agus is fís i gcónaí agam fhéin de thionscal teangalárnaithe a chothódh fostaíocht do dhaoine áitiúla tré Ghaolainn, fostaíocht de chaighdeán maith a choimeádfadh anso iad agus a chuirfeadh dlús agus borradh fén dteanga san áit agus thá éirithe linn é sin a dhéanamh go pointe áirithe. Níl mé ag rá go bhfuil réabhlóid cruthaithe againn ach gach duine óg a choimeádann tú sa cheantar, gach cainteoir dúchasach a choimeádann tú, gach lánúin óg a chríochnaíonn suas ag pósadh de

thoradh gur thosnaíodar ag obair lena chéile anso blianta ó shin, is mór an dul chun cinn é (interview with Mac Murchú, 2004).[9]

Mac Murchú also believes that an Irish-language television industry has had positive psychological benefits for the area:

Thóg muintir na Gaeltachta ina n-iomlán tionscal na teilifíse chucu féin mar rud éigint a bhí chomh nádúrtha sin dóibh.

Cad ina thaobh?

Níl fhios agam, an é traidisiún na scéalaíochta nó drámaíochta é? Nó b'fhéidir go bhfuil daoine cruthaitheacha ag cónaí sa Ghaeltacht. Is daoine cruthaitheacha iad lucht déanta cláracha teilifíse agus is dó' liom tríd is tríd, n'fheadar mé an mar gheall ar an gceangal leis an dteanga nó pé rud é, samhlaítear dom go minic go bhfuil cruthaitheacht áirithe, b'fhéidir gur craiceáilteacht áirithe ag baint le muintir na Gaeltachta. Thá muintir na Gaeltachta ana-mhaith ar chúrsaí teicniúla chomh maith agus is nascadh den dá rud [iad] cláracha teilifíse agus dheineamar go hana-mhaith é ar fuaid na nGaeltachtaí (interview with Mac Murchú, 2004).[10]

Nemeton interacts both with the state (through grant-aid from Údarás na Gaeltachta) and civil society (through the involvement of its managing director in local community and sports activities and its influence on attitudes to Irish). It is a good example of a private business which uses Irish to influence the political economy of development in its locality.

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[9] There was always a strong philosophy [behind the company]. It was always there in the back of my mind that without language-based [companies], the language would never be saved in a small area like this, and I know that's a kind of modern phrase but ... you're not going to solve the unemployment problems of An Rinn with this business and it's still a vision of mine to see language-based industries which would create employment for local people through Irish, employment of a high standard which would keep them here and consolidate and grow the language in the place, and we have managed to do that to a certain extent. I'm not saying that we've created a revolution but every young person you keep in the area, every native speaker you keep, every young couple who end up marrying because they started working together here years ago, it's great progress.

[10] All of the people of the Gaeltacht made the television industry their own, as something which was so natural to them. *Why?* I don't know, is it the tradition of storytelling or drama? Or maybe it's because there are creative people living in the Gaeltacht. People who make television programmes are creative and I think in general, perhaps because of the connection with the language or whatever, it seems to me that there's a certain creativity, even a madness in Gaeltacht people. Gaeltacht people are very good at technical things as well and television programmes bring the two things together, and we did it very well throughout all the Gaeltachtaí.

The director of the local oyster production factory, Meitheal Trá na Rinne, is also chairperson of the voluntary community council, Comhairle Pobail na Rinne (see 2.3.2 above). She too represents the minority language promotion approach because, although the oyster production business does not depend on Irish as raw material, the business is operated through Irish as much as possible:

> Níl aon bhaint go díreach ag fás oisrí le Gaolainn ach deinimid an méid dár ngnó agus is féidir anso trí Ghaolainn, thá cuid desna táirgeoirí agus Gaolainn a bheadh i gcónaí agamsa leo. Cuid eile ní hea agus ní bhrúim Gaolainn riamh ar aoinne, ní chreidim gur cheart é sin a dhéanamh (interview with Mhic Ghiolla Chuda, 2004).[11]

In conclusion, Irish has influenced the socio-economic development of Na Déise through key local industries which are language-based. These industries have been aided by the state because of their Gaeltacht location. They also have strong links to civil society through the personal commitment of managers. Therefore, they are a good example of how Irish influences the ways in which the state-market-civil society nexus achieves development.

2.4   Conclusions

The discussion above suggests that the relative resilience of Irish in this area has had a positive impact on its socio-economic development. Were most people in the community to cease using Irish with any degree of regularity, and were schools and other community activities to switch to English, there would not be enough fluent and habitual speakers of Irish to ensure the existence of large language-based industries such as Nemeton or Coláiste na Rinne. Other companies less closely associated with Irish have benefitted

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[11] Growing oysters has nothing directly to do with Irish but we carry out as much of our business as possible in Irish, and there are some [oyster] producers and I would speak only Irish to them. Some others, no, and I never force Irish on anyone, I don't believe it's right to do that.

considerably from state investment due to the area's Gaeltacht status. As illustrated at 2.2.1 above, unemployment and deprivation levels are relatively low, there has been no decline in population, and the area has benefitted from substantial inward investment by state institutions for Irish. Therefore, in an economic sense, Irish has had a positive effect on Na Déise. There also appear to be social benefits. The area's strong Gaeltacht identity is influenced by Irish and local civil society has drawn on this resource to guide community development and to engage with the state over the housing issue.

The reverse relationship between development and language in Na Déise has been positive in some ways: historically, the fishing industry has been strongly Irish-speaking and the new aquaculture sector continues in the same vein. The television production company, Nemeton, is the most obvious example of how economic activity need not be negative linguistically, although this positive influence is at risk of being diluted by the shortage of funding for the Irish language television station, TG4 (SPI, 2004; Ní Chéilleachair, 2004b). There have been very negative influences too, however, most obviously from insensitive planning. However, this is only part of the problem: Na Déise, like all other Gaeltacht communities throughout Ireland, finds itself at the centre of a struggle between opposing approaches to language and socio-economic development. The anglicising influence of local government, combined with a growth-led and modernisationist approach to development exists in tension with generally under-resourced and under-staffed community or voluntary groups, representing the socio-cultural or minority language promotion approaches, or a combination of both. Furthermore, because of its very small extent, this Gaeltacht community is heavily dependent, both socially and economically, on its English speaking hinterland. This underlines the need for a professional language planner based in the community to promote the further normalisation of Irish. Such an appointment would increase the potential influence of Irish on the political economy of development.

3. MÚSCRAÍ, CORK

'Múscraí Thiar', or 'Múscraí Uí Fhloinn', is the historical name of an ancient barony in north-west Cork. It is the name used generally to describe the Gaeltacht area west of Macroom, which comprises the districts of Baile Bhuirne/Baile Mhic Íre, Cúil Aodha, Cill na Martra and Béal Átha an Ghaorthaidh. Múscraí is unusual in that it is an inland Gaeltacht. It is divided by the main Cork to Killarney road, along which most of the settlement is located in the twin villages of Baile Mhic Íre and Baile Bhuirne. However, the area is predominantly rural and still relies heavily on agriculture (traditionally dairying but now more mixed), although industry has become particularly important in recent years (Ua Súilleabháin, 2000; Ó Luasaigh, 2000).

3.1   Linguistic vitality in Múscraí

In common with other Gaeltacht regions, in the 1920s, the Múscraí Gaeltacht formed part of a much larger area of territory which stretched as far as west and south Co. Kerry. In the Macroom county electoral area in 1926, it comprised 16 entire EDs, with the strongest concentrations of Irish speakers around Baile Bhuirne and, particularly, Cúil Aodha. Following the revisions of 1956, it was reduced in size but, in 1982 as a result of local agitation, a further 22 townlands were added around Cill na Martra. Múscraí today comprises 6 entire EDs and part of 4 others. Similar to Na Déise, it is linguistically isolated, although it is a relatively short distance from its closest Gaeltacht neighbours of Corca Dhuibhne and Uíbh Ráthach, Co. Kerry. Múscraí has a long literary tradition of poetry and lore (Ó Cróinín, 1980), and it quickly gained a national reputation by winning numerous awards at the annual Oireachtas na Gaeilge festival after its establishment in 1897 (Ua Súilleabháin, 2000: 665). The area's distinct dialect was favoured by many Irish speakers in the Free State government (Dillon & Ó Cróinín, D., 1961: xii; Ó Gadhra, 1989: 7). It gained recognition through the publications of local priest, An tAthair Peadar Ó Laoghaire, who was supported enthusiastically by

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the Gaelic League (Ua Súilleabháin, 2000; Ó hÉallaithe, D., 2000). In Béal Átha an Ghaorthaidh, the residential summer college, Coláiste na Mumhan, was opened in 1904 to teach Irish to those not from the Gaeltacht. Generations of learners attended courses there, raising the area's profile nationally (Ó Luasaigh, 2000).

Despite the elevated profile of the Múscraí dialect, even in 1950 it was apparent that this Gaeltacht was in decline. Brian Ó Cuív wrote that Irish was no longer the everyday language in even one ED there: 'In the Ballyvourney district of West Cork, for instance, the generation born about eighty years ago [1870] belonged to the Irish-speaking world. In the next generation, the real impact of anglicisation was felt, with the result that the third generation, those born fifteen to twenty-five years ago [1925-1935], were but too often reared in homes where English was the prevailing language, and it is upon that generation that much of the hopes of the Gaeltacht Commission would have been centred' (1950: 30). Compared to contemporary Census returns, this analysis appears to have been over-pessimistic. The Census of 2002 reveals that Múscraí returns a high percentage of persons claiming an ability to speak Irish: 2,864 or 79.6 percent, and that this level of knowledge has been more or less constant since 1981. However, a closer examination reveals that the number of daily speakers of Irish is relatively low: 1,254 people or 34.8 percent, down from 38 percent in 1996 (CSO, 2004d). An analysis of the Census revealed that, in Múscraí, the only substantial concentration of daily Irish speakers (218 persons or 53 percent) was in the ED of Gort na Tiobratan (Cúil Aodha). This represented a drop from 59 percent in 1996. The only other ED which is close to a majority of daily speakers is Béal Átha an Ghaorthaidh (298 persons or 44 percent) (Ó hÉallaithe, D.A., 2004: 22-23).

Table 6.8: Irish speakers as percentage of total population aged 3+ years and according to frequency of use, Múscraí, Census 1981-2002

	1981		1986		1991		1996		2002	
Pop. 3+	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total	3,785	--	3,722	--	3,603	--	3,592	--	3,600	--
Speak Irish	2,938	*77.6*	2,824	*75.9*	2,721	*75.5*	2,788	*77.6*	2,864	*79.6*
Cannot speak Irish	847	*22.4*	898	*24.1*	882	*24.5*	637	*17.7*	711	*19.8*
Speak Irish daily	--	--	--	--	--	--	1,364	*38.0*	1,254	*34.8*
Speak Irish weekly	--	--	--	--	--	--	363	10.1	487	13.5
Speak Irish less often	--	--	--	--	--	--	766	21.3	913	25.4
Speak Irish never	--	--	--	--	--	--	129	3.6	156	4.3

Source: CSO, 2004d

In 1990, using statistics from Scéim Labhairt na Gaeilge, Hindley categorised all EDs in Múscraí as 'effective Galltacht' with the exception of Gort na Tiobratan (Cúil Aodha), which he described as an 'upper transitional zone', where Irish was still stronger than English. 'With the utmost of generosity the Múscraí effective Gaeltacht can only be reckoned as five or six square miles, the catchment area of Cúil Aodha national school', he concluded (1990: 122). According to an analysis of SLG for the years 1993/4 to 2000/1, an average of 31 families per year were awarded the full grant (Ó hIfearnáin, 2003: 162). In 2001/2, a total of 28 families with children of school age earned the full grant, representing just 8.7 percent of all such families. Once again, Cúil Aodha accounts for many of these families, 15 out of 37 in 2003/4 (personal communication with Ó Finneadha, 2004). While it is clear that Irish is no longer the dominant language in the Múscraí Gaeltacht, many public activities such as schooling, religious services and cultural events, particularly in Cúil Aodha, are still conducted through the language. Within the larger community, most of which has some level of ability in Irish, there is a smaller group of active Irish speakers (Ó hIfearnáin, 2003: 171). Although Irish is weaker here than in Na Déise, it is surprising that it has survived at all given Múscraí's central location on a national road and the intense industrial

development which has occurred since the 1980s in particular (see 3.2.2 below).

3.2   Socio-economic development in Múscraí

3.2.1   Social development

The population density of the Cork Gaeltacht (including the tiny island of Cléire) in 2002 was 3,530 persons. In Múscraí, the population density is lower than the average for the collective Gaeltacht (35 persons per square mile compared to 46). The population decreased slightly between 1991 and 2002, whereas that of County Cork as a whole increased, as did that of the collective Gaeltacht rose (9.8 percent). Age dependency is slightly higher than the Gaeltacht average (35.7 vs. 35.5 percent), and is significantly higher in a small number of EDs. There is a particular problem in part of the area of large numbers of old people living alone (interview with Labrosse, 2004). The proportion of the population aged under 29 years is approaching the national average (43.0 vs. 45.5 percent): this is due to the strength of employment in the area, following significant investment by Údarás na Gaeltachta (see 3.2.2 below).

Table 6.9: Demographic structure, Múscraí, in comparison with regional and national statistics[12]

Area	Population Density	Population Change 91-02	Age Dep.	Population 0-29	Population 65+ alone
An Sliabh Riabhach	42	-0.1	32.5	41.6	13.1
B. Átha an Gh. DM)	15	9.6	47.7	42.7	11.8
B. Átha an Gh. (MC)	38	-4.4	36.6	41.9	9.0
Ceann Droma	42	-1.2	34.2	40.5	8.9
Cill na Martra	58	9.1	39.9	42	7.7
Claonráth	18	-12.1	27	43.4	8.1
Doire Fhínín	30	-5.7	34.1	47.9	15.4
Gort na Tiobratan	28	0.0	35.7	42	11.4
Na hUláin	44	-4.3	33.7	44.9	11.7
Total Múscraí	**35.0**	**-1.0**	**35.7**	**43.0**	**10.8**
All Gaeltacht	46	9.8	35.5	42.1	11.0
BMW	81	9.5	34.6	44.7	10.4
S&E	204	11.7	31.4	45.8	8.3
National	**146**	**11.1**	**32.3**	**45.5**	**8.9**

Source: GAMMA, 2004

Múscraí has average percentages of higher and lower professionals, considerably higher than those for the collective Gaeltacht (34.9 vs. 28.9 percent), and average percentages of semi-skilled or unskilled workers (16.8 percent in Múscraí, 21.3 percent in the Gaeltacht as a whole). Although the area is heavily dependent on manufacturing industry, the proximity of Killarney and Cork opens up job opportunities for more highly-skilled workers. The unemployment rate (7 percent) is lower than the national average (8.8 percent) and significantly lower than that of the Gaeltacht (14.1 percent). The labour force participation rate is close to the national average (56.9 vs. 58.3 percent). Table 6.10 outlines the figures in detail.

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[12] As was the case with data from Na Déise, the GAMMA survey is based on statistics from entire EDs only. Therefore the information provided here applies to an area slightly larger than the official Gaeltacht.

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Table 6.10: Social class, unemployment rate and labour force participation rate, Múscraí

Area	Social Class 1 & 2*	Social Class 5 & 6**	Unemployed	Lab. Force Participation Rate
An Sliabh Riabhach	37.8	17.5	6.8	58.9
Béal Átha an Gh. (DM)	46.9	13.8	11.9	50.6
Béal Átha an Gh. (MC)	37.2	19.2	4.5	57.6
Ceann Droma	26.1	17.1	3.4	56.3
Cill na Martra	29.2	15.8	7.8	53.7
Claonráth	28.6	21.2	10.3	63.0
Doire Fhínín	28.1	14.7	6.1	58.9
Gort na Tiobratan	45.5	16.0	7.2	56.4
Na hUláin	34.8	16.0	5.0	57.0
Total Múscraí	**34.9**	**16.8**	**7.0**	**56.9**
All Gaeltacht	28.9	21.3	14.1	54.7
BMW	27.7	18.6	10.4	56.2
S&E	33.0	15.7	8.3	59.0
National	**31.6**	**16.5**	**8.8**	**58.3**

*   **Social classes 1 and 2: higher and lower professionals**
**   **Social classes 5 and 6: semi and unskilled manuals**

Source: GAMMA, 2004

Educational attainment in Múscraí is mixed. In comparison with the collective Gaeltacht, it has a lower than average proportion of persons who have no formal education, or primary education only (27.2 vs. 30.8 percent). Generally it is in line with other rural areas in this regard. However, a lower than average percentage of the population has a third level qualification, both in comparison with the collective Gaeltacht and the regions of the NDP. There are two post-primary schools in the area, but the ready availability of employment in local factories has probably attracted school-leavers who would otherwise go on to third level in Cork, Limerick or Tralee.

Table 6.11: Educational attainment, Múscraí

Area	Population with no formal ed./primary only	Population with 3rd level qual.
An Sliabh Riabhach	25.5	23.6
Béal Átha an Gh. (DM)	35.8	20.5
Béal Átha an Gh. (MC)	29.0	18.2
Ceann Droma	25.3	20.1
Cill na Martra	22.4	20.3
Claonráth	23.9	17.9
Doire Fhínín	30.8	11.0
Gort na Tiobratan	28.6	17.1
Na hUláin	23.6	22.0
Total Múscraí	**27.2**	**19.0**
All Gaeltacht	30.8	23.0
BMW	27.2	21.1
S&E	20.4	27.7
National	**22.2**	**26.0**

Source: GAMMA, 2004

Múscraí is defined as 'marginally above average' in terms of the GAMMA absolute deprivation and affluence index. It is significantly lower than the Gaeltacht average, but, similar to Na Déise, is considerably more affluent than large areas of the Gaeltacht in Mayo and Donegal.

Table 6.12: Absolute Deprivation/Affluence Index, Múscraí

ABSOLUTE DEPRIVATION/AFFLUENCE INDEX	
An Sliabh Riabhach	5.4
Béal Átha an Gh. (DM)	-3.8
Béal Átha an Gh. (MC)	1.7
Ceann Droma	6.2
Cill na Martra	2.4
Claonráth	-3.3
Doire Fhínín	0.3
Gort na Tiobratan	3.1
Na hUláin	6.5
Total Múscraí	**2.1**
All Gaeltacht	9.2
BMW	13.0
S&E	18.9
National	**17.4**

Source: GAMMA, 2004

Unlike many other Gaeltacht communities, there is no community co-operative in Múscraí, although there were several dairying co-operatives until the 1980s (see 3.2.2 above). In 1970, when the renowned composer, Seán Ó Riada, lived in Cúil Aodha, his wife Ruth was instrumental in setting up Comharchumann Chúil Aodha, a more wide-ranging co-operative similar to those in other Gaeltacht areas at this time. Ruth Ó Riada wanted the co-operative to have broad aims: 'Ba chóir obair aon chomhar-chumainn a mheas i slite éagsúla - ó thaobh eacnamaíochta agus ón dtaobh sóisialta agus cultúrtha mar shampla' [The work of any co-operative should be evaluated in various ways, in terms of the economy and from the social and cultural points of view, for instance] (Ó Riada, 1973a: 1). In a letter to Charles Haughey, TD, who had been a friend of her husband, Ruth Ó Riada again emphasised this broad approach: 'We are most anxious to ensure that economic, social and cultural development are handled together and that you don't have an over emphasis on one to the detriment of another (Ó Riada, 1973b). The work of Comharchumann Chúil Aodha was cut short by the untimely death of Ruth Ó Riada in 1977. Her husband had died in 1971, also at a young age (see 3.2.2 below).

Today, Meitheal Mhúscraí[13] takes responsibility for a wide-range of social programmes aimed in particular at disadvantaged groups in Múscraí. Representing civil society, Meitheal Mhúscraí is part of the Gaeltacht community development structure, Meitheal Forbartha na Gaeltachta ('Gaeltacht Development Working Party'), which implements the Local Development Social Inclusion Programme (LDSIP) at local level. LDSIP is funded under the state's *National Development Plan*, 2000-2006 (Government of Ireland, 1999). Meitheal Mhúscraí is one of 38 area partnerships and 33 community groups which receive funding and support from the state in order to implement LDSIP. It represents a total of 78 voluntary committees throughout Múscraí, a high number for such a small area. Meitheal Mhúscraí

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[13] 'Meitheal' refers to a working party, usually of neighbours, who co-operated for no financial gain in order to bring in the harvest (Ó Fiannachta, 1994).

attributes this large number to the state's failure to provide many basic social services locally, despite heavy investment in industry in the area (interview with Labrosse, 2004).

Given its rich linguistic heritage, it is unsurprising that there are several cultural and language organisations in Múscraí. A cultural and arts centre, Ionad Cultúrtha Bhaile Bhuirne ('Baile Bhuirne Cultural Centre'), operates throughout the year, often in association with Ealaín na Gaeltachta. This is an importance difference between Múscraí and Na Déise: cultural activities in the latter are restricted by the absence of a suitable infrastructure (interview with de Paor, 2004). Another group, Iontaobhas Fódhla ('Ireland's Trust'), is attempting to establish a heritage centre based on the work of Seán Ó Riada (interview with Ó Riada, 2004). Coiste Litríochta Mhúscraí ('Múscraí Literary Committee') is dedicated to promoting the area's distinct literary tradition in Irish. There are two residential summer courses in Irish for teenagers: Coláiste na Mumhan in Béal Átha an Ghaorthaidh and the courses organised by the national Irish language body Gael Linn in Baile Bhuirne (see 3.3 below). Despite the relatively weak state of Irish in Múscraí, several participants referred to the existence of a Gaeltacht identity, particularly around Cúil Aodha, where most habitual Irish speakers live, but also among those who speak Irish less frequently.

The repeated successes of local musicians, poets and performers at the annual Oireachtas na Gaeilge festival has been linked to community self-esteem (Kane, 1977: 420). There has also been a very positive response to the 'masterclass' in Irish being organised by University College Cork in the area for older native speakers. The course, which is run throughout the winter, explores the area's rich linguistic tradition and contributes to self-confidence by valuing the expertise of the best local speakers of Irish (personal communication with Uí Lionáird, 2004).

3.2.2   Economic development

Unable to benefit from fishing like so many other Gaeltacht communities, Múscraí has traditionally turned to agriculture as its principal economic activity. Situated in mid-Munster, the land is of relatively good quality compared to many other Gaeltacht areas and farms have historically been large. The high standard of agriculture in Múscraí was commented upon by a visiting anthropologist in the late 1960s: 'This efficient land utilisation, plus the existence of a creamery and average farm size larger than that of any other community studied here, rather than any other advantage, provides [Cúil Aodha] with its comparatively strong agricultural base' (Kane, 1977: 396-7). Local people's memories of agriculture during this period are not uniformly positive, however. Many farms were uneconomic and emigration to England was commonplace (interviews with Mac Suibhne and Ó Lionáird, M., 2004).

In terms of industrial development, Múscraí has benefited considerably from its location on a national route. Perhaps because of easy access to markets in Cork and Killarney, Gaeltarra Éireann and Údarás na Gaeltachta have invested heavily in Múscraí since the late 1950s, in sharp contrast with their neglect of Na Déise. The first annual report of Gaeltarra Éireann (1958-9) reveals that a machine-knitting factory producing socks was already in operation in Béal Átha an Ghaorthaidh (GÉ, 1959: 3). In 1960, Gaeltarra opened a hand-knitting factory in nearby Baile Bhuirne (GÉ, 1960: 2), but local people were still suspicious of new ventures and expected them to fail:

> Do bhí sórt ionadh ar go leor daoine, do chuireadh sé isteach orthu beagáinín. Rud nó ar fad [ab ea é] agus cheapadar ná raibh seans in aon chor aige, an dtuigeann tú? Mar aon rud a deineadh riamh do theip air. Níor éirigh go rómhaith leo. Ní fhéadfaidís a chreidiúint go bhféadfaí rud mar sin a chur ar siúl i mBaile Bhuirne, go mbeadh tuilleamh seachtaine le fáil ag oibritheoirí i mBaile Bhuirne chomh

maith agus a bheadh thall i Sasana nó in Aimeirice (interview with Mac Suibhne, 2004).[14]

The arrival of Seán Ó Riada to Cúil Aodha in 1963 is usually associated with a cultural revival in the area. However, Ó Riada also had a deep interest in the economic development of Múscraí and local people today recall that his presence was critical in attracting attention to the area's employment needs. He called for a factory to be set up 'at every crossroads', and helped organise the delegation of local people who went to the Department of the Gaeltacht in Dublin in January 1968 in order to agitate for greater industrial development in Múscraí (interview with Mac Suibhne, 2004). Local people remember how Ó Riada boosted considerable confidence in the community:

> Do bhí tiomáint agus dearcadh aige agus do bhí an Riadach tar éis é fhéin a chur in iúl os comhair mhuintir na hÉireann. Bhí 'Mise Éire' ann, do bhrostaigh sé an aigne Éireannach i slí nár tharla riamh is dócha. Agus nuair a tháinig an fear san go Cúil Aodha, is cuimhin liomsa go maith, níor chreid éinne go dtiocfadh sé (interview with Ó Lionáird, M., 2004).[15]

> Do bhí rud éigint eile ansan leis. Do bhí sé i gcoinnibh an tsrutha mar a déarfá. An saol a bhí ann roimis sin, éinne go raibh aon cháil in aon chor orthu, bhíodar ag imeacht as an áit. Ní raibh mórán acu ag teacht isteach. Do chuaigh sé sin i gcoinnibh an tsrutha (interview with Mac Suibhne, 2004).[16]

At the end of the 1960s, Ó Riada invited the chief executive of Gaeltarra Éireann, Cathal Mac Gabhann, to a meeting in his house attended by other local people. The aim was to persuade Gaeltarra to increase investment in

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[14] People were sort of surprised, it would bother them a little. [This was] a totally new thing and they thought that it would have no chance at all, you know? Because anything which was done before failed. They didn't do well. They couldn't believe that anything like that could be set up in Baile Bhuirne, that a week's pay could be available to workers in Baile Bhuirne as it would be in England or America.

[15] He had drive and vision and Ó Riada had already become known throughout Ireland. 'Mise Éire' [renowned musical work composed by Ó Riada] was there and he stimulated the Irish mind in a way which had never been done before, I suppose. And when that man came to Cúil Aodha, I remember it well, no-one believed that he would come.

[16] There was something else as well. He went against the tide, as you would say. Before that anyone who was in any way famous left the place. Very few were coming in. He went against the tide.

the area. The pressure paid dividends, because the end of the 1960s and early 1970s was a critical period for industrialisation in Múscraí. In 1969, Gaeltarra Éireann went into partnership with a private firm to found another knitting company, Teicstílí Chontae Chorcaí ('Cork County Textiles'), in Baile Mhic Íre (GÉ, 1969: 7). From the 1970s as the traditional clothing industry declined, Gaeltarra diversified into other sectors such as wood processing and engineering. A large electronics engineering company, Talcoma, was established in Cúil Aodha, in 1970, and numerous other smaller industries were grant-aided (GÉ, 1970: 9). A pig-fattening plant, Comhlacht Muc Éireann ('Irish Pig Company'), was set up in Cúil Aodha in 1971, providing an income for over 100 local farmers for almost ten years (GÉ, 1971: 4). That year, Seán Ó Riada died aged only forty, but industrialisation had by now gained a momentum of its own. In the early 1970s, three wood processing companies were established in Réidh na nDoirí (GÉ, 1973: 9). By the mid-1970s, almost 40 industries were operating in Múscraí with the support of Gaeltarra (Gaeltarra Éireann, 1976: 12-14). By the early 1980s, manufacturing companies, many of them involved in the heating industry, were being established on purpose-built industrial estates in Baile Bhuirne and Baile Mhic Íre (ÚnaG, 1982: 21). Many of these companies are still operating today and are the largest employers in the area. In keeping with Údarás na Gaeltachta's decision to target the audio-visual industry as a strategic sector, a recording studio, Stiúideó an tSuláin ('Sullane Studios'), was opened in 1985 (ÚnaG, 1985: 27). Smaller food-related industries such as marmalade manufacture, honey production and baking emerged at this time, as did a large mushroom factory in Réidh na nDoirí (ÚnaG, 1985: 40).

National economic growth in the mid-1990s led to significant expansions of the industrial estates in Baile Bhuirne, Baile Mhic Íre and Béal Átha an Ghaorthaidh. Large employers such as Mark Éire, Firebird and Ossian took on more staff and extended their premises (ÚnaG, 1995: 15). A cluster of companies manufacturing heating products now exists in the Múscraí Gaeltacht, and companies frequently co-operate on research initiatives

(interview with Ó Scanaill, 2004). A manufacturer of jam and marmalade, Folláin ('Wholesome'), also expanded its operations recently (1999: 19; interview with Ó Lionáird, P., 2004). By 2000, as the industrial estate at Baile Bhuirne was again extended, Údarás na Gaeltachta announced that it had probably reached a ceiling in terms of job creation in the Gaeltacht. Some companies were reporting that further expansions were restrained by a shortage of workers in manufacturing industries (ÚnaG, 2000: 16-17). Despite the decline in the manufacturing sector in recent years, Múscraí has so far escaped any negative consequences and even recently, Údarás announced that a new meat-processing factory was to be established by the end of 2004 (Ó Loingsigh, 2004a). Table 6.13 reveals, unsurprisingly, that the average percentage of employment in manufacturing industry in Múscraí is significantly higher than the national average (20.9 vs. 16 percent), and that this rises to as high as one third in the EDs of An Sliabh Riabhach and Gort na Tiobratan, where much of the industry is located. Concerns are being expressed locally about the high dependence on manufacturing industry and the failure to develop service jobs (interview with Labrosse, 2004). Although it is declining, the continuing importance of the rural hinterland is revealed by the high reliance on agriculture: 23.9 percent compared to 9.5 percent for the collective Gaeltacht and 5.9 percent nationally.

Table 6.13: Percentage of population at work by industry, Múscraí, Census 2002 (all persons at work aged 15 and over)

Area	Agr./ Fish./ Forestry	Building / Constr.	Manu.	Comm.	Trans.	Pub. Adm.	Prof. Serv.	Other
An Sliabh Riabhach	14.4	9.8	33.4	14.7	5	2.3	15.5	8.5
B. Átha an Gh. (DM)	39.2	14.9	12.2	10.8	2.7	4.1	10.8	5.4
B. Átha an Gh. (MC)	22	15.9	13.1	20.6	3.7	2.8	14.5	7.5
Ceann Droma	20.4	14.2	13.3	16.8	1.8	2.7	13.3	17.7
Cill na Martra	20.9	11.9	19.1	14.7	5.8	4.9	8.9	16
Claonráth	25.3	12.6	19.5	17.2	0	0	18.4	6.9
Doire Fhínín	33.3	9.7	25.8	8.6	4.3	4.3	8.6	5.4
Gort na Tiobratan	22.2	9.4	30.6	9.4	2.8	3.3	11.1	11.1
Na hUláin	17.5	6.2	21.5	14.9	7.9	2.2	16.2	6.6
TOTAL Múscraí	**23.9**	**11.6**	**20.9**	**14.2**	**3.8**	**3.0**	**13.0**	**9.5**
All Gaeltacht	9.5	11.6	17	19.2	4.4	4.8	17.5	15.9
BMW	9.3	10.6	17.7	21.3	4.4	6	16.5	14.1
S&E	4.8	8.6	15.4	28.7	6.4	5.7	15	15.4
National	**5.9**	**9.1**	**16**	**26.9**	**5.9**	**5.8**	**15.4**	**15.1**

Source: GAMMA, 2004

The development of infrastructure in Múscraí has not been as controversial as in other Gaeltacht areas. The area benefits from its location along a national route and its inland location has protected Múscraí from those seeking to live in picturesque coastal areas, as is occurring in Na Déise and Cois Fharraige. Furthermore, although the Gaeltacht is close to Macroom and the much larger town of Killarney, it is far enough away to remain unthreatened by their expansion. There does not appear to be pressure for large-scale housing developments which may dilute linguistic vitality (interview with Ó Scanaill, 2004). In fact, the presence of a large amount of industry and its attractiveness to those seeking work in surrounding areas is more likely to represent a linguistic threat (see 3.3 below).

3.3 Linguistic political economy of development in Múscraí

The next section uses the framework of a linguistic political economy of development to examine the influence of Irish on the ways in which state, civil society and market interact to achieve developmental outcomes in Múscraí. It considers state, society and market in turn, while maintaining a focus on their interconnections. It concludes by considering the research question in the light of this case-study.

3.3.1 State

Two state actors in the Múscraí Gaeltacht are considered in this case-study: Údarás na Gaeltachta and Cork County Council.

Údarás na Gaeltachta

Much of the work of Údarás (based on industrialisation only) represents the interaction of the state and market (private industry) in Múscraí. This interaction is particularly noticeable in Múscraí because of the high concentration of industry in the area. However, many of those involved in language promotion and in community development in Múscraí believe that Irish has been ignored in this interaction, and that the Údarás industrialisation strategy has in fact fuelled the decline of Irish in this area (interviews with Ó hÉallaithe, D.; Ó Riada; Ó Lionáird, M.; Ó Lionáird, P.; Mac Suibhne, 2004). The lack of ability in Irish by senior officials in the organisation is recalled by one person who attended a meeting in the 1970s following the closure of the Talcoma factory in Cúil Aodha:

> Thánadar isteach sa halla, is cuimhin liom go maith é, oíche fuar geimhridh ab ea é, agus do thuigeas láithreach ná raibh an Ghaolainn ar fónamh ag beirt acu. Bhí Gaolainn réasúnta maith ag an dtríú duine. Ach bhíomar ag caint agus ag plé ar feadh cúpla neomat agus dúirt duine acu, 'is dóigh liom go mb'fhearra dhúinn tosnú i mBéarla. Do thuigfimíst a chéile níos fearr dá dtosnóimíst i mBéarla'. Do chuir

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sé isteach go mór orainn gur tháinig an príomhfheidhmeannach anuas go dtí coiste forbartha Gaeltachta agus ná féadfadh sé labhairt linn as Gaolainn. Do lean an cruinniú trí Bhéarla (interview with Ó hÉallaithe, D., 2004).[17]

30 years later, a local Údarás na Gaeltachta employee appears resigned to the fact that the work of the organisation will continue to weaken Irish:

> Tá céad fán gcéad fostaíocht i Múscraí is dócha ó lár na 90í. Agus is dócha go bhfuil 200-300 fán gcéad fostaíocht sa cheantar mar go bhfuilimid ag tarrac isteach an 200 fán gcéad eile, isteach san áit. Sin é an polasaí is dócha a bhí ag an Údarás nuair a bhí géarchéim ó thaobh fostaíochta, ná an fhostaíocht a chruthú, deis a thabhairt do dhaoine dul ag obair san áit gurb as dóibh agus ansan gach cabhair a thabhairt dóibh le cúrsaí teangan, an teanga a fhoghlaim, an teanga a chaomhnú. Ach arís tá sé ag teacht síos go dtí an duine aonair, muna dteastaíonn uathu an teanga a úsáid nó muna gceapann siad go bhfuil aon bhuntáiste ann, ní féidir leat d'fhiachaibh a chur orthu é a dhéanamh (interview with Ó Liatháin, 2004).[18]

The above extract illustrates clearly the prioritisation of employment creation over language promotion, and the perception that the state is unable to influence language behaviour. This reflects the dominant growth-led and modernisationist approach. However, some aspects of the work Údarás in Múscraí reflect approaches other than the modernisationist. For instance, the work of the regional Culture and Language Officer reflects the socio-cultural approach. The officer has overseen the establishment of the subsidiary company, Óige na Gaeltachta ('Gaeltacht Youth'). This company co-ordinates

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[17] They came into the hall, I remember it well. It was a cold winter night and I understand immediately that two of them didn't have great Irish. The third person was quite good. But they were talking and discussing for a few minutes and then one of them said: 'I suppose that we should start in English. We would understand each other better if we started in English'. It bothered us greatly that the chief executive came down to meet a Gaeltacht development committee and that he couldn't speak to us in Irish. The meeting continued in English.

[18] We have full employment, I suppose, since the mid-90s. In fact, I suppose that we have 200-300 percent employment in the area because we are bringing in that other 200 percent from outside. I suppose that was the policy which Údarás had when there was an employment crisis, to create employment, to give people a chance to work in the place where they were from and then to give them every help possible with language, to learn the language, to protect the language. But again, it comes down to the individual, if they don't want to learn the language or if they don't think that there is any benefit in it, you can't force them to do it.

Irish language youth clubs in the Gaeltacht and provides training and services to youth leaders. This is viewed as essential in fostering an identity among young people in the Gaeltacht which, it is hoped, will strengthen their self-confidence and commitment to the language:

> Tá slite eile gur féidir leat a úsáid, rudaí a thugann féinmhuinín dóibh agus féinmheas chomh maith, a láidríonn iad agus a thugann saghas *identity* dóibh mar dhuine ón nGaeltacht agus a thugann faoi ndeara go bhfuil Gaeltachtaí eile ann chomh maith agus a chuireann aithne ar na ceantracha Gaeltachta. Dá bhrí sin go neartaíonn sé sin an féinmheas atá acu orthu féinig agus dá bhrí sin an meas a bheadh acu ar an nGaolainn chomh maith leis ar an nGaeltacht (interview with Ní Riada, 2004).[19]

In this extract, Irish is viewed as a cause of self-respect, self-confidence and identity, factors which were identified by many of the historical authors surveyed in Chapter Three, and elaborated upon the theoretical review in Chapter Four. However, as stated in Chapter Two, only a very small amount of Údarás funds has been devoted historically to 'culture and language', and it is clear that the work of the Culture and Language Officers is limited by this restriction. In conclusion, therefore, the interplay of state and market characterises much of the work of Údarás na Gaeltachta in Múscraí. Irish does not appear to have had a strong influence on this inter-relationship, which has been driven by a modernisationist approach. However, the substantial economic investment made in the area would not have occurred had it not been for the Gaeltacht status of Múscraí. Other, as yet less central aspects of Údarás na Gaeltachta's developmental aims, such as the youth initiative, can be characterised in terms of a state-civil society interaction. This relationship is more strongly influenced by Irish, because of the strong emphasis on Irish among the community groups with which Údarás interacts

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[19] There are other ways that you can use, things that give them self-confidence and self-respect as well, which strengthen them and give them a type of identity as young people from the Gaeltacht, who recognise that there are other Gaeltacht areas and who get to know these areas. In that way it strengthens their self-respect and their respect for Irish and for the Gaeltacht.

(see 3.3.2 below). The work of Údarás na Gaeltachta is discussed in detail in Chapter Seven.

Cork County Council

The planning policies of Cork County Council represent an interaction between state, civil society and market: local area plans influence the provision of a range of social and community services (used by civil society) and shape the built environment through planning permission for housing, built mostly by private industry (market). Although its influence in linguistic terms does not appear to a major issue locally (in comparison to the controversy which it has caused in Na Déise), the Council's local area plan for the Macroom Electoral Area is an interesting illustration of the economic growth and modernisationist approach. In the section on the Gaeltacht, the usual conflation of language, culture and heritage occurs: 'The cultural heritage of the Gaeltacht areas, including the use of the Irish language, deserves fostering' (Cork County Council, 2005: 26). However, in apparent reference to the provisions on the Gaeltacht in the Planning and Development Act, the Council warns about interfering with 'development':

> An isolationist approach, or one which would put unnecessary obstacles in the path of development generally, would, in the current context, be damaging to the long term sustenance of the Irish language and culture in these areas (27).

It appears that the Council views the existing predominantly industrial or economic development model as the most appropriate way to support the Gaeltacht, and that language planning measures play no part in this, other than occupying a marginal cultural role (Cork County Council, 2005: 27). Therefore, it appears that Irish does not influence significantly the ways in which Cork County Council achieves developmental outcomes in Múscraí.

In conclusion, therefore, the state's interactions with civil society and market are less influenced by Irish in Múscraí than in Na Déise. This is due to the

weaker position of Irish in Múscraí, and to the absence of planning controversies related to language. However, as is the case in Na Déise, the fact that Múscraí has status as a Gaeltacht region has led to a series of state interventions, through the mostly industrial role of Údarás na Gaeltachta and the broader work of the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs. The next section turns to society in Múscraí, considers how it interacts with state and market, and how it is influenced by Irish.

3.3.2   Civil society

Meitheal Mhúscraí

As stated at 3.2.1 above, Meitheal Mhúscraí implements the LDSIP at local level in the Múscraí Gaeltacht. It is funded by the state but is part of the not-for-profit sector and is, therefore, a good example of a state-civil society interaction. Although its predominant focus is on social development, through its various measures to promote social inclusion, Meitheal Mhúscraí's work is influenced strongly by the Irish language. The organisation is at present preparing a special local area plan (SLAP) for the Gaeltacht based on its linguistic distinctiveness. It opposed Cork County Council's local area plan (LAP), which amalgamated Múscraí with Macroom, which is outside the Gaeltacht:

> Sí an teanga Ghaelach an nasc agus an chúis gur ceantar ar leith í agus molaimid gur chóir go mbeadh an ceantar ina aonad forbartha nádúrtha dá bharr. Dá bhrí sin is plean speisialta atá in aigne againn a bheadh in ann déileáil leis na tréithe a bhaineann le ceantar Mhúscraí (interview with Labrosse, 2004).[20]

Meitheal Mhúscraí best reflects the socio-cultural development approach; the organisation's work is far more social than linguistic in nature. However, the organisation applied, unsuccessfully, for funding in 2004 to employ a

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language planning officer (Meitheal Mhúscraí, 2004). Were it to appoint such a person in the future, or become more closely involved in language planning, it would represent a mixture of the socio-cultural and minority language promotion approaches. At the moment, however, its focus is socio-cultural, with the 'social' to the fore. In conclusion, Irish clearly influences the ways in which it interacts with the state to bring about social development in Múscraí. It also acts as a consolidating force for Irish in the area, because its core activities are conducted through Irish.

Gael Linn

Another example of the state-civil society interaction which is influenced by Irish is reflected in the ongoing debate about Coláiste Íosagáin, a former boarding school and teacher training college established in the 1930s, situated in Baile Bhuirne. The building was bought by Údarás na Gaeltachta in the late 1980s but has lain idle since then. Coláiste Íosagáin is being watched by several non-state educational and Irish language bodies who wish to see it developed, through state funding, as a centre for Irish-medium education (personal communication with Walsh, 2005; Ó Liatháin, 2004b & 2004c; interview with Ní Mhóráin, M., 2004). The national voluntary Irish language organisation, Gael Linn - who used the building until it was sold for its summer Irish language courses for teenagers - also wants it developed. The local manager of the Gael Linn courses (representing the minority language promotion approach) believes that several other industries related to linguistic tourism could be established in Múscraí, as a direct result of the presence of Irish there, and that many of them could operate out of Coláiste Íosagáin:

> Do chuir mise plean ar aghaidh ag an Údarás agus ag Aire na
> Gaeltachta go dtabharfaí sciathán den áit do Ghael Linn, mar dúrt liom
> féinig dá mbeadh idir seasca agus ochtó leaba agamsa ansin, le cur leis

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[20] Irish is the reason that this is a specific area and we recommend, because of this, that the area would be a natural development unit. Therefore, we have a special plan in mind which would be able to deal with the traits of the Múscraí area.

na leapacha atá agam amuigh sa cheantar, bheinn ag féachaint ar choláiste samhraidh ina mbeadh b'fhéidir 150-160 dalta ... Nó fiú dá gcuirfeá áis ar fáil do scoileanna, do lucht na hidirbhliana ag teacht isteach agus rud éigint a bheadh ar siúl acu ann leis an nGaolainn i rith na bliana. Dá mbeadh an áis sin ann agus d'fhéadfaí é a fhorbairt diaidh ar ndiaidh. Ins na pleananna de réir mar a thuigimse iad fé láthair ní bheadh spás don oiread sin ach ní bheadh fhios agat amach anso ach go bhféadfaí brú éigint a thógaint. Measaim go bhféadfaí nó gurbh fhiú a leithéid a bheith ann. Agus dá bhfeicfeadh muintir na háite go raibh ag éirí le rud mar sin, is mó seans a tharraingeofá ar ais i dtreo na Gaolainne iad (interview with Ó Siadhail, 2004).[21]

If Coláiste Íosagáin were re-opened for this type of educational purpose, and state funding provided to operate the centre, it would be an example of Irish having a direct influence on the political economy of development through the state-civil society nexus. Such a centre would use the Irish language as a resource to bring social and economic benefits to the Gaeltacht. The centre, in turn, would act as a consolidating influence on Irish locally. In conclusion, therefore, Irish has been used by social, cultural and linguistic groups in Múscraí in order to work towards developmental outcomes. The re-opening of Coláiste Íosagáin could strengthen this influence considerably.

3.3.3   Market

The final section turns to the market and considers how Irish influences the ways in which it interacts with state and civil society to achieve development. For a small area, the private sector in Múscraí is large, as a result of the intensive industrialisation strategy of Údarás na Gaeltachta. There are 14 small industries, 2 subsidiary and associated companies and 10 large industries operating in the area with the support of Údarás na Gaeltachta,

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[21] I put a plan forward to Údarás and the Minister for the Gaeltacht proposing that a wing of the building be given to Gael Linn, because I said to myself that if there were between 60 and 80 beds there, to add to the beds which I already have in the area, I'd be looking at a summer college with 150-160 students ... Or even if there was a facility for schools, for transition year pupils, providing something for them there to do with Irish during the year. If the facility was there it could be developed gradually. In the plans as I understand them at the moment there wouldn't be space for that but maybe in the future a type of hostel could be built. And if the people of the area saw that it was successful, there would be a greater chance that they could be enticed back towards Irish.

representing the market-state nexus (ÚnaG, 2003b). As stated at 3.2.2 above, the success of the industrialisation strategy led to full employment over several years. Although this investment was due to the area's Gaeltacht status, much of the local industry is not linked directly to the Irish language. Unlike Na Déise, there is no single, large industry devoted solely to the Irish language which operates throughout the year in Múscraí. The only sizeable private company part of whose operations relate to Irish is the technical writing company, Bard na nGleann ('Bard of the Glens'), in Béal Átha an Ghaorthaidh (see Chapter Seven for a discussion). Another company, Folláin, manufactures marmalade but has a strongly pro-Irish policy (interview with Ó Lionáird, P., 2004).

Local businesses

Otherwise, the economic growth and modernisation approach is widespread in Múscraí. Several local businesses, unwilling to be identified in this research, are at best neutral about or disinterested in Irish, and consider that their responsibility towards the language can be fulfilled by sponsoring local cultural events from time to time. A smaller number of companies view a condition imposed by Údarás na Gaeltachta to implement an internal Irish language plan as a nuisance or an impediment to the growth of their business. There is a widespread belief that the need to create employment in Múscraí in the past took precedence over linguistic considerations and that what mattered was job creation, of any kind. The local elected representative on the Údarás board has claimed that there is more Irish spoken in local companies than many local people believe, but it is difficult to corroborate this view when several company directors admit that up to 70 percent of their employees come from outside the Gaeltacht (interview with Ó Scanaill, 2004). In any case, even if every person listed as a daily Irish speaker in the 2002 census were to work only within the Gaeltacht and to speak Irish always at work, that figure would still amount to less than 40 percent of employees. In conclusion, the economic development of Múscraí has been aided by its

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Gaeltacht status, but few of the industries are based on Irish itself and the opinions of management on Irish range from disinterest to hostility. These views are considered in more detail at 4.3.3 below.

3.4   Conclusions

The Irish language appears to have had a positive influence on the socio-economic development of Múscraí, but this influence is weaker than in Na Déise. The area has benefited considerably in economic terms from the high level of industrialisation by Údarás na Gaeltachta. However, most of these firms are in the manufacturing sector and do not require Irish speakers to operate. Only a limited number of firms specialise in Irish language related activities. Irish has also benefitted the local economy through the summer immersion courses in Irish for teenagers, which generate spin-offs in terms of employment for teachers and revenue for local accommodation providers (all of whom must be Irish speakers).

Perhaps because of the absence of controversies over housing, and also possibly due to some of the more positive elements of Údarás policy in the social and cultural realm, the conflict between the approaches to language and development does not appear as accentuated in Múscraí as in Na Déise. The fact that the language is weaker in Múscraí may also contribute to this. The development of enterprise which is firmly rooted in the area's linguistic heritage, and the introduction of clearly targetted language planning measures, may now be the best ways to ensure that Múscraí continues to be classified as a Gaeltacht community in the future. If the decline in manufacturing industry affects Múscraí, this would create a major employment challenge for the area. However, it may also oblige the Údarás to consider the Irish language itself far more seriously as a resource which can be exploited economically in the area. The question of Coláiste Íosagáin is of the utmost urgency because this unutilised resource has the potential to be extremely important in linguistic, cultural, social and economic terms for

the area. The re-development of Coláiste Íosagáin has the potential to strengthen considerably the influence of Irish on the political economy of development in Múscraí.

4. SOUTH CONAMARA, GALWAY

The Galway Gaeltacht is the largest Irish-speaking area in the country, covering over 305,000 acres in a relatively unbroken swathe of territory stretching from the lowlands to the east of the River Corrib to the Carna peninsula in the west, and north to the Mayo border (Mac Aodha, 1969: 1). This section will examine a smaller area where Irish is strongest, comprising 11 Electoral Divisions in Cois Fharraige and Ceantar na nOileán (see map opposite p. 163). Irish remains dominant in other areas, such as Iorras Aithneach and Árainn, but these are not dealt with here. The area chosen is given the generic term 'South Conamara' for convenience, although it is not widely used locally.

The Galway Gaeltacht is important because is the only sizeable Gaeltacht which contains high levels of socio-economic development and where Irish continues to be used extensively as a community language, at least in most of its territory. The influence of language on socio-economic development is more apparent here than anywhere else in Ireland, as is the tension between the competing approaches to the relationship of language and development. The Galway Gaeltacht is a frontline in the battle between language revitalisation and growth-led development, represented by the dramatic expansion of Galway City in recent years and the disputes which it has provoked. However, this Gaeltacht is also an embryonic example of how a more holistic approach to development - comprising social, economic and cultural elements and rooted in a language planning approach - may be more amenable to threatened languages. South Conamara contains a number of important language-based industries, several state institutions charged with

promoting Irish, an organised and vocal civil society and a conscious and relatively large habitually Irish-speaking community.

4.1 Linguistic vitality

South Conamara remains the last remaining strongly Irish-speaking area of considerable size. Taking the 11 EDs as a unit, 89.7 percent of the population aged three years and over reported that it could speak Irish. While this is very high by national standards, it fell below the 90 percent mark for the first time in 2002. In 1986, 93.4 percent of the population reported the ability to speak Irish. The more reliable figures for numbers of daily speakers are still high: 78.9 percent in 2002, although this represents a slight decline on 1996 (79.5 percent), the first year for which such figures were available. However, there has been a considerable increase (from 5.9 percent to 9.4 percent) in the numbers of people who report that they *cannot* speak Irish. This is probably due to the large number of Gaeltacht emigrants who returned from abroad due to the economic boom in the 1990s. The children of such emigrants tend not to speak Irish and have had a significant linguistic influence on schools in the Galway Gaeltacht (Hijmans, 2000).

Table 6.14: Irish speakers as percentage of total population aged 3+ years and according to frequency of use, South Conamara, Census 1981-2002[22]

	1986		1991		1996		2002	
Pop. 3+	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Total	10,038	--	10,101	--	10,475	--	10,880	--
Speak Irish	9,376	*93.4*	9,118	*90.3*	9,464	*90.3*	9,758	*89.7*
Cannot speak Irish	662	*6.6*	953	*9.4*	622	*5.9*	1,026	*9.4*
Speak Irish daily	--	--	--	--	8,325	*79.5*	8,583	*78.9*
Speak Irish weekly	--	--	--	--	257	2.5	413	3.8
Speak Irish less often	--	--	--	--	336	3.2	416	3.8
Speak Irish never	--	--	--	--	47	0.4	81	0.7

Source: CSO, 2004d

For the school year 2001 and 2002, the percentages of children eligible for the SLG grant who were successful ranged from 28.1 percent in An Spidéal and Na Forbacha,[23] close to Galway City, to 85.5 percent in An Cheathrú Rua and 84.4 percent in Ceantar na nOileán (Ó hÉallaithe, D.A., 2003: 10). For the area generally, about 70 percent of applicants were awarded the full grant. There is a negative correlation between linguistic vitality and proximity to Galway City, and there are strong concerns in Cois Fharraige that the position of Irish is being severely threatened by socio-economic changes.

4.2   Socio-economic development in South Conamara

4.2.1   Social development

Since the foundation of the state until recently, the Conamara Gaeltacht (along with many other areas of the country, especially in the west) was blighted by persistent emigration. In 1969, a survey of the Gaeltacht

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[22] Statistics for the other two Gaeltacht case studies, Na Déise and Múscraí, include information from the Census of 1981. In the case of the EDs in question in south Conamara, the CSO was unable to provide this information.

reported very rapid population decline from the 1920s to the 1960s (Mac Aodha, 1969: 2). Having lost practically one-fifth of its entire population in the 20 years between 1946 and 1966, all that remained were the old and the very young. This led to severe social problems:

> The social problems of the Galway Gaeltacht are more serious and much harder to resolve than the economic ones. In part they derive from historical factors - indeed in large measure they are a legacy of the past - but they also owe much to the peculiar demographic structure which has developed. Most of the Gaeltacht population are of low socio-economic status: this results from such factors as the concentration, for historical reasons, of a large population in an extremely poor area, the lack of development in both the service infrastructure and in all the non-agricultural sectors of the economy, the relative scarcity, until recently, of post-primary educational facilities, the physical isolation of most of the area coupled with the cultural isolation imposed by a language barrier, the strength of tradition in inhibiting technological change, and the deleterious side-effects of social welfare schemes (Mac Aodha, 1969: 8).

For the area as a whole, population density is almost twice the average for the Gaeltacht (almost 78 persons per square mile versus 46 per square mile). The heaviest concentrations of population are in the EDs near Galway City. For instance, the ED of Na Forbacha, where Údarás na Gaeltachta has its headquarters, experienced a population increase of 51 percent in the eleven years from 1991 to 2002. There are also high population densities also further west in Ceantar na nOileán (Garmna and Leitir Móir) and around the town of An Cheathrú Rua (ED of An Crompán). There has been severe population depletion in some EDs (Camas, An Turlach, Cill Chuimín (Uachtar Ard)). The overall population increase of just 4.4 percent from 1991-2002 is considerably lower than the Gaeltacht average (9.8 percent) and the national average (11.1 percent), but this is caused by considerable internal variations from one ED to another. Some areas within South Conamara are declining rapidly while in others, the population is increasing due to the expansion of Galway City. The average age dependent population is similar to the

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[23] This apparently low figure masks differences between the weak state of Irish in Na Forbacha and its relative strength in An Spidéal.

Gaeltacht and national averages, as are the percentages of the population under 29 and those aged over 65 living alone.

Table 6.15: Demographic structure, south Conamara Gaeltacht in comparison with regional and national statistics

	Population Density (per sq. mile)	Pop. Change 91-02 (%)	Age dependency (%)	Pop. 0-29 (%)	Pop. 65+ alone (%)
An Crompán	175	9.1	34.2	41.3	10.3
An Spidéal	92	4.8	32.5	43.9	6.5
An Turlach	20	-17	35.8	35.8	15.9
Camas	28	-7.2	34.5	43.3	7.8
Cill Aithnín	31	-1.9	29.1	42.2	9.4
Cill Chuimín (Ga.)	61	4.6	31.2	42.7	10.8
Cill Chuimín (UA)	5	-15.1	37.3	38.1	2.5
Garmna	140	-3.3	38.5	43.8	9.1
Leitir Móir	145	-1	34.5	41	8.8
Na Forbacha	120	51.6	34.4	44	6.9
Sailearna	49	23.6	34.7	45.5	8.4
TOTAL S. Conamara	**78.7**	**4.4**	**34.2**	**42.0**	**8.8**
All Gaeltacht	46	9.8	35.5	42.1	11.0
BMW	81	9.5	34.6	44.7	10.4
S&E	204	11.7	31.4	45.8	8.3
National	**146**	**11.1**	**32.3**	**45.5**	**8.9**

Source: GAMMA, 2004

In general, there has been rapid population growth close to Galway City and, to a lesser extent, around An Cheathrú Rua, and sometimes rapid decline in more rural areas, with the exception of Ceantar na nOileán, where the population is stable.

The South Conamara Gaeltacht contains lower than average percentages of higher and lower professionals (22.6 percent) than the collective Gaeltacht (28.9 percent) and the country as a whole (31.6 percent). It contains higher than average percentages of semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers (24 percent) than the collective Gaeltacht (21.3 percent) and the country as a whole (16.5 percent). Very high percentages of professional workers in the EDs near Galway City (reflecting both the availability of professional work in the city but also the Gaeltacht middle-classes employed in the media and

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public sectors) are offset by very high percentages of unskilled workers in some of the more rural EDs. South Conamara as a unit has an unemployment rate about two-and-a-half times the national average (20.7 percent versus 8.8 percent), exacerbated by severe unemployment in the western EDs. The labour force participation rate is lower than normal.

Table 6.16: Social class, unemployment rate and labour force participation rate, South Conamara Gaeltacht

	Social class 1&2* (%)	Social class 5&6** (%)	Unemployment rate (%)	Labour force part. rate (%)
An Crompán	20.3	25.9	21.2	52.6
An Spidéal	42.9	14.3	8.4	58.6
An Turlach	15.1	25.8	29.8	50.3
Camas	18.3	27.6	26.4	48.4
Cill Aithnín	32	21.3	10.7	56.6
Cill Chuimín (Ga.)	19.9	26.1	18.7	53.4
Cill Chuimín (UA)	5.9	26.3	20.8	51.6
Garmna	12	30	35	50.1
Leitir Móir	14.2	26.4	36.4	56.1
Na Forbacha	40.6	14.2	6.1	60.6
Sailearna	27.8	26.4	13.8	55.3
TOTAL S. Conamara	**22.6**	**24.0**	**20.7**	**54.0**
All Gaeltacht	28.9	21.3	14.1	54.7
BMW	27.7	18.6	10.4	56.2
S&E	33	15.7	8.3	59
National	**31.6**	**16.5**	**8.8**	**58.3**

*   **Social classes 1 and 2: higher and lower professionals**
**   **Social classes 5 and 6: semi and unskilled manuals**

Source: GAMMA, 2004

Levels of educational attainment are lower in South Conamara than the Gaeltacht as a whole and the national figure: 33.5 percent of the population have no formal education or primary education only (versus 30.8 percent for the Gaeltacht and 22.2 percent for the country). There are very high levels of poor educational achievement in the western EDs, particularly in Garmna where 55 percent of the population have no formal education or primary education only. This is in stark contrast to the ED closest to Galway, Na Forbacha, where only 13.5 percent have the lowest level of education. Na

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Forbacha and An Spidéal have the highest concentrations of people with third level qualifications.

Table 6.17: Educational attainment, South Conamara Gaeltacht

Electoral Division	Population with no formal education/primary education only	Population with 3rd level education
An Crompán	33.3	20.1
An Spidéal	17.8	41.5
An Turlach	44	10.5
Camas	43.8	17.3
Cill Aithnín	26.4	26.8
Cill Chuimín (Ga.)	32.2	17.6
Cill Chuimín (UA)	31.7	19
Garmna	55	7.8
Leitir Móir	44.6	10.2
Na Forbacha	13.5	40.8
Sailearna	26.3	24.5
TOTAL S. Conamara	**33.5**	**21.5**
Gaeltacht	30.8	23
BMW	27.2	21.1
S&E	20.4	27.7
National	**22.2**	**26**

Source: GAMMA, 2004

Most of the EDs in the area surveyed are classified as 'deprived', with extreme levels of deprivation in Ceantar na nOileán. The only ED classified as 'affluent' is Na Forbacha.

Table 6.18: Absolute deprivation/affluence index, South Conamara Gaeltacht

Electoral Division	Score	Classification
An Crompán	-15.2	Deprived
An Spidéal	7	Marginally above average
An Turlach	-26.5	Very deprived
Camas	-20	Deprived
Cill Aithnín	-1.6	Marginally below average
Cill Chuimín (Ga.)	-13.3	Deprived
Cill Chuimín (UA)	-18.6	Deprived
Garmna	-34.2	Extremely deprived
Leitir Móir	-26.4	Very deprived
Na Forbacha	11.4	Affluent
Sailearna	-6.2	Marginally below average
TOTAL S. Conamara	**-13.1**	**Deprived**
Gaeltacht	9.2	Marginally above average
BMW	13	Affluent
S&E	18.9	Affluent
National	**17.4**	**Affluent**

Source: GAMMA, 2004

In conclusion, therefore, while the indices of social development have improved in the areas closest to Galway City, the western EDs of Ceantar na nOileán remain severely underdeveloped.

Because Irish is a normal community language in much of South Conamara, it is not surprising that many cultural activities are conducted through that language. In 2004, 36 cultural festivals in Irish were held in the Galway Gaeltacht, most of which took place within the South Conamara area (GaelSaoire, 2004). The largest of these festivals, Pléaráca Chonamara, employs a number of staff throughout the year and is perceived to have a positive impact on community self-confidence (interview with Denvir, 2003). The area also contains a well developed language learning infrastructure. There are 11 summer language courses for teenagers from elsewhere in Ireland (CONCOS, 2005), and a number of centres for adult learners of Irish. Many national Irish language media outlets are based here (see 4.3 below). The large numbers of daily Irish speakers, a substantial hinterland of passive competence and the high incidence of state and voluntary language bodies in

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the area, combine to give South Conamara a stronger Gaeltacht identity than any other Gaeltacht. It was evident from the research conducted in this area that for most participants, even those who did not speak Irish fluently or at all, the language was an integral part of the area's character.

4.2.2 Economic development

When the Congested Districts Board was established in 1891, large parts of County Galway were included in it, because of the grinding poverty contained therein. Most of the congested districts coincided with the Gaeltacht (for an account, see Ó Conghaile, S., 1974; Ó Conghaile, M., 1988). Such poverty persisted following the foundation of the state (Ní Bhrádaigh, forthcoming, 2006). Until the 1970s, the main source of income in the South Conamara Gaeltacht was from agriculture, despite the fact that only about one quarter of the land was classified as 'improved' and soil quality was extremely poor (Mac Aodha, 1969: 11). Off-farm income was reliant predominantly on emigrants' remittances, employment in Galway City and unemployment benefit, with smaller amounts from tourism (most of it based on Irish language students), fishing, sales of turf and the grant from Scéim Labhairt na Gaeilge (1969: 12). Although Gaeltarra Éireann was established in 1958, Mac Aodha reported that, even in the late 1960s, the impact of industrialisation on the Galway Gaeltacht was minimal and restricted to a few factories specialising in textiles, marble, shellfish and seaweed:

> Gaeltarra Éireann operates a number of factories and home industries in the area, notably at Spiddal, Rosmuck, and Carraroe, but the total number of full-time workers (including managers) is only 87 or 0.73% of the 15-64 age-group' (1969: 12).

However, since the 1970s, at least part of South Conamara - particularly Cois Fharraige - has been heavily industrialised by Údarás na Gaeltachta. By contrast, Ceantar na nOileán has not, and remains underdeveloped (see also Chapter Five). Like much of the traditional Gaeltacht, the area has relied heavily on manufacturing industry, with a number of large companies

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operating from industrial estates in An Spidéal, Ros an Mhíl and Casla. Dependence on manufacturing industry is higher than the national average (18.9 percent versus 16 percent). The building and construction industry is stronger than the national average (13.8 percent versus 9.1 percent), reflecting the proliferation of housing in the area in recent years. The lower than average percentage employed in commerce (14.7 percent versus 26.9 percent) is not unusual for a largely rural area. The high proportions of people engaged in professional services in Na Forbacha and An Spidéal reflect the proliferation of the media industry and professional public sector Irish language employers in these areas.

Table 6.19: Percentage of population at work by industry, South Conamara Gaeltacht, Census 2002 (all persons at work aged 15 and over)

	Agr./ Fish./ Forestry	Build./ Const.	Manu.	Comm.	Trans.	Pub. Adm.	Prof. serv.	Other
An Crompán	1.6	15.5	22	13.2	5.4	3.9	17.7	20.7
An Spidéal	3.1	10.2	14.4	19.5	5.4	6.7	22.2	18.6
An Turlach	3.6	14.4	13.7	7.9	4.3	5	15.8	35.3
Camas	8.3	15.6	20.2	12.8	5.5	8.3	7.3	22
Cill Aithnín	3.8	14.4	24	13.8	2.9	8.2	22	10.9
Cill Ch. (Ga.)	7.1	15.1	23.5	14.4	4.4	4.7	15.3	15.5
Cill Ch. (UA)	21.1	13.2	13.2	10.5	5.3	2.6	5.3	28.9
Garmna	11.1	21	21.7	10.2	2.9	2.9	18.2	12.1
Leitir Móir	8	9.8	25.9	20.1	2.2	2.7	10.7	20.5
Na Forbacha	2.4	9.8	11.5	22	7	6.8	20.7	19.8
Sailearna	6	12.8	18.1	17.7	3	7.7	19.1	15.7
TOTAL S. Conamara	**6.9**	**13.8**	**18.9**	**14.7**	**4.4**	**5.4**	**15.8**	**20.0**
All Gaeltacht	9.5	11.6	17	19.2	4.4	4.8	17.5	15.9
BMW	9.3	10.6	17.7	21.3	4.4	6	16.5	14.1
S&E	4.8	8.6	15.4	28.7	6.4	5.7	15	15.4
National	**5.9**	**9.1**	**16**	**26.9**	**5.9**	**5.8**	**15.4**	**15.1**

Source: GAMMA, 2004

Since the 1980s, Údarás has attempted to develop a more strategic approach, with plans emerging for sectors such as mariculture[24] and the audio-visual

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[24] Many of the mariculture industries are located *outside* the area of study, i.e. in Iorras Aithneach, but they are an important part of the general economy of the area.

industry. Both are particularly well developed in the South Conamara Gaeltacht. The former is situated mostly in the west, while the latter is based mostly in Cois Fharraige close to the headquarters of the Irish language television station, TG4. The contribution of the audio-visual sector both to socio-economic development and to language vitality is discussed in more detail at 4.3 below.

In 2003, one third of the total infrastructural investment by the DCRGA was spent on the Galway Gaeltacht (personal communication with Ó Finneadha, 2004). This is to be expected given its large population and extent in comparison with other Gaeltacht areas. However, there is still considerable discrepancy in terms of roads, services and broadband provision between east and west, with the areas close to Galway City and Cois Fharraige well serviced, while Ceantar na nOileán and areas further west fall behind. Much of the industry is located in the coastal strip stretching west from Bearna, aided by the proximity of Galway City. The former Chief Executive of Údarás, Ruán Ó Bric, acknowledged that it was virtually impossible to persuade investors to move away from these well-serviced areas (Ó Catháin, 2004a: 1).

The housing question has generated more controversy in Galway than in any other Gaeltacht. English-language media usually ignore anything happening in the Gaeltacht, but the planning question in Conamara has been propelled into the headlines in national and even international media (Andrews, 2002; Lister, 2003; Siggins, 2004). These questions have dominated the Irish language media continuously in recent years (for a recent selection, see Ní Ghallchóir, 2003; Ó Donnchú, 2004; Ó Catháin, 2004b & 2004c; Ní Chéilleachair, 2004a; Ó hAoláin, 2004; Ní Shúilleabháin 2004a & 2004c; Ní Mhonacháin, 2004; Ní Mhárta, 2005). As outlined earlier at 2.2.2 and in Chapter Five, linguistic impact statements on housing developments have sparked considerable controversy in recent times. In early 2005, the planning appeals board, An Bord Pleanála, issued a landmark decision on three contentious housing developments in the Gaeltacht, two of which were

located in South Conamara (An Spidéal and Na Forbacha). The board expressed its strong support for the principle that a majority of large-scale housing developments in the Gaeltacht should be sold to Irish speakers only, although in the case of one estate (An Spidéal), it was unable to insist on such a condition because outline permission was granted by Galway County Council *before* the provisions of the Planning and Development Act 2000 came into force. Nonetheless, the decision is important because it sets a precedent for refusing further attempts by 'developers' to extend urban sprawl into the Gaeltacht regardless of linguistic criteria. It is even more important because both villages in question, An Spidéal and Na Forbacha, are close to Galway City and are under severe linguistic pressure (An Bord Pleanála, 2005a & 2005b).

4.3   Linguistic political economy of development in South Conamara

This section turns to the ways in which Irish influences the political economy of development in South Conamara, that is, the ways in which state, civil society and market interact to achieve development. It also illustrates how the theoretical approaches to development outlined in Chapter Four are reflected in the views of participants. The approaches are more sharply defined than in other Gaeltacht areas, because Irish is normalised in many public domains there. The role of Irish in the Waterford and Cork Gaeltachtaí has become marginalised and the language has ceased, or is about to cease being a public language of everyday communication in most domains.

4.3.1   State

This section examines the ways in which Irish influences the state's interaction with market and civil society. It covers four state bodies: the Irish language television station, TG4; the Irish language radio station, RTÉ

Raidió na Gaeltachta; National University of Ireland, Galway and Galway County Council.

TG4

TG4 emerged from the interaction between state and civil society, when Irish language communities pressurised successive governments to establish an Irish language television station. Many of these groups were located in the Galway Gaeltacht (for a discussion, see Watson, 2003; Hourigan, 2003). The station's dependency on the independent television sector for its programming (see 2.2.2 above) has re-oriented it towards a state-market nexus, although its existence as a high-profile Irish language institution influences social factors also (see below). Many of the independent companies are located in South Conamara. The industry, which depends entirely on the presence of a large Irish speaking community, has contributed significantly to the area's socio-economic development, as a recent report on the sector stated:

> TG4's remit is primarily cultural, linguistic and educational, but it also creates immense social and communal benefits, including raising morale and confidence in areas suffering from disadvantage; at the same time, it has a significantly positive impact on both the Gaeltacht in which it is located, and on Gaeltachtaí in which successful independent producers are based, as well as on other areas of the national economy. On the basis of most recent employment data for this sector in the Gaeltacht and its estimated employment in the rest of the economy, its job creation alone contributes to at least €12.71 million per annum to the overall economy (using conservative assumptions); of that value, at least 54% (€6.83 million per annum) is generated in the Gaeltacht. In addition, its use of other goods and services adds at least €2-3 million to national income annually. Taking both monetary and non-monetary aspects into account, any support awarded to TG4 provides excellent value for money, while failure to provide more support will inevitably result in job losses in the independent production sector, estimated to amount to approximately thirty jobs within the next thirty months' (SPI, 2004).

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The above references to 'raising morale and confidence' are reminiscent of the arguments of the historical authors and also reflect the emphasis on expanding human capabilities inherent in the human development approach outlined in Chapter Four. As well as these social factors, the extract provides information about the precise *economic* impact of TG4. The station's deputy director also refers to the station's role in building community confidence, based on the creative use of Irish:

> Sílim b'fhéidir an rudaí is tábhachtaí ar fad ná gurb sheo iarracht fhónta an Ghaeilge fhéin agus a mbaineann léi a shaothrú. Cé go mb'fhéidir go bhféadfá a rá go bhfuil an acmhainn sin ag éirí teoranta agus níos tanaí ná mar a bhíodh, ar an láimh eile, tá soláthar rialta, seasta don amhábhar ann. Agus tugann an t-amhábhar, 'sé sin an Ghaeilge, oidhreacht na Gaeilge, saíocht na Gaeilge, cultúr na Gaeilge, tugann sé an deis dhúinn, le cabhair na teicneolaíochta, an rud sin a fhorbairt agus a shaothrú. Éilíonn sé sin rudaí éagsúla ó thaobh bonneagair agus mar sin de ach sin é an rud is tábhachtaí, déarfainn, go bhfuil TG4 agus a cuid oibreachaí ar fad ag saothrú na Gaeilge fhéin, dhá forbairt, dhá méadú, dhá tástáil, dhá maslú, dhá hídiú, b'fhéidir, freisin ach sin é an rud is tábhachtaí. An rud atá muid a phróiseáil anseo, an rud a bhfuil muid ag déileáil leis, is acmhainn aiceanta í, is acmhainn í atá luachmhar don phobal, tá sé luachmhar don phobal fhéin, mar is léir ó mo thaithí phearsanta fhéin nach bhfuil, don oibrí atá ag saothrú ag déanamh buicéid phlaisteacha, níl aon luach dhá chur aige leis an bpobal ansin ach amháin go bhfuil sé ag saothrú páidhe. Ní mór é a mhisneach as na buicéid phlaisteacha, ní rud iad a bhaineann lena shaol. Agus sílim, na daoine sin ar chuile leibhéal den sochaí thiar, go bhfeiceann siad gur maith ann TG4, go mb'fhéidir go bhfuil siad in aimhreas faoi nó go bhfuil siad soiniciúil faoi dhaoine atá ag obair ann, faoi úsáid na Gaeilge sna comhlachtaí léiriúcháin etc., ach sílim go bhfeiceann siad go bhfuil an ceangal sin ann idir iad fhéin agus é. B'fhéidir gurb é *Ros na Rún* [sobaldhráma] i gcásannaí áirid agus b'fhéidir gurb iad na clárachaí ardnósacha ealaíne i gcásannaí eile ach tá an ceangal sin ann agus tá an ceangal sin pearsanta, tá daoine as an áit ag obair san áit agus is cabhair é sin (interview with Ó Ciardha, 2004).[25]

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[25] I think that maybe the most important thing is that this is a worthwhile effort to develop Irish itself and whatever is associated with it. Although maybe that resource is becoming limited and thinner than it used to be, on the other hand, there is a regular, continuous supply of that raw material. And that raw material, Irish, the heritage of Irish, the mastery of Irish, the culture of Irish, it gives us the opportunity, with the help of technology, to develop and work that thing. It also demands various things in terms of infrastructure and so on but that is the most important thing, I would say, that TG4 and its operations are working Irish itself, developing it, increasing it, testing it, insulting it, consuming it, perhaps, but that's the most important thing. The thing that we're processing here, the thing that we're dealing

The above extracts represent a mixture of the language promotion and socio-cultural approaches. Both extracts refer to the positive psychological influence which Irish has had on the community, through the medium of television. The references, in the second extract, to the value placed by the community on Irish and the pride which is gained from using it creatively in television, echo the emphasis on empowerment, expanding capabilities and self-respect in the socio-cultural development approach outlined in Chapter Four. Therefore, TG4 and the television industry generally are usefully understood through the lens of the linguistic political economy of development: based upon the Irish language, the state (TG4) interacts with the market (independent companies) and civil society (community groups seeking access to media) to achieve social (increased confidence and pride) and economic (increased employment) development. The industry in turn consolidates the position of the Irish language, creating a virtuous circle of development based on language.

RTÉ Raidió na Gaeltachta

South Conamara is also home to another national Irish language broadcaster, RTÉ Raidió na Gaeltachta (RnaG). This radio station interacts more closely with civil society than market, as it does not buy programmes from other suppliers and does not even carry commercial advertising. However, this state-society nexus is highly dependent on Irish and contributes positively to the socio-economic development of South Conamara and of the Gaeltacht generally. In economic terms, the station employs between 80 and 100

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with, it's a natural resource, it's a resource that is valuable to the community, it's valuable to the community itself, because I know from my own experience that, for the worker who is making plastic buckets, he is not adding to the community's value except in the sense that he is earning pay. He doesn't have much confidence in the plastic buckets, they're not something which is central to his life. And I think, those people on every level of the society there see that TG4 is a good thing, that maybe they're doubtful about it or cynical about people who work there, about the use of Irish in the production companies etc., but I think they see that there is a link between themselves and it. Perhaps it's *Ros na Rún* [soap opera] in certain cases, and maybe it's the snobby arts programmes in other cases but that link is there and it's personal, people from the area are working in the place and that helps.

people and contributes to the consolidation of a Gaeltacht identity by linking scattered Gaeltacht communities and the dispersed Irish language community nationally. RnaG also believes that it has had a positive effect on local people's attitudes towards Irish:

> Bhí an nuaíocht le cloisteáil i nGaeilge, bhí cúrsaí reatha á bplé trí Ghaeilge, tháinig téarmaíocht chun cinn, téarmaí cúrsaí reatha, conspóidí, stailceannaí, aighnis, bás Yasser Arafat, pléitear na rudaí sin ar fad i nGaeilge. Ní teanga í an Ghaeilge a bhfuil seacht srathair na seanaoise uirthi agus nach féidir leat a phlé ach logainmneachaí agus na piseoga. Tá an teanga curtha in oiriúint anois don saol comhaimseartha agus a bhuíochas sin ag dul don tseirbhís seo (interview with Mhic Dhonnchadha, 2004).[26]

Because of its policy to employ Irish speakers only, and to broadcast exclusively in Irish, 24 hours a day, 365 days a year, RnaG is a particularly good example of the minority language promotion approach, but again there are echoes of the socio-cultural approach due to the references to the station's perception that Irish has contributed to community confidence and self-respect.

National University of Ireland, Galway

The strength of Irish in Cois Fharraige is also the foundation for a major educational project being undertaken by the National University of Ireland, Galway, which has opened a number of small Gaeltacht centres providing third level courses through Irish at community level. The project is known as Acadamh na hOllscolaíochta Gaeilge ('Academy for University Education in Irish') and it is also supported by the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs (NUIG, 2003a & 2003b). The Acadamh is an example of how promoting Irish may positively influence social development, through

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[26] The news could be heard in Irish, current affairs were being discussed in Irish, new terminology developed, current affairs terms, controversies, disputes, Yasser Arafat's death, all of those things are discussed in Irish. Irish is no longer a language weighed down by the yoke of everything old-fashioned that can only be used to discuss placenames and

enhanced educational opportunities for Gaeltacht residents and through the consolidation of Irish-speaking communities. It also has economic impacts in terms of its own employment creation and enhanced employment opportunities for its graduates. This interaction of state and civil society depends on the Irish language and brings about developmental outcomes. The project's academic director explains its importance:

> An chéad [tábhacht] ná go bhfuil muid ag cur fostaíocht d'ardchaighdeán ar fáil trí Ghaeilge do dhaoine le Gaeilge líofa ... fostaíocht tríú leibhéil, go bhfuil stádas ag baint leis agus mar sin de. Sílim go bhfuil sé sin fíorthábhachtach do dhaoine a bhfuil cumas maith Gaeilge acu, bíodh gur as an nGaeltacht iad nó nach as an nGaeltacht iad ach arís de bharr go bhfuil muide suite anseo i gcathair na Gaillimhe agus ar an gCeathrú Rua, i gCarna agus i nGaoth Dobhair, glacaim leis, ach go háirithe do dhaoine Gaeltachta, go bhfuil sé sin an-tábhachtach, go bhfuil muid ag rá le daoine: má dhéanann tú cúram de do chuid Gaeilge agus má tá tú sásta oideachas maith a chur ort fhéin, tá fostaíocht den scoth ar fáil dhuit trí Ghaeilge sa nGaeltacht. An dara tábhacht atá leis, dar liom, ná go mbeidh muid ag cur ar fáil amach anseo cúrsaí ollscoile ag leibhéal céime agus ag leibhéal iarchéime sa nGaeltacht fhéin. Dar linne tá sé sin tábhachtach mar go bhfuil súil againn go gcoinneoidh sé céadchodán áirithe, céadchodán substaintiúil tá súil againn, de dhaoine óga na Gaeltachta sa nGaeltacht, sna blianta sin, abair idir 18 agus 25 bliana. Dar liomsa, is blianta fíorthábhachtacha iad sin d'aon phobal, is cuma an bhfuil siad sa nGaeltacht nó nach bhfuil. Sin iad an aoisghrúpa dar liomsa a chuireann beocht agus fuinneamh isteach in aon phobal. Tá siad óg, tá fuinneamh acu, tá am acu, bíonn cúpla punt ina bpóca, bíonn siad sásta a bheith gafa le cúrsaí drámaíochta, le cúrsaí peile agus beidh Gaeilge acu (interview with Mac Donnacha, 2004).[27]

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superstitions. The language has been made suitable for the modern world, and that's due to this service.

[27] The first [important thing] is that we are providing high quality employment through Irish for people with fluent Irish ... third level employment, which has a status and so on. I think that is very important for people with a good quality of Irish, whether they're from the Gaeltacht or not. Because we're located here in Galway City, in An Cheathrú Rua, in Carna and Gaoth Dobhair, I take it that it's very important, particularly for Gaeltacht people, that we are saying to them: if you look after your Irish and if you are willing to get a good education, there is top quality employment available for you through Irish in the Gaeltacht. The second important thing, in my view, is that we will be offering university courses at undergraduate and postgraduate level in the Gaeltacht itself. We think that is important because we hope that it will keep a certain percentage, a substantial percentage we hope, of young Gaeltacht people in the Gaeltacht, in those years between 18 and 25. I think those are very important years for any community, whether in the Gaeltacht or not. That is the age group, in my view, which injects life and energy into any community. They are young, they have energy, they have a few pounds in their pocket, they will be willing to get involved in drama, football, and they will have Irish.

Mac Donnacha also represents a mixture of the language promotion and socio-cultural approaches. As someone with expertise in sociolinguistics and language planning, the primary focus of his work is the normalisation of Irish. However, he is also aware of the links between language and socio-economic development (see Mac Donnacha, 2000 and the discussion in Chapter Four).

Galway County Council

As is the case with local authorities in Cork and Waterford, Galway County Council interacts primarily with civil society but also with the market through its planning policies. For most of its existence, Galway County Council has largely failed to provide a comprehensive and professional service in Irish for the tens of thousands of native speakers who live in its area of operations (for a detailed survey of public bodies in Galway, see Ó Cinnéide, 1996; Ó Cinnéide, Mac Donnacha & Ní Chonghaile, 2001). In 2001, the Council recognised that the Gaeltacht and Irish language community had been neglected in terms of services in their own language (Ó Cinnéide, Mac Donnacha & Ní Chonghaile, 2001: 101). However, in recent years it has become the most pro-active of any of the local authorities which cover the Gaeltacht in terms of policy on Irish. Since 1999, it has appointed an Irish Language Officer, simultaneous translation is available for meetings of the Council (the only such service in the country), the Council has produced 'a significant amount of bilingual publications' (before it was obliged to do so under the Official Languages Act) and it was the first local authority in Ireland to develop a bilingual website (Galway County Council, c. 2003: 3).

The Council has also adopted a strong policy to protect Irish in the planning process. The *County Development Plan 2003-2009* is far more robust in its defence of Irish than similar documents from either Waterford or Cork County

Councils. Rather than talking in very general terms about 'fostering' or 'promoting' Irish or the even vaguer concept of 'cultural identity', Galway County Council is more equivocal on the issue:

> The Planning Authority's role in achieving this aim [protecting Irish] is to protect the linguistic and cultural heritage of the Gaeltacht by granting planning permission with special consideration to Irish speaking applicants or those who qualify under the rural housing policy and by imposing conditions in granting such permissions which will ensure the stabilisation and the promotion of Irish as a community language (Galway County Council, 2003: 68).

The Plan pledges to give priority to planning permission for housing which clearly supports Irish or Irish speakers. The cornerstone of the policy is a language impact statement which

> ... will be required where an application is made for two or more houses, or where an applicant applied for more than one house in an area. The purpose of a Language Impact Statement will be to assess the likely impact of the proposed development on the usage of Irish within the Gaeltacht area. Permission will only be granted where the authority is satisfied that the effect of the development will be beneficial to the usage of the language in the area, if permitted (70).

In common with other public bodies, Galway County Council has prepared a language scheme as part its statutory obligations under the Official Languages Act. However, its commitment to the Irish language is rather recent and has been forced by legislative developments or by a minority of councillors from within the Gaeltacht, particularly the late Pól Ó Foighil (see Chapter Seven). It remains to be seen how far-reaching or robust its language policy will become: for instance, two years after it was agreed, the *County Development Plan* is not available in Irish. Furthermore, the Gaeltacht village of Bearna has been transformed into a suburb of Galway City by a planning policy which allowed '460 new houses, new shops, bars, a hotel - eight times the maximum deviation allowed in the Galway County Development Plan' (Siggins, 2005). Such 'development' has damaged Irish in what was already a marginal Gaeltacht area and it is difficult to reconcile

what has happened in Bearna with the Council's stated policy on language impact statements (Pobal Bhearna, 2005). Therefore, Galway County Council is an example of a quintessentially modernisationist body which is being forced to review its traditional hostility to Irish and which is belatedly moving closer to the language promotion approach. The influence of Irish on the Council's activities has increased in recent years, due largely to pressure from civil society (see 4.3.2 below).

The views of Galway County Council's community enterprise officer are in a different category, and are more representative of the socio-cultural development approach. The officer, Ann Mallaghan, has considerable experience in community development in Britain and Northern Ireland, but now works out of the Council's offices in An Cheathrú Rua. Although the Council has long been blamed for failing to provide services in Irish in the Gaeltacht, Mallaghan has learned Irish to a fluent level, even though she is not from the Gaeltacht. However, the interview conducted with her was dominated by discussion of community development models not specifically related to the Gaeltacht, in particular the Asset-Based Community Development (ABCD) approach, pioneered in Chicago in the 1980s, but which has since been used in declining cod-fishing communities in Canada and in the Shetland Islands:

> Instead of going on about all the things you don't have, it's an approach based on primary building blocks of community, people themselves, and that where community has failed it has been because they've been ridden over by development, they've been dispersed, they've been told they don't have any resources or assets. You go back to basics and let's start from the basis of what we have: what are our assets and our liabilities. Primary building blocks are the people, the skills and the assets they own. There are also secondary building blocks and tertiary building blocks. The primary building block is that which the community has and owns and controls. The secondary building block in an asset which is located in that community but control of which is outside the community - the example here would be Áras Uí Chadhain [outreach centre of NUI Galway] ... The tertiary building block would be the university itself in Galway because it could be a source of employment but is located outside ... It could be

a funder or a government department that provides resources, so it's something that can be of help but it's both physically outside and outside of your control, but you can benefit from it. The idea is to start mapping your primary building blocks, that which you own and control ... for instance, practical skills that people have, even if formal education levels are low ... You try then to get your tertiary institutions located in the area and over time you try to turn them into primary building blocks, in other words you try and ensure that more and more of them come under the control of the community. It's both a mapping and statistical analysis but it has an agenda for change (interview with Mallaghan, 2004).

Mallaghan believes that an 'asset-based community development' approach for the Gaeltacht, rooted in principals of equality of opportunity, is more appropriate than something that emphasises language alone:

That philosophy says that development won't happen if you don't think that you've got any strengths to develop. You'll be expecting the other person to come in and do it for you. You'll be expecting the expert, the outsider, the person who can write good Irish, the university, to be the agent for change. In the Gaeltacht, there's the tradition of the 'gluaiseacht cearta sibhialta' [Gaeltacht civil rights] ... the principal of what they were operating on, no matter how small the issue, the principal is about equality of opportunity, I think is the right way to have gone and to keep going, rather than to get into this nationalist, Irish language thing, that you have to be really into the language and the culture *per se*, that you'll get a lot more fans by going for a reasonably voiced equality argument, because everybody at the end of the day should be able to accept it (interview with Mallaghan, 2004).

The extract above reveals Mallaghan's preference for an 'equality argument' approach to development, based on a community belief that it has the 'strengths to develop', and using the 'people, the skills and the assets that they own' as the basis for development. This approach is more appropriate than 'this nationalist, Irish language thing' or the requirement that someone be committed to 'the language and culture *per se*'. There is no correlation between language and nationalism, but Mallaghan's experience in Northern Ireland may have taught her to be wary of this connection. However, it can be inferred from her comments that she views Irish as part of the array of community assets which underpins her approach to community development.

Therefore, although she represents predominantly the socio-cultural development approach, the influence of the minority language promotion approach can also be detected in her comments. For instance, her references to 'equality' for Gaeltacht people may be traced to some of the theories of linguistic human rights outlined in Chapter Four. In conclusion, the Galway County Council's community enterprise office represents a state-civil society interaction which draws upon Irish as one of a range of community assets in order to bring about community development. The next section turns to civil society in South Conamara.

4.3.2   Civil society

There are several non-state institutions in South Conamara, most of which are strongly linked to Irish. This section examines three of them: the community co-operative, Comharchumann Shailearna ('Sailearna Co-operative'), the Muintearas na nOileán ('Fellowship of the Islands') early education project, and the voluntary Irish language group, Glór na nGael ('Voice of the Irish'). It will consider how Irish influences the ways in which they interact with state and market.

Comharchumann Shailearna

Gaeltacht co-operatives emerged in the 1960s and 1970s in response to a severe lack of social services (Johnson, M., 1978 & 1979). The co-operatives are now under the remit of Údarás na Gaeltachta and receive funding from it, representing a state-civil society interaction. Comharchumann Shailearna, located in Cois Fharraige, provides a range of services, particularly in the realm of early education. This places it in the socio-cultural development category. However, its former manager says it has become more and more focussed on the Irish language as community concerns about anglicisation have grown, bringing it closer to the minority language promotion approach.

The co-operative intends to build a Family Support Centre to ensure that a range of Irish-language services can be provided locally:

> Ó thaobh na seirbhísí éagsúla a bhíonn ag teastáil ón bpobal, mar shampla, tá muide ag caint ar chúrsaí réamhphósta. *So* tá tú ag caint le grúpaí atá an-óg, ag díriú a n-aird ar cheisteannaí nach dtagann sa ngnáthphlé mar a déarfá, agus ag iarraidh go ndéanfaidís cinnithe coinsiasacha faoi, ní amháin cá bhfuil siad a dhul ag tógáil a dteach, mar sin cinneadh *coinsiasach* a dhéanann cúpla agus déantar an-phlé air, ach sula dtagann an páiste ar an saol, go mbeidh cinneadh coinsiasach déanta acu. Má roghnaíonn siad go coinsiasach, théis dul thríd na céimeanna, gur Béarla a bheas siad ag labhairt leis na páistí, tá an ceart sin acu. Má shocraíonn siad go bhfuil siad a dhul á thógáil go dhátheangach, sin a rogha fhéin, ach má shocraíonn siad é a dhéanamh thrí mheán na Gaeilge, níos fearr fós. Ach tá muid ag rá, go hiondúil, nach cinneadh *coinsiasach* é, go hiondúil tagann an páiste ar an saol agus labhartar pé teanga leis. Agus uaireantaí ceapaim, dhá ndéarfá le tuismitheoirí, dhá mbeadh tú théis a dhul thríd na céimeannaí éagsúla seo, dhá mbeadh tacaíocht ar fáil dhuitse, nuair a bhí tú ag déanamh an chúrsa réamhphósta, go raibh sé ar siúl go háitiúil agus ansin nuair a bhí cúrsaí réamhbhreithe ar siúl agat, in ionad a dhul isteach ag an ospidéal i nGaillimh, go raibh banaltraí áitiúla, in ann é a dhéanamh thrí mheán na Gaeilge, nuair a bhí seirbhís teiripe teanga uait, go raibh sé ar fáil dhuit, ins an ionad seo, thrí mheán na Gaeilge, agus go raibh an t-ionad seo i do shúile, mar an t-ionad a bhí ann le haghaidh tacaíocht a thabhairt dhuit (interview with Nic an Ultaigh, 2004).[28]

Nic an Ultaigh believes that a Gaeltacht development strategy based on providing roads, playing fields and community halls is no longer sufficient,

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[28] With regard to the various services which the community wants, for instance, we're talking about pre-marriage courses. So you're talking to very young groups, drawing their attention to questions which aren't normally discussed, and trying to get them to make conscious decisions about it, not only where they're going to build their house, because that's a *conscious* decision which a couple makes and discusses in detail, but before children come along, that they will have made a conscious decision. If they decide consciously, after going through the steps, that they will speak English with the children, that's their right. If they decide to raise them bilingually, that's their choice, but if they decide to do it through Irish, better again. And we are saying, usually, that it's not a *conscious* decision, usually a child arrives and there is no conscious decision about language. And sometimes I think, if you said to parents, if you had gone through these various steps, if you had support when you were doing the pre-marriage course, if that was available locally to you and then when you did the pre-natal course, rather than going into hospital in Galway, if there were local nurses, able to do that through Irish, when you wanted a speech therapy service, that it was available to you, through Irish, and that this centre was obvious to you as the place when you could get support.

and that an approach based on language planning is now needed. The primary emphasis on Irish is echoed by the co-operative's current manager:

> Bheadh an Ghaeilge mar an chéad chloch ar an bpaidrín dáiríre, í a choinneáil láidir sa gceantar. Tá sí cuíosach láidir anseo faoi láthair, ach [caithfear] í a choinneáil chomh láidir agus atá sí ar a laghad agus más féidir í a dhaingniú níos fearr ná mar atá sí. Tá sé sin deacair cinnte. Tá an buntáiste fós anseo againn, ón Spidéal siar, nach bhfuil aon scéimeanna tithíochta tagtha chun cinn fós. Nuair a thosóidh an chéad cheann beidh rabharta mhór ag teacht isteach ansin agus sin an bhagairt is mó a fheicimse ó thaobh na Gaeilge (interview with Ó Conchubhair, 2004).[29]

Therefore, the management of Comharchumann Shailearna believes that Irish is at the centre of its community development efforts and that the co-operative in future must focus its efforts on ensuring that the language is strengthened in this community.

Muintearas na nOileán

The Muintearas na nOileán early education project in Ceantar na nOileán is another example of a community development project, based on the Irish language, which emerged from a partnership between civil society and the state, although the initial governmental support came from outside Ireland. It was established in 1979 with the assistance of the Bernard van Leer foundation for childhood education in the Netherlands. Ceantar na nOileán still contains high levels of disadvantage but the area was facing economic and social disintegration in the late 1970s, as this extract from the funding application indicates:

> There was a total lack of motivation, resulting from lack of opportunities for self-fulfillment. If they show any initiative for improving themselves, e.g. harvesting seaweed; cutting an extra load

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[29] Irish would be the most important thing to us, really, to keep it strong in the area. It is fairly strong here at the moment but [we have to] keep it as strong as possible and even consolidate it further. Certainly, that is difficult. We have an advantage here, west from An Spidéal, that there haven't been any housing schemes yet. When the first one comes, there'll be a huge deluge coming in and that's the biggest threat I see for Irish.

of turf; building better homes for themselves; increasing stock on land etc. the dole allowance was reduced or withdrawn ... The psychological effects of this system led to (1) inferiority complex (2) lack of self confidence - 'we can do nothing for ourselves' (3) 'only the state can do it for us' (Comharchumann Forbartha na nOileán, 1979: 6-7).

Another extract illustrated how the education system was viewed as simply a means of helping people escape from the misery of their area:

> [T]he tradition regarding education, especially primary education, on the islands was that of a means of enabling pupils to communicate from abroad, count their sterling or dollar packet and subsidise a meagre existence for their young and elderly dependents at home. This tradition is still upheld, and as a common characteristic of community underdevelopment, education is still regarded as being geared more towards helping the more able to get on and get out (Comharchumann Forbartha na nOileán, 1979: 8-9).

These extracts reveal a strongly Irish speaking community where underdevelopment was rife, suggesting that the presence of Irish alone is not sufficient for development to take place. The Muintearas project is a good example of a strongly Irish speaking initiative from civil society which, with the help of the state, deliberately and self-consciously *draws upon* its distinct cultural and linguistic resources to begin a process of socio-economic development. Dr. Fred Wood was the Deputy Executive Director of van Leer and the Programme Director during the first period of Muintearas funding from 1980 to 1984:

> The project was much more concerned with drawing upon Gaelic culture in various ways and relating this to the education system, largely through the emphasis on support for the child's early education through the home. We never regarded them as 'disadvantaged' children in the negative sense. They were children who had access to a special resource which, if properly tapped, could do much to improve their educational prospects, and indeed did ... But there was also a very significant aspect related to the revitalising of the community itself, the notion being that culture engages with education through the involvement of adults. Reciprocally the adults themselves become more confident, more empowered as their efforts are perceived to benefit their children (interview with Wood, 2001).

In its early years, Muintearas developed a culturally-relevant model of early childhood education, a home visit scheme to Gaeltacht parents, additional training for local teachers, involvement of parents in children's education and provision of teaching resources in Irish. It continues to operate, now with core funding from Údarás na Gaeltachta. A report conducted by Dublin City University recognised that the organisation had taken a leadership role in relation to the Irish language locally and that it had contributed greatly to building local self-confidence:

> Tá creidiúint mhór ag dul do MUINTEARAS as ceannaireacht teanga a thabhairt sa Ghaeltacht, i ngach gné den togra. Tá múnla agus ábhar forbartha ó bhonn acu, a chothaigh muinín an phobail áitiúil agus a thuill aitheantas náisiúnta ... Tá muinín pobail agus muinín teanga tógtha ag MUINTEARAS, i gCeantar na nOileán go háirithe, a thaispeánann gur féidir le togra eiseamláireach atá dírithe go sonrach ar phobal teanga torthaí suntasacha a bhaint amach. Níl áireamh ar luach airgid agus eacnamaíochta na hoibre sin, mar scaipeann na buntáistí fadtréimhseacha tríd an gcóras oideachais, fostaíochta, sláinte agus pobail (Nic Pháidín et al, 2001: 36).[30]

The references above to 'empowerment', 'resource', 'revitalisation', 'confidence' are strongly reminiscent of the contributions surveyed in Chapter Three and also find expression in the human development approach outlined in Chapter Four. However, due to the primary focus on language as the source of local inspiration for community development, Muintearas represents a mixture of the minority language and socio-cultural development approaches. It is a strong example of the direct influence of Irish on a development process which emerges from co-operation between the state and civil society.

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[30] Great credit is due to MUINTEARAS for providing language leadership in the Gaeltacht, in every area of its project. They have developed a model and materials from the bottom up, which gained the confidence of the community and international recognition ... Community confidence and language confidence have been supported by MUINTEARAS, particularly in Ceantar na nOileán, which demonstrates that an exemplary project which is focussed specifically on a language community can achieve substantial results. The monetary and

Glór na nGael is a national voluntary Irish language organisation which
promotes Irish through language-based community projects organised by a
series of branches (Glór na nGael, 2002; interview with Ó Murchú, H., 2004;
interview with Ní Annracháin, 2004). It is dependent on state support. The
An Spidéal branch of Glór na nGael represents a particularly strong
articulation of the minority language promotion approach, following its
decision to seek linguistic conditions on housing developments in the area. It
recognises that it faces a strong challenge from others for whom Irish is not
in the least important:

> Is dóigh go bhfuil fórsaí an-láidre, fórsaí tráchtála amuigh ansin atá ag
> brú go gcuirfí deireadh le haon choinníoll teanga. Chuir an
> *Construction Federation of Ireland* amach ráiteas an tseachtain seo
> caite ag rá nach bhfuil ciall ar bith le coinníollachaí teanga agus i
> gceann de na forbairtí is deireanaí ansin sa Spidéal i mBothúna, tá an
> forbróir théis achomharc a chur ag an mBord Pleanála in aghaidh an
> choinníll teanga a leagadh síos. *So* tá fórsaí láidre, fórsaí a bhfuil
> airgead mór taobh thiar dhíobh, ag obair in aghaidh na teangan, tá sé
> chomh agam é a rá, sna cásannaí seo. Níl sé éasca ag grúpaí beaga
> pobail a bheith ag iarraidh an fód a sheasamh *so* caithfidh muid ár míle
> dícheall a dhéanamh dul i bhfeidhm ar an gComhairle Contae agus ar
> na feidhmeannaigh ansin an coinníoll a láidriú agus a chur i bhfeidhm i
> gceart (interview with Ó Droighneáin, 2004).[31]

Ó Droighneáin's references to 'commercial forces' and 'forces backed by big
money' illustrate his awareness of the threat to language promotion posed by
the dominant economic growth and modernisationist approach. However, he

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economic value of that work cannot be evaluated, because the long-term advantages spread
through the education system, employment, health and community.

[31] I suppose there are very strong forces, commercial forces out there which are agitating to
get rid of any linguistic condition. Last week, the Construction Federation of Ireland issued a
statement saying that there was no sense in linguistic conditions and in the case of one of
the latest developments in Bothúna, An Spidéal, the developer has appealed to An Bord
Pleanála against the linguistic condition which was imposed. So there are strong forces,
forces backed by big money working against the language, I might as well say, in these
cases. It's not easy for a small community group to stand its ground so we have to do our
very best to influence the County Council and the officials there to strengthen the condition
and to implement it properly.

acknowledges that Glór na nGael's defence of Irish in An Spidéal has not been supported by all Irish speakers in the Gaeltacht:

> Ní hé sin le rá go bhfuil chuile dhuine sa nGaeltacht ar aon intinn linne. Abair, luaigh tú Seosamh Ó Cuaig ansin agus tá an Chomhairle Pobail ar a bhfuil seisean, sílim, in Iorras Aithneach, tá siad sin théis a mhalairt de thuairim a chur chun cinn, nach bhfuil siad ag iarraidh aon choinníoll teanga, nó iad a mhaolú go mór ar chuma ar bith. Tá fadhb acu sin a deir siad ó thaobh easpa forbartha nach bhfuil ar an taobh seo againne ar chor ar bith. Is dóigh go bhfuil siad sin ag iarraidh an ceantar a chur chun cinn agus feiceann siad gur bac í an Ghaeilge sa gcás sin ach ní aontaíonn muide leis sin. Ní dóigh liom gur féidir an Ghaeilge a úsáid mar leithscéal le haghaidh easpa forbartha. Tá go leor samplaí eile de cheantair eile tuaithe atá buailte b'fhéidir níos measa ná Carna ná an taobh sin agus níl aon Ghaeilge iontu. Ní dóigh liom gur féidir an milleán a chur ar an teanga as easpa forbartha (interview with Ó Droighneáin, 2004).[32]

The position of Ó Cuaig is considered in Chapter Seven. In conclusion, Glór na nGael is an example of an interaction between state and civil society which attempts to strengthen the influence of Irish on a process of development which is conceived by market forces in narrow terms, i.e. the construction of large housing estates in the Gaeltacht. It is to the market that the next section turns.

4.3.3   Market

As stated at 4.2.2 above, Údarás na Gaeltachta has traditionally played a key role in industrial development in this area. In the Galway Gaeltacht as a whole, the most recent Údarás report lists 37 subsidiary and associated companies, 36 large industries and 100 small industries which received grants

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[32] That's not to say that everyone in the Gaeltacht agrees with us. For instance, you mentioned [Galway Councillor] Seosamh Ó Cuaig and the community council with which he is involved in Iorras Aithneach, have put forward the opposite opinion, that they don't want any language condition, or certainly that they want it moderated substantially. They say there is a problem with a lack of development which we don't have at all on this side. I suppose they're trying to promote the area and they view Irish as an obstacle in that case, but we don't agree with that. I don't think that Irish can be used as an excuse for underdevelopment. There are many more examples of rural areas which are hit worse than Carna or that area and there is no Irish in them. I don't think that the language can be blamed for underdevelopment.

(ÚnaG, 2003b). This section examines some privately-operated sectors of the local economy and investigates the influence on Irish on them.

Independent television sector

The independent Gaeltacht television sector is heavily dependent on the state, and has relied on TG4 for generating most of its business. It is estimated that there are between 35 and 40 independent television production companies in the Gaeltacht servicing TG4, most of them in South Conamara. There is no breakdown of figures available for individual Gaeltacht areas, but between them these companies employ about 220 people on a full-time basis and as many as 180 other part-time or seasonal workers (SPI, 2004). Television is the largest employer in An Spidéal, the centre of South Conamara's media industry. Paul Cummins is manager of Telegael, one of the most successful independent television companies. As well as an economic impact generated by the language, he also believes that the television industry has contributed to community confidence in Irish:

> Tá muid ag fostú go leor leor daoine. Tá muid an-tábhachtach don cheantar. Tá an geilleagar anseo, táim a' cheapadh sa Spidéal, gurb é an teilifís an fostóir is mó. Agus sílim gur féidir linn tógáil air sin agus rudaí nua a dhéanamh. Nuair a bhíonns *nucleus* mar sin agat, is féidir leat rudaí eile, *clusters*, is féidir rudaí eile a bhunú timpeall air sin … Is dóigh go traidisiúnta bhí daoine ag breathnú ar an nGaeilge go raibh sé ceart go leor d'éinne dá mbeadh tú ag iarraidh fanacht san áit seo nó dul chomh fada le Gaillimh ach ina dhiaidh sin dá mbeadh tú ag iarraidh dul chun cinn a dhéanamh sa saol seo, dul go Baile Átha Cliath nó aon áit eile, ní raibh aon mhaith leis. Agus ní raibh tú in ann aon obair a fháil, obair nua-aimseartha mar a déarfá … Is dóigh gur thug sé misneach do dhaoine. Anois, tá daoine ag obair i ngach gné den tionscal, os comhair an cheamara, taobh thiar den cheamara, ag rith comhlachtaí, ag léiriú agus ag stiúradh cláracha i nGaeilge agus sin rud nach raibh ann roimhe. Agus tugann sé sin stádas comhaimseartha, mar a deireann siad, *modern status, or modern meaning* don teanga. Ach sílim go bhfuil sé sin tábhachtach don teanga agus don íomhá atá ag an teanga. Feiceann daoine anois nuair atá siad ag fás aníos anseo

go mbeidh deiseanna, gur féidir leo b'fhéidir post a fháil anseo go mbeidh baint ag an nGaeilge leis (interview with Cummins, 2004).[33]

Although it has diversified into programmes in English due to the shortage of funding at TG4 (see 2.2.2 above), Telegael continues to represent the minority language promotion approach because the company's business is operated in Irish only. It is an example of a market-state interaction, based on the Irish language, which has brought about economic (employment) and social (confidence in Irish) development in South Conamara.

Other private industry

Several companies in the three case-study areas which were *not* associated with positive attitudes towards Irish, or whose management were not from the Gaeltacht, were also contacted for this research. None was willing to be interviewed on the record, or even for its location to be identified. There was a high degree of suspicion about the motives for the enquiry and some managers ended the conversation after a short time. Others agreed to be interviewed but became unavailable at the appointed time. Therefore, although section 4 has dealt with the South Conamara Gaeltacht, the views quoted here are not restricted to that area. Any placenames or other information which could identify the informants have been removed. The following examples are all private companies, some of which have received funding from Údarás na Gaeltachta, and others which have not.

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[33] We are employing a lot of people. We are very important for the area. The economy here, in Spiddal, I think that television is the biggest employer. And I think that we can build on that and do new things. When you have a nucleus like that, you can set up other things, clusters, around that ... I suppose traditionally that people thought that Irish was alright for someone if you wanted to stay in the place or go as far as Galway but after that if you wanted to progress in life, to go to Dublin or any other place, it was useless. And you weren't going to get work, modern work if you like ... I suppose it gave people confidence. Now, people are working in every aspect of the industry, in front of the camera, behind the camera, running companies, producing and directing programmes in Irish and that's something that wasn't there before. And that gives a contemporary status, as they say, a modern status or modern meaning to the language. But I think that's important for the language and for its image. People see now when they're growing up that there will be opportunities, that perhaps they can get a job related to Irish.

The first chief executive interviewed was a native Irish speaker who said he was unable to speak English before going to school. However, he stopped speaking Irish as a teenager and raised his family speaking English only. He operates a manufacturing firm. The chief executive expresses frustration at the rather modest linguistic conditions imposed on the company by Údarás na Gaeltachta, as a condition for the grant-aid awarded. He claims that this is unnecessary because of the export nature of the business:

> We have made a contribution of about €14m in salaries and other payments, especially rent, to the Gaeltacht. Other people around here should be forced into creating more employment. [Another Gaeltacht company] employs only one person one day a week - this shouldn't be tolerated. We are an extremely efficient and well-structured company making a profit from day one ... [Minister] Ó Cuív should be down here with us as well, rather than just visiting his friends in [a language-based Gaeltacht company]. They should be asking us: what skills are you lacking? How can we help you to develop them? We have no problem with Irish, but we had [name of Údarás official] down here telling us to answer the phone in Irish. This is ridiculous. Bilingual paper didn't help our business. What does [official's name] know about commerce? Nothing! We have no problem with a few bilingual signs around the factory but we are not going to answer the phones in Irish as well. All signs in the Gaeltacht should be bilingual anyway, not in Irish only which confuses tourists ... I would speak any language now other than Irish because of the way Údarás has dealt with us. There is clearly preferential treatment given to [a language-based Gaeltacht company]. This was very clear when Michael D. Higgins was Minister. I dispute their figures on employment creation. They wind up their figures, the only employment criteria which matter are the jobs which exist 52 weeks a year (interview with Chief Executive 1, 2005).

The above extract is a strong articulation of the economic growth approach because of the emphasis on the company's contribution to job creation and wealth alone, rather than social factors, and the chief executive's low tolerance for integrating a minority language into business. The chief executive perceives that language-based industries in his area are being given preferential treatment. He has 'no problem with Irish', but will not accept 'bilingual paper' or 'answering the phone in Irish'. He says he would 'speak any other language but Irish' because of the way that Údarás na Gaeltachta

assist language-based industries which 'wind up their [employment] figures'. The chief executive repeatedly emphasised how many of his staff were Irish speakers, but it was clear that English was the dominant language of the factory:

> There are X people employed in [company A]. There are between Y and Z employed in [company B]. There are many Irish speakers on the staff. We were even thinking of having a half-day a week where Irish would be spoken exclusively, because that would be lovely. No incentives should be given for speaking Irish: that is just nonsense. There are people in this area who have no interest in Irish who are getting grants. We are not looking for grants for speaking Irish, we want simply to be treated on a par with other Irish companies (interview with Chief Executive 1, 2005).

The Chief Executive believes it would be 'lovely' if Irish were spoken in the factory on a given day each week, yet there was no sense that the factory had made any serious efforts to create an Irish-speaking environment. His company had received considerable grant-aid from Údarás na Gaeltachta, yet he showed no interest in Irish and even criticised others in the area with 'no interest in Irish' who were 'getting grants'.

The second Chief Executive interviewed was less openly hostile to language conditions being imposed on his manufacturing firm, and to Údarás na Gaeltachta in general. However, he also expresses frustration with Údarás conditions that companies receiving grants would use bilingual note-paper:

> Regarding the language policy of the Údarás, we comply where we can but because we're an international company it isn't always possible. A lot of our sales go to Britain, where the bilingualism doesn't really matter a great deal. Some more of our business is with Northern Ireland, where pushing Irish would be dangerous politically. Irish is not really a help in this situation (interview with Chief Executive 2, 2004).

Another Chief Executive interviewed is from another European country where English is not a native language. However, he displays little sympathy for the

concept of promoting weaker languages, stating that using Irish was a hindrance to the international business carried out by his manufacturing firm:

> We cannot do what Údarás na Gaeltachta asks in terms of implementing language plans in this company. For instance, if we answer the phone in Irish, customers calling from abroad will not understand and will put down the phone. Most of our business is with people abroad and that's the simple truth. English is the international language of business and all other languages, including my own, [name of language], are cultural languages only. They have no economic value anymore and have no relevance at all to business. We need less and less languages to communicate and the Údarás cannot expect us to implement a strong Irish language policy in this factory. All these languages are not helping economics. The requirement on entrepreneurs to promote Irish in our factory is anti-democratic because it excludes English speakers (interview with Chief Executive 3, 2004).

Chief Executive 2 rejects suggestions that industrial development in the area had weakened Irish, emphasising the primary importance of economic development over other factors:

> You have to have people in an area in order for the language to be spoken. You have to support them economically. If you don't do this, they'll simply leave. This Gaeltacht is much stronger economically than [nearby town outside Gaeltacht]. The economic benefits keep people living in the locality. That's the purpose of industrial policy, to keep people working in their locality. As I said, the main benefits of Údarás na Gaeltachta are in terms of access. I don't think that they offer any more assistance than other state agencies in any other part of Ireland, but the access is very significant here. What we can do to promote the language is very limited. We support local cultural events. If Údarás want us to inform employees of language classes, we're happy to do that. Signs are in Irish around the factory and on the vans. But I'm sure of the fact that if people aren't here there's no chance whatsoever that they'll speak Irish. For instance, if this factory moved into [nearby town outside Gaeltacht], then what chance would there be that the employees would speak Irish, if they were leaving the Gaeltacht every day? There is a strong sense of community here, a strong sense of being in a Gaeltacht even if the language isn't too strong. The cultural and musical traditions are very strong. This is good for doing business in the area, the strong sense of community. Although we are positive towards Irish, I don't think that we have a central role in relation to supporting the language. That is for other agencies to do (interview with Chief Executive 2, 2004).

This extract is reminiscent of the comment by the former Minister for the Gaeltacht, Tom O'Donnell: 'no jobs, no people; no people, no Gaeltacht; no Gaeltacht, no language' (Price, Wynne Jones & Ó Torna, 1997: 20). Company 3 is 'positive' about Irish and believes that the 'cultural and musical traditions' are good for business locally, but does not feel it has a 'central role' to play in relation to language promotion.

The final chief executive, who runs a large service business in the Gaeltacht but is from elsewhere in Ireland, attempted but failed to secure grant aid from Údarás na Gaeltachta in the past. He is very negative about the type of language promotion carried out by state actors in the Gaeltacht:

> The whole thrust of promoting language is not well served by Údarás na Gaeltachta. I feel there is an elitism, and that I'm looked down on as a blow-in. There is that sense also among others in business in the area. We made valiant attempts to go bilingually as the beginning, but it was never enough for them. Ninety-five percent of the time it didn't work, because the real world dealt in English. The staff attempted to be bilingual but that was ruined by this Gaeilgeoir[34] element in language preservation. From my youngest days it was forced onto you by zealots. This happened to me in [another Irish city]. There's such an elitism about the thing … I suppose [Irish] could be preserved if the approach was changed. The more we become Europeanised the more we would regret losing it. But I don't think it has any practical use, or any use for business. It just gets in the way. But I suppose for tourism we should keep it as part of our identity (interview with Chief Executive 4, 2004).

The above extracts are revealing because the participant appears to view everything to do with the Irish language as extremist, from his own school experience to current Gaeltacht language policy. There was an 'elitism' in speaking Irish and anyone who didn't speak it was dismissed as a 'blow-in'.

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[34] 'Gaeilgeoir' means simply someone who speaks Irish, but it has various pejorative connotations. It is used frequently by English speakers and in the English language media as a negative label for Irish speakers whom are deemed to be over-enthusiastic in their promotion of Irish. It is also used by native Irish speakers in Conamara to describe teenage learners of Irish who spend the summer holidays in the Gaeltacht. This second meaning is less pejorative, but it serves to distinguish between those who are learning Irish and native speakers.

The attempts to 'go bilingually' were not enough for the extremist 'Gaeilgeoir element' or 'zealots'. A strongly utilitarian view underpins his comments: English was what 'the real world' dealt in and Irish has no 'practical' use. Chief Executive 4 tolerates the option of promoting Irish 'as part of identity' but only because that too could have an economic benefit in attracting tourists to Ireland. There is no sense that Irish speakers in the community in which the participant works speak that language because it is their natural means of communication, let alone that they may have rights as Irish speakers in an officially bilingual state.

The above four extracts reveal that some businesses in the Gaeltacht, many of which have received substantial and ongoing support from Údarás na Gaeltachta, are negative about the promotion of the Irish language. They may be willing to support 'cultural events' or tolerate weak promotion of Irish, but in general they view it as an irritant which is an impediment to their business, and something which is anachronistic in the modern and practical business world. More detailed micro-level research would be needed to assess the extent of such opinions in the Gaeltacht, but anecdotal evidence, combined with the large number of Údarás client companies which are not managed by Irish speakers, suggests that these views are widespread (Ó Baoill, 2001).

Through employment creation, the companies featured above have contributed to the economic development of the Gaeltacht. However, it appears incidental whether their employees spoke Irish or not, because of the nature of the work involved. Due to their strong emphasis on economic outcomes, these companies illustrate less interaction between state, civil society and market than many of the other organisations featured in this chapter.

4.4   Conclusions

In South Conamara, development emerges from a dynamic interaction between civil society, state and market. Irish appears to exert a strong influence on this interaction, particularly on state actors and civil society. The private sector whose business is not directly linked to Irish is less amenable to this influence. Irish remains resilient as a daily community language throughout much of the area in question, and the overall indices of socio-economic development are fairly high, making South Conamara one of the few Gaeltacht areas to combine *both* strong linguistic vitality and strong development. However, underdevelopment persists in parts of South Conamara, particularly in Ceantar na nOileán, although the latter area has self-consciously used Irish as an asset upon which to base community development.   The language has been given an additional boost by the fact that several key actors (state, voluntary and private) charged with language promotion are located in the coastal strip between Na Forbacha and An Cheathrú Rua. The presence of such institutions, all of which are language-centred, has guaranteed a very high local profile for the language and an additional source of well-paid and prestigious employment for local people competent in Irish. Irish and socio-economic development are more closely integrated in this area than in any other Gaeltacht: were it not for the relative strength of the language, such a clustering of industries and institutions based on Irish would not be possible, while such employment has, in turn, improved public perceptions towards Irish due to its additional functionality in the area.

However, the linguistic political economy of development in South Conamara is a very delicate equilibrium vulnerable to external shocks. The combination of high development and relative normalisation of Irish is threatened by a combination of factors including the nature of industrialisation itself, the mobility of the work force, the planning system and the dominance of the growth-led and modernisationist approach to development.

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5. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS: NA DÉISE, MÚSCRAÍ, SOUTH CONAMARA

The principal purpose of this chapter was to examine empirically whether or not the promotion of the Irish language influences positively the socio-economic development of the Gaeltacht. Based on the typology of Gaeltacht development and linguistic vitality outlined in Chapter Five, three areas were chosen: South Conamara, which combined high levels of Irish and high development; and Múscraí and Na Déise, which each experienced low to medium levels of Irish and medium development. A detailed investigation was then carried out in each area in order to investigate the research question and to illustrate how the theoretical approaches to language and development outlined in Chapter Four were reflected in practice. The study was guided by the theoretical framework of a linguistic political economy of development: how Irish influences the political economy of development, the state-market-civil society interaction to achieve development.

It is concluded from the findings that Irish positively influences the political economy of development in the Gaeltacht, but that this influence varies from place to place. For instance, the influence of Irish is likely to be stronger in areas where the market contains firms whose operations are directly related to Irish itself, or who implement strongly pro-Irish policies. This is clearly the case in South Conamara. However, the influence of Irish is felt even when the percentage of habitual speakers is fairly low, as is the case in Na Déise. The likelihood that Irish will influence the political economy of development is increased if institutions of civil society draw explicitly on it as a resource to guide community development, as is the case in South Conamara in particular. The presence of strongly Irish institutions in an area is also likely to strengthen the role of Irish in the state-civil society-market interplay. Finally, the planning controversies illustrate that tensions between the language promotion and modernisationist approaches, although potentially

damaging for Irish, can strengthen its influence on the political economy of development. Therefore, even in a relatively weak linguistic community such as Na Déise, concerted community opposition to the local authority's planning policy appears to have brought about a modification of such a policy.

It also became apparent in this chapter that the distinction between the language promotion and socio-cultural development approaches is sometimes blurred. For instance, in the case of South Conamara in particular, social actors sometimes draw upon Irish as one of a range of community assets on which development can be based. Such a perspective on development can be traced back to the emphasis on concepts such as 'empowerment', 'interdependence', 'self-confidence', 'sense of purpose', expressed by proponents of the socio-cultural development approach in Chapter Four, and indeed to many of the historical authors surveyed in Chapter Three. However, the desire of these actors to reverse language shift also reflects the influence of the minority language promotion approach.

Of the three areas surveyed, the influence of Irish on the political economy of development is strongest in South Conamara, due to the strength of the language there. However, this does not mean that weaker Gaeltacht or non-Gaeltacht communities cannot use Irish to influence developmental outcomes. Na Déise is an example of a declining linguistic community which has channelled local energies into a small number of highly influential language-based industries. Social groups in Múscraí and national language organisations are pressuring the state for the re-development of Coláiste Íosagáin which contains the potential to influence significantly the area's socio-economic development. There is also evidence of support for and pride in Irish in the weaker Gaeltacht communities, even among people who do not use Irish frequently. Such support reflects positive public attitudes towards Irish nationally, as illustrated in Chapter Two. This support, although sometimes passive or symbolic, is important because it allows linguistic communities where only a minority of the population are habitual Irish

speakers to focus their energies on a small number of flagship language projects in either the social or economic domains. Such projects may then contribute to the consolidation, or at the least, stabilisation of the Irish speaking community in these areas. In that way, the linguistic political economy of development may become a circle where Irish influences the state-civil society-market nexus and, in turn, is consolidated by the synergies which emerge from those inter-relationships. These issues are drawn out further in Chapter Nine and their implications for the *country's* socio-economic development considered.

As stated at 1 above, the purpose of the case-studies was to investigate the empirical basis for the research question. The next chapter examines Údarás na Gaeltachta in detail. It explores the organisation's changing understanding of the link between language and development and seeks to relate this to the theoretical approaches outlined in Chapter Four. It concludes by considering the extent to which the historical and current operations of Údarás na Gaeltachta have drawn upon the Irish language as a resource for the socio-economic development of the Gaeltacht.

CHAPTER SEVEN

A CHANGING RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LANGUAGE AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT: THE EVOLUTION OF ÚDARÁS NA GAELTACHTA

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate further in an empirical manner the influence of the promotion of Irish on the socio-economic development of the Gaeltacht. Following the case-studies of three Gaeltacht areas, this chapter examines the ways in which the influence of Irish on development is understood by Údarás na Gaeltachta, the Gaeltacht development authority already referred to in passing in Chapters Five and Six. The theoretical framework of the linguistic political economy of development is an appropriate tool with which to analyse the work of Údarás, as it is a state organisation established due to the linguistic distinctiveness of the Gaeltacht, which emerged from the tensions between civil society and state in the 1960s and 1970s, which interacted historically with the market but whose operations are now being re-oriented towards civil society and towards Irish itself. Chapter Eight will examine the influence of Irish in two urban settings *outside* the Gaeltacht, where Irish is less commonly used. By combining the Gaeltacht and non-Gaeltacht case-studies, the research question is investigated empirically in a sample of locations throughout the country.

2. STRUCTURE AND FUNCTIONS OF ÚDARÁS NA GAELTACHTA

Údarás na Gaeltachta is a regional development authority for the Gaeltacht. The only other such authority in Ireland is the Shannon Development

Authority in Co. Clare. The legislation under which Údarás na Gaeltachta was established in 1979 listed various 'functions' in Article 8. The first section of that Article reads as follows:

> An tÚdarás shall encourage the preservation and extension of the use of the Irish language as the principal medium of communication in the Gaeltacht and shall ensure that Irish is used to the greatest extent possible in the performance by it and on its behalf of its functions (Article 8(1), Údarás na Gaeltachta Act, 1979).

The second sub-section of Article 8 states that the Údarás 'shall carry on, control and manage (either directly or, in any particular case, through a body corporate controlled by an tÚdarás) the industries and productive schemes of employment carried on, controlled or managed, directly or indirectly, by Gaeltarra Éireann' (Article 8(2)). This ordering of 'functions' gave the impression that promoting Irish was one of the organisation's aims, and there is a perception that this is the case (see for instance, Ó Cinnéide, Mac Donnacha & Ní Chonghaile, 2001: 148; Ó hEallaithe, D.A., 2005c). However, two Attornies-General have advised the DCRGA in recent years that Article 8 (1) is not in fact a 'function', but a *preamble* to the organisation's industrial functions, in other words, that Údarás does *not* in fact have any function in relation to Irish (personal communication with O'Brien, 2005). Regardless of the legal arguments, however, it is reasonable to expect that 'the preservation and extension of the use of the Irish language as the principal medium of communication in the Gaeltacht' would be of paramount importance to Údarás na Gaeltachta. After all, if it were not for the Irish language, there would have been no need for the organisation in the first place.

The act gives the Department of the Gaeltacht, the section of government responsible for funding Údarás, the power to enhance the functions of the organisation:

> For the purpose of promoting the linguistic, cultural, social, physical and economic development of the Gaeltacht an tÚdarás shall have, in

addition to the functions specified in this Act apart from this section, such powers as are conferred on it by order made by the Government (Article 9 (1)).

The Department has not yet sought an extension of such powers. However, early in 2005, the Minister for Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs, Éamon Ó Cuív, announced a statutory review of the roles and functions of Údarás na Gaeltachta (see 3.3 below).

At the time of writing, Údarás na Gaeltachta was divided into four main divisions: (1) industrial development; (2) regional development; (3) engineering, property and planning; and (4) culture and language. Historically, however, its principal responsibility has been in the realm of industrial development alone, similar to the industrial development functions carried out by IDA Ireland and Enterprise Ireland in the rest of the country. Údarás employs over 120 people, spread between its headquarters at Na Forbacha, Co. Galway, and its four regional offices in Counties Donegal, Mayo, Cork and Kerry. The organisation is responsible directly to the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs, from which it received a budget of €32.7m in 2003. Its total income that year was €46.8 million. This represents a considerable reduction in income compared to 2002, when Údarás received €59.5m, €43m of which was from the state (ÚnaG, 2003c: vii). Of the 20 members of the Údarás na Gaeltachta board, 17 are elected directly in Gaeltacht elections, the most recent of which was held in 2005 (see 5.3 below). The same year saw the appointment of a new chief executive, Pádraig Ó hAoláin, the first such appointment since the early 1980s.

Its 2003 annual report and accounts reveal that Údarás grant-aided 495 businesses projects in the Gaeltacht during that year. Excluding projects which had ceased to trade, 3,231 businesses had been approved up to the end of 2003 (ÚnaG, 2003b: 3). Of the Gaeltacht workforce of 38,433 people, 7,346 (19.1%) are full-time employees in companies assisted by the Údarás.

A further 4,220 people are employed on a part-time or seasonal basis in such companies (ÚnaG, 2003c: 24).

3. HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1   Establishment of Department of the Gaeltacht and Gaeltarra Éireann

The late 1950s marked a major shift in the Irish state's policy on economic development, more strikingly illustrated by the *Programme for Economic Expansion* (1958-1963). It was during the same period that the Gaeltacht was given key institutions for its own development, but the architect of the government's new strategy, former secretary of the Department of Finance, T.K. Whitaker, has said that this was merely coincidental (interview with Whitaker, 2004). However, there was a strong perception at the time that the west of Ireland in general, including the Gaeltacht, suffered from a particularly acute economic problem. Dáil debates on the establishment of the new Gaeltacht institutions from 1956 and 1957 reveal a deep pessimism among deputies about the dire economic state of the Gaeltacht at the time. There is a consensus that an intensive job creation strategy was the only way in which these isolated, underdeveloped communities could be saved. Time and again, the assertion was made: create employment in the Gaeltacht and the language will be saved (Dáil Éireann Debates, 1956a).

In 1955, Patrick Lindsay - who would become the first Minister for the Gaeltacht[1] under the second inter-party government of John A. Costello in 1956 - also spoke frequently on the emigration issue:

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[1] General Richard Mulcahy was given responsibility for the new Ministry of the Gaeltacht in April 1956, in addition to his existing responsibilities as Minister for Education. In October 1956, Patrick Lindsay was appointed (Dáil Éireann Debates, 1956a; Dáil Éireann Debates, 1956b). There was a general election in March 1957 which returned Fianna Fáil to power. Jack Lynch was then appointed Minister for the Gaeltacht (Lee, J.J., 1989a: 327-329).

In my view — and I speak with some experience — so long as those areas are subject to migration and emigration, that is when people as soon as possible after reaching school-leaving age have to emigrate seasonally, or emigrate and return only on holidays, you might as well be throwing money down the drain as spending it in an effort to keep Irish as the spoken language of the people in those areas. It is only when the people are in a position to survive, grow up, and finish their schooling, engage in local activities of a commercial nature, and of a nature that will provide a living for them, and afterwards marry and settle down in those areas and bring up families as their fathers did before them, that we will get the continuity of language that is so necessary in order to preserve it (Dáil Éireann Debates, 1955).

The over-riding concern with the economy was understandable: emigration from the west of Ireland, particularly the Gaeltacht, was rife. Infrastructural provision was extremely poor and many of the Gaeltacht areas had not yet been electrified (Mac Aodha, 1969: 5).

3.2 Gaeltarra Éireann and Údarás na Gaeltachta: modernisation and growth

The Department of the Gaeltacht was established under the second inter-party government in 1956, following the enactment of the Gaeltacht Areas Order which defined the geographical extent of the Gaeltacht (Walsh, McCarron & Ní Bhrádaigh, 2005). It was Fianna Fáil which introduced the Gaeltacht Industries Act of 1957, the legislation under which Gaeltarra Éireann was established. The new government went on to radically alter economic policy, shifting from protection to free trade and from import-substituting industrialisation to export-led industrialisation. The fundamental change was outlined in the document *Economic Development*, which formed the basis of the government White Paper of 1958, *Programme for Economic Expansion* (Lee, J.J., 1989a: 344-5). T.K. Whitaker has said that he saw no link between the government's decision to establish institutional structures in support of Irish and the modernisation strategy of the late 1950s and early 1960s. While he believes the Irish is important culturally - Whitaker speaks the language fluently - he does not feel that it has any economic relevance or

anything to do with national development policy (interview with Whitaker, 2004). This view is in keeping with the modernisationist approach which, while not prioritising a minority language, may allow its promotion in a cultural sense, divorced from matters related to economic growth.

Given the government's approach, therefore, it is unsurprising that the industrial strategy pursued in the Gaeltacht was little different to the rest of country. Foreign direct investment and free trade were the backbones of the new strategy to create jobs and sustain growth. In the Gaeltacht, the initial strategy was to transfer the traditional industries such as weaving, seaweed processing, embroidery, lace and clothes production to Gaeltarra Éireann, but after 1965, it was permitted by a legislative amendment to begin attracting foreign direct investment to the Gaeltacht (Gaeltacht Industries (Amendment) Act, 1965).

An examination of the annual reports of Gaeltarra Éireann from 1957 to 1979 reveals that the modernisationist approach remained in the ascendancy throughout this period. However, the organisation's industrial strategy went through a number of phases. The first, from 1957-1965, was characterised by the fact that the only major player in Gaeltacht industrial development was Gaeltarra itself, because the organisation had taken over the ownership of existing traditional industries. The second and most crucial phase began in 1965, when the Gaeltacht Industries Act was amended to allow Gaeltarra enter partnerships with private industries. From then onwards, Gaeltarra was transformed from the driving force behind Gaeltacht industrial development to a facilitator of private companies which decided to operate in the Gaeltacht. Many of these companies were from outside the Gaeltacht or indeed, outside Ireland, reflecting the national strategy of increasing dependence on the export market and on foreign direct investment. Gaeltarra pursued this strategy through growth poles of development, represented by industrial estates in certain Gaeltacht areas, in particular south Conamara, north-west Donegal and Múscraí (see Chapter Six). The third phase of Gaeltarra's

strategy began in the early to mid 1970s, when the global economic downturn, and the emergence of a more language-focussed Gaeltacht consciousness, culminated in the changes which would eventually lead to the winding up of the organisation (GÉ annual reports, 1957-1965). The Gaeltacht civil rights movement had spawned a number of community co-operatives throughout the Gaeltacht, which were perceived by the public to be far more supportive of Irish than the remote Gaeltarra board and staff based in Dublin (Johnson, M., 1978 & 1979; Johnson, N., 1997; see also Chapter Six). In 1969, perhaps in response to such criticisms, the organisation moved its headquarters to the Gaeltacht and located in Na Forbacha, close to Galway City (Gaeltarra Éireann, 1969a). In 1979, an act was passed to establish a new development body, Údarás na Gaeltachta. However, the changes were largely cosmetic and there was little difference in terms of policy or structures between the Údarás and its predecessor. The only significant different was that several board members would henceforth be elected by the public rather than selected by the Minister (Ó Gadhra, 1989: 92). Therefore, it is concluded that throughout this period, Irish was largely incidental to the predominantly state-market nexus through which Gaeltarra and Údarás achieved developmental outcomes.

3.3 Challenges to modernisation: alternative approaches to Gaeltacht development

From the 1960s and 1970s onwards, this state-market approach to Gaeltacht development was questioned, both within Gaeltarra Éireann and, to a greater extent, by many external actors in civil society. In 1958, the government announced the establishment of the Commission for the Restoration of the Irish Language. Its report, published in 1964, contained several recommendations about the Gaeltacht (An Coimisiún um Athbheochan na Gaeilge, 1964: 168-232). The government responded with its White Paper on the restoration of Irish in 1965 (Government of Ireland, 1965). Among the results of this White Paper was the establishment, in 1970, of Comhairle na

Gaeilge ('The Irish Language Council'), a group of experts from a variety of disciplines, including sociolinguistics. The Comhairle produced a number of ground-breaking publications which were unprecedented in their attention to international trends in language planning (Comhairle na Gaeilge, 1972). One such document recommended the creation of a broader authority for the Gaeltacht than Gaeltarra Éireann, a form of local government for the Irish speaking regions, with a strong developmental role (Comhairle na Gaeilge, 1971).

Also in 1971, a joint working group comprised of representatives from Gaeltarra Éireann and SFADCO, the regional development authority based in the Shannon Airport region of Co. Clare (the predecessor of Shannon Development), produced a report - *Gníomh don Ghaeltacht: An Action Plan for the Gaeltacht*. Their report was predominantly growth-led and modernisationist in its focus, as most of the discussion was of industrial and economic development. This is unsurprising because the working group comprised representatives from two regional development bodies. However, the report also emphasised that social, cultural and linguistic factors had to be included in Gaeltacht development. Therefore, while continuing to reflect the modernisationist approach, *Gníomh don Ghaeltacht* also recognised that other factors, including the Irish language, should be more carefully considered than before.

More focussed criticism of the economic growth approach came in the early 1980s. An English planner, Brian Anson, was commissioned by Údarás na Gaeltachta to compile a report on the future development of the Gaoth Dobhair Gaeltacht in north-west Donegal, which had been heavily industrialised in a relatively short period.[2] After a long period of consultation with the community, Anson presented a report which was highly critical of

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[2] For instance, the GÉ 1978 annual report reveals that of 2,331 full-time employees in Údarás-assisted industries, almost half (1,002) were employed in Donegal (GÉ, 1978: 16).

Údarás policy in the area. He accused the organisation of ignoring the community and of focussing on economic objectives alone:

> Involvement in a dozen spheres of activity - some of which may only require a modest financial input - may well be more profitable (in releasing the initiative) than the creation of expensive industrial developments which may become 'white elephants' in due course, leaving behind them a residue of community bitterness and cynicism (Anson, 1982: 194)

Anson urged Údarás to 'become more involved in the "grassroots" of the community ... Údarás must work quickly to establish a PERMANENT community planning office within the heart of the community and endeavour to have it staffed by local people' (195, emphasis in original). Because of his emphasis on the *social* elements of development, and the influence of economic development on social factors, Anson represents the socio-cultural development position. His report reflects an attempt by civil society to influence more directly the development of the Gaeltacht and to influence the state-market interaction. The role of Irish in this influence is implicit, rather than explicit, and is similar to some of the community-based approaches to development in South Conamara or Múscraí outlined in Chapter Six (see especially Meitheal Mhúscraí and Mallaghan). Údarás na Gaeltachta never published the Anson report, but it has been circulated widely among the local community and is still highly regarded, more than twenty years later (interviews with Ó Domhnaill; Mac Aodh Bhuí; Mhic Niallais; Ó Gallchóir, 2004).

Throughout the second half of the 1990s, unprecedented national economic growth prompted the return to Ireland of many of the Gaeltacht emigrants who had left during the poverty of the 1970s and 1980s (Ó Gráda & O'Rourke, 2000: 189-196). However, many of the returning emigrants brought with them children or partners who were not Irish speaking, putting further pressure on the Gaeltacht's delicate linguistic balance (Walsh, 2002a: 29). In 2000, the government appointed a Commission to investigate the

decline of the Gaeltacht and to propose solutions (see Chapter Five). The Commission's report represented a stark challenge to Irish language policy, both in the Gaeltacht and nationally. It stated that the traditional industrial development model of Údarás na Gaeltachta was no longer sustainable in the changing sociolinguistic and socio-economic situation in the Gaeltacht:

> Údarás na Gaeltachta's current primary role of employment creation through industrial development must change and should focus instead on development and implementation of sustainable language centred initiatives. In this way it will champion the educational, linguistic, cultural, social and economic development of the Gaeltacht (Coimisiún na Gaeltachta, 2002: 16).

The Commission also called for a radical restructuring of Údarás na Gaeltachta into three major divisions: Irish language, Education and Culture; Economy and Infrastructure; and Community, Social and Health Affairs. The organisation's budget was to be divided equally between the three areas, rather than the current financial prioritisation of industrial development. The Commission also underlined the need for a more holistic development model in the Gaeltacht, where all aspects of development would be based on language maintenance and promotion (2002: 17). Unsurprisingly, due to the nature of their task, the Commissioners represent the minority language promotion approach, although the above references to holistic Gaeltacht development reveal influences from the socio-cultural development approach also. Most of the Commissioners were employees of public bodies, but the wide public consultation embarked upon by the Commission ensured a high level of input from civil society. Therefore, in terms of the theoretical framework, the Commission combined insights from state and civil society, based on the Irish language, in order to influence the ways in which *other* parts of the state (the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs and Údarás na Gaeltachta) achieved development in the Gaeltacht.

A more strongly-articulated version of the language promotion approach is to be found in what is perhaps the sharpest criticism of all of Údarás na

Gaeltachta in recent years. The criticism was made in a report prepared for the Commission by a group of researchers led by Prof. Micheál Ó Cinnéide from the National University of Ireland, Galway. According to the researchers, the industrialisation strategies of Údarás cannot be considered in isolation from linguistic factors, because of the role given to the Irish language in the legislation under which Údarás was established. They argue that the basic aim of Údarás was to strengthen Irish but that the organisation has failed to achieve this. In fact, they claim that the operations of Údarás have led to the increased anglicisation of the Gaeltacht:

> Ní féidir gníomhaíochtaí tionsclaíocha an Údaráis a mheas, áfach, neamhspleách ar a dtionchar ar chúrsaí teanga. Ní *tionscail agus scéimeanna táirgiúla fostaíochta* a bhí mar phríomhchuspóir le bunú an Údaráis ach *caomhnú agus leathadh na Gaeilge mar phríomh-mheán cumarsáide sa Ghaeltacht a spreagadh.* Sa chomhthéacs seo, má tá tionchar diúltach ag a ghníomhaíochtaí tionsclaíocha ar iompar teanga sa Ghaeltacht, ní féidir a rá go bhfuil an príomhchuspóir a bhí le bunú an Údaráis á bhaint amach aige. Is cinnte go bhfuil gníomhaíochtaí tionsclaíocha an Údaráis tar éis cur go mór le húsáid an Bhéarla sa Ghaeltacht ... Níl an tionchar seo teoranta d'iompar teanga sna tionscail amháin. Tá forbairt thionsclaíoch an Údaráis tar éis an-chuid daoine nach Gaeilgeoirí ó dhúchas iad a mhealladh chun na Gaeltachta, idir dhaoine ón taobh amuigh a tháinig ar thóir oibre agus daoine a tháinig mar chéilí agus mar leanaí le daoine Gaeltachta a d'fhill abhaile de bharr go raibh obair ar fáil dóibh ina gceantar dúchais (Ó Cinnéide, Mac Donnacha & Ní Chonghaile, 2001: 148-9, emphasis in original).[3]

Ó Cinnéide's arguments are weakened by the fact that very little empirical research has been done on the perceived negative linguistic effect of industrialisation. Ó Cinnéide himself led a team of researchers which

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[3] The industrial activities of the Údarás cannot be assessed, however, independent of their influence on language issues. The encouragement of the *preservation and extension of the use of the Irish language as the principal medium of communication in the Gaeltacht* and not *industries and productive schemes of employment* was the primary role of Údarás when it was established. In this context, if industrial activities have had a negative influence on language behaviour in the Gaeltacht, it cannot be said that the Údarás has achieved the principal objective which led to its establishment. It is certain that the industrial activities of the Údarás have greatly increased the use of English in the Gaeltacht ... This influence is not limited to language behaviour in industries alone. Údarás industrial development has attracted many people who are not native Irish speakers into the Gaeltacht, both people from outside who came seeking work and people who returned home as spouses or children because work was available in their area of origin.

published its findings on this issue in the 1980s, arguing robustly that a Gaeltacht development policy which did not give precedence to language maintenance was hypocritical (Ó Cinnéide, Keane & Cawley, 1985). Around the same time, similar work was carried out by Mac an Iomaire (1983). However, there has been no comprehensive survey since then on the precise linguistic impact of Gaeltacht industry. There is, nevertheless, a strong perception among many Irish speakers in the Gaeltacht that the industrialisation policy has been disastrous for Irish (see Chapter Six).

The authors of the NUI Galway report wrote that although Údarás had supported certain aspects of the social and cultural life of the Gaeltacht (as opposed to the economic/industrial), that support was extremely limited because the budget had to come from the surplus of current expenditure, rather than any specific fund set up for this purpose (Ó Cinnéide, Mac Donnacha & Ní Chonghaile, 2001: 147). It was also revealed in the report that less than one percent of the Údarás budget was being spent on the organisation's Culture and Language Division:

> [I]s deacair a shamhlú go bhféadfadh an fhoireann atá i gceist mórán tionchair a imirt leis na hacmhainní suaracha atá ar fáil di. Is deacair a shamhlú, freisin, go bhfeicfidh na comhlachtaí ná an pobal go ginearálta go bhfuil bunú agus buanú iompar Gaeilge i gcomhlachtaí mar thosaíocht ag an Údarás i bhfianaise an leibhéil infheistíochta atá á dhéanamh acu sa réimse (Ó Cinnéide, Mac Donnacha & Ní Chonghaile, 2001: 149).[4]

Taken together, both the Commission's report and the supplementary research by NUI Galway amount to harsh criticism of the policies of Údarás na Gaeltachta (and the wider language policies of DCRGA). The Ó Cinnéide report in particular brings into sharp focus the conflict between economic development and language planning as represented by existing policies, and the two reports together underline the need for a new model which will

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[4] It is difficult to imagine that the staff in question could exert much influence given the mean resources allocated to it. It is also difficult to imagine that companies or the public in general

ensure that language maintenance and promotion are at the heart of all future Gaeltacht development. In conclusion, therefore, an historical analysis of Gaeltarra and Údarás through the lens of a linguistic political economy of development reveals that Irish only very weakly influenced the organisation's achievement of developmental outcomes (occurring mostly through the state-market nexus). However, the state's approach to Gaeltacht development was challenged by civil society, frequently with the aim of strengthening the influence of Irish. The next section considers how Údarás na Gaeltachta responded to this criticism.

4. RESPONDING TO THE CRITICISM: THE CHANGING ROLE OF ÚDARÁS NA GAELTACHTA

Following twenty-five years of criticism of its industrial development strategy, the current period marks the most fundamental review since its establishment of the powers and responsibilities of Údarás na Gaeltachta. Using the framework of a linguistic political economy of development, this section will examine how the state-market-civil society interplay and the influence of Irish on it is reflected in the organisation's internal debate over the past ten years. It will also consider the extent to which Údarás now understands the influence of Irish on the socio-economic development of the Gaeltacht, and how this is reflected in its policies.

The current review of the roles and powers of Údarás na Gaeltachta can be dated to the mid-1990s and the period when the chairman of Údarás was Prof. Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh of the National University of Ireland, Galway. Ó Tuathaigh's appointment in 1995 coincided with a period of sustained national economic growth, based largely on foreign direct investment and a shift from low-skill manufacturing industries to the services sector (Ó Gráda & O'Rourke, 2000: 189-196). The shift from manufacturing to services was not the only

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will accept that the establishment and maintenance of Irish language behaviour in companies

area which sparked debate: the Irish language itself and the planning process were also highly contentious during this time, as will be illustrated in this section. Ó Tuathaigh recalls lively debates within Údarás on the relationship of Údarás with the Irish language. Ironically, the debate had been prompted by the success of the *economic* development strategy, which had been developed largely separate from language and which was perceived to have negative *linguistic* impacts:

> Bhí na himpleachtaí teanga sin tar éis teacht chun solais ar chúis ana-shimplí: bhí éirithe chomh maith leis an bpolasaí forbartha, maidir le cruthú fostaíochta, i gceantair áirithe agus bhí na figiúirí sin fós ag féachaint ana-láidir nuair a thángas isteach. Leanadh [de sin] le linn domsa a bheith i mo chathaoirleach le postanna nua á gcruthú agus le méadú ag teacht bliain ar bhliain ar ollmhéid na bpostanna a bhí á gcruthú, ach bhí sé soiléir i gcás cuid de na hionaid ba bhisiúla ó thaobh na fostaíochta de, go raibh na himpleachtaí teanga fíorchasta. I gcás Ghaoth Dobhair ar na heastáit, i gcás Bhaile Mhic Íre i gCorcaigh, abraimis, be léir go raibh - ní hamháin go raibh lánfhostaíocht, go raibh fuílleach postanna ann do lucht saothair logánta - agus bhí daoine le Béarla á mbusáil isteach de cheal oibrithe dúchasacha. Agus an cheist a bhí ann ar chóir leanacht sin nó nár chóir iarracht a dhéanamh srian a chur fiú le cruthú fostaíochta - in ainneoin go mb'fhéidir nach mbeadh sé sin ciallmhar ó thaobh na polaitíochta de - agus díriú ar chruthú fostaíochta níos moille ach níos fréamhaithe sna ceantair ina raibh an teanga láidir agus a raibh an fhostaíocht tearc (interview with Ó Tuathaigh, 2004).[5]

As the Gaeltacht approached full employment in the second half of the 1990s, reaching a peak in 2000 (ÚnaG, 2000: 12), Ó Tuathaigh recalls that it was difficult to enforce linguistic conditions on companies which had been

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is a priority of Údarás given the level of investment which they are making in this area.
[5] The linguistic implications had come to the fore for a very simple reason: the development policy with regard to employment creation had been so successful in certain areas, and the figures still looked very healthy when I came in. While I was chairman, jobs continued to be created and the gross employment total continued to increase, but it was clear in the case of some of the more successful places in employment terms, that the language implications were extremely complicated. In the case of Gaoth Dobhair on the [industrial] estates, in Baile Mhic Íre in Cork, for instance, it was clear that there was a surplus of jobs for the local workforce - and that people with English were being bussed in because of a lack of native workers. And the question was should we continue like this or should we try even to restrict employment creation - although perhaps that wouldn't be sensible in political terms - and concentrate on a slower rate of employment creation but more rooted in the areas where the language was strong and the employment scarce.

enthusiastically welcomed into the Gaeltacht when the modernisationist approach was at its strongest. However, re-orienting the organisation's focus towards the Irish language itself was fraught with difficulties. Both Ó Tuathaigh and Údarás chief executive, Pádraig Ó hAoláin, have pointed to how the organisation was restrained by the legislation from expanding its areas of responsibility beyond the industrial development role. Ó hAoláin refers to how Article 8 of the Act does not specify *how* the Údarás is supposed to engage in language maintenance and promotion:

> [Tá] an taithí atá againn féin ar an gcaoi a bhfuil cúrsaí sa nGaeltacht agus an lagú atá ag teacht agus an creimeadh ar an nGaeilge go háirithe ag leibhéal an phobail, go háirithe, ina ábhar imní againn, [faoi mar atá] an easpa cumhachtaí atá againn chun tabhairt go fuinniúil faoi aon cheo a dhéanamh faoi sin a bheadh sách tioncharach leis an taoille a choinneáil ar an leibhéal fiú ar a bhfuil sé, gan trácht ar í a iompó thart. Mar tá cumhachtaí an Údaráis réasúnta teoranta chomh fada agus a bhaineann le déileáil le buanú agus spreagadh na Gaeilge, 'nó caomhnú agus leathadh na Gaeilge mar phríomh-mheán cumarsáide sa nGaeltacht', mar atá ráite san Acht - tá na cumhachtaí sin an-teoranta (interview with Ó hAoláin, 2004a).[6]

As stated at 2 above, the government department with responsibility for the Gaeltacht could have, at any time since 1979, extended the powers of the Údarás through Article 9 of the legislation, but it never did so. Neither is their any evidence that Údarás itself sought a formal extension of its role in relation to language or any other activity outside the realm of industrial development (Ó Cinnéide, Mac Donnacha & Ní Chonghaile, 2001: 141). However, Ó hAoláin explains how they managed to extend their functions into the *social* realm within the confines of the legislation:

> Bhíothas neirbhíseach taobh istigh den eagraíocht go ndéarfaí linn nach raibh aon cheart againn dul sa treo sin agus bhí sáraíocht áirithe idir

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[6] The experience which we have of the way things are in the Gaeltacht and the weakening of Irish particularly at community level, [is] a source of worry for us, [as is] our lack of power to do anything energetic which would be influential enough to keep the tide at its current level, let alone turn it back. Because the powers of Údarás are fairly limited as far as dealing with the consolidation and encouragement of Irish [is concerned], or [with] 'the preservation and extension of the use of the Irish language as the principal medium of communication in the Gaeltacht' as the Act says - those powers are very limited.

ranna éagsúla stáit ag an am ... [Tá] an meáchan maoinithe á rialú ón tús ag an alt áirithe sin [Alt 10]. Leagann sé sin amach gur féidir linn infheistiú trí scairchaipiteal, deontais agus gur féidir linn na rudaí eile go léir maidir le díol agus ceannach talún a dhéanamh an fhaid agus atá cuspóir tionsclaíoch ag baint leis. Is dóigh gurb é an rud is mó a thug chun soiléireachta an teorainn docht a bhaineann leis sin ná rud a tharla trí bliana ó shin nuair a cheadaíomar airgead do chomhlacht beag tithíochta sóisialta i nGaeltacht Mhúscraí le cur ar a gcumas suíomhanna a cheannach do chuspóir sóisialta. Rinne an bord cinneadh tacaíocht a thabhairt dó seo; theastaigh uatha suíomhanna a cheannach chun tithe a thógáil do dhaoine nach raibh tithíocht shóisialta acu trí scéim atá ag an Roinn Comhshaoil. Ach chomh fada agus a bhain leis an Údarás, is é an treoir a tháinig ar ais chugainn - cé go ndearnamar an cinneadh ag leibhéal an bhoird, agus gur aontaigh an tAire linn ag an am, an tAire céanna atá againn faoi láthair a bhí ina Aire Stáit an uair sin, Éamon Ó Cuív, go bhféadfaí é a dhéanamh - bhí ceisteanna móra ag leibhéal na Roinne [Gaeltachta] faoi: an raibh sé *ultra vires* ag an Údarás a leithéid de chinneadh a dhéanamh? Chuaigh sé ar aghaidh go dtí oifig an Aturnae Ghinearálta le léirmhíniú a fháil ansin agus is é an teachtaireacht a tháinig ar ais ná, nach raibh sé de chumhacht againn talamh nó maoin a cheannach do chuspóir ar bith eile ach do chuspóir tionsclaíoch (interview with Ó hAoláin, 2004a).[7]

Because of the duties in relation to *industrial* development imposed on the Údarás, the organisation had to fund such *social*, as well as *cultural* or *linguistic* projects out of the current budget surplus. However, in 2003, in response to the criticisms of Coimisiún na Gaeltachta, Minister Ó Cuív ordered the Údarás to begin spending 20 percent of its capital budget - used to fund the building programme and to purchase shares in companies - on language related projects (ÚnaG, 2003c: 17). According to Ó hAoláin, the confines of

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[7] The organisation was nervous that it would be told that we had no right to go in that direction and there was some disagreement between various government departments at the time ... The weighting of funding [has] been controlled from the beginning by that particular article [Article 10]. That sets out that we may invest through share capital, grants and that we can do the other things with regard to selling and buying land as long as they have an industrial objective. I suppose the thing which showed most clearly the stringent restriction was what happened three years ago when we approved money for a small company dealing with social housing in the Múscraí Gaeltacht in order to enable them to buy sites for a social purpose. The board decided to support this; they wanted to buy sites to build houses for people without social housing through a Department of the Environment scheme. But as far as the Údarás was concerned, we received a direction - although we made the decision at board level and the Minister of the day, the same Minister whom we have at the moment, Éamon Ó Cuív, agreed that it could be done - the Department [of the Gaeltacht] had major questions about it: was it *ultra vires* of the Údarás to make such a decision? It went to the

the legislation can be pushed no further and amendments are now needed if Údarás is to be allowed spend substantial amounts of its budget on activities other than industrial development. In relation to the current review of the Údarás and the legislation under which it operates, Ó Tuathaigh believes that planning is the most important additional responsibility which the organisation should be granted:

> Pleanáil sa chiall is leithne den bhfocal - sé sin pleanáil na timpeallachta, an timpeallacht dhaonna, cuirfidh mé mar sin é. Tá idir thithe agus eile i gceist ansin, ach tá áiseanna chomh maith. Thugamar cúnamh, cuirim i gcás, do Chomhairle Contae na Gaillimhe leabharlann a bhunú ar an gCeathrú Rua. Cheapfadh duine cén gnó a bhí ag an Údarás é sin a dhéanamh? B'shin an bonneagar cultúrtha agus sóisialta a chaithfí a chur isteach má bhí pobal le bheith iomlán, ionas nach mbeadh ar an bpobal sin dul amach le haghaidh áiseanna ... Nuair a deirim 'an próiseas pleanála', sea, táim ag caint ar phleanáil fhisiciúil, ach is iad na himpleachtaí daonna agus teanga den phleanáil fhisiciúil is mó a bheadh i gceist agam anseo. Na háiseanna a dtabharfaí tús áite dóibh. An comhréiteach a chaithfear a dhéanamh idir an leas príobháideach agus an leas coiteann, mar atá sé curtha síos i gceantar Gaeltachta, an leas coiteann ó thaobh na teanga de agus ó thaobh iompar teanga de. Agus is dóigh liom go bhfuil ról an Údaráis rólag sa réimse sin i gcónaí.[8]

As Údarás attempted to re-orient its direction away from interaction mainly with the market to a more holistic engagement with both society and market, based more firmly on Irish, Ó Tuathaigh complains that central government showed no comprehension of what Údarás was trying to achieve. The following extract reveals the dominance of the modernisationist approach in

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Attorney General's office to be interpreted and the message which came back was that we did not have the power to buy land or property for any objective other than industrial.
[8] Planning in the broadest sense of the word - that is, environmental planning, the human environment, that's how I'll put it. That means houses and other things, and facilities also. For instance, we helped Galway County Council to establish a library in An Cheathrú Rua. You could ask what business did Údarás have doing that? That was the cultural and social infrastructure which would have to be built if a community was to be complete, that the community would not have to leave to enjoy facilities ... When I say 'the planning process', yes, I'm talking about physical planning, but it is the human and linguistic implications of the planning process which I would be most concerned with. The facilities which would be prioritised. The balance which must be struck between the private and the common interest, as it exists in the Gaeltacht, the common good in linguistic terms and in terms of language behaviour. And I think that the role of Údarás in that area is still too weak.

government and its inability to engage with the minority language promotion approach:

> Luadh an tÚdarás, tugadh aitheantas don Údarás sna pleananna contae, cuirim i gcás, agus d'éirigh linn trí áiteamh míreanna san Acht Pleanála a threisiú. Ach bhí sé deacair. [Bhí] easpa tuisceana ag leibhéal an rialtais, cuirim i gcás, agus nuair a deirim 'easpa tuisceana' nílim ag briseadh rúin anseo. Nuair a bhí an tAire ó Díomsaigh ina Aire Timpeallachta, bhíomar ag iarraidh a bhrú air an ról a chaithfeadh a bheith ag an Údarás sa réimse pleanála, agus bhíomar ag iarraidh é a dhéanamh chomh láidir agus ab fhéidir - go mbeadh sé neadaithe sa phróiseas measúnóireachta ar gach aon saghas iarratais forbartha sa Ghaeltacht. Chuamar ar thoscaireacht chuige, bhí an tAire Ó Cuív ar an toscaireacht linn, agus is gá dom a rá go raibh díomá orm lena laghad tuisceana - nílim ag caint ar chomhbhá agus mar sin de - easpa tola agus easpa tuisceana. Bhí sé ana-dheacair a mhíniú dó agus dá chuid státsheirbhísigh shinsearacha cad é go díreach a bhí i gceist againn. Ní raibh aon mhachnamh déanta acu ar cad is brí le cúrsaí teanga agus leis an ngné shochtheangeolaíochta ar chor ar bith, agus sinn á mhíniú dóibh i dtéarmaí a bhí cuíosach simplí. Ba léir go rabhamar, mar a déarfá, ag feadaíl in aghaidh na gaoithe cuid mhaith. Ón dtaobh sin de ba léiriú é ar na saghasanna deacrachtaí a bhí ag an Aire freisin lena chomh-Airí agus le státsheirbhísigh shinsearacha i rannóga eile nach bhfaca go raibh impleachtaí teanga ar chor ar bith ag na cinní a bhí á nglacadh ina réimsí féin (interview with Ó Tuathaigh, 2004).[9]

The current chairman of Údarás na Gaeltachta has spoken strongly in favour of the organisation being granted powers in relation to planning on housing matters, following recent controversies in several Gaeltacht areas (see

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[9] The Údarás was mentioned and given recognition in county plans, for instance, and we managed through persuasion to strengthen sections of the Planning Act. But it was difficult. [There was] a lack of understanding at government level, for instance, and when I say 'a lack of understanding' I'm not breaking any secrets. When Minister Dempsey was Minister for the Environment, we were trying to persuade him of the planning role which the Údarás required, and we were trying to make it as strong as possible - so that it would be embedded in the assessment process in every type of development application in the Gaeltacht. We went on a delegation to him, Minister Ó Cuív was with us, and I have to say that I was disappointed at so little understanding - I'm not talking about sympathy and so on - a lack of will and a lack of understanding. It was very difficult to explain to him and his senior civil servants what exactly we meant. They had given no consideration to what language meant and to the sociolinguistic element, although we were explaining it in fairly simple terms. It was clear that we were, as you'd say, swimming against the tide most of the time. It illustrated the type of problems which the Minister has with his fellow Ministers and with senior civil servants in other departments who don't see that the decisions which they make have any implications at all for language.

Chapter Six). It remains to be see whether or not this emerges from the current review of the organisation's powers and roles (Ó Cuinneagáin, 2005). The interview with Ó Tuathaigh reflects a mixture of the socio-cultural and minority language promotion approaches. His repeated references to 'embedding' the entire planning process in Irish show his concern for reversing the language shift occurring in the Gaeltacht, but his integration of language with social, cultural and economic factors reveals a broader view similar to the socio-cultural development approach outlined in Chapter Four. The next section discusses current criticisms of the new strategies being pursued by Údarás.

5. CRITIQUE OF NEW POLICY DIRECTIONS OF ÚDARÁS NA GAELTACHTA

The current review of the roles and functions of Údarás na Gaeltachta is the result of both internal debate and pressure from society for change. As illustrated at 4 above, one result of the debate is that the role of Irish in Gaeltacht development is less marginal than was previously the case. However, the renewed emphasis on Irish is contested. This section will examine various aspects of the critique of the new policy directions of Údarás, first from Údarás client companies which view themselves as part of the 'language-based sector' and then from within the Údarás board. In so doing, further light is shed on the ways in which Irish is perceived as influencing the political economy of Gaeltacht development in the case of Údarás na Gaeltachta, and on how this link operates in practice.

5.1 'Language-based' industry in the Gaeltacht

The expressions 'earnáil na Gaeilge' ['Irish language sector'], 'tionscal na teanga' ['Irish language industry'] and 'postanna teangabhunaithe' ['language-centred jobs'] or 'teangaláraithe' ['language-based'] have emerged

in recent years in connection with the strategic changes being implemented by Údarás na Gaeltachta. However, there is little clarity about what exactly is meant by these terms. For instance, are only those working directly with Irish in language organisations included in this type of employment? Does it include Gaeltacht companies not dealing directly with Irish but whose workforce is predominantly Irish speaking? In Scotland, a recent critique of the term 'Gaelic economy' clarified the parameters of such an 'industry' or 'sector' (McLeod, 2002), but no such attempt has yet been made in Ireland. A recent newspaper report claimed that more than 1,000 jobs existed in 'gnónna atá teanga-lárnaithe'[10] ('language-centred businesses'). These were said to comprise teachers, media workers, translation companies and employees in language organisations (Ní Nualláin, 2003). However, this list does not include employees in companies in strongly Irish speaking areas which operate through Irish regardless of the nature of their business. It is clear a definition of what exactly is meant by 'the language industry' is required.

The views of two companies whose business is based entirely or partly on Irish itself are examined in this section, in order to investigate understandings of the ways in which Irish may be harnessed directly in order to create economic development in the Gaeltacht. 'An Spailpín Fánach' is a small company based in An Spidéal in the South Conamara Gaeltacht which manufactures Irish language t-shirts, other clothing and souvenirs. The director, Gearóid Ó Murchú, is somewhat cynical about the recent interest of Údarás in Irish language business, and recalls a time when attitudes were not so positive:

> Tá sé dochreidte sa lá atá inniu ann agus b'fhéidir nach mbeadh an rud céanna ann sa lá atá inniu ann ag an Údarás, ach ag an am ba bhac orainn an Ghaeilge. Ní raibh an tÚdarás ag iarraidh orainn teacht isteach mar gheall ar - mar a dúirt siad - 'ní féidir libh gnó a dhéanamh timpeall ar an nGaeilge'. Agus go bunúsach diúltaíodh áit dúinn sa

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[10] 'Teangaláraithe' is the correct term, according to the government's terminological committee (communication with Ní Ghallchobhair, 2005).

gCeardlann - tá mé in ann é a rá amach glan - mar gheall ar an nGaeilge. Rinne siad gáire fúinn nuair a bhíomar ag iarraidh gnó a thosú bunaithe ar an nGaeilge ... Ach dá mbeadh dream an bith eile ag teacht isteach agus smaoineamh mór acu faoi rud a bhí i bhfad níos seafóidí, b'fhéidir, thabharfaidís i bhfad níos mó creidiúna don rud sin ... Rinne muid bagairt orthu go ndéanfadh muid poiblíocht mhór. Sin blianta fada ó shin. Trí nó ceithre bliana ina dhiaidh sin cheap siad gur muid an dream is fearr ar domhan. Dáiríre cheap. Bhí siad dhár n-úsáid mar chineál eiseamláir, mar shampla de céard a d'fhéadfaí a dhéanamh (interview with Ó Murchú, G., 2004).[11]

Ó Murchú believes that, historically at least, most of the Údarás employees demonstrated little or no interest in Irish or understanding of its position:

Ceapaim go léiríonn sé go mór an cineál dream atá agus a bhí ag plé go bunúsach le cúrsaí tionsclaíochta agus a leithéid - cúrsaí forbartha mar a ghlaonn siad air - san Údarás. Tá formhór mór den dream istigh san Údarás ag plé leis an taobh sin de chúrsaí, nach bhfuil suim dá laghad acu sa nGaeilge ná tuiscint ar bith acu ar chúrsaí teanga. Agus feictear dom fiú thar na blianta go raibh dhá thaobh istigh san Údarás agus mar a deirim, 90 faoin gcéad bhí sé ag plé le cúrsaí tionsclaíochta. Agus an taobh eile cineál ag plé le roinnt rudaí beaga éagsúla. Ach ní raibh aon chuma ar an scéal go raibh aon teagmháil ag an dá dhream lena chéile (interview with Ó Murchú, G., 2004).[12]

Ó Murchú's comments are a good reflection of the tensions between the minority language promotion and the modernisationist positions in practice in the Gaeltacht. They also illustrate the evolution of Údarás na Gaeltachta from

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[11] It's incredible in this day and age and maybe the same thing wouldn't happen now with Údarás, but Irish was an obstacle to us. Údarás didn't want us to come in because - as they said - 'you can't do business based on Irish'. And basically we were refused a place in the Craft Centre - I can say it straight out - because of Irish. They were laughing at us because we were trying to set up a business based on Irish ... But if some other crowd came in with a big idea about something far more foolish, they'd probably be given far more credit ... We threatened to publicise it. That was years ago. Three or four years after that they thought we were the best thing in the world. Really, they did. They were using us as a kind of example of what could be done.

[12] I think it shows clearly that kind of people who are and were dealing with industrialisation and so on - development as they call it - in the Údarás. Most of the people dealing with those things in the Údarás don't have any interest in Irish or any understanding of linguistic matters. And it seems to me over the years that there were two divisions within Údarás, but that 90 percent was devoted to industrialisation. And the other side was dealing with various little things. And it didn't seem that the two sides had any contact with each other.

its quintessentially modernisationist position to a more language-based approach to Gaeltacht development.

A harsher critique of Údarás is provided by the outspoken Gaeltacht entrepreneur, Tomás Mac Gearailt, managing director of the Bard na nGleann group in Múscraí (see Chapter Six). Mac Gearailt believes that responsibility for industrial development in the Gaeltacht should be removed from Údarás because of his belief that they failed to protect Irish in the industrialisation process. He refers to the recent success of Údarás in attracting a number of call-centres to the Gaeltacht:

> Dúrt é sin toisc go gcuir an tÚdarás fógraí isteach i nuachtáin Béarla, go gcuireadar na fógraí sin isteach go hiomlán i mBéarla agus go bhfuil siad ag tabhairt isteach postanna in ionaid glaoch. Is dóigh liomsa gurb iadsan na postanna is measa sa domhan. Dá siúlófá an domhan ó thaobh go taobh agus mórthimpeall síos suas, ní fhéadfá postanna níos measa a dh'fháilt don dteanga, ná na postanna go bhfuil tú ag cur muintir na Gaeltachta ag labhairt Béarla ó thosach go deireadh an lae. An lá a chuir an tÚdarás na fógraí sin isteach, d'ardaíodar an bratach bán ag rá, *we give up*, ní féidir linn an jab a dhéanamh mar athá sé scríofa síos dúinn. Munar féidir leotha an jab a dhéanamh, tabhair do dhuine éigin eile é agus lig dóibh troid ar son na Gaolainne más shin é an phríomhaidhm atá acu. Munab é an phríomhaidhm athá acu, aistrigh an aidhm nó dein an jab, ceann amháin nó an ceann eile. Tá's agam ná fuil daoine ag rá gur cheart é a thógaint uathu, ach munar féidir leo é a dhéanamh, ar son na Gaolainne, agus go b'shin é an phríomhaidhm atá acu, *then* tóg uathu é ... Anois, tá an mac tíre istigh i lár na gcaoirigh, tá sé istigh ag tabhairt aire dosna caoirigh agus sin é atá titithe amach don Údarás agus munar féidir leo é sin a shocrú, abair leo éirí as. Sin é a déarfainnse leo. Agus is féidir leat é sin a chur aon áit gur maith leat (interview with Mac Gearailt, 2004).[13]

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[13] I said that because the Údarás put ads in English-language newspapers, entirely in English and because they're bringing in jobs into call centres. Personally, I think that those are the worst jobs in the world. If you travelled the world you wouldn't find jobs which are worse for the language, than jobs which put Gaeltacht people speaking English from one end of the day to the other. The day that Údarás put in those ads, they raised the white flag and said: 'we give up, we can't do the job as it's set out for us'. If they can't do the job, give it to someone else and let them fight for Irish if that's their main aim. If it isn't their main aim, change the aim or do the job, one or the other. I know that people are saying it shouldn't be taken away from them, but if they can't do it, in favour of Irish, and that's their main aim, then take it away from them ... At the moment, the wolf is among the lambs, it's inside looking after the lambs. That's what has happened to Údarás and if they can't sort that out, tell them to give it up. That's what I'd say to them. And you can print that wherever you want.

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Taken in isolation, the above extract would seem to put Mac Gearailt in the minority language promotion category (albeit with economic aims), as he views the promotion of Irish as the most important priority in the debate on Gaeltacht socio-economic development. However, the fact that his core business in Bard na nGleann is staffed by English speakers weakens his argument. Mac Gearailt owns three smaller companies directly related to the Irish language and employing only Irish speakers, but at the time of writing his main business, operating in the Gaeltacht with Údarás support, is run in English (Mac Gearailt claimed, however, that he plans to make the Irish language companies his core business in the future). At a later stage in the interview, Mac Gearailt revises his views slightly, stating that Údarás could continue to create jobs which are 'neodrach ó thaobh na teangan' ['neutral linguistically'], but repeats his charge that call centres where Irish-speaking staff are obliged to speak English were completely contradictory to the legislation under which Údarás was established:

> Ach má thá tú ag caint ar ionad glaoch, sin é an bratach bán, *we give up, screw the* Gaolainn, *we're* Údarás na Béarlachta agus *forget about it.* Sin é an slí a fheicimse an scéal. An bhfuil gá don Údarás? Níl gá d'aon eagraíocht ná deineann an rud athá beartaithe dóibh a dhéanamh. Muna bhfuil siad chun an obair athá leagaithe amach dóibh a dhéanamh, ní cheart dóibh a bheith ann. Agus is féidir leis an Údarás an obair a dhéanamh má scaoileann siad fé.[14]

Allegations that the Údarás strategy has facilitated the spread of English in the Gaeltacht were fuelled by reports early in 2005 that the very firm criticised by Mac Gearailt for establishing call centres in the Gaeltacht, Contact 4, conducted interviews in English only with 80 job applicants in An Daingean in County Kerry. 120 applicants received correspondence from the firm in English only. The Údarás chief executive, Pádraig Ó hAoláin promised to

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[14] But if you're talking about a call centre, that's the white flag, we give up, screw Irish, we're 'Údarás na Béarlachta' [Authority for English] and forget about it. That the way I see things. Is Údarás needed? No organisation which doesn't do the thing they're supposed to do is needed. If they're not going to do the work set out for them, they shouldn't be there. And Údarás can do the work if the put their minds to it.

investigate, saying that he expected that companies would understand their linguistic obligations (Ní Nualláin, 2005). However, in the case of the companies discussed above, there is a lack of confidence in the ability of Údarás na Gaeltachta to embed Gaeltacht development more firmly in the Irish language.

The regional manager of Údarás in Munster, Éamon Ó Neachtain, avoids answering directly the question about the perceived negative linguistic influence of industrialisation, pointing out that Irish is ultimately the community's responsibility. Ó Neachtain goes on to argue that a more pressing question relates to the community services which emerge from the interplay between state and civil society:

> Sin an cheist atá le cur: an mbeadh muid sásta airgead a cheadú do Éamon Ó Neachtain Teoranta a bhí ag cruthú leathchéad post i nGaeltacht Mhúscraí agus fios a bheith againn nach raibh meas muice aige ar an teanga? ... Ach níl aon Údarás ná aon fhostóir ná aon chomhlacht leis an nGaeilge a choinneáil beo. Is ceist í sin don phobal ... Bhfuil siad féin ag iarraidh an teanga a thabhairt slán? Déarfaidh siad thar na blianta go raibh an státchóras ag feidhmiú *ultra vires*, go raibh sé ag teacht salach ar mhianach an phobail, Cearta Sibhialta na Gaeltachta agus mar sin de, a bhí ag áitiú go mbeadh bunseirbhísí agus infrastruchtúr ar fáil. Tá sé ró-éasca a rá: tá comhlachtaí amuigh ansin agus iad ag déanamh beag-is-fiú don Ghaeilge agus don Ghaeltacht. Creidim gurb í an cheist atá le cur ná an bhfuil eagraíochtaí pobalbhunaithe ann atá i seilbh an phobail go bhfuil infheistíocht déanta ag an bpobal iontu, atá ag dul amach ansin, ag leagan síos plean, é sin a aontú leis an státchóras, agus go mbeadh an státchóras in ann freastal ar an bpobal sin? Oideachas, fostaíocht, seirbhísí, tithíocht, iompar, gurbh fhiú i bhfad an cheist sin a phlé.[15]

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[15] The question to be asked is: would we be willing to give money to Éamon Ó Neachtain Limited who was creating fifty jobs in the Múscraí Gaeltacht and knew that he had no respect for the language? ... But no Údarás or employer or any company is going to keep Irish alive. That is a question for the community ... Do they want to ensure the survival of the language? They would say that over the years the state was operating *ultra vires*, that it was contradicting the community's desire, Gaeltacht Civil Rights and so on, which argued in favour of basic services and infrastructure. It's too easy to say: there are companies out there which are disparaging of Irish and the Gaeltacht. I believe the question to be asked is: are there community-based organisations there, owned by the community, in which the community has invested, setting out a plan, agreeing it with the state, and that the state would be able to serve that community? Education, employment, services, housing, transport, that those are the questions to discuss.

Ó Neachtain's answers are difficult to classify, as they reflect the soul-searching which is going on within Údarás na Gaeltachta at the moment. He does not focus exclusively on growth or job creation but rather espouses a broader 'community-based' provision of a range of services in the Gaeltacht, linked to the demands of civil society. This would put him in the socio-cultural development category. While he is quite right to call for a more scientific investigation of the linguistic implications of industrialisation (see 3.3 above), he does not give the impression that language maintenance is of greater importance than any other factor, and therefore he cannot be said to represent the minority language promotion approach solely.

5.2 Cultural tourism

Gaeltacht cultural tourism became a strategic initiative of Údarás na Gaeltachta during the Ó Tuathaigh era (see 4 above). Reflecting the views of the human development position, particularly the recent work of the UNDP on culture as a resource for development, Ó Tuathaigh explains the reason for making cultural tourism a strategic initiative:

> Ní raibh a leithéid ann nuair a thángas isteach. Dhíríomar air sin, sé sin an cultúr féin a bheith mar acmhainn, ní mar fhadhb nó mar rud a bheadh le cóiriú, le cur in oiriúint don bhforbairt, ach a bheadh i gcroílár an phróisis forbartha féin (interview with Ó Tuathaigh, 2004).[16]

In 1997, Údarás established a subsidiary company, GaelSaoire ('Irish Holidays'), in order to promote 'cultural tourism' in the Gaeltacht, following a ministerial decision in 1996 which allowed it to expand its operations into this area. GaelSaoire produced maps and brochures for each of the Gaeltacht areas, and financial support was provided to local tourism committees to promote cultural tourism in their own areas (ÚnaG, 1998: 26). The 'core aim' of GaelSaoire was 'to promote the Gaeltacht as a high-quality tourist

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[16] Such a thing did not exist when I came in. We focussed on that, culture itself as a resource, not a problem or something to be altered, to be made suitable for development, but which would be at the centre of the development process itself.

destination where Irish is still used as the language of the community' (ÚnaG, 2000: 30). However, the precise role of Irish in the cultural tourism strategy is unclear. Because the Gaeltacht has become so weakened linguistically (see Chapter Five), most of the areas being marketed by GaelSaoire under the label of 'cultural tourism' are no different linguistically to the rest of the country, and are no longer areas 'where Irish is still used as the language of the community'. This linguistic reality is underlined by the fact that several accommodation lists for the weaker Gaeltacht areas contain only a very small number of Irish-speaking establishments. Furthermore, some of the GaelSaoire material is in English only (see GaelSaoire, 2003; 2004a & 2004b; c. 2000a-2000h; GaelSaoire, 2005). The impression is that the type of 'cultural' tourism being promoted by GaelSaoire does not depend on Irish itself, nor is it directed at Irish speakers. This situation reflects the discussion of the 'cultural political economy of development' approach in Chapter Four. The weakness identified in this approach was that it was inadequate to explain the influence of *language* on development because of the broad and contested nature of 'culture'. Of course, there is nothing preventing Údarás na Gaeltachta from ensuring that the cultural tourism strategy *is* based entirely on Irish. However, it is difficult to see how GaelSaoire at present comes closer to supporting the linguistic *raison d'être* of Údarás na Gaeltachta - the promotion and continued existence of Irish as the community language in the Gaeltacht - than any of the industrial development to which it devoted most of its activities and budget in the past. Prof. Micheál Ó Cinnéide, who contributed to a report on developing Gaeltacht tourism (Convery et al, 1994), is doubtful that in its present form, the cultural tourism project can have a positive linguistic impact:

> Braithim go bhfuil fadhbanna móra ag baint leis sin. Bhí an fhadhb sin riamh [ann], is cuma pé earnáil ina raibh an tÚdarás nó an Roinn. Tá íomhá amháin de chineál amháin á chruthú ach nuair a théann tú faoi bhun an chraicinn, feiceann tú go bhfuil lochtanna móra le fáil agus fadhbanna móra le fáil agus cinnte dearfa, ní déarfainn go bhfuil

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GaelSaoire, go bhfuil aon difríocht eatarthu. Tá siad sa champa céanna (interview with Ó Cinnéide, 2004).[17]

GaelSaoire was also criticised strongly by the late Údarás board member, Pól Ó Foighil, in the context of the controversial decision by Údarás in 2004 to sell vacant holiday cottages in Ceantar na nOileán in west Conamara to private business. According to Ó Foighil, the cottages were originally developed as a community asset based on the Irish language, but were sold to private investors in order to raise funds for the Údarás at the same time that GaelSaoire - a subsidiary of the Údarás - was supposedly developing cultural tourism:

> An sampla is déanaí atá agam ná Tithe Saoire na nOileán. Sin togra pobalbhunaithe. Bíonn an tÚdarás i gcónaí ag caint faoin bpobal, gur eagraíocht phobail í seo, gur fáisceadh amach as an bpobal é ... Agus siad na tithe sin an t-aon acmhainn amháin pobail nádúrtha atá i gCeantar na nOileán, ó thaobh turasóireacht chultúrtha de. Níl tada eile.[18]

Ó Foighil described how he did not believe Údarás officials when they state that the organisation now focuses on language and culture:

> Ní chreidim é ... Is cosúil, i súile an Údaráis, ní raibh na tithe sin ag déanamh airgid dóibh le deich mbliana: cén fáth? Agus tá comhlacht breá acu - GaelSaoire Teo. - na milliúin punt caite acu agus níor caitheadh aon phingin ar an rud atá thiar ansin acu féin. Nílim ag rá nach ndearna an tÚdarás an t-uafás maith - tá sé sin uile ann ... Bhí mise i gcónaí ag rá gurb í an Ghaeilge an acmhainn ba mhó is ba láidre a bhí ag an nGaeltacht. Agus dúirt mise é sin nuair a tháinig mé anseo sna caogaidí agus chonaic mé é agus d'oibrigh mé é (interview with Ó Foighil, 2004).[19]

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[17] I think that there are many problems with that. That problem was always there, no matter what sector Údarás or the Department was dealing with. A certain type of image is being created but if you scratch the surface, you'll see major flaws and problems and certainly, I wouldn't say that GaelSaoire is any different. They're in the same camp.

[18] The best example recently which I can give is Tithe Saoire na nOileán [Islands Holiday Homes]. That's a community-based project. Údarás is always talking about the community, that it's a community organisation, that it grew out of the community ... And those houses are the only natural community resource in Ceantar na nOileán, in terms of cultural tourism. There's nothing else.

[19] I don't believe it. According to Údarás, those houses weren't making any money for ten years. Why? And they have a fine company - GaelSaoire Limited - who have spent millions of pounds but not a penny on the thing which they themselves own back there. I'm not

In a radio interview a few months before his death, it was put to Ó Foighil that Údarás na Gaeltachta was no place for idealism, given its financial difficulties at present (see 2 above), and that market considerations were the most important. In response, he defended his views in characteristically robust terms:

> Más mar sin atá, ní bheadh meas muice agamsa ar an Údarás. Níor cheart go mbeidís ag robáil acmhainn pobalbhunaithe mar seo. Chuaigh airgead pobail, airgead go leor, isteach ann an chéad lá agus ba cheart a chinntiú gurb é an rud is tábhachtaí ná go bhfágfaí na tithe saoire seo i seilbh an phobail seachas iad a dhíol le hinfheisteoirí príobháideacha (Ó Foighil, 2004).[20]

Ó Foighil spent fifty years of his life working on Irish language projects in Connacht, including Irish language summer colleges for teenagers in Conamara, another form of Gaeltacht tourism. He says that most people simply did not believe that any money could be made from Irish and describes how the Gaeltacht activist, Máirtín Ó Cadhain (see Chapter Three), dismissed one of his colleges in Cois Fharraige as 'monarcha na Gaeilge' ('an Irish language factory'):

> Is suimiúil gur úsáid sé an téarma 'monarcha' mar shainmhíniú ar choláiste Gaeilge, mar bhí mise ag rá an t-am sin gurbh í an Ghaeilge ó thaobh na heacnamaíochta atá ag dul ag cabhrú leis an rud seo. Bhí chuile dhuine ina aghaidh sin ag an am. Is beag nár cuireadh amach as an nGaeltacht mise le píce mar gur nasc mé an Ghaeilge le hairgead ó thaobh cur chun cinn … Ba rud uafásach go mbeadh duine ag saothrú pingine ar an nGaeilge (interview with Ó Foighil, 2004).[21]

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saying that Údarás didn't do a lot of good things - that is already known … I always said that Irish was the strongest resource which the Gaeltacht had. I said that when I came here in the fifties and I saw it and exploited it.

[20] If that's the way things are, I have no respect for Údarás. They should not be robbing a community-based resource like this. A lot of community money went into this from the beginning and the most important thing should be that these holiday homes are left in community ownership rather than being sold to private investors.

[21] It's interesting that he used the term 'factory' to define an Irish language college, because I was saying at the time that Irish would help this thing in economic terms. Everyone was against that at the time. I was nearly put out of the Gaeltacht with a pike because I linked Irish to money and progress … It was a terrible thing for someone to be earning a few pence from Irish.

The view that Irish had no economic value was widespread in the Gaeltacht, and English was associated with progress (for a discussion, see Walsh, 2002a). This is reflective of the dominant economic growth and modernisationist approach. However, Ó Foighil strongly articulated the minority language promotion approach, as he ensured that Irish was always to the fore in his work. For instance, it was his refusal to speak English at meetings of Galway County Council and in Seanad Éireann which led to simultaneous interpretation facilities being introduced by both institutions (Ó Gadhra, 2005). Ó Foighil's strong emphasis on community development, and his involvement in several Gaeltacht co-operatives in both Galway and Mayo place him also in the socio-cultural development category.

5.3 Údarás elections 2005

As stated at 2 above, 17 of the 20 members of the board of Údarás na Gaeltachta are elected directly by Gaeltacht inhabitants. The most recent election was held early in 2005. Some aspects of the election campaign have already been covered in Chapter Six, but the comments of one candidate will be considered here because they provide an insight into a certain understanding of the ways in which Irish influences development. The candidate in question is Seosamh Ó Cuaig, an independent member of Galway County Council and an outgoing Údarás board member (see also Chapter Six). Ó Cuaig, who was re-elected in the Galway constituency, is a well-known community activist and broadcaster with RTÉ Raidió na Gaeltachta and courted controversy in 2004 when he failed to support linguistic impact statements on housing developments in Iorras Aithneach, the area of west Conamara which he represents (Ní Mhárta, 2004). Iorras Aithneach is still strongly Irish-speaking but is underdeveloped in socio-economic terms (see Chapter Five), and there are strong feelings locally that no restrictions should be placed on 'development' given the levels of deprivation there. During the election campaign, Ó Cuaig was asked for his

views on comments by Prof. Micheál Ó Cinnéide (see 3.3 above) that Údarás was not doing enough for Irish:

> Bhí sé ag caint go háirithe ar an nGaeilge agus go bhféadfadh muid níos mó a dhéanamh ar son na Gaeilge agus is dóigh go bhféadfadh ... Ach bheadh beagáinín imní orm go ndéanfaí dearmad ar an taobh eile freisin, is é sin an dualgas atá orainn postannaí maithe fiúntacha a d'íocfadh go maith a chur ar fáil do phobal na Gaeltachta. Sa deireadh thiar thall, is cuma cén teanga a bheadh á labhairt againn, dhá mba Swahili é, theastódh an taobh sin a choinneáil ag imeacht. Dhá bhféadfadh muid an dá rud a choinneáil ag imeacht, is amhlaidh is fearr é. I ndeireadh na cúise sílim gurb í an aidhm ba cheart a bheith ag an Údarás, jabannaí den scoth, áiseannaí den scoth agus an Ghaeilge dhá labhairt i gcónaí chomh fada agus is féidir ... Tá an meon seo á chur trasna in áiteachaí áirid go bhfuil deireadh leis an tionsclaíocht. Níl sé oibrithe amach an-soiléir fós céard a thiocfas ina áit, céard a chuirfeas na jabannaí ar fáil agus ní leor a bheith ag rá: 'Gaeilge, Gaeilge, Gaeilge'. Ní hé an t-uafás jabannaí atá ag tíocht as an nGaeilge faoi láthair. Jab ar bith atá muid in ann a chruthú i nGaeilge, déanadh muid sin ach tá níos mó ná sin ag teastáil agus i bhfad níos mó (Ó Cuaig, 2005b).[22]

Later in the campaign, Ó Cuaig repeated his view that economic development for his area was more important than language:

> Dhá ngabhfadh duine siar go Ros Muc agus 70 jab aige agus gan aon Ghaeilge aige, ba chuma liomsa dhá mba Swahili a bheadh aige agus gan Gaeilge ná Béarla a bheith aige ag an nóiméad seo. Dhá bhféadfainn a leithéide a fháil agus é a thabhairt siar go Ros Muc agus é in ann 70 post a chur ar fáil ann, thabharfainn siar an tráthnóna seo é, mar tá na ceantair sin chomh buailte agus go leor ceantair eile. Tá muid ag caint faoi Ghaeilge agus tá mise chomh dílis don Ghaeilge le haon duine eile, cé nach gceapfá é ag éisteacht le cuide de na daoine a bhíonns ag caint fúm, cuide acu ar le Béarla a thóg siad a gclann agus cuide eile a d'fhoghlaim í agus a d'fhoghlaim go dona í. Ach tá mé

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[22] He was talking in particular about Irish and that we could do more for Irish and I suppose we could ... But I'd be a bit worried that we'd forget the other side as well, that is our duty to create decent, good jobs which pay well for the people of the Gaeltacht. In the end of the day, it doesn't matter what language we speak, if it was Swahili, we'd still need to keep that side going. If we could keep both things going, better still. In the end of the day, I think that the aims which Údarás should have are top quality jobs, top quality facilities and Irish still being spoken as much as possible ... This view is being put forward in certain places that industrialisation is finished. It hasn't been worked out very clearly yet what will replace it, what will provide the jobs and it's not enough to say: 'Irish, Irish, Irish'. There aren't a lot of jobs coming from Irish at the moment. Any job which we can create in Irish, let's do that, but much more is needed.

chomh dílis le haon duine eile don Ghaeilge. Ach na daoine atá ag éisteacht linne anseo anois, is Gaeilge atá acu, agus tá siad ag iarraidh a chloisteáil céard iad na rudaí eile atá muid ag dul a dhéanamh *go praiticiúil* ó thaobh na ngasúr atá ag éirí aníos, ó thaobh jab, ó thaobh teach, ó thaobh oibre dhe (Ó Cuaig, 2005a, emphasis in original).[23]

Ó Cuaig represents a strongly Irish speaking community, one of the few remaining such areas in Ireland, but his views do not reflect strongly the minority language promotion approach. Ó Cuaig appears to view Irish as incidental - it might as well be 'Swahili' - and 'practical things' such as jobs, houses and facilities are of primary importance. Although Ó Cuaig has presented himself as an anti-establishment candidate for many years, he himself in fact holds similar views on the primacy of employment creation over the promotion of Irish to the very establishment which he criticises. Therefore, his comments reflect the dominant modernisationist and economic growth approach more than the competing approaches.

In conclusion, the attempts by Údarás na Gaeltachta to re-position itself towards a broader development approach to the Gaeltacht, including an increased emphasis on the Irish language itself, have provoked debate both within the executive, on the board, and in client companies. There is tension between those who support Irish language businesses but doubt the commitment of Údarás to them and those who are less convinced that Irish can create employment at all. These views reflect the competing approaches to language and development outlined in Chapter Four. They also reveal that the hypothesis that promoting Irish positively influences Ireland's

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[23] If someone went back to Ros Muc with 70 jobs and no Irish, I wouldn't care if he spoke Swahili, and no Irish or English at this time. If I could find someone like that and bring him back to Ros Muc and he was able to provide 70 jobs there, I'd bring him back this very evening, because those areas are so badly hit, as are many other areas. We're talking about Irish and I'm as loyal to Irish as anyone else, although you wouldn't think it listening to some people who talk about me, some of them who raised their own families through English and others who learned Irish and learned it badly. But I'm as loyal as anyone else to Irish. But the people who are listening to us now, they speak Irish, and they want to hear what are the other *practical* things that we're going to do for children growing up, in terms of a job, a house, work.

development is only beginning to be accepted by Údarás na Gaeltachta after twenty-five years of existence. Údarás is moving from an organisation which achieved developmental outcomes through a state-market nexus based on providing grant-aid for industries, to one which interacts with *both* market and civil society to achieve such aims. The next section turns to the formal development strategy adopted by the organisation for the years 2005-2010, to investigate whether or not it contains the potential to strengthen the influence of Irish on the Gaeltacht's political economy of development.

6. NEW ÚDARÁS NA GAELTACHTA DEVELOPMENT POLICY, 2005-2010

The development policy of Údarás na Gaeltacht for the years 2005 to 2010 was published in May 2005. The document illustrates clearly the extensive internal debate in which the organisation has engaged over the past ten years, and which has been outlined in detail at 4 above. The strategy document paints a picture of an organisation which is broadening its focus from a narrow industrial development agency, to an unprecedented type of institution with a wide range of developmental and linguistic functions:

> Tá beartas agus cur chuige nua de dhíth le tabhairt go fuinniúil faoi chosaint agus forbairt na Gaeilge sna ceantair is láidre ó thaobh teanga agus faoi athghabháil na Gaeilge mar theanga láidir thánaisteach sna breacghaeltachtaí (sic), le fostaíocht a chruthú agus le bonneagar eacnamaíochta, sóisialta, cultúrtha agus oideachais comhaimseartha a fhorbairt ar bhonn comhtháite sa Ghaeltacht (ÚnaG, 2005: 3).[24]

The Irish language is given a higher profile in the document than any other area of policy. This reflects Ó hAoláin's personal strong commitment to Irish, illustrated by his emphasis on the importance of the language during a public

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[24] A new policy and approach is needed in order to tackle energetically the protection and development of Irish in the areas where it is strongest, to reclaim it as a strong secondary language in the Breac-Ghaeltacht, to create employment and to develop the contemporary economic, social, cultural and educational infrastructure in an integrated way in the Gaeltacht.

lecture in Galway shortly after his appointment (Ó hAoláin, 2005; see also Foinse, 2005). The main elements of the new strategy are set out as follows:

> Chomh fada agus a bhaineann leis an nGaeilge cuirfear bonn teangeolaíoch pleanála leis na tionscnaimh chaomhnaithe agus forbartha teanga, déanfar athbhreithniú ar an gcur chuige buanaithe teanga taobh istigh de chliant-chuideachtaí agus bunófar tionscnamh nua i gcomhar leo, bunófar comhpháirtíochtaí buanaithe agus athghabhála na Gaeilge leis na pobail áitiúla, féachfar le húsáid níos éifeachtaí a bhaint as eagrais áitiúla a ndéanann an tÚdarás maoiniú orthu chun feachtas cuimsitheach pleanála, caomhnaithe agus forbartha teanga a thionscnamh agus a reáchtáil ar fud na Gaeltachta, féachfar le líon na dtionscadal teangabhunaithe a mhéadú go suntasach, agus déanfar abhcóidíocht láidir ar son phobal na Gaeilge sa Ghaeltacht leis an gcuid eile den státchóras agus leis an gcuid is tioncharaí den earnáil phríobháideach (ÚnaG, 2005: 3-4).[25]

In what is a reversal of the emphasis of twenty-five years of annual reports, employment creation is placed close to the *end* of the list of policy priorities for Údarás in the years ahead. However, even this aspect of policy is linked to Irish:

> Cuirfear béim ar leith ar chruthú fostaíochta i dtionscnaimh Ghaeilge-lárnaithe. Eascróidh deiseanna nua fostaíochta trí Ghaeilge as Acht na dTeangacha Oifigiúla ar a n-áirítear: soláthar oiliúna don tseirbhís phoiblí, seirbhísí aistriúcháin, seirbhísí áisíneachta do ranna rialtais agus eagraíochtaí poiblí &rl. Áirítear chomh maith tionscadail a bhaineann leis na healaíona, ceangail le hinstitiúidí tríú leibhéal agus le hinstitiúidí cultúrtha agus oideachais eile ag an leibhéal náisiúnta agus idirnáisiúnta. Aithnítear go mbeidh an leibhéal fostaíochta a ghinfear sna réimsí seo teoranta sa ghearrthéarma ach go mbeidh poist d'ardchaighdeán i gceist a mbeidh tábhacht agus tionchar thar na bearta ag baint leo ón taobh teangeolaíochta, iompair teanga, sóisialta agus eacnamaíochta (ÚnaG, 2005: 9).[26]

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[25] As far as Irish is concerned, language protection and development initiatives will be given a language planning basis, the approach to language consolidation among client companies will be reviewed and a new initiative agreed in association with them, alliances to consolidate and reclaim Irish will be created with local communities, more effective use will be made of local organisations funded by Údarás in order to develop a comprehensive campaign of language planning, consolidation and development throughout the Gaeltacht, attempts will be made to increase substantially the number of language-based projects, and robust lobbying will be carried out on behalf of Irish speakers with other sections of the public service and with the most influential sections of the private sector.

[26] New employment opportunities through Irish will emerge from the Official Languages Act, including: provision of training for the public service, translation services, agency services for

The policy document represents a significant modification of Údarás na Gaeltachta's traditional industrialisation strategy. From largely ignoring the existence of Irish or treating it as incidental, the organisation's new chief executive, Pádraig Ó hAoláin, has placed Irish at the centre of a more holistic and comprehensive process of development for the Gaeltacht. Although the document does not state explicitly that promoting Irish influences development in the Gaeltacht, it is reasonable to infer from the strong emphasis on Irish that development *without* it would be deemed incomplete or flawed. There is also considerable emphasis in the document on assisting underdeveloped areas, community development and on creating educational opportunities for Gaeltacht people. Therefore, both the minority language promotion approach and the socio-cultural approaches are far more prominent than before. However, given that the success of Údarás na Gaeltachta was always measured in terms of employment creation, and because of its deep roots in the modernisationist approach, it is too early to re-classify it in terms of its approach to language and development. The model of integrated social, cultural and economic development, based on strengthening Irish, and carried out in co-operation between the state and civil society in the Gaeltacht, is amenable to the framework of a linguistic political economy of development: state, civil society and market interacting to achieve development, based on the Irish language. However, it must be pointed out that this strategy has only very recently been announced (May 2005), let alone been implemented. Furthermore, according to Ó hAoláin, the strategy cannot be implemented properly until the legislation under which Údarás na Gaeltachta operates - essentially the 1979 Act - is amended (see 4 above).

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government departments and public organisations etc. Consideration is also given to projects related to the arts, links with third level institutions and with cultural and other educational institutions at the national and international levels. It is recognised that the employment level which will be created in these areas will be limited in the short term but that the jobs in question will be of a high standard and will be important and highly influential in linguistic terms, language behaviour and in social and economic [terms]

7. CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this chapter was to investigate further in an empirical way whether or not the promotion of Irish influences positively the socio-economic development, by investigating how Údarás na Gaeltachta understands and implements the language-development link its in work. Guided by the theoretical framework of a linguistic political economy of development, it was discovered that Údarás has moved from achieving development through a state-market interaction largely separate from language, to a more holistic state-market-civil society interaction *based* on the strengthening of Irish in the Gaeltacht.

It is concluded from the findings that Irish has positively influenced the *economic* development of the Gaeltacht in the past. Gaeltarra Éireann and Údarás na Gaeltachta were established because of the existence of Irish as a distinct language in the Gaeltacht. The state would have invested in these areas anyway, but without separate institutions, it is reasonable to infer that investment would not have been as sustained or systematic. Support for Gaeltacht companies created thousands of jobs at a time when unemployment and emigration were the norm (see Chapter Six). However, this influence of Irish was *indirect*, rather than direct, because it simply provided the mechanism required by the state to intervene economically in the Gaeltacht. The development process itself, as illustrated above, proceeded with little cognisance for Irish as a resource which could be harnessed for developmental ends. The increasingly weak state of Irish as a community language threatens even this indirect influence because of the danger that the area in question will lose its Gaeltacht status entirely (for a discussion of the controversial Gaeltacht status of parts of Galway City, see Ó Céilleachair, 2005a; Ó Catháin, 2005a; Ní Fhlatharta, 2005; Ó hÉallaithe, Donncha, 2005a).

The new Údarás five-year plan acknowledges that such a narrow view of development is no longer capable of serving the linguistic or social requirements of the Gaeltacht, in a rapidly changing sociolinguistic and socio-economic context. The new policy aims to achieve a more holistic and integrated form of development based on Irish because, without it, the rationale for the continued existence of Údarás disappears. As outlined in Chapter Six, many social groups in the Gaeltacht have drawn on Irish as a resource for development, echoing the human development and civil society approaches described in Chapter Four. This relationship is also *indirect*, in that the influence of Irish on development appears to be mediated through such factors as self-confidence and empowerment, but its proponents are far more *cognisant* of Irish than the industrial development approach and more concerned with consolidating it as a community language. The partnerships envisaged by Údarás na Gaeltachta with this community and voluntary sector are important, because without them, Údarás may be unable to tap the resource of Irish effectively. Finally, the *direct* influence of Irish on Gaeltacht development through, for instance, language-based industries, has been relatively weak to date, but will be strengthened if the new policy is successful. Therefore, although the past influence of Irish on Gaeltacht development has been mostly indirect, its role may become more direct and central than before, both in terms of employment creation and of consolidating a resource or asset which may have positive psychological benefits on the community.

The research question enquires about the positive influence of promoting Irish on *Ireland's* socio-economic development. So far, the empirical evidence has concentrated on the Gaeltacht and not on the country as whole. This is justified because the Gaeltacht is the only remaining geographical community in the world where Irish retains some degree of dominance as the everyday language, although, as stated in Chapters Two and Five, this dominance is now threatened. However, the fact that much of the Gaeltacht is now linguistically similar to the rest of the country *strengthens* the argument that

empirical evidence from the Gaeltacht is relevant to the country as a whole. Therefore, the ways in which Irish influences socio-economic development in a linguistically-weak Gaeltacht such as Múscraí or Na Déise has implications for that relationship in an urban context, far removed from the traditional Gaeltacht. The implications of the Gaeltacht case-studies for the rest of the country will be revisited in Chapter Nine. The aim of Chapter Eight is gather further empirical evidence in two such urban contexts, Galway City and West Belfast.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE INFLUENCE OF IRISH ON DEVELOPMENT IN AN URBAN SETTING: WEST BELFAST AND GALWAY CITY

1. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of the Gaeltacht case-studies in Chapters Six and Seven was to investigate empirically whether or not the promotion of the Irish language influences positively the socio-economic development of the Gaeltacht. Applying the theoretical framework of a linguistic political economy of development elaborated in Chapter Four, these case-studies suggested that Irish may both directly and indirectly influence socio-economic development through, for instance, employment creation in general, employment creation based on language and community self-confidence and empowerment as a result of harnessing Irish as a resource for social well-being. Because the research question refers to Ireland as a whole, and not only to the Gaeltacht, the purpose of the present chapter is to examine the influence of Irish on development in two urban contexts which are *not* predominantly Irish speaking. The first case-study is of West Belfast. It was chosen as a example of an urban Irish language context *outside* the state. Although the promotion of Irish in Northern Ireland was avoided or discouraged by the British government for political reasons, many of the historical writers surveyed in Chapter Three emphasised the all-Ireland nature of the language revival. For instance, the Gaelic League was founded (and still operates) as a 32-county institution. As explained in Chapter Two, Irish language promotion has since the Belfast Agreement of 1998 been conducted on a cross-border basis. Therefore, in order to investigate the research question comprehensively, it is appropriate to examine the influence of Irish on development in Northern Ireland. The other city chosen is Galway. Although it is contiguous to the largest Gaeltacht area in the country, the city is

strongly anglicised and historically, hostility characterised the relationship between its inhabitants and the large Irish speaking population to the west (see 3 below).

Another reason for choosing cities in which to examine the influence of Irish on development is because of the strong historical association between urbanisation and anglicisation. Towns and cities were never strong points for the Irish language: following the Anglo-Norman invasion in 1169, attempts were made to make Norman French and Latin the dominant languages in place of Irish, particularly in urban centres. The strength of the Irish-speaking hinterland, which at this time covered the entire country and most of Scotland, ensured that Irish remained dominant in rural areas, but the language was never strong in an urban setting. From the 14th Century, diglossia and bilingualism emerged in the cities, with English dominant and Irish used for certain purposes only (Ó Murchú H. & Ó Murchú, M., 1999: 10). As argued by Maguire, in this dominance of English in towns and cities lie the roots of a deeply-held belief that Irish is unsuitable for anything other than a rural, isolated environment. Later processes of industrialisation and modernisation only served to reinforce that perception:

> [T]he process of urbanisation has proved to be a powerful anglicising agent. It has reinforced the position of English as an outward sign of social advancement and undermined the value of Irish in that context. Those who left their rural homes for employment in the fast growing industrial cities of the nineteenth century found it necessary to acquire and use English. As economic circumstances uprooted large numbers of people from their rural environment so also did cultural and political necessity dictate that these people should change their language. The association of urbanisation with anglicisation hinges upon the relative economic prosperity of urban centres wherein the English language was totally dominant. In the nineteenth century English became most firmly established as the language of political and economic power and the process of linguistic assimilation became as inevitable in Ireland as it was in the countless other instances of language extinction (Maguire, 1991: 13).

As the 20th Century elapsed, the failure to create contiguous Irish-speaking communities in towns and cities reinforced the popular perception that Irish was a rural phenomenon. Therefore, any attempts to reverse this perception, and to re-establish Irish as a living language of a community in the heart of the very towns which were said to have destroyed it, amount to a counter-cultural struggle, an attempt to reverse a potent symbol of cultural dislocation stretching back to the Norman invasion.

2. IRISH IN AN URBAN SETTING: THE CASE OF WEST BELFAST

General information about the numbers of Irish speakers in Northern Ireland (including Belfast) and the status of the language there, has been presented in Chapter Two.

2.1 Historical background

Irish was an integral part of Belfast life in the past and was spoken by both Protestants and Catholics, as illustrated by Ó Buachalla (1968) in his account of the period 1760-1860. In the 20th Century, a particularly active branch of the Gaelic League, Cumann Chluain Ard ('Clonard Club'), was established in 1936 in the west of the city (Maguire, 1991: 30). This provided a focus for language enthusiasts in the city, as it was the place where many of those who went to establish the Shaw's Road Gaeltacht learned Irish and met each other (Maguire, 1991: 30) (see 2.2 below). However, particularly since the outbreak of the Troubles, most of the Protestant community has associated Irish exclusively with nationalism and republicanism. In the 1980s, attempts by Sinn Féin councillors to use Irish in Belfast City Council were met with derision from members of the Democratic Unionist Party (DUP), one of whom, Sammy Wilson, dismissed Irish as 'a leprechaun language' (Ó Muilleoir, 1990: 159). On another occasion, the Rev. Ian Paisley's daughter, Rhonda, accused

Sinn Féin of using Irish as a political weapon: 'It drips with their bloodthirsty saliva', she claimed (Ó Muilleoir, 1990: 133). This was far removed from the efforts of the Protestant scholar and businessman, Robert McAdam, to document and promote the Irish language in Belfast and throughout the north of Ireland in the 19th Century (Ó Buachalla, 1968: 259-268).

2.2   Establishment of Shaw's Road Gaeltacht

In the late nineteen-sixties, a group of families decided to establish its own Gaeltacht community on the Shaw's Road in West Belfast. The families believed it was essential for Irish-speakers to group together and form a cohesive community, not just to contribute to the national revival of Irish, but in order to extract rights from government. This is an extract from a letter sent by one founding member to another:

> Gan pobal den tsort seo ní féidir linn ár gceart mar shaoránaigh a dh'éileamh; nó ní thig le Bardas Conndae, nó Rialtas, riar do dhream atá scaipthe fríd dhaoine eile nach mbíonn an t-éileamh céadna aca. Chreid muid má bhí an Ghaeltacht cheart le leathnú amach go gcaithfeadh Gaeilgeoirí na Galltachta iad féin a neartú mar ionad go ndéanfaimis an réamh-obair leis an leathnú amach a chur i gcrích (cited in Maguire, 1991: 70-1).[1]

Establishing the urban Gaeltacht meant buying land and building houses on a site then owned by the Christian Brothers. It was a challenging undertaking, as none of the families had any experience of land purchase, urban planning or large-scale fund-raising, and there were no educational facilities available for children being raised through Irish (Maguire, 1991: 73). Between 1969 and 1975, eleven houses were built on the site. Five more were built in the 1990s, bringing to 16 the total number of houses in the scheme, in which 47 children were raised with Irish as their first language. At the time of writing, there is space for a further six houses (Mac Póilín, 2004: 6-8). There are 49

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[1] Without a community of this type we cannot assert our rights as citizens; nor can the County Council nor Government respond to the demands of an unco-ordinated group of

people now living in this community (personal communication with Mac Póilín, 2005b).

The group met each challenge head on, and found solutions to all of them. In 1971, it set up Northern Ireland's first Irish-medium primary school, Bunscoil Phobal Feirste ('Farset Community Primary School')[2], to provide education through Irish for the children. The school was declared illegal by the authorities and for over a decade, teachers' salaries were paid through voluntary fund-raising (Maguire, 1991: 77). A long and bitter legal battle between parents and the Department of Education eventually led to recognition - and state funding - in 1984 (Mac Póilín, 2004: 17). As well as the obvious function of creating active bilingual children, the school also served to affirm an Irish identity in an area of Belfast which was neglected socially, economically and culturally by the British state throughout the Troubles (see 2.4 below). In a survey by Maguire, most parents cited 'Irish identity' as the most important advantage to the school:

> The term 'Irish identity' represents for them a sense of belonging to the Irish nation as opposed to allowing themselves to be perceived as members of a British province ... Clearly, parents felt that the Irish language would strengthen their grasp on that identity which provides a solid link with a rich cultural heritage as well as distinguishing them from the model of mainstream UK citizens which the media often promotes in its address to the Northern Ireland public (1991: 99).

The above extract reflects the minority language promotion approach outlined in Chapter Four, in particular the section on linguistic human rights. The Bunscoil soon began to attract pupils from surrounding areas, most of whose parents did not speak Irish but who wished their children to become active bilinguals. A survey of Bunscoil parents revealed that only seven percent were fluent in Irish before their children attended the school, with almost half claiming no knowledge whatsoever of the language (Maguire, 1991: 97).

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people. We believe that the rural Gaeltacht can only exist if Irish speakers in Galltacht areas form concentrated units and thereby prepare for that expansion (Maguire's translation).

However, Maguire has presented evidence which indicates that the Bunscoil acted as an agent of a certain degree of bilingualisation of the wider community, by increasing the amount of Irish used in the homes of pupils attending it (107-132). At the very least, the Shaw's Road community was essential in spreading some knowledge of Irish throughout West Belfast, and at best, it led to an increase in the number of active bilinguals there.

In 1990, Reg Hindley dismissed the 'little networks of west Belfast, etc.' as not being 'credible in terms of language revival, maintenance, or sustained bilingualism' (1990: 160). In the next section, this statement will be considered in the context of current statistics on knowledge of Irish in West Belfast.

2.3   Knowledge and use of Irish in Belfast today

When information is collated according to parliamentary constituency, marked regional differences emerge within Belfast. These differences are generally reflective of political divisions. For instance, in nationalist West Belfast, the area which will be studied in detail in this chapter, 23.6 percent of the population reports 'some knowledge of Irish', while 11 percent claims to speak, read, write and understand the language. In unionist East Belfast, by contrast, only 3.1 percent have some knowledge of Irish while a mere 1.2 percent report the four skills. Percentages for the mixed constituencies of North and South Belfast are higher (see Table 8.1).

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[2] The Farset is one of the rivers upon which Belfast is built, its Irish name, 'Béal Feirste' meaning 'mouth of the Farset'.

Table 8.1: Knowledge and skills in Irish, Belfast parliamentary constituencies, Census 2001

Parliamentary constituency	'Some knowledge of Irish' (%)	'Can speak, read, write and understand Irish' (%)
East Belfast	3.1	1.2
North Belfast	10.9	5.2
South Belfast	12.6	6.6
West Belfast	23.6	11.0

Source: NISRA, 2002: 73

West Belfast returns the highest proportion of people Northern Ireland who claim the four skills (11 percent). This is higher than the next strongest constituency, Newry and Armagh (8.2 percent), as Table 8.2 illustrates.

Table 8.2: Top five constituencies in Northern Ireland where population can speak, read, write and understand Irish

Parliamentary constituency	'Can speak, read, write and understand Irish' (%)
West Belfast	11
Newry and Armagh	8.2
Mid Ulster	7.9
South Belfast	6.6
Foyle	6.4

Source: NISRA, 2002: 72-3

The area examined in West Belfast comprises the thirteen wards covered by the West Belfast Partnership Board (WBPB) area (see 2.4 below). 10 of them are in the West Belfast parliamentary constituency and three are in Lisburn borough. In West Belfast, detailed census information for each ward reveals that the highest proportions of people claiming the four skills (946 people or 16.7 percent) and 'some knowledge' (1,842 people or 32.5 percent) are to be found in the Glen Road ward. This is where the Shaw's Road 'Gaeltacht' is located.[3] The overall total for West Belfast is 8,364 people or 12.5 percent with the four skills and 17,914 people or 27 percent with some knowledge of Irish. However, given that the percentages of fluent, active speakers of Irish

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[3] It is possible that some of the houses are in the Andersonstown Ward. Communication with Mac Póilín, 2005b.

may be lower still, it is important to bear in mind that the linguistic vitality of Irish in West Belfast is similar to or weaker than the weakest Gaeltacht communities in the Republic (see Chapter Five). It is also strikingly similar to the *national* average of daily Irish speakers in the Republic (9.3 percent). Irish is far from secure or normalised in a community where almost three-quarters of the population (73 percent) have no knowledge of it. Even in the strongest ward, Glen Road, over two thirds of the population (67.5 percent) do not know Irish. Table 8.3 breaks down information on Irish for each ward within the study area in West Belfast.

Table 8.3: Knowledge of and competence in Irish in West Belfast (WBPB area)

Ward	Pop 3+	1	%	2	%	3	%	4	%	5	%	6	%	7	%
Andersons-town	5601	380	6.8	292	5.2	77	1.4	779	13.9	141	2.5	1669	29.8	3932	70.2
Beechmount	5280	296	5.6	273	5.2	58	1.1	682	12.9	144	2.7	1453	27.5	3827	72.5
Clonard	4235	284	6.7	221	5.2	62	1.5	515	12.2	105	2.5	1187	28.0	3048	72.0
Poleglass	4063	241	5.9	217	5.3	49	1.2	475	11.7	109	2.7	1091	26.9	2972	73.1
Falls	4822	202	4.2	223	4.6	41	0.9	414	8.6	128	2.7	1008	20.9	3814	79.1
Falls Park	5684	353	6.2	244	4.3	70	1.2	872	15.3	154	2.7	1693	29.8	3991	70.2
Glen Road	5667	387	6.8	273	4.8	65	1.1	946	16.7	171	3.0	1842	32.5	3825	67.5
Glencolin	6772	465	6.9	349	5.2	86	1.3	983	14.5	169	2.5	2052	30.3	4720	69.7
Kilwee	3457	205	5.9	168	4.9	30	0.9	446	12.9	99	2.9	948	27.4	2509	72.6
Ladybrook	6156	324	5.3	302	4.9	98	1.6	774	12.6	175	2.8	1673	27.2	4483	72.8
Twinbrook	2882	151	5.2	121	4.2	31	1.1	263	9.1	65	2.3	631	21.9	2251	78.1
Upr Springfield	5631	347	6.2	270	4.8	61	1.1	641	11.4	131	2.3	1450	25.8	4181	74.2
Whiterock	5160	294	5.7	203	3.9	45	0.9	574	11.1	101	2.0	1217	23.6	3943	76.4
TOTAL	65410	3929	6.0	3156	4.8	773	1.2	8364	12.5	1692	2.6	17914	27.0	47496	73.0

KEY:
1. Understand spoken Irish but cannot read, write or speak Irish
2. Speak but do not read or write Irish
3. Speak and read but do not write Irish
4. Speak, read, write and understand Irish
5. Other combination of skills
6. Some knowledge of Irish
7. No knowledge of Irish

Source: NISRA, 2003

In 1990, Hindley wrote that most 'descriptions of successful revival in west Belfast, Crossmaglen, "Free Derry", and similar places are entirely consistent with tokenism rather than normal everyday communicative use' (157). In the light of the statistics presented above, this judgement is too harsh: while the

numbers of what would appear to be fairly active bilinguals are small by the standards of the south Conamara Gaeltacht, for instance (see Chapter Six), there *is* an Irish-speaking community in West Belfast (as is the case to a lesser extent in other parts of Belfast and Northern Ireland). Detailed research on intergenerational transmission of Irish in Northern Ireland, and a modification of the extremely imprecise Census questions would lead to far more precise information about competence and frequency of use.[4]

2.4   Socio-economic profile of West Belfast

West Belfast contains some of the worst levels of deprivation of anywhere in Northern Ireland, reflecting the area's turbulent history during the Troubles. High unemployment is the norm throughout the area (8 percent compared to 5.4 percent for Belfast and 4.1 percent for Northern Ireland). Possibly reflecting higher levels of dependency in the area, there are greater percentages of people looking after home and family (10.7 percent compared to 7.4 percent for Northern Ireland). There are also considerably higher percentages of people returning themselves as 'permanently sick/disabled', reflecting poor public health in the area (15.9 percent for West Belfast, compared to 9.3 percent for Northern Ireland as a whole).

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[4] The ULTACH Trust has suggested four categories of ability in the Census question: (1) fluent (2) some understanding, limited fluency (3) a little Irish (4) no Irish (communication with Mac Póilín, 2005a).

Table 8.4: Unemployment as a percentage of population 16-74, and other socio-economic classifications, Census 2001[5]

Ward	Total pop.	Pop. 16-74	Unempl-oyed	%	Home duties	%	Perm. sick/ disabled	%
Andersons-town	5,762	4,087	232	5.7	316	7.7	571	14.0
Beech-mount	5,504	3,844	283	7.4	357	9.3	553	14.4
Clonard	4,425	2,997	259	8.6	343	11.4	547	18.3
Falls	5,051	3,287	336	10.2	464	14.1	666	20.3
Falls Park	5,892	4,006	192	4.8	299	7.5	518	12.9
Glen Road	5,868	3,873	308	8.0	379	9.8	562	14.5
Glencolin	7,121	4,866	419	8.6	479	9.8	723	14.9
Kilwee	3,592	2,423	141	5.8	216	8.9	330	13.6
Ladybrook	6,386	4,480	309	6.9	388	8.7	540	12.1
Poleglass	4,292	2,853	210	7.4	316	11.1	352	12.3
Twinbrook	3,008	2,052	213	10.4	267	13.0	386	18.8
Upr. Springfield	5,890	3,865	384	9.9	518	13.4	705	18.2
Whiterock	5,435	3,416	355	10.4	483	14.1	762	22.3
TOTAL	**68,226**	**46,049**	**3,641**	**8.0**	**4,825**	**10.7**	**7,215**	**15.9**
Belfast	277,391	197,519	10,666	5.4	15,011	7.6	22,517	11.4
N. Ireland	1,685,267	1,187,079	48,670	4.1	87,844	7.4	110,398	9.3

Source: NISRA, 2003

Of the total number of people who chose 'unemployed' as their socio-economic classification in West Belfast, there are higher than average proportions of people who say either that they 'never worked' or that they are long-term unemployed, that is, out of work since at least 1999. Of all people classified officially as unemployed, over two-thirds (66.7 percent) are in these categories. This compares to 59 percent of unemployed people in Belfast and 53 percent in Northern Ireland. These statistics indicate the level of long-term deprivation in the area and the fact that generations of families have been without work.

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[5] The Department of Enterprise, Trade and Employment of Northern Ireland (DETI) uses the International Labour Organisation measure of unemployment (DETI, 2005).

Table 8.5: Unemployment as socio-economic classification and percentages of people describing themselves as 'never worked' and 'long-term unemployed'

Ward/Area	Unemployed	Never worked/ long-term unempl.	Never worked/long-term unempl. as % of total unempl.
Andersonstown	232	152	65.5
Beechmount	283	191	67.5
Clonard	259	182	70.3
Glen Road	308	207	67.2
Ladybrook	309	188	60.8
Glencolin	419	282	67.3
Upr. Springfield	384	275	71.6
Whiterock	355	262	73.8
Falls	336	238	70.8
Falls Park	192	120	62.5
Poleglass	210	130	61.9
Kilwee	141	83	58.9
Twinbrook	213	152	71.4
TOTAL W. Belfast	**3,641**	**2,462**	**66.9**
N. Ireland	--	--	53
Belfast	--	--	59

Source: NISRA, 2003

The West Belfast and Greater Shankill Task Forces report of 2001 was an attempt, in a post-devolution climate, to address these endemic socio-economic problems. The report comprised the work of two separate groups, one for nationalist areas, led by the West Belfast Partnership Board (WBPB), and the other for unionist areas, led by the Greater Shankill Task Force (GSTF). As stated above, only the area covered by the WBPB is relevant to this study. When its findings were published in 2001, the Task Force - chaired by the former director of IDA Ireland, Pádraic White - stated that the area which it covered in nationalist West Belfast contained two of the three most deprived wards in Belfast (Falls and Whiterock, Shankill being the most deprived). In addition to this, these areas have also had high levels of exposure to political violence: the West Belfast parliamentary constituency as a whole (comprising both Task Force areas) experienced 40 percent of all deaths within the city during the Troubles, particularly during the period 1969-1981 (White & Simpson, 2001: 51).

Another indicator of deprivation is educational disadvantage. Northern Ireland has significantly higher levels of educational disadvantage than the Republic, with 41.6 percent of respondents reporting that they have no educational qualification whatsoever. This compares to 22.2 percent of the population in the Republic which said that it had not sat any state examination (GAMMA, 2004). However, even within Northern Ireland, the West Belfast Task Force (WBTF) area again scores worse again on educational disadvantage: half of those aged from 16-74 said they had no qualification, compared to 41.1 percent for Northern Ireland as a whole. In some wards in West Belfast (the Falls and Upper Springfield), almost two thirds of the population have no formal qualification.

Table 8.6: Educational attainment in WBTF area, all persons aged 16-74, Census 2001

Ward	Total 16-74	No qualification	% no qualification	3rd level	% 3rd level
Andersonstown	4,097	1,841	44.9	528	12.9
Beechmount	3,836	1,772	46.2	453	11.8
Clonard	3,001	1,706	56.8	203	6.8
Falls	3,298	2,098	63.6	140	4.2
Falls Park	4,019	1,647	41.0	560	13.9
Glen Road	3,870	1,826	47.2	381	9.8
Glencolin	4,851	2,296	47.3	453	9.3
Kilwee	2,439	921	37.8	379	15.5
Ladybrook	4,505	1,898	42.1	553	12.3
Poleglass	2,862	1,088	38.0	299	10.4
Twinbrook	2,056	1,195	58.1	88	4.3
Upr. Springfield	3,855	2,394	62.1	144	3.7
Whiterock	3,417	2,208	64.6	125	3.7
TOTAL West Belfast	**46,106**	**22,890**	**50.0**	**4,306**	**9.1**
N. Ireland	1,187,079	493,825	41.6	187,558	15.8
Belfast	197,519	82,563	41.8	37,924	19.2

Source: NISRA, 2003

The above statistics illustrate endemic socio-economic underdevelopment in West Belfast. The report emphasises the high social costs borne by the communities:

> The West Belfast and Greater Shankill areas have experienced
> proportionately more deaths, injuries, bereavement and trauma than
> any other communities in Northern Ireland. They suffer
> proportionately more unemployment and ill health than most other
> areas of Northern Ireland (White & Simpson, 2001: 31).

The next section examines an Irish language project which has emerged from such deprivation.

2.5   Gaeltacht Quarter project

Since the IRA ceasefire of 1994, Belfast has experienced a great deal of urban regeneration. One aspect of the regeneration has been the nomination of various 'quarters' in the city, each of which has a specific theme. The Gaeltacht Quarter project aims to develop socially and economically a district in West Belfast whose defining characteristic is the Irish language: the language would be used as a *basis* for clusters of cultural industries throughout the area. The project has its origins in the work of Forbairt Feirste ('Farset Development'), an economic development body established to provide employment for the growing numbers of Irish speakers in the west of the city (see 2.6 below). The Gaeltacht Quarter idea was first presented in the report of the West Belfast Task Force in 2001 (White & Simpson, 2001: 90). The Task Force recommended the establishment of a Gaeltacht Quarter Development Board, backed by funding and co-operation from a number of statutory bodies. It also recommended providing business start-up advice and entrepreneurial training to the Irish speaking community, and increased support to key initiatives such as the daily Irish language newspaper *Lá* and the cultural festival, Féile an Phobail ('Community Festival') (White & Simpson, 2001: 93-94). Following the publications of the Task Force's report, a 'Shadow Board' was established to bring together representatives from the Irish language community, business, community development, urban regeneration and economic investment. Several government departments and agencies were among the stakeholders represented: Department of Social Development (DSD); Belfast Regeneration Office (BRO); Department of

Arts, Culture and Leisure (DCAL); Department of Enterprise, Trade and Industry (DETI); Invest Northern Ireland; POBAL; Forbairt Feirste and the Andersonstown News Group. The involvement of so many key stakeholder organisations in socio-economic development in what is ostensibly an Irish language initiative is unprecedented in Ireland.

In 2003, the Board applied for £14.1 million Sterling (€20.3 million) to the Integrated Development Fund (IDF), a fund for regenerating West Belfast, Derry and the Co. Down fishing villages, 'areas with stubbornly high unemployment levels' (Andersonstown News, 2004). The main projects for which it sought the funding were a media centre, refurbishment of the Irish language centre on the Falls Road, Cultúrlann McAdam-Ó Fiaich, a visitors' centre based on the Irish language, a hostel, development of tourism trails, incubator units for Irish language businesses and various social economy projects (Gaeltacht Quarter Shadow Board, 2003: 4-5). At the time of writing, the application is still being assessed, but it is expected that a permanent board and chief executive will be appointed by the end of 2005.

Another landmark in the Gaeltacht Quarter project was the publication in late 2004 of what has become known as the 'Dutton Report'. The report was commissioned by three government departments (DCAL, DSD and DETI) from Clive Dutton, an English expert in urban regeneration (see 2.6 below). The report, which was launched with great fanfare in West Belfast, makes eleven recommendations about the project, ranging from the precise mapping of the quarter to the appointment of a permanent board and chief executive, to the ongoing involvement of key partners (Dutton, 2004: 26). It recommends that a 'mini urban regeneration company' be established and outlines in detail composition and structure, management arrangements and executive arrangements for the project (55). If implemented, the proposals for the board's structure and composition would link a total of 12 organisations involved in socio-economic development, community development, the Irish language, urban regeneration, education and health.

The person who first coined the concept and term 'Gaeltacht Quarter' is Máirtín Ó Muilleoir, manager of the Andersonstown News Group (which publishes *Lá* and a number of other titles) and a former councillor for Sinn Féin. Ó Muilleoir acknowledges the importance of creating alliances through which Irish can be consolidated:

> Is taictic atá sa Cheathrú Ghaeltachta, mar an chéad rud atá fíor fá athghiniúint cathrach i ndairíribh ... ná go gcaithfidh tú *alliances* a dhéanamh, go gcaithfidh tú daoine a thabhairt leat. Cheap mé an téarma agus an coincheap mar gur chreid mé gur ghléas sé in éideadh oiriúnach na héilimh a bhí ag pobal na Gaeilge: go n-aithneofar ról lárnach na Gaeilge in athbheochan na cathrach. Ach is mar bhall den Tascfhórsa a mhol mé an smaoineamh mar tá sé chomh deacair [céanna] cur in éadan moladh faoin Ghaeilge a thagann ó fhóram eacnamaíoch is atá sé cur in éadan Santa. Fosta thug sé spás do na daoine eile ó gach aicme tacú leis an mholadh gan a rá go raibh siad ag tacú leis an Ghaeilge *per se* (personal communication with Ó Muilleoir, 2005).[6]

Such 'alliances' can be understood in terms of the linguistic political economy of development: the interaction of state, civil society and market to achieve development and the influence of the Irish language on that interaction. If the Gaeltacht Quarter project succeeds in securing the substantial state funding which has been sought for it, and if Irish remains central to the concept of a Gaeltacht Quarter, West Belfast could become an example of a developmental outcome which is influenced directly by the Irish language.

The next section applies the theoretical framework of the linguistic political economy of development to West Belfast. It examines in more detail the ways in which Irish influences the state-market-civil society interplay in order

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[6] The Gaeltacht Quarter is a tactic, because the first thing which is true about urban regeneration really ... is that you have to build alliances, that you have to bring people with you. I developed the term and the concept because I believed that it dressed the Irish-speaking community's demands in suitable clothes: that the central role of Irish in the regeneration of the city would be recognised. But it was as a member of the Task Force that I made that suggestion because it's about as difficult to oppose a suggestion about Irish from an economic forum as it is to oppose Santa. It also gave space to other people from every group to support the proposal without having to say that they were supporting Irish *per se*.

to achieve developmental outcomes, and it considers how the empirical evidence contributes to the investigation of the research question.

2.6   Linguistic political economy of development in West Belfast

As explained in Chapter Two, the Irish language in Northern Ireland was suppressed by the British government until very recently. However, since the adoption of the Belfast Agreement in 1998, its promotion has been jointly financed by both the British and Irish governments. The changing relationship between the speakers of Irish and the state is summarised by Mac Póilín:

> Essentially, Northern Ireland is in a kind of time warp as regards the Irish language. Northern Ireland is not unlike the way the Republic was in 1921 where, from the language being a symbol of opposition to the British state, all of a sudden the language became the symbol of the new state. And all of the complications that arose from then on, the ambiguities that people had towards the language in 1921 remain, but in a totally different and opposite context. Where you couldn't criticise the language in 1917, all of a sudden you could possibly have your doubts about the language and say them out loud in 1922. And we're beginning to move into that situation, except with us it's even more complicated in the North because we have the whole Unionist situation here, where you have a large body of the population that has been strongly opposed to the language and sees it as the cultural symbol of the people who wish to destroy the state (interview with Mac Póilín, 2004).

Therefore, because of the political changes, the influence of Irish on the political economy of development in Northern Ireland has also changed in recent years. The Gaeltacht Quarter project is particularly amenable to the theoretical framework of the linguistic political economy of development because it is a project which is influenced by Irish but which involves interactions between government, social groups and business in West Belfast. The next three sections examine this linguistic political economy of development in more detail. They consider state, civil society and market in turn, while maintaining a focus on the interactions between all three.

2.6.1 State

As outlined at 2.1 above, the history of state language policy in Northern Ireland has ranged from indifference to hostility. Elements of a crude modernisationist approach were evident in the comments of DUP politicians who dismissed Irish as worthless in modern society (see in particular the accounts of Ó Muilleoir, 1990 and 2 above). However, following the Belfast Agreement, the establishment of Foras na Gaeilge and the ratification of the European Charter, the relationship of the state to the Irish language today is entirely different because government is far more engaged than before. Interviews with participants from both DCAL and DSD revealed a relatively high level of knowledge about many aspects of the Gaeltacht Quarter project, and a qualified and cautious support for it.

Department of Culture, Arts and Leisure

There is no monolithic governmental approach to language and development in Northern Ireland, but no one department can be said to represent the minority language promotion position. DCAL, which has primary responsibility for linguistic diversity, reflects the socio-cultural development position, because of its emphasis on 'diversity' and the broader cultural traditions associated with both Irish and Ulster-Scots, rather than narrower language planning measures in favour of Irish alone:

> From the DCAL perspective it's obviously contributing to the Good Friday Agreement thing about linguistic diversity. It also has the potential to develop cultural programmes and cultural industries and that sort of thing. It fits very well with DCAL's broad remit (interview with Douglas, 2005).

This extract illustrates the participant's belief that Irish, through the Gaeltacht Quarter project, has 'contributed' to enhancing linguistic diversity in general, and also to 'cultural programmes and cultural industries'. Another participant

was optimistic that the Gaeltacht Quarter project would succeed in achieving development in West Belfast:

> Well I think the philosophy is that it's a socially and economically underdeveloped area and that Forbairt Feirste thought that Irish could be a unique selling point rather than the ways and initiatives that we've had over the years that maybe hadn't the support or understanding of the community. This could be something that really activates the community, that the community could be interested in, and that would work this time ... There's something really vibrant about West Belfast. West Belfast was an area I knew before I started this and when you drive around you see already the many Irish language initiatives there are, how much Irish language signage there is (interview with Tobin, 2005).

The reference to how Irish 'activates' people because it has the community's 'support' reflects the comments of historical contributors such as de Fréine, Ó Doibhlin and Ó Murchú from Chapter Three, the theoretical literature on human and cultural development outlined in Chapter Four, and the insights from community development groups in the Gaeltacht described in Chapter Six. According to this view, it is argued that Irish influences development through its positive psychological influence on the community's view of itself and is regarded as a resource or asset for development.

Department of Social Development

The Department of Social Development (DSD) also represents the socio-cultural approach, although its focus is more firmly on social development alone, particularly through the work of the Belfast Regeneration Office (BRO), a division of DSD. The following extract reveals the primary importance which BRO grants to 'neighbourhood renewal' and 'regeneration strategy' over and above linguistic aims:

> How does their proposal fit with the regeneration strategy within West Belfast? Where does the Gaeltacht Quarter lie in respect of the proposed neighbourhoods for West Belfast? What is proposed under neighbourhood renewal so that the group could clearly understand that neighbourhood renewal is the strategy in town, and that whatever

happens with Gaeltacht development is painted against that backdrop ... I'm more interested in regeneration in the wider sense, not purely on an Irish language basis (interview with McKenna, 2005).

In conclusion, both of these government departments recognise that Irish influences socio-economic development in West Belfast, DCAL through the broad theme of cultural diversity and DSD through urban renewal strategies. This is a result of the relative normalisation of politics, and of discourse surrounding the Irish language, in Northern Ireland in recent years. However, no department views the normalisation of Irish as being of paramount importance which takes precedence over other issues. This would be difficult politically, because of the legal obligation on DCAL to promote Ulster-Scots in parallel to Irish. The involvement of DCAL, DSD and other branches of government such as the Department of Trade and Enterprise and Invest NI in the Gaeltacht Quarter project represents a cautious engagement of the state with the Irish language (in conjunction with civil society and market) in order to achieve developmental outcomes in one of the most deprived areas of Northern Ireland. The next section turns to civil society, and considers how its interactions with both state and market are influenced by Irish.

2.6.2 Civil society

Despite or perhaps because of the endemic deprivation, social groups in West Belfast have played a pivotal role in the area's development. For instance, the Irish language cultural centre, Cultúrlann McAdam-Ó Fiaich, was restored as a result of entirely voluntary effort by the community and with no state support (interview with Mhic Fhionnachtaigh, 2004). The Shaw's Road Gaeltacht community had similar origins (see 2.2 above). To date, the Gaeltacht Quarter Shadow Board is dependent on voluntary effort. As stated at 2.1 above, the interaction between the state and Irish language groups - and civil society in general in West Belfast - was conflictual in the past. As described by O'Reilly (1999: 148-160), much of the conflict was due to the

state's refusal to grant recognition or funding to the organisation in question. However, due to the relative political normalisation of recent years, such a state-civil society interaction is less conflictual than before and voluntary Irish language projects are now much more reliant on the state for funding.

West Belfast Task Force

As stated at 2.5 above, the Gaeltacht Quarter concept was first elaborated in the report of the West Belfast Task Force of 2001:

> We believe that there is now an outstanding opportunity to foster a powerful and vibrant Gaeltacht Quarter in the west of the city, based on the Irish language, culture and traditions and which could add to the rich diversity of Belfast for the enjoyment of its citizens and visitors alike ... The Task Force believes that the Irish language is a valuable cultural and immense economic asset of West Belfast and of Belfast in its entirety. Belfast's Irish language community, with its geographical focus in the west of the city, has much to offer in terms of regeneration and job creation (White & Simpson, 2001: 90).

As a community initiative attempting to achieve social and economic development, the Task Force is a good example of the socio-cultural development approach outlined in Chapter Four. However, the above extract also reveals the influence of the minority language promotion approach. The Task Force views 'the Irish language, culture and traditions' as 'cultural and economic assets' which contribute to 'regeneration and job creation'. Irish is not the only asset in the community, and it is not at the centre of the Task Force's concerns, but promoting it can have positive social, cultural and economic outcomes.

The position of the Task Force chairman, Pádraic White, is of interest because as a former director of the Republic's Industrial Development Authority (IDA), he would be expected to represent the dominant economic growth and modernisation approach. Since leaving the IDA in 1991, White has become involved in initiatives in deprived urban areas, both through his chairmanship

of the Northside Partnership in Dublin and the West Belfast Task Force. In the interview conducted for this research, White remained focussed throughout on job creation, in particular for the long-term unemployed, either through foreign direct investment or indigenous industries. This emphasis is consistent with the economic growth and modernisationist approach:

> Máirtín Ó Muilleoir would have been a proponent of an institutional sort of response [to the Gaeltacht Quarter idea]. But that was the institution topping off what many people shared, which was the strong feeling among a wide number of people in the community and on the Task Force that there was a distinctive and very diverse base of cultural-based activities that should be valued in their own right as part of a diverse city that values diversity of culture. So, I suppose that initial context was, within the island of Ireland a quite exceptional commitment to Irish language, Irish music, Irish theatre, Irish dancing, Irish festivals, Irish cultural aspects in all its dimensions, Irish education. And that, within the context of creating a society that values all its different assets, that culturally-based job creation should be promoted and should be valued as an asset within the wider society. So, there were a number of dimensions to this, from the broad thing of recognising diversity, which is a very important part of the Northern Ireland solution, recognising difference and valuing difference and, secondly, seeing it within the Belfast metropolitan area as something of value, of interest, of diversity, of richness. And thirdly from the point of view of employment that culture-based job creation with imagination could be a source of considerable jobs as part of a solution that came out of an indigenous source of jobs (interview with White, 2005).

White's comments also reflect the influence of the socio-cultural development approach, albeit with a very weak view of the role of *language* in development. Irish is associated with a far broader cultural category of 'music', 'theatre', 'dancing', 'festivals' and even 'diversity', all of which can lead to 'culture-based job creation'. Therefore, although the report of the Task Force itself is more specific in identifying the Irish *language* as a positive influence on socio-economic development, White's comments conflate language with a range of other cultural factors.

WBPB

West Belfast Partnership Board

The West Belfast Partnership Board (WBPB) concerns itself primarily with reversing the socio-economic deprivation of the area, and not with language revival in particular. This does not mean that the WBPB is indifferent to Irish, rather that it views social and, to a lesser extent, cultural development as being of primary importance. Irish is part of an *array* of community resources which influence development, but it is not the *only* such asset, or the most important one:

> We went through a process looking at what are the problems of the area, the opportunities, links between education, skills, links with employers, the labour market, what are the emerging trends there etc. But at one point, we got to what makes us different. Why West Belfast, what makes us different, what uniqueness, what is our difference? And we were basically looking at the fact that in West Belfast you do have a huge number of nursery schools, primary schools and a secondary school. You've got a very large number of people who would have fluent *Gaeilge* and who would also operate their businesses through the medium of *Gaeilge* and so on ... the whole cultural identity of West Belfast ... [W]e knew we were very rich in terms of the Irish language, we were very rich in terms of cultural activity, around the festival [Féile an Phobail]; drama, arts, visual arts, plays, attracting in big name bands and so on ... but also the whole field of Irish traditional music workshops on so on. So, in a sense, it was a way of looking at what is different about this part of the city, what is unique about us, what it is that we celebrate about ourselves and asking the question: is that something that other people might find attractive, in terms of coming in? (interview with McAteer, 2005).

These comments place the WBTF in the socio-cultural development category, because of the emphasis on Irish as something 'different' and 'unique' to the community, important for its 'cultural identity'. Therefore, the influence of Irish on development is mediated through the positive psychological influences of this cultural difference.

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POBAL

POBAL was established in 1998 as a co-ordinating body for the Irish language voluntary sector in Northern Ireland (see Chapter Two). It has lobbied government persistently for the more complete implementation of the provisions of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and has recently demanded a bill of rights for Irish speakers in Northern Ireland. It is also closely involved in the Gaeltacht Quarter project. In terms of the influence of Irish on development, POBAL's director, Janet Muller, refers to Irish as a 'resource' or a 'richness' which can be harnessed in order to bring about development. This again reflects the socio-cultural development approach:

> Ceann de na moltaí a bhí acu le maoiniú a fháil, le postanna a chruthú, le saibhreas a shaothrú don mhórphobal, ná Ceathrú Ghaeltachta a bhunú ins an gceantar seo, agus go mbaineann sin le saibhreas nádúrtha na háite, na háiseanna atá againn anseo (interview with Muller, 2004).[7]

However, Muller's comments are more accurately described as reflecting the minority language promotion approach, due to her prioritisation of Irish over other factors. In fact, she is concerned that the Gaeltacht Quarter, when finally realised, could make only *symbolic* use of the Irish language and in essence amount to an Irish language façade on an English-speaking community:

> Tá muid ag labhairt fán rud seo, Ceathrú Gaeltachta, gan an coincheap a bheith sainmhínithe mar is ceart againne. Agus rudaí ag bogadh chomh fadálach seo, agus nuair nach bhfuil foireann bhuan againn nó oibrithe leis an rud a fhorbairt, tá sé doiligh teacht ar smaointe coincréideacha agus pleananna. Ag an phointe, níl ann ach brionglóid agus thiocfadh leis an bhrionglóid tiontú amach go fíormhaith, go han-Ghaelach, thiocfadh leis a bheith mar chuid lárnach d'fhorbairt na Gaeilge nó thiocfadh leis a bheith mar íomhá Gaeilge ar rud atá i ndáiríribh bainteach níos mó le pobal an Bhéarla ná le pobal na Gaeilge

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[7] One of the proposals which they made to get funding, to create jobs, to create wealth for the larger community, is to set up a Gaeltacht Quarter in this area, and that is linked to the natural wealth of the area, the facilities which we have here.

... Taobh istigh de chúig bliana, ní bheidh talamh ar bith fágtha, ní bheidh airgead ar bith fágtha agus beidh Ceathrú Gaeltachta ann nach bhfuil ann ach comharthaí sráide (interview with Muller, 2005).[8]

Muller's comments draw attention to a potential threat to the influence of Irish on the political economy of development in West Belfast. If Irish is conceived in general cultural terms only, its influence on the final shape of the Gaeltacht Quarter project may be limited. This underlines the inadequacy of the socio-cultural development approach to give due consideration to questions related to minority language promotion, as outlined in Chapter Four.

POBAL is also noteworthy because of the civil society-state relationship which it represents. Part of the voluntary Irish language sector, the organisation depends on state funding from Foras na Gaeilge, but it is willing to enter into conflict with the state if it believes that Irish language policy is lacking. In 2002, in its report to the Council of Europe's Committee of Experts on the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, POBAL criticised the British government for pursuing the 'weakest' options available in relation to Irish:

> Given the ongoing growth of Irish-medium education in the north of Ireland, it is not clear why this is not more closely reflected in the educational provisions adopted for Irish in the Charter. Similarly, with regard to the use of Irish in the administration ... the measures selected to apply to Irish imply a minimal level of service for Irish speakers. For example, while the administrative authorities are required to accept correspondence in Irish, the State has not undertaken to provide replies in the same language. It is POBAL's view that this falls short of the commitment made under the Charter to actively promote the Irish language. In general, the number and

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[8] We're talking about this thing, the Gaeltacht Quarter, without having defined the concept properly. And with things moving so slowly, and with no permanent team or workers in place to develop the thing, it's hard to find concrete thoughts and plans. At the moment, it's only a dream and the dream could turn out very nicely, very Irish, it could be a central part of the development of Irish or it could end up as an Irish image on something which in reality is more relevant to the English language community than the Irish language community ... Within five years, there'll be no money left and we'll have a Gaeltacht Quarter which consists of only street signs.

nature of the provisions selected to apply to Irish ... indicate a minimalist approach by the UK to the promotion of the Irish language in the north of Ireland (Gorman, 2002: 8-9).

POBAL continues to agitate for a more robust implementation of the Charter and for it to be transposed into United Kingdom law. It is also campaigning for domestic language legislation for Irish, similar to the Republic's Official Languages Act (see Ó Liatháin, 2002; Lá, 2003; Ó Liatháin, 2004a; Ó Néill, 2004a & 2004b; Ó Liatháin, 2005b; Muller, 2005).

Clive Dutton

As mentioned at 2.5 above, the Gaeltacht Quarter project has received an important impetus from Clive Dutton, director of regeneration at Gallagher Estates, author of the recent report (December 2004). Dutton is considered in the category of 'civil society' because he has spent 20 years of his professional life involved in inner-city regeneration projects, mainly in Britain. He also knows personally many Irish speakers who have been involved, through community groups, in the Gaeltacht Quarter project from the start, and was invited by one of them to become involved (see 2.6.3 below). An Englishman in republican West Belfast, Dutton is an unlikely candidate for the promotion of the Irish language in a society which is polarised over language policy. However, he has the advantage of being trusted by all sides: as well as his connection with Irish language groups, his report was commissioned by three government departments (DCAL, DSD and DETI). Members of the Gaeltacht Quarter Shadow Board frequently refer to Dutton's work on developing the Birmingham Jewellery Quarter Partnership as an example of an area whose development is related to its specific character. Dutton has said that he views culture, in a broad sense encompassing history and language, as an important asset upon which an area's development can be based:

> I think it's related to the depth that comes from language, from heritage and history and the culture of a people which is very, very

different to different 'cultural' aspects which were the core of some regeneration initiatives. I think it's very different and very solid. The only wonder is, well we all know because of history, that it seems such a travesty than such an approach and such a potential hasn't been capitalised on much sooner, but we all know why that is (interview with Dutton, 2004).

Dutton rejects suggestions that promoting Irish is an impediment to economic development, describing it as an 'asset' which is 'related to a rich and unbelievably interesting history and heritage and all other aspects of culture'. However, his support for language promotion has its limits:

> I think it's an amazing asset to have but sometimes I think, as I see from a distance, that language can [have] a degree of exclusivity about it and it becomes impenetrable to others that do not speak the language. One of the key things about the Gaeltacht Quarter in relation to the multi-layered approaches that are required is helping others to understand the language and its status within the culture and the history of the country overall (interview with Dutton, 2004).

Dutton's insistence on the primary importance of 'improving the quality of life of communities', and his recognition of the very broad definition of culture ('language, heritage and history') as a potential support to development earn him a place in the socio-cultural development category. He does not subscribe to a view that Irish is an obstacle to progress (it is, rather, an 'asset'), but his references to 'exclusivity' qualify somewhat his support for language promotion. Dutton is a very good example of someone who supports culture (in a broad sense and including language) as a basis for development but who is less comfortable with placing too much emphasis on the language alone.

In conclusion, social groups and the non-state Irish language sector in West Belfast perceive that Irish language in particular, or a broader and less clearly-defined category of Irish culture in general, contribute to the area's socio-economic development. A predominantly social initiative, the West Belfast Task Force led to the Gaeltacht Quarter project itself, which is now dependent on the interaction between stakeholders from civil society (non-

state social and language groups), state (government departments) and market (private business). It is to the final category, market, that the next section turns.

2.6.3 Market

West Belfast suffered endemic socio-economic underdevelopment during the Troubles. The statistics presented at 2.4 above illustrate the *failure* of the interaction between state, civil society and market to achieve development in this area. In fact, due to suspicion of government, much of the local economy is not based on interaction with the state at all but on 'micro' neighbourhood businesses in sectors such as construction, hairdressing and local taxi firms. Levels of private entrepreneurial activity remain low relative to the rest of Belfast, the economy is highly informal, and there is a 'glaring lack' of manufacturing businesses or high value-added tradable services (White & Simpson, 2001: 82-4). The local work force has limited mobility due to the 'chill factor' whereby West Belfast residents 'did not bother even applying for jobs outside their immediate area even though they believe they may be suitable qualified. They believe that they will encounter discrimination, intimidation and inequality of opportunity due to their community background or postal code' (White & Simpson, 2001: 58).

While the socio-economic deprivation has been well documented, the precise influence of the Irish language on *economic* development in West Belfast is not clear. No estimate of Irish language-based employment in the area was available during the period of this research. The relatively small community of habitual Irish speakers would suggest that employment opportunities are limited and restricted to language organisations themselves, education, translation and the Irish language broadcast and print media. Most of this employment is dependent on a state subsidy. Since 1994, a development agency for Irish has been in operation in West Belfast, with the aim of creating further job opportunities for Irish speakers. Forbairt Feirste was

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established to 'increase the capacity of the Irish language community to create employment ... through the development of entrepreneurship, community infrastructure and training' (Forbairt Feirste, c. 2002: 8). It is funded by the state (interview with Mac Siacais, 2005). Because of its primary focus on employment creation, it is included in the discussion of market, although it could also be classified under civil society due to its social functions and roots in voluntary activity:

> In an age of fascination with cultural roots and riches, Belfast has the raw materials of a significant cultural capital. It is time that the City began to transform these materials into products, for competitive advantage and strategic attractiveness. The Irish language is one a number of hidden resources in Belfast - as shy and precious as the flower of peace. Such a bright seam of linguistic and cultural wealth, if uncovered and properly used, will give extra colour and dignity to the idea of Belfast as a vibrant, open and pluralistic city ... Belfast's greatest asset is the depth of its cultures and the creative potential such rich soil provides for the people who live in its spaces. But we need to look beyond the inner city if we are to find the places where real innovation lies, dormant but latent. The Irish Language Community is one such site. Situated in the West of the city, it exists as a relatively untapped mine of potential. Forbairt Feirste is committed to harvesting such potential in ways that can benefit people within and outside its immediate base (Forbairt Feirste, c. 2002: 1)

Similar to many of the approaches discussed in Chapter Six, and the argument of the historical authors surveyed in Chapter Three, the above extract returns to the theme of Irish as a 'resource', a 'raw material', a 'seam of linguistic and cultural wealth' which, if exploited, will lead to 'competitive advantage' and 'strategic attractiveness'. It is a source of 'innovation' and an 'untapped mine of potential' which can be 'harvested' in order to 'benefit' people. This theme is elaborated upon by Forbairt Feirste's former director, Pilib Mac Cathmhaoil:

> Basically, it's using the asset that we have, in terms of the Irish language and cultural activities associated with the language, which are firmly rooted in this part of the area of West Belfast, to use those as a resource for the whole of the city and the whole of the country. And also, to give people confidence in themselves, to promote something that is unique about this area of Belfast, that isn't in other

areas of Belfast, and to use that as a resource to attract people into the city and also to attract inward investment into this part of the city. Now, it's been proven in other areas like Sheffield and places in America, where cultural clustering or a number of associated activities come together in the same area and they create the synergy that creates other associated enterprises, and there's this explosion that works, and that's what we're trying to do here. And I think it's particularly important that this particular resource is being developed at a time when the Irish language in the North ... that it's undergone a phenomenal revival. No-one is in any doubt about this but by the same token in places like Conamara, with the exception of the whole TG4 infrastructure, in Galway, in the Kerry Gaeltacht, on the Aran Islands, the Irish language is seen to be in decline ... And a few hundred miles away the reverse is happening, where the Irish language is seen to be the driver. It is seen to be the activity that is attracting jobs to West Belfast and for the first time in our history, we call it the urbanisation of the Irish language. You don't have to leave your Irish language behind you and abandon it to go and search for a job (interview with Mac Cathmhaoil, 2004).

Forbairt Feirste represents the socio-cultural development approach. The references to the 'confidence' created by Irish, and to its potential as a resource, are similar to the community-based Gaeltacht responses discussed in Chapter Six, and to the theoretical approaches described in Chapter Four. However, the optimism inherent in some of the above extracts may be misplaced. For instance, as illustrated at 2.3 above, the active Irish language community is very small and while a nascent Irish language economy exists in West Belfast, there is little evidence yet of significant employment creation based directly on Irish. However, Forbairt Feirste has created a high level of visibility of Irish in private businesses in West Belfast through the use of bilingual signage and the identification of staff members who can provide service to the public through the medium of Irish.

Mitchell Kane Associates

Seán Mitchell is a partner in a Belfast marketing company, Mitchell Kane Associates. He is a member of the Gaeltacht Quarter Shadow Board, is chairman of Forbairt Feirste, and it was he who invited Clive Dutton to West

Belfast to learn more about the Gaeltacht Quarter project (see 2.6.2 above). Mitchell grew up in the Shaw's Road Gaeltacht, and refers in visionary terms to the development of that community. Mitchell represents the language promotion approach, reflecting his background in a community whose founding objective was the creation of an urban Gaeltacht:

> Sílim ar leibhéal amháin, níl ann ach uirlis, an Cheathrú Ghaeltachta chun an stát a cheangal isteach leis an nasc idir an eacnamaíocht agus an Ghaeilge a chruthú. Sin ar leibhéal amháin. Ach ar leibhéal eile, sílim go gcaithfidh muid dul siar go talamh draíochta Bhóthar Seoighe. An rud iontach faoi Bhóthar Seoighe ná nuair a thit allas (sic) na haislinge ar Bhóthar Seoighe, sílim gur fhás níos mó ná tithe. Ar ndóigh bhí na tithe ann agus an scoil ann, ach sílim gur thóg Bóthar Seoighe muinín an phobail agus sílim go raibh sé aitheanta ag pointe iontach luath go raibh rud iontach ar siúl anseo. Agus an rud a bhí ar siúl go raibh sé níos leithne ná tithe, agus go raibh níos ná scoil [ann]. Sílim go raibh sé aitheanta go raibh rud nádúrtha pearsanta ag titim amach. Agus ag an am sin fosta bhí daoine ag iarraidh an nasc idir an Ghaeilge agus an eacnamaíocht, ag iarraidh an nasc sin a leathnú amach (interview with Mitchell, 2005).[9]

Mitchell also refers to the ways in which the community created much of the Irish language infrastructure due to voluntary effort, and not state help:

> Nuair a smaoiníonn tú ar an Chultúrlann agus an obair iontach atá déanta ansin, nuair a smaoiníonn tú ar na scoileanna, bunscoil, meánscoil agus an féinchuidiú a bhí taobh thiar de sin uilig. Chan amháin go raibh Gaeilgeoirí taobh thiar de sin ach sílim go raibh muintir na háite go hiomlán. Bhí *buy-in*, muintir na háite go hiomlán. Ach sílim go raibh sé aitheanta ag Forbairt Feirste go bhfuil an féinchuidiú sin ag éirí níos éadroime, b'fhéidir. Níl an fuil chomh láidir sin. An contúirt i gcónaí nuair a éiríonn an rud níos proifisiúnta go gcailleann daoine, chan go gcailleann siad suim ach go gcailleann siad fuinneamh agus úinéireacht fosta. Sílim go bhfuil muid ag pointe go

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[9] On one level, I think that it's just a tool, the Gaeltacht Quarter, to tie in the state in order to create the link between the economy and Irish. That's one level. But on another level, I think we have to go back to the magical ground of the Shaw's Road. The wonderful thing about the Shaw's Road, when the sweat (sic) of the dream fell on the Shaw's Road, I think that something greater than just houses grew. Of course there were the houses and the school, but I think that the Shaw's Road raised people's confidence and I think it was recognised at a very early stage that something wonderful was happening. And what was happening was broader than houses, and the school. I think it was recognised that something very personal was happening. And at that time also people were trying to spread out further the link between the economy and Irish.

raibh sé aitheanta againne, go raibh sé tábhachtach an stát a thabhairt isteach agus chomh maith leis sin, sílim go raibh sé aitheanta againne go raibh muid ag teacht ag pointe gur cheart go mbeadh an stát ag cuidiú linn seo a bhrú chun tosaigh.[10]

Mitchell's references to community 'confidence' and 'self-help' also reflect elements of the socio-cultural development approach. His comments also illustrate the changing nature of the influence of Irish on the political economy of development over time. During the Troubles, civil society drew on its own resources to create development based on Irish, while it is now interacting with the state and, to a lesser extent, the market (including Mitchell's company) to achieve the same aims.

Andersonstown News Group

The Andersonstown News Group publishes a number of newspapers in West Belfast. These include the Irish language daily, *Lá*, which provides several language-based jobs. *Lá* began publishing in 1984 as a voluntary community initiative but has grown into a national daily newspaper with offices in Donegal and Belfast (Cummings, 2004). It is backed by a combination of private investment and state funding for Irish language and cross-border co-operation, but retains strong links with the Irish language community. It is an example of the direct influence of Irish on the state-civil society-market nexus.

As stated at 2.5 above, the Group's managing director, Máirtín Ó Muilleoir, has been a member of the Gaeltacht Quarter Shadow Board since its inception. Ó Muilleoir reflects predominantly the minority language promotion

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[10] When you think of the Cultúrlann and all the work that's been done there, when you think about the schools, the primary school, the secondary school and all the self-help behind that. Not only were Irish speakers behind it, but I think that the whole community was. There was a buy-in by all the people of the area. But I think that Forbairt Feirste recognised that maybe the self-help was getting weaker. The blood isn't that strong now. When the thing gets more professional, there's always a danger that people lose, not interest, but energy and ownership as well. I think we're at a point where we recognised that it was important to

approach, but combines this with a number of other themes, such as social capital, urban regeneration, community self-confidence and nationalism:

> Tá ceangal láidir idir fás eacnamaíoch agus cultúrtha Barcelona agus féinmheas mhuintir na Cataóine. Is amhlaidh an scéal ag Bilbo agus Donostia é. Tá gach rud i gcúrsaí eacnamaíochta an lae atá inniu ann ag brath ar dhaoine. Muna bhfuil na daoine éirimiúil, agus féinmheasúil, agus láidir ina gcultúr, ní bheidh cathracha láidre agat, ní bheidh eacnamaíocht láidir agat. *Post*-chogaíocht, tá Éire nua ann, Éire Riverdance agus Michael Collins, McAleese agus Páirc an Chrócaigh, TG4 agus *Lá*, Gaeilge agus Joyce. Táimid níos compordaí anois lenár dteanga ná mar a bhí le blianta fada agus tuigimid gur cuidiú í seachas ualach. Tá an dearcadh sin ceangailte leis an tuiscint atá ann anois nach ionann a bheith bródúil as d'Éireannachas agus a bheith ar son daoine a mharú. Caipiteal sóisialta an rud is tábhachtaí faoi láthair i dtógáil cathracha, pobail srl., agus is cuid luachmhar den chaipiteal sin í an Ghaeilge (personal communication with Ó Muilleoir, 2005).[11]

For Ó Muilleoir, the Gaeltacht Quarter proposal is a way of presenting the value of Irish to all and ensuring that nationalists benefit from the peace process:

> Cuirfear an Cheathrú Ghaeltachta i gcrích. Beidh sé mar Guggenheim Bilbao ag Béal Feirste, ceantar beoga, ilchultúrtha, spreagúil a thugann le fios gur cathair Ghaelach í seo, go bhfuil tallann agus fís ag a muintir. Cuirfidh sé an Ghaeilge ar ardán, tabharfaidh sé le fios an luach atá leis an Ghaeilge, agus tabharfaidh sé seans dúinn cruthú dóibh sin is mó a d'fhulaing le linn na cogaíochta nach gá gurb iad is lú a bhainfeas tairbhe as an tsíocháin. Siombal a bheas ann nach ar an

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bring in the state and that we were at a point where the state should be helping us to push this forward.

[11] There is a strong connection between the economic and cultural growth of Barcelona and the Catalan people's self-respect. It's the same story in Bilbo and Donostia [*Basque names for Bilbao and San Sebastián, reflecting widespread support in West Belfast for Basque independence from Spain*]. Everything in contemporary economics depends on people. If the people aren't intelligent, with self-respect, and strong in their culture, you won't have strong cities, you won't have a strong economy. Post-war, there is a new Ireland, Ireland of Riverdance and Michael Collins, McAleese and Croke Park, TG4 and *Lá*, the Irish language and Joyce. We are now more comfortable with our language than we were for many years and we understand that it's a help and not a burden. That view is linked to the understanding which now exists that it's not the same to be proud of your Irishness and to be in favour of killing people. Social capital is the most important thing in the building of cities, of communities etc., and Irish is an important part of that capital.

taobh amuigh feasta a bheas pobal bródúil náisiúnaíoch Bhéal Feirste (personal communication with Ó Muilleoir, 2005).[12]

In the above extracts, Irish is part of 'social capital' and a generator of 'self-confidence' for a nationalist community which suffered in the past but which can now benefit from peace. Although reflecting predominantly the minority language promotion approach because of the prioritisation of Irish over other factors, these extracts go further than many of those in this category in the traditional Gaeltacht of the Republic (see Chapter Six). There is a firm belief in West Belfast that the Irish language exerts a strong influence on the social and economic development of the city (see, for instance, the comments of Forbairt Feirste above). Because Irish has already been established in a geographically compact urban setting (to a greater extent than in any other city in Ireland), there is a strong sense of optimism that it can be consolidated even further. This belief is not diminished by the relatively weak position of Irish in the community, even in those wards where the highest concentrations of speakers are located.

In conclusion, it appears that Irish influences the way in which the market interacts with both state and society in West Belfast to create development. Although precise estimates of language-based employment are not available, a limited amount of jobs has been created in West Belfast as a direct result of Irish, mostly in language organisations, translation, education and the media. This employment is dependent on state funding, but much of it also has a strong social dimension, for instance through Forbairt Feirste's scheme to develop the social economy.

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[12] The Gaeltacht Quarter will be implemented. It will be like the Bilbao Guggenheim in Belfast, a lively, multicultural, exciting area which lets people know that this is an Irish city and that its people have vision and talent. It will put the Irish language on a platform, will let people know that Irish is valuable and will allow us to prove to those who suffered most during the fighting that they will not be the last to reap the peace dividend. It will be a symbol that from now on the proud nationalist community of Belfast will not be on the outside.

2.7   Conclusions

The aim of this case-study was to investigate further the research question, in the first of two urban settings outside the traditional Gaeltacht. It can be concluded from the findings that Irish appears to influence positively the socio-economic development of West Belfast. In social terms, many participants identify the psychologically positive influence of Irish on factors such as self-confidence, identity and uniqueness, and refer to the self-help philosophy which led to the creation of much of the Irish language infrastructure in the area. This belief in the significance of Irish as a local resource is shared by Irish speakers and non-Irish speakers alike. In economic terms, the influence of Irish is less obvious, although some language-based jobs have been created in the area. The Gaeltacht Quarter project contains the potential to increase such employment opportunities, although the relatively small number of Irish speakers will be a restraining factor.

The minority language promotion and socio-cultural development approaches are dominant in West Belfast. Because of the strong community roots of many of the Irish language initiatives, it is often difficult to separate these approaches. The modernisationist and growth-led approach was not common, but this is unsurprising because there is extensive community support for Irish and recognition of its contribution to the area's development. However, section 2.1 above on the historical background of Irish in Northern Ireland reveals extreme hostility to Irish by sections of unionism, which reflect elements of the modernisationist approach, based on the perceived superior utility of English and its importance for progress.

In terms of the theoretical framework, the Gaeltacht Quarter project is an embryonic linguistic political economy of development in practice: the Irish language influencing the combined efforts of social groups, government agencies and private businesses to create development in a given area. This

is precisely what is envisaged in Clive Dutton's proposal for a board comprised of 12 organisations involved in socio-economic development, community development, the Irish language, urban regeneration, education and health. If successful, it could develop into a virtuous circle of development based on Irish and consolidating Irish itself (see Chapter Six). However, the Gaeltacht Quarter Board has not yet been established, let alone implemented. Furthermore, there is a risk that the Irish language component of the project may be diluted to the vague catch-all of 'cultural activities', which would have little or no positive long-term effect on language normalisation. It is an inescapable fact that even the strongest figures for the knowledge and use of Irish in West Belfast are low by the standards of the Republic. The Gaeltacht Quarter, if primarily a tool for attracting tourists to attend Irish music events or learn Irish dancing, will do nothing to increase levels of use of Irish as an everyday language.

Another weakness is that the geographical area defined in the Dutton report does not include the existing urban Gaeltacht community of the Shaw's Road (interview with Mac Póilín, 2005). Although this community is tiny (49 people), it is nonetheless the nucleus of the city's Irish-speaking community and it is difficult to justify its exclusion from the new Quarter: were it not for the Shaw's Road, it is unlikely that any such Gaeltacht Quarter proposal would be on the table at all (communication with Mac Póilín, 2005b). Finally, major state investment in the Gaeltacht Quarter may be perceived in unionist circles as supporting republicanism. Although small numbers of Protestants are studying Irish, most of them have no desire to learn or use the language in an area which was perceived traditionally by their community as dangerous (interviews with McCoy, 2004 & 2005).

The second part of Chapter Eight examines the influence of Irish on socio-economic development in another Irish city: Galway. In so doing, it investigates further the empirical basis of the research question and uses the theoretical framework to analyse the state-civil society-market nexus.

3. IRISH IN AN URBAN SETTING: THE CASE OF GALWAY CITY

Galway was the only city in Ireland which contained significant numbers of native speakers of Irish when the state was founded. In 1926, Galway city was granted 'Breac-Ghaeltacht' status by the Gaeltacht Commission, meaning that it contained an Irish-speaking population of between 25 and 79 percent (Walsh, 2002a: 42). The Commission noted the importance of a bilingual Galway in promoting Irish generally, but devoted only one paragraph of its 68 page report to the city (Gaeltacht Commission, 1926: 58). The neglect was a sign of policy to come: for decades, the native Irish speaking population of the city was neglected by various state actors charged with promoting Irish. The author of a geographical survey of the Galway Gaeltacht in 1969 (see Chapter Six) cautioned against over-stating the amount of Irish spoken in Galway City. He emphasised instead the hostility felt by many city residents towards the Irish language and Gaeltacht people in general:

> Galway lies at the very doorstep of the Gaeltacht, but it is ludicrous, from a linguistic point of view, to describe it as the capital of the Gaeltacht. For centuries it has been a 'foreign' city, as far as the Gaeltacht was concerned, and this is as true today as in bygone times. Despite the fact that many Irish-speakers live in Galway, the city is predominantly an English-speaking settlement and its attitude towards the Gaeltacht is one of superiority, distrust, and even positive dislike. The 'foreign' origins and traditions of the city, the relative poverty and lower social class of the Gaeltacht inhabitants, and the difference in language have been major factors in creating and maintaining this antagonism (Mac Aodha, 1969: 19).

In 1956, when the Gaeltacht was reduced drastically in preparation for the new Department of the Gaeltacht, parts of Galway city were removed along with hundreds of other electoral divisions throughout the country. However, following the expansion of the city boundaries in 1986, six of the 22 city wards now contain Gaeltacht areas (Walsh, McCarron and Ní Bhrádaigh, 2005: 25-27). These areas contain 17.6 percent of the city's population (11,237 of 63,822 people). Despite their Gaeltacht status, however, Irish is

no more dominant here than it is in most of the rest of the country. What were small, partially Irish-speaking Gaeltacht villages fifty years ago have since been devoured by urban sprawl, particularly to the north and west of the city.

3.1   Linguistic vitality

According to the Census of 2002, there is a higher proportion of people with a knowledge of Irish in Galway city than in any other city in the country. Of 63,503 people over the age of 3 years, 31,440 or 50.8 percent returned themselves as 'Irish speakers'. At 9.4 percent, the percentage of people who report that they use Irish each day is also higher than other cities, but not significantly so:

Table 8.7: Speakers of Irish aged 3 years and over in Galway city and other cities, including frequency of use

City	Pop.	No. of Irish sp.	% of Irish sp.	Daily	% daily	Weekly	% weekly	Less often	% less often	Never	% never
Dublin	965,244	349,076	37.7	63,825	6.6	32,939	3.4	133,199	13.8	112,585	11.7
Cork	179,007	83,178	44.9	16,080	9.0	7,320	4.1	31,588	17.6	26,535	14.8
Galway	63,822	31,595	50.8	6,009	9.4	3,386	5.3	13,898	21.8	7,743	12.1
L'rick	83,290	38,339	42.1	6,879	8.3	3,567	4.3	15,097	18.1	12,142	14.6
W'ford	44,669	18,078	41.5	3,408	7.6	1,582	3.5	6,597	14.8	6,157	13.8

Source: CSO, 2004b: 14, 17, 59

Galway City has a marginally higher percentage of daily speakers of Irish (9.4 percent) than the next strongest city, Cork (9 percent). It also has a higher percentage of people using Irish on a weekly basis (5.3 percent) and a considerably higher percentage who use Irish less often (21.8 percent), probably reflecting the greater opportunities to use Irish in the city which are created by its Gaeltacht hinterland. In the 6 city wards part of which are in the Gaeltacht, the figures for daily speakers of Irish are slightly higher, but very low in the context of other Gaeltacht areas (see Chapter Five). Here, 53.5 percent claim knowledge of Irish, while 13.5 percent speak it daily.

Table 8.8: Knowledge and use of Irish in Gaeltacht areas of Galway City, Census 2002

Category		Number of persons	Percentage of total
Total population		11,802	--
Total population 3 years and above		11,237	--
Can speak Irish		6,008	53.5
	Daily	1,518	13.5
	Weekly	709	6.3
	Less often	2,435	21.7
	Never	1,242	11.1
	Not stated	104	0.9
Cannot speak Irish		5,069	45.1
Not stated		160	1.4

Source: CSO, 2004d

Although Galway contains more daily Irish speakers than any other Irish city, the percentage is still below 10 percent. This figure refers to the language behaviour of city residents only, and does not reflect use of Irish by people from strongly Irish-speaking Gaeltacht areas west of the city who may shop or work in Galway during the day (see 3.3 below). However, the city's habitual Irish speaking population is similar in size to that of other towns and cities in the Republic of Ireland.

3.2 Socio-economic profile of Galway City

In general, the principal economic status of people living in Galway City is not significantly different to the national statistics. Similar numbers of people are at work and unemployed. Considerably more students live in Galway (20.7 percent) than in the state as a whole (11.4 percent), reflecting the importance of the university in the city. There are also lower percentages of people in Galway City engaged in home duties or retired, than there are nationally.

Table 8.9: Principal Economic status of all persons aged 15 years and over, Galway City and state, 2002

	At work	1st job seeker	Unempl	Student	Home duties	Retired	Unable to work	Other	Total
Total Galway	28,188	498	2,639	11,396	5,298	4,528	1,639	892	55,078
% Galway	51.2	0.9	4.8	20.7	9.6	8.2	3.0	1.6	100
Total state	1,641,587	21,147	138,199	350,774	438,986	333,255	130,255	35,572	3,089,775
% state	53.1	0.7	4.5	11.4	14.2	10.8	4.2	1.2	100

Source: CSO, 2004d

The statistics for persons aged 15 or over at work by industry reveal that there are considerably lower percentages engaged in agriculture in Galway City than there are nationally, which is to be expected for a city. Similarly, there are higher than average percentages of public administration and professional workers in the city than there are nationally.

Table 8.10: At work by industry, all persons 15 years and over, Galway City and state, Census 2002

	Agr.	Build./ Constr.	Manu.	Comm.	Trans.	Pub. Adm.	Prof. Services	Other	Total
Total Galway	200	1,686	4,679	7615	2,424	3,041	5,552	5,805	28,188
% Galway	0.7	6.0	16.6	27.0	8.6	10.8	19.7	20.6	100.0
Total state	97,281	149,271	262,224	441,110	96,855	94,746	252,821	247,279	1,641,587
% state	5.9	9.1	16.0	26.9	5.9	5.8	15.4	15.1	100

Source: CSO, 2004d; CSO, 2004b; CSO, 2003: 37

In terms of socio-economic group, Galway City contains higher percentages of higher and lower professionals than the national average, and lower than average percentages of semi-skilled or unskilled workers. These statistics are normal for urban settings (CSO, 2004d).

There is considerable difference between the educational attainment of Galway residents and the national average. For instance, of the Galway city population whose education has ceased, 12.6 percent have no formal

education, or primary education only. The equivalent figure for the state as a whole is 21.1 percent.[13] Similarly, higher percentages of Galway residents have a third-level qualification, 38.2 percent of the city population, compared to 24.7 percent nationally. Easy access to third-level education in two institutions in the city probably accounts in part for the higher than average percentages for this sector.

Table 8.12: Educational attainment by persons aged 15 years or over, Galway City and state, Census 2002

	No formal education/primary only	3rd level qualification	Total persons 15+ whose education has ceased
Total Galway	5,142	15,549	40,702
% Galway	12.6	38.2	100
Total state	552,220	646,837	2,622,458
% state	21.1	24.7	100

Source: CSO, 2004d

Galway City's socio-economic profile is positive compared to national averages. The population is well-educated and unemployment is low. At work by industry statistics are close to the average for urban centres, and the city does not contain areas of high deprivation as is the case in Dublin, Limerick and Cork (CSO, 2003: 15).

3.3   Gaillimh le Gaeilge

Along with Belfast, Galway is the only city in the country where a conscious effort is being made on a relatively large scale to foster the use of Irish in an urban setting, although there are considerable differences between the strategies being pursued in both cities. Gaillimh le Gaeilge (literally 'Galway with Irish'), which was established in 1987, promotes the use of Irish among businesses in Galway City, through the use of bilingual signage, bilingual

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[13] There is a slight difference between the CSO statistic (21.1 percent) and that of GAMMA (22 percent).

menus in restaurants, and identification of Irish speaking staff to customers. It also co-ordinates the use of Irish names for new housing estates in the city and presents an annual award to the business deemed to have best promoted Irish during the past year. The rationale behind Gaillimh le Gaeilge is that Irish has a positive influence on the *economic* development of Galway City. The organisation's aims are to maintain and strengthen Irish 'primarily as an economic resource in Galway', to gain recognition for Galway as the bilingual capital of Ireland, to promote Galway as a world centre for Irish and Celtic culture and 'to make the Irish language more central to Galway's culture, so that it becomes an everyday part of Galway city life' (Gaillimh le Gaeilge, n.d).

Gaillimh le Gaeilge was established by Comhdháil Náisiúnta na Gaeilge (CNnaG), the umbrella body of Irish language voluntary organisations (see Chapter Two). The director of CNnaG at the time, Peadar Ó Flatharta, explains that the organisation wanted to quantify the social and economic benefits which Irish brought to Galway City, as a way of persuading sceptical businesspeople to recognise and support it:

> Rud a bhí soiléir ná go raibh go leor ioncaim ag Contae na Gaillimhe as an teanga, nach raibh beachtú de chineál ar bith déanta air seo agus ag an am céanna, rinne muid an-lear plé ar cén bealach a gcuirfí é seo i láthair daoine. Is é sin ní raibh muid ag iarraidh beart a dhéanamh ar leas na teanga ar mhaithe leis an náisiún ná 'tír gan teanga, tír gan anam' ná rud ar bith den chineál sin ar chor ar bith. Bhí muid ag iarraidh é a chur chucu ar bhealach eile ar fad, mar chuile shórt a bhí déanta roimhe sin, bhí teipthe air. Ag an am céanna, déarfadh na socheolaithe leat nach bhféadfá tosaí in áit níos measa ná Gaillimh, is é sin, go raibh an oiread bagáiste cultúrtha agus sóisialta ansin ag an teanga agus an dearcadh a bhí ag muintir na Gaillimhe ar an teanga, gur bhain sí le iargúltacht agus bochtanas agus mar sin, agus gurb shin é an stair a bhí ag an teanga i gcathair na Gaillimhe (interview with Ó Flatharta, 2004).[14]

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[14] What was clear was that County Galway had considerable income from the language, that this hadn't been measured in any way, and at the same time we discussed at length how this would be presented to people. That is, we didn't want to do anything on behalf of the language for the sake of the nation, the slogan 'a country without a language, a country without a soul' or anything like that at all. We wanted to present it in an entirely different way, because everything which had been tried before had failed. At the same time, the sociologists would say to you that you couldn't start in a worse place than Galway, that is, that the language had so much cultural and social baggage there, and given the view of

From this debate emerged a seminal report by geographer Micheál Ó Cinnéide and economist Michael Keane from University College Galway (now NUI Galway), *Local Socio-Economic Impacts associated with the Galway Gaeltacht*. Ó Flatharta describes this as probably one of the first major pieces of research in the realm of the economics of language. The objectives of the study were to cost the state's intervention in favour of the Galway Gaeltacht, to evaluate the economic activity which accrued from those measures, and to estimate the extent to which both state intervention and economic activity contribute to the social and economic well-being of Galway City and County alike (Ó Cinnéide & Keane, 1988: 7).

The report's authors found that the largely rural nature of the Gaeltacht increased the population's economic dependency on Galway. A strong economic link existed between predominantly English-speaking Galway City and its predominantly Irish-speaking hinterland, and strengthening the position of Irish in the city would have implications for its hinterland (1988: 2). In the report, it is estimated that state expenditure on special state sponsored services (such as the Department of the Gaeltacht, Údarás na Gaeltachta, Raidió na Gaeltachta, Department of Education, and Irish language bodies) in the Gaeltacht during 1987 amounted to £12.1 million (1988: 13). It is estimated that 2,063 full-time jobs and equivalents and a gross output of £57.3 million were created in the Galway Gaeltacht in the same year as a result of state-assisted activities there. In order to estimate the overall impact of language related initiatives (both state interventions and employment and other outputs) on the economy of Galway City and County, a multiplier methodology based on total household income is used (1988: 26 and 42-44). It calculates that the total gross income generated in these areas a result of state intervention and assisted economic activities amounted to £17 million in 1987 (28). Using Household Budget Survey norms from the Central Statistics Office, it is calculated that the gross income of £17 million

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Galway people that the language was linked to remoteness and poverty and so on, and that that was the history of the language in Galway City.

translated into actual household expenditures of £14.5 million. Most of this money ended up in Galway City, the authors conclude:

> [A]s most of the state apparatus and supported projects are located in close proximity to Galway city most of those in receipt of incomes also are likely to be living adjacent to or indeed in the city. The commercial dominance of Galway as a retail, wholesale and service centre is also likely to exert a strong influence on where incomes are spent and where further economic activity is created. Consequently it is likely that most of the benefits of the income that is generated accrues to city businesses (28).

By conducting surveys of where Gaeltacht residents spent their money, it is concluded that £7 million, or 48.3 percent of the total, was spent in retail outlets in Galway City (the report estimated that this £7 million generated in turn another £1.6 million in wholesale business in the city). £6.8 million was spent locally in Gaeltacht retail outlets, but it is pointed out that much of this money benefitted indirectly city wholesalers who provided the materials. The authors assume that the turnover of £6.8 million in Gaeltacht retail outlets yielded £4.5 million of wholesale business in the city. Therefore, the total gain to Galway city businesses from the state intervention in the Gaeltacht and associated economic activities in 1987 was £7 million of retail business and £6.1 million of wholesale business, a total of £13.1 million (30).

The researchers conclude that the 'state's special interventions in the local economy of the Gaeltacht contribute handsomely to the prosperity of Galway Gaeltacht and City alike ... Apart altogether from the advantage that the Irish language confers on applicants for numerous public and indeed private sector appointments, it represents an economic resource from which the local population and the business people of Galway City derive considerable benefit' (36-7). They recommend that 'as a practical gesture of language courtesy to their Gaeltacht customers the business community in Galway City [should] adopt an active role in the promotion of Irish as the principal means of communication in their business transactions with the Gaeltacht community' (38). They go on to recommend many of the measures which

Gaillimh le Gaeilge would later develop: displaying signs in city businesses indicating service through Irish, refresher courses in Irish to staff who wished to serve Irish speaking customers, use of Irish on packaging and labels, bilingual menus and shop signs, and provision of special counters in banks and financial institutions where Irish could be used (38-9).

Ó Flatharta remembers how shocked businesspeople in Galway were at the report's conclusions. They did not expect to learn that Irish was more valuable in economic terms than, for instance, the multinational company Digital which was then based in the city:

> Is cuimhneach liom go maith an chéad oíche gur chuir muid an tuarascáil i láthair, ag dul isteach ag Cumann Tráchtála agus Tionscail na Gaillimhe. Agus bhí daoine ag breathnú ar a chéile agus bhí siad ag breathnú ormsa mar cheap siad gur cineál gealt de chineál eicínt a bhí ionam go raibh mé ag rá leo: féach - ceann de na hacmhainní is luachmhaire ó thaobh maoine de atá ag an gcathair seo ná teanga. Agus seo rud nár smaoinigh sibh ariamh air roimhe sin. Agus ar ndóigh, an cur chuige ina dhiaidh sin a bhí ann, go raibh muid ag rá leo: féach - má ghlacann tú leis anois gur acmhainn í seo, tá sé de dhualgas ort, agus tá sé de dhualgas ar an gcathair, an acmhainn sin a chosaint agus a fhorbairt, má tá an leas seo ag leanacht as do chathair na Gaillimhe. Bhí na figiúirí féin ag an am - tá tú ag caint ar 87/8 - £17m agus b'uafásach an lear airgid é. Tá sé sin méadaithe as cuimse uilig anois. Abair, ní raibh TG4 an t-am sin ann, ní raibh tionscal na teilifíse ar chor ar bith ann, ní raibh aon chuid den stuif sin ann ag an am sin agus tá siad sin uilig tagtha ó shin (interview with Ó Flatharta, 2004).[15]

In 1999, the economists of language, François Grin and François Vaillancourt, conducted a cost-effectiveness evaluation of Gaillimh le Gaeilge, along with language promotion projects in Wales and the Basque Country (Grin and

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[15] I remember well the first night we presented the report, going into the Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Galway. And people were looking at each other and at me because they thought I was a kind of lunatic because I was telling them: look - one of the most valuable resources in financial terms which this city has is language. And that's something that they never considered before. And of course, the approach after that was: look, if you accept now that this is a resource, you're obliged and the city is obliged to protect and develop it, if Galway City is to continue to benefit from it. The figures at the time - we're talking about 87/8 - £17m, that was a huge amount of money. That's increased substantially

Vaillancourt, 1999). However, no new research has been carried out in order to update the findings of Ó Cinnéide and Keane's report. Therefore, although compelling evidence was presented in 1988 that promoting Irish positively influenced the socio-economic development of Galway City (and County), that evidence is almost twenty years out of date. The next section turns to the contemporary context of the link between language and development in Galway City.

3.4   Linguistic political economy of development in Galway City

This section uses the theoretical framework of the linguistic political economy of development to examine in more detail the influence of Irish on the state-civil society-market relationship in Galway City and the manner in which it achieves developmental outcomes. It considers state, civil society and market in turn, while maintaining a focus on the interactions between all three. It concludes by considering how this case-study contributes to investigating the research question about the influence of the promotion of Irish on Ireland's socio-economic development.

3.4.1   State

This section considers two state actors relevant to Galway City: Galway City Council and the Galway City Development Board.

Galway City Council

Galway City Council is a branch of local government (state) which achieves development in Galway City through interaction with civil society (non-state groups agitating for improved services; political participation in local elections). It also interacts with the market, through control over local

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now. TG4 wasn't there that time, the television industry didn't exist at all, none of that stuff was there and that has all happened since then.

planning issues and through its support for the city's Chamber of Commerce. There is evidence that Irish is influencing the Council's work to a greater extent now than in the past. For instance, the former City Manager (until January 2005), Joe O'Neill, has said that 'the development of the role of the Irish language and support for bi-lingualism (sic) in the City is a strategic objective in the City Council's Corporate Plan' (personal communication with O'Neill, 2005). Irish is also referred to in the new Draft City Development Plan:

> Galway has a strong and vibrant cultural tradition. Its cultural heritage has become one of the city's principal tourist attractions, as highlighted by the several events and festivals of national and international distinction, and its cohesive and well-established local arts community. In addition the local arts culture is greatly enhanced by Galway being the only city located in a Gaeltacht area. The Irish language forms an integral part of the cultural identity of the city. There is great potential to develop further the bilingual cultural identity of the city and its reputation for innovative cultural activity. The Council acknowledges this and will explore the development of culture and arts in the city ... Almost half of the area of the city has Gaeltacht status, but this rich cultural and linguistic heritage is felt throughout the city. It is recognised that this heritage makes an important contribution to the distinctive character of Galway City, and makes it a more enriched place to live and visit (Galway City Council, 2004: 83-4).

It is inferred from the above extract that the Council views Irish as positively influencing Galway's development: culture in general, including Irish, have supported tourism and created a local arts community. The Gaeltacht status of part of the city contributes to the city's 'distinctive character' and 'makes it a more enriched place to live and visit'. The above extract is a reflection of the socio-cultural development approach which views culture in general (as opposed to language in particular) as an asset for development. The cultural benefits of Irish are also identified by the Council's Irish Language Officer, Breandán Ó hEaghra:

> Ar ndóigh tá cathair na Gaillimhe ar leac an dorais don Ghaeltacht is mó sa tír. Tá muid ag cur ina luí ar lucht gnó agus ar eagraisí éagsúla i gcathair na Gaillimhe le blianta go bhfuil saibhreas faoi leith ag baint leis an gcathair mar gheall ar an teanga seo agus má tá tú ag caint air

ó thaobh eacnamaíochta, oibríonn sé chun turasóirí a mhealladh isteach, tá rud eicínt difriúil ag baint leis an dtuigeann tú? Dhom féin go pearsanta, tharraingeoinn níos mó [airde] ar an saibhreas *cultúrtha* a bhaineanns leis. I nGaillimh mar shampla, seo é an sprioc a bheadh agamsa le Gaillimh, go mbeadh príomhchathair *chultúrtha* na Gaeilge [againn]. Má tá muid in ann é sin a rá, tugann sé rud eicínt do na daoine iad féin ina n-aireoidís beagáinín níos uaibhrí iontu féin mar gheall air (interview with Ó hEaghra, 2005, emphasis in original).[16]

The reference to the 'pride' created by Irish also reflects the influence of the positive *psychological* benefits of Irish identified by the historical authors of Chapter Three, and the minority language promotion approach described in Chapter Four. However, Ó hEaghra is closer to the socio-cultural development approach, as he favours more general cultural initiatives over language planning measures. He expresses concern that expenditure generated by the Official Languages Act (which, for example, obliges local authorities to translate certain documents) may endanger support already given by the Council to the promotion of Irish in cultural activities. The best way of increasing the use of Irish in the city, according to Ó hEaghra, is to promote it through traditional singing, literature and drama in schools. The Council believes that this approach will increase the number of Irish speakers in Galway City (interview with Ó hEaghra, 2005). Therefore, although Galway City Council now refers regularly to heritage and culture as contributing factors to the development of the city, it can be inferred from the dominance of the socio-cultural approach that the role of the Irish language is marginal.

Galway City Development Board

In 1998, a government task force on the integration of local government and local development systems recommended the establishment of county and

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[16] Of course, Galway City is on the doorstep of the largest Gaeltacht in the country. We are impressing upon the business community and on various organisations in Galway City for years now that the city has a certain richness due to the language and if you talk about it from an economic point of view, it works in attracting tourists in, there's something different about it, you know? For me personally, I'd draw more [attention] to the *cultural* richness of Irish. We can say, for example, that Galway would be the principal *cultural* city of Irish. If we can say that, it helps people to feel more pride in themselves about it.

city development boards in each of the state's 29 county councils and five major cities. The boards are a good example of integration between state and civil society because they comprise stakeholders from a range of state and voluntary bodies (County & City Development Boards, 2002).

The Galway City Development Board's strategy document contains some information about the influence of Irish on the board's work. It gave Irish high visibility in the title of its report - *Strategy for Economic, Social & Cultural Development 2002 –2012: Gaillimh! - Beo agus Bríomhar!* [Galway! - Alive and Vigorous!] and it states that '[t]he City is in a unique geographical and linguistic position *vis à vis* its relationship with the Irish language and the Gaeltacht' (GCDB, 2002: 30). However, references to the role of Irish are couched in very general statements about multiculturalism and ethnicity:

> Galway is a City with a unique cultural and linguistic heritage. It recognises the diversity of its people and embraces the challenge of marrying a distinct indigenous culture with the cultures of people whose origins and backgrounds span a range of ethnicities (GCDB, 2002: 58).

The primary cultural 'objectives' identified by the board relate to the promotion of 'multiculturalism'. 'Objectives' in relation to the Irish language are further down the list of priorities, are conflated with 'culture' and are vague and imprecise (GCDB, 2002: 58-61).[17] Although the Board acknowledges the existence of Irish in and around Galway City, it does not explain *how* it contributes to the development of the city. Instead, it asserts that the more general categories of 'culture', 'tradition', 'diversity' and 'multiculturalism' have positive influences on the city. The Board's report reflects a version of the socio-cultural development approach which is so broad and general that it fails to give any recognition to the cultural specificity of the Irish language. The City Development Board represents an amalgam

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[17] For instance, one such 'objective' is to 'foster Gaelic traditions in City communities with particular emphasis on existing Gaeltacht areas' (GCDB, 2002: 60). No information is provided about what is meant by 'Gaelic traditions' or how precisely they will be 'fostered' in the highly anglicised official Gaeltacht suburbs of the city.

of state and civil society. In the next section, civil society is examined in more detail and the influence of language on one voluntary organisation in Galway City is considered.

3.4.2   Civil society

Conradh na Gaeilge

The focus of voluntary efforts to promote Irish in Galway is the local branch of Conradh na Gaeilge (the Gaelic League, henceforth CnaG).[18] The national organisation of which it is a part was established in 1893 as a non-sectarian, apolitical body to promote Irish and, as discussed in Chapter Three, many of its early leaders went on to play key roles in the first Free State government. CnaG continues to exist as a voluntary Irish language body on a 32-county basis and operates through a series of local branches, staffed mostly by volunteers although the organisation has some core staff, based mostly in Dublin. Its core funding is provided by Foras na Gaeilge, the cross-border body for the promotion of Irish.

The objectives of CnaG were agreed in 1915 and remain unchanged to the present day (for a discussion of the controversy which they caused at the time, see Mac Aonghusa, 1993: 136-150). CnaG's constitution states that the organisation's principal objective is to 'create a free Gaelic national environment ... by bringing about an Irish speaking Ireland. The desire of the people of Ireland to be liberated and free is Conradh na Gaeilge's core element. That desire can not be completed until political, economic, social and cultural freedom are attained and until total fairness and equality are granted to all' (CnaG, 2005). It can be inferred from this extract that CnaG views the promotion of Irish as leading to 'political, economic, social and cultural freedom', factors which can be read as development in terms of the

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[18] As stated in Chapter Three, the Gaelic League is today usually known by its Irish name only.

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theoretical framework elaborated in Chapter Four. CnaG represents a strong version of the minority language promotion approach because of its over-riding attention to Irish (see also Ó Gadhra, 2004). However, its association of reversing language shift with the achievement of broader social goals, including freedom, is also reflective of the socio-cultural development approach, particularly the contributions of Amartya Sen (see Chapter Four). The CnaG constitution does not state *how* the Irish language is to achieve these aims, however.

In terms of its day to day operations in Galway City, the aims of CnaG appear far more modest. According to its regional organiser, Peadar Mac Fhlannchadha, CnaG focuses on traditional acquisition planning initiatives such as language teaching. In common with other proponents of the minority language promotion approach, he also refers to the positive psychological benefits of Irish:

> Níl aon dabht go gcuireann an Ghaeilge an-chuid leis an gcathair. Cuireann sí leis ó thaobh na heacnamaíochta de, cúrsaí turasóireachta, cúrsaí féinmheasa freisin agus méid áirid *feel-good factor* a bhaineanns leis an rud, gur rud í an Ghaeilge a bhaineanns go sonrach leis an bpobal agus go bhfuil meas faoi leith ag na daoine air. Fiú iad siúd nach labhrann Gaeilge, bíonn siad sásta go bhfuil an Ghaeilge láidir go leor sa chathair (interview with Mac Fhlannchadha, 2005).[19]

The work of CnaG is an example of an interaction between civil society and state, based on Irish, which aims to achieve a developmental outcome (political, economic, social and cultural freedom). However, although CnaG succeeds in attracting many adults in Galway City to Irish language classes, it is unclear how it uses this to achieve the larger objectives set out in its constitution. The next section turns to the market, and considers the influence on Irish on its relationship with state and civil society.

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[19] There's no doubt but that Irish gives a great deal to the city. It benefits it in economic terms, tourism, but also self-respect and there's a certain amount of the feel-good factor connected to it, that Irish is something which is linked specifically to the community and that people have a lot of respect for it. Even those who don't speak Irish, they're glad that Irish is fairly strong in the city.

3.4.3   Market

Gaillimh le Gaeilge

The work of Gaillimh le Gaeilge was discussed at 3.3 above. Although it is a
not-for-profit organisation, funded by the state, it is included in this category
because its primary aim is to persuade the *private* sector in Galway City to
promote Irish. Therefore, it is a good example of how Irish influences the
civil society-state-market nexus in achieving development. Gaillimh le Gaeilge
is an example of the minority language promotion approach to language and
socio-economic development. The organisation's aim is related to language
promotion alone, through the business community. In terms of language
planning, it is a good example of a status planning initiative first and
foremost, which aims to enhance the status of Irish in the city, but secondly
to increase opportunities for its use there. However, similar to stakeholders
in the Gaeltacht Quarter project in Belfast, Gaillimh le Gaeilge supplements
the minority language promotion approach by using arguments based on
economics and customer service, rather than cultural heritage or identity, in
order to promote Irish in an urban setting. Ó Flatharta insists that new and
innovative arguments for promoting Irish were essential if sceptical business
people were to be persuaded that it should be supported:

> Ní raibh muid ag iarraidh rud eicínt a dhéanamh dhóibh ar mhaithe leis
> an teanga, ní raibh muid ag iarraidh orthu Gaeilge a labhairt ná Gaeilge
> a fhoghlaim, ní raibh muid ag iarraidh orthu meon a athrú i leith na
> teanga, ní raibh muid ag iarraidh orthu déileáil le cúrsaí náisiúnachais
> ná aon cheann de na ceisteanna sin, ach bhí muid ag rá leo: féach, ó
> thaobh ciall eacnamaíochta don chathair seo, agus leis an gcathair seo
> a fhorbairt, seo é ceann de na hacmhainní is luachmhaire atá againn.
> Agus ní amháin go bhfuil sí mar acmhainn shóisialta agus acmhainn
> chultúrtha, ach anois tá muid théis a chruthú dhaoibh gur acmhainn
> *eacnamaíochta* í, agus sin an bunús a bhí taobh thiar dhó (interview
> with Ó Flatharta, 2004, emphasis in original).[20]

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[20] We weren't asking them to do something for the sake of the language, we weren't asking
them to speak Irish or to learn Irish, we weren't asking them to change their attitudes to the
language, we weren't asking them to support nationalism or any of those things. We were

As stated at 3.3 above, Gaillimh le Gaeilge presented compelling evidence in 1988 that promoting Irish led to significant socio-economic benefits for Galway City, but this research has not been updated since. The organisation has begun a strategic review of its operations but its officer, Bríd Ní Chonghóile, stresses the shortage of funds (it has only two full-time employees). Gaillimh le Gaeilge has plans to establish a world centre of Celtic culture in Galway, but has not yet acquired adequate funding for the project (interview with Ní Chonghóile, 2005). Similar to the Gaeltacht Quarter in Belfast, such a proposal contains the potential to increase significantly the influence of Irish on socio-economic development in the city (through, for instance, employment creation based on Irish, income from tourism, and positive psychological outcomes on Irish speakers and on city dwellers generally). However, a world Celtic centre for Galway is further from being realised than the Gaeltacht Quarter in West Belfast.

Galway Chamber of Commerce

Gaillimh le Gaeilge represents over 500 private businesses in the Galway area. It has a close association with Gaillimh le Gaeilge, which targets its members in order to promote the use of Irish in business. The Chamber's chief executive, Michael Coyle, outlines why he believes it is important that Irish be promoted by business in Galway:

> I suppose people in this city are very positive and passionate about the image of the city as a centre of culture and I think the Irish language more and more is being associated as a symbol of culture. I think there are people who almost seek out the opportunity to express their culture through using the Irish language. I think it's very much in keeping with their passion for Galway as a city in its own right, as a business city in its own right. They're very proud of the language and again, not being a *Gaeilgeoir* or fluent Irish speaker, I think we've all

telling them: look, in terms of economic sense for this city, and in order to develop this city, this is one of our most valuable resources. And not only is it a social and cultural resource, but we have proven that it is an *economic* resource. That was the basis for it.

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found ourselves in situations where there can be people fluent in the language who almost seek opportunities to demonstrate how fluent they are. But I've rarely if ever come across that situation in the business situation in Galway. So it's not just demonstrating how good at the language they are, it's because they *feel* it, rather than feel the need to demonstrate it. And I think it's very positive. It's also - and this may sound extraordinary - it can be, I won't say an extraordinary leveller, but an extraordinary area of common ground, where you have somebody in a very senior position in a multinational company, communicating with somebody from the Aran Islands or Conamara, from a much different socio-economic background and yet the common thread is the language, and their use of the language to each other. And it's almost an expression of respect, mutual respect. It's something that tends to almost go unnoticed, you become accustomed to it ... The point I'm making is it's not lip service to the language. It's more than that, it goes very much deeper than that and I think inherent in the use of it, I think, are words like 'respect', 'culture' and 'pride' (interview with Coyle, 2005).

Coyle is quoted at length because his comments raise a number of key points. As a leader of the Galway business community, he is a representative of the economic growth and modernisationist approach, which views wealth creation, through private business, as being of paramount importance to the city. However, because of almost twenty years' association between Gaillimh le Gaeilge and the Chamber, it is unsurprising that Coyle expresses what appear to be positive views on the Irish language. For instance, his comment that 'the Irish language more and more is being associated as a symbol of culture', and his references to 'pride' and 'respect', reflect a view that it is acceptable to promote Irish in a broad cultural sense. However, on closer inspection, his comments reveal a veiled hostility to the needs and rights of Irish speakers people in Galway City. For instance, Coyle expresses discomfort at Irish speakers, 'fluent in the language, who almost seek opportunities to demonstrate how fluent they are'. In the *business* world, however, Irish speakers simply 'feel' their language, rather than feeling 'the need to demonstrate it'. This is a good example of the economic growth and modernisationist approach, which tolerates a low level of promotion of weaker languages in broad cultural terms, but which holds that people who want to speak their own language fluently, do so simply to show off their linguistic

prowess and make others (monolingual speakers of dominant languages) feel uncomfortable. However, such an approach militates against the implementation of robust and meaningful language planning measures for Irish speakers, because that would involve the imposition of obligations. This discomfort with obligation is expressed by Coyle later in the interview, when he takes issue with Galway City Council's policy to give new housing estates Irish names only:

> I disagree with the policy of Galway City Council in respect of the imposition of Irish placenames, and the reason I disagree with it is that it's so out of keeping with how organisations like Gaillimh le Gaeilge have managed to introduce Irish to non-native speakers on a voluntary basis. I think the imposition of the 'thou must' is almost counterproductive in some ways because we've all been to the schools, particularly if you're outside the Gaeltacht area where Irish was drummed into you and the one subject which everybody hated was Irish, in the school that I went to on the east coast. It's the subtle, it's the low key, it's the level of engagement where the businesses who implement the *Gradam* - like the winners of last year's and the previous year's was the Warwick [a hotel in Salthill which won the annual Gradam Sheosaimh Uí Ógartaigh award[21]]. They actually believe it's good business to have a bilingual menu and I believe they're right (interview with Coyle, 2005).

Coyle's belief that Gaillimh le Gaeilge forced Galway City Council to introduce Irish only names on housing estates is inaccurate. Two city councillors originally objected to the plan, but ended up supporting it after the Council voted in favour of the policy (interview with Ní Chonghóile, 2005). The views of the Chamber of Commerce underline the reason why Gaillimh le Gaeilge chose an entirely optional course in its work: the business community, traditionally suspicious of Irish, would not accept anything which appeared to amount to coercion. Gaillimh le Gaeilge chose an economic carrot with which to tempt Galway businesses to use Irish, and they have been successful in this aim. However, Coyle did not refer to the economic benefits of promoting Irish (as outlined in the Ó Cinnéide and Keane report of 1988) at any stage in

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[21] 'Gradam Sheosaimh Uí Ógartaigh' is an annual award co-ordinated by Gaillimh le Gaeilge, and sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce and Galway City Council, which recognises the efforts of businesses in Galway to promote the Irish language through their work.

the interview, instead referring to the general cultural and psychological benefits which Irish brings to the city.

Ireland West Tourism

Ireland West Tourism covers Counties Galway, Mayo and Roscommon. Tourism in the region is a major industry, generating €690 million from almost 2.5 million visitors and holiday-makers in 2003 (Fáilte Ireland, 2003). There is no information available about the economic benefits to Galway City in particular, but as it is the only city in the region, it is reasonable to conclude that it earns a large percentage of the tourism income. Gaillimh le Gaeilge cites the results of a survey which revealed that 86 percent of tourists 'indicated that an experience of culture was important or very important for their visit to Galway' and that 'visitors want to experience a place that feels, looks and sounds different' (Gaillimh le Gaeilge, n.d.). This is a compelling argument for the strengthening of the Irish language in Galway City because of the tangible economic benefits accruing from tourists seeking a distinct cultural and linguistic experience. However, the chief executive of Ireland West Tourism, while ostensibly in favour of the promotion of Irish in Galway, knew little or nothing about Gaillimh le Gaeilge in general or the Celtic centre project in particular when interviewed (interview with Concannon, 2005).

In conclusion, Irish appears to influence the way in which the market interacts with society and state in Galway to achieve development. This interaction is represented by the work of Gaillimh le Gaeilge, a not-for-profit organisation funded by the state, persuading the private sector to incorporate Irish into their work. The ultimate aim of Gaillimh le Gaeilge is to consolidate the position of Irish in Galway, so the linguistic political economy of development works in a kind of virtuous circle: Irish contributing to development and that development, in turn, contributing to the normalisation of Irish. However, the lack of engagement between Gaillimh le Gaeilge and Ireland West Tourism acts as a constraint on the influence of Irish on

development in Galway City. This is partly due to Gaillimh le Gaeilge's lack of resources. Increased state or private support for Gaillimh le Gaeilge - and an updated research base - would allow the organisation to strengthen further the influence of Irish on the city's development through the world Celtic centre or through the establishment of other language-based businesses in the city. Since its inception, the work of Gaillimh le Gaeilge has contributed to the city's socio-economic development but in order for it to continue to fulfil this aim, further support is needed.

3.5   Conclusions

It can be concluded from the above that Irish appears to influence positively the socio-economic development of Galway City. Part of this occurs because of the spin-offs from state investment in the Gaeltacht a short distance to the west. However, another part of it occurs due to the efforts of Gaillimh le Gaeilge to persuade the private sector in a strongly anglicised city to integrate Irish into their work. The city centre is particular has a strong bilingual appearance. Surveys indicating that tourists to Galway seek a distinctive cultural experience support the efforts of Gaillimh le Gaeilge to enhance the city's bilingual character. However, further research is required to quantify the economic benefits for Galway of promoting Irish, particularly for a traditionally sceptical business community. Furthermore, the potential for generating considerable income from tourism is stymied by the lack of integration between the work of Gaillimh le Gaeilge and Ireland West Tourism, and by the lack of resources available to Gaillimh le Gaeilge. In a social sense too, there is a perception that the existence of Irish in Galway has positive psychological outcomes, in generating pride and a 'feel-good factor', even among non-Irish speakers. This has been achieved despite low levels of daily usage of Irish in the city.

4. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS: WEST BELFAST AND GALWAY CITY

The purpose of this chapter was to investigate empirically, in two urban settings which are not strongly Irish-speaking, the influence of Irish on Ireland's socio-economic development. Two areas were chosen, one in Northern Ireland (West Belfast) and the other in the Republic (Galway City). A detailed investigation of the research question was carried out in each area and to illustrate how the theoretical approaches to language and development outlined in Chapter Four were reflected in practice. The study was guided by the theoretical framework of a linguistic political economy of development: how Irish influences the political economy of development, the state-market-civil society interaction to achieve development.

It is concluded from the findings that Irish is understood to influence the socio-economic development of both West Belfast and Galway City, but that the link is understood in different ways in the two cases. In West Belfast, Irish is commonly viewed as a cohesive force which contributes to the *social* well-being of the community, reflecting strongly elements of the socio-cultural development position outlined in Chapter Four (with influences also from the minority language promotion approach). The evidence presented in Chapter Six from deprived areas of the Galway Gaeltacht reflects a similar view of the role of Irish in development. In both cases, Irish is viewed as an asset which can be harnessed by the community as a source of pride. Both case-studies revealed high levels of socio-economic deprivation and it can be concluded that in such situations, the *social* and *psychological* benefits of Irish are highlighted by the community. This is not to rule out the possibility of *economic* benefits linked directly to Irish being identified by these communities (for instance, employment creation based on Irish is one of the key aims of the Gaeltacht Quarter project), but there is a strong social foundation to the language-development relationship, both in terms of the

influence *on* development (language promotion in the community) and the outcome *of* development (enhanced social and cultural well-being of that community).

The influence of Irish on development in West Belfast has also been influenced by the political context. As illustrated in the case of the first parents of Bunscoil Phobal Feirste, speaking Irish or sending their children to an Irish school helped them to forge an Irish identity in the face of a hostile British state. In a more normalised political climate, the Gaeltacht Quarter project is an opportunity to use a small Irish language community to bring about the socio-economic development of a specific area. Therefore, the model being developed has implications for other areas where Irish speaking communities are in a minority.

In Galway City, the three theoretical approaches to language and development are more apparent, reflecting the very different political context. Support for the Irish language has been part of the policy of the Irish state for decades, and therefore inhabitants of Galway do not have to assert their linguistic identity in *opposition* to government hostility. There is less need to rally around Irish as a unifying force for cohesion in the community. Therefore, in Galway, the modernisationist approach is apparent in the comments of the director of the Chamber of Commerce, who expressed only very conditional support for the promotion of Irish. Similarly, the very broad socio-cultural approach of the City Council and City Development Board reveals the limitations of their support for Irish. However, the work of Gaillimh le Gaeilge has been successful in persuading a sceptical business community to promote Irish and it was this *economic* aspect of the influence of Irish, more than any other, which was identified by many participants. Similar to the Gaeltacht Quarter, Gaillimh le Gaeilge contains the potential to strengthen considerably the influence of Irish on socio-economic development in Galway City through, for instance, the establishment of closer alliances with the tourism industry and with community groups promoting Irish in the city.

Although Galway is influenced linguistically by the Conamara Gaeltacht, the city is another example of how even a weak Irish language community can be harnessed, using targetted initiatives, for developmental ends.

Both case-studies can be understood in the framework of a linguistic political economy of development. In West Belfast, an historically conflictual relationship between the community and the state, based on Irish, created much of the present Irish language infrastructure, including a small number of language-based industries. The present period is marked by greater integration of state, civil society and market in the nascent Gaeltacht Quarter project. In Galway, Gaillimh le Gaeilge links state, civil society and market on the basis of Irish, and with the aim of consolidating it. Both projects contain the potential to strengthen considerably the influence of Irish on development, but are constrained by lack of resources.

So far, both Gaeltacht areas and urban settings where Irish is not dominant have been examined in this dissertation. The final chapter draws again on all of the case-studies, in the light of the theory, and considers how the findings from them contribute to the investigation of the research question: does the promotion of the Irish language contribute positively to Ireland's socio-economic development? The chapter also considers the significance and replicability of the findings, examines the implications for policy and suggests future research directions.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSIONS

1. INTRODUCTION

The final chapter restates the research question, reviews the methodology used to investigate and answer it, and presents and discusses the findings of the research. It considers their significance and their replicability. Finally, the implications for policy of the study's findings are discussed, and possibilities for further research suggested.

2. REVIEW OF RESEARCH QUESTION

The principal objective of this study has been to investigate and answer the following research question: does the promotion of Irish positively influence Ireland's socio-economic development? This question was based on a tradition of understanding of the link between the Irish language and Ireland's socio-economic development, stretching back at least 150 years. Numerous authors during this period posited that promoting Irish is not solely about re-establishing the language as a means of communication, but that it has broader social, cultural and economic benefits for Irish society as a whole. In their view, the promotion of Irish has influenced positively a range of factors such as identity, self-confidence, national self-sufficiency, strength of character, participative citizenship, cohesion, innovation and social and economic success. These contributions were considered in detail in Chapter Three. The principal objective of this study, therefore, was to interrogate the tradition represented by these authors and to provide answers to the research question which arises from that tradition. Several secondary objectives emerged from the principal one. They were summarised as series of questions: What are the various theoretical approaches to the link between language and development? How does the Irish language influence the

political economy of development in the Gaeltacht and in other areas where Irish is no longer the dominant language? Is there a difference between the link in both cases?

3. REVIEW OF METHODOLOGY

There were two principal aspects to the methodology used in this study: the elaboration of a theoretical framework and the use of case-studies. Because of the interdisciplinary nature of the research question, it was necessary (in Chapter Four) to review theoretical contributions from a range of disciplines: economics, sociology, political economy, development studies and sociolinguistics. It was found that none of these bodies of theory in isolation was in itself adequate to guide an investigation of the influence of the Irish language on Ireland's socio-economic development. Therefore, a typology of approaches to language and development was elaborated, in order to assess the suitability of each approach to guide understanding of the inter-relationship. The three over-arching approaches identified were: the minority language promotion approach; the socio-cultural development approach; and the economic growth and modernisation approach. Following a consideration of the strengths and weaknesses of each approach in aiding investigation of the research question, it was concluded that a combination of insights from both the minority language promotion and socio-cultural development approaches were the most appropriate to investigate the research question. This theoretical framework was called a *linguistic political economy of development*: the ways in which language influence the political economy of development, the interaction of state, civil society and market which achieves developmental outcomes. The linguistic political economy of development was used here for the first time and represents an innovative and original contribution to the theoretical literature and to the Irish case. This framework guided the remainder of the study, an empirical investigation through the use of case-studies. The role of case-studies in the study was to investigate the research question by comparing contrasting cases of

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understandings of the relationship between language and development in practice, and contrasting outcomes achieved. Interviews with key participants and document analysis were the principal methods of data collection used.

In general, the case-studies aided investigation of the research question, by providing empirical evidence of understandings of the language-development link in practice. However, the identification of key participants as primary sources of information may have limited the scope of the investigation, as there is a possibility that the selection of participants was influenced by personal bias. Using a quantitative methodology, random surveying of a larger sample of the local population in order to enquire about understandings of the language-development link may have strengthened the investigation. The case-studies also highlighted a limitation of the typology of approaches to language and development, because the lines between the minority language and socio-cultural development approaches were frequently blurred in practice. It was not always possible to categorise a participant with certainty. A broader typology of approaches may have facilitated a more precise classification.

4. FINDINGS OF RESEARCH

The findings of this dissertation may be summarised as follows:

(1) Following the investigation of the research question through the elaboration of the theoretical framework and the series of case-studies, it is concluded that the promotion of Irish appears to positively influence Ireland's socio-economic development. It grounds the assertions of the historical authors in theory, and uses theory to guide the empirical investigation. However, several qualifications of this answer are required.

(2) In all of the case-studies, it was concluded that Irish was perceived to either *indirectly* or *directly* influence the socio-economic development of each *area in question*, although the nature and strength of the influence varied from place to place. Several case-studies dealt with the Gaeltacht, the last remaining physically-defined territories containing relatively high concentrations of habitual Irish speakers. One such *indirect* influence occurs in these areas due to their status as officially Irish speaking, leading to a series of state interventions which would not normally apply. Such an influence is predominantly *economic*, and usually represented by increased employment creation due to investment by Údarás na Gaeltachta or increased infrastructural investment by the Department of Community, Rural and Gaeltacht Affairs. The level of employment creation is often substantial, as illustrated by the examples of Múscraí and South Conamara in particular. However, as discussed in Chapter Seven, recent changes in the policy of Údarás na Gaeltachta have led Irish to exert a more *direct* influence (as yet largely unquantified) on the development of the Gaeltacht, through the deliberate exploitation of the language itself for the purpose of employment creation and for supporting community initiatives which contribute to social well-being. Despite its complicated linguistic reality, the special status of the Gaeltacht has brought very positive *economic* results to the areas in question in the past, and such status (if maintained by the state) will continue to create both *economic* and *social* benefits in the future. Another *indirect* and largely *social* and *cultural* influence of Irish apparent in the Gaeltacht case-studies was the perception by participants that Irish was a resource which contributed to self-confidence and social well-being and which could be harnessed for community development.

(3) The study revealed that South Conamara is the area where the influence of Irish on development is strongest. The presence of a large concentration of habitual speakers of Irish and of several language institutions was shown to have brought significant social and economic

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benefits to the area, more than the other Gaeltacht communities discussed. This suggests that there is a link between the *intensity* of the influence of Irish on development and the existence of a large, strongly Irish-speaking community.

(4) The strength of the influence of Irish on the development of South Conamara prompts the question: what benefits accrue to the vast majority of communities throughout Ireland where Irish is *not* the dominant language? The national sociolinguistic context of Irish has been explained in detail in Chapter Two and alluded to again in Chapters Four and Six. The census figures reveal that only a very small number of areas within the official Gaeltacht (mostly in counties Galway and Donegal and, to a lesser extent, Kerry) contain high concentrations of habitual Irish speakers. Most of the official Gaeltacht contains low percentages of daily speakers, closer to the national average (about 10 percent). However, the census figures also reveal that a large minority of people in the Republic (about 42 percent) have *some* knowledge of Irish, due to its central position as a core subject in the education system. Furthermore, there is strong support for Irish as a symbol of cultural identity (60-75 percent) and for the promotion of it by the state (about 70 percent). Therefore, separating 'Gaeltacht' from 'Galltacht' is a false dichotomy, because the entire state is in essence a 'Breac-Ghaeltacht', where Irish is used frequently by a minority through networks and supported passively and symbolically by a majority, most of whom have some knowledge of the language. It follows from this that the findings of the weaker Gaeltacht and urban communities discussed in this study are relevant for the Republic of Ireland as a whole, because there is very little difference between levels of usage of Irish in both areas (this issue is discussed at greater length at 6 below).

(5) Therefore, what is the precise nature of the influence of Irish in areas where it is not a dominant community language? In the case-study of

West Belfast, it was concluded that Irish was understood to *indirectly* influence *social* development (in this case, urban renewal and social well-being) by acting as a resource which could be harnessed by a strongly supportive community. More recently, it was perceived that Irish had begun to *directly* influence *economic* development through the creation of (albeit limited) employment opportunities linked to it. This was achieved despite the very weak demographic base of Irish in the area. The applicability of the West Belfast study to other situations in Ireland is limited by the unique political circumstances surrounding the revival of Irish in Belfast and the strong association in Northern Ireland of the Irish language with the assertion of nationalist cultural identity. Such conditions do not apply in the Republic, although it is reasonable to conclude that the example of West Belfast could be applied to any nationalist area of Northern Ireland where support for Irish is widespread (although knowledge of the language is weaker than in the Republic). However, the study of West Belfast reveals how a weak linguistic community can nonetheless exert an influence on development when language is identified as a resource which can be exploited.

(6) In this sense, West Belfast is similar to Galway City, where low levels of habitual speakers of Irish have not prevented targetted initiatives from linking the promotion of Irish to the city's socio-economic development. In Galway City, the influence of Irish appears to be both *indirect* (through its role as a source of cultural pride for inhabitants of the city) and *direct* (through the creation of employment and income due to its use in business). A limitation of the Galway study may be the city's location next to a large Gaeltacht area. However, the declining linguistic difference between Gaeltacht and non-Gaeltacht reduces this limitation. Therefore, there is no reason why the initiatives to consolidate the Irish language in any of the areas which are weak linguistically could not be replicated in other, similar areas. Indeed, such initiatives have been undertaken and

continue to be undertaken in some areas,[1] due to the existing national infrastructure of voluntary Irish language organisations and the support of state bodies for language promotion. It was beyond the scope of this study to investigate these initiatives in detail, but existing research emphasises the *social* and *psychological* benefits enjoyed by the largely English-speaking communities which have participated in such initiatives to support Irish at local level (Fishman, 1991: 129-135; Ó Murchú, 2003; Donoghue, 2004; interview with Ní Annracháin, 2004). This links back to the claims of the historical authors that promoting Irish brought largely *social* and *cultural* benefits, and to the socio-cultural theories outlined in Chapter Four. The examples of Galway City, West Belfast, the weaker Gaeltacht areas and the other urban and rural initiatives outside the Gaeltacht not discussed in this study illustrate that Irish can be recognised and harnessed as a resource for development *throughout the country* (with the obvious exceptions of parts of Northern Ireland), because there is widespread public knowledge (albeit mostly passive) of Irish and support for its promotion. It is important to point out that were it not for such knowledge and support, the influence of Irish on the development of the *country* would be greatly reduced. As argued by Fishman, most minority languages are 'the receding languages of minority ethnic groups, i.e. languages of ethnocultural groups that are of a different ethnodemographic origin than is the mainstream of the country in which they reside' (1991: 135). This is not the case in Ireland, and the language's status as the *national* language facilitates its adoption as a symbol of national identity, even if levels of active usage remain low.

(7) The difference between the influence of Irish on development in the largely English-speaking areas and the small number of strongly Irish-

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[1] Examples of recent and current projects in mostly English-speaking areas of the Republic are: Tipperary (Tiobraid Árann ag Labhairt); Cork (Gael-Taca); Waterford (Port Láirge le Gaolainn); Clare (An Clár as Gaeilge); Carlow (Ceatharlach as Gaeilge); Kildare (Cill Dara le Gaeilge) and Mayo (Glór Mhaigh Eo). For more information, see Ó Murchú, H., 2003 and Ó Flatharta, 2004. Glór na nGael, which organises national Irish language competitions, also operates throughout the country through a network of branches (Glór na nGael, 2003).

speaking Gaeltacht areas is that there are fewer employment opportunities based on Irish (directly economic influences) in the former due to the smaller numbers of habitual speakers. Therefore, the influence of Irish on the strongly Irish-speaking Gaeltacht appears to be both *economic* and *social*, whereas it is largely *social* elsewhere in the country. This does not preclude the possibility in the future of developing targetted language-based employment opportunities *outside* the Gaeltacht through, for instance, language support services in areas which Irish-medium schools (gaelscoileanna) are located (see section 6 below). In conclusion, the linguistic political economy of development can be applied to any area of Ireland, because it recognises (a) that development is a holistic process encompassing social, cultural and economic elements and (b) that Irish speakers may be spatially concentrated *or* scattered. Due to its cognisance of language planning initiatives (see Chapter Four), the linguistic political economy of development also draws attention to the need for different types of language planning measures in these different sociolinguistic contexts.

(8) As stated in the section on methodology in Chapter One, this study is rooted in the qualitative paradigm, and uses semi-structured interviews to investigate understandings of the influence of the promotion of Irish on Ireland's socio-economic development. Because of its qualitative approach, the study is not concerned proving or disproving causal relationships between variables. Therefore, it does not seek to establish, using quantitative techniques, that there is a linear, causal link between the promotion of Irish and Ireland's socio-economic development. Rather, inspired by the contributions of the historical authors surveyed in Chapter Three, it seeks to investigate and understand the influence of the promotion of Irish on Ireland's socio-economic development, through examining the ways in which key participants understand this link. This emphasis on meanings and interpretations is central to qualitative research (Maykut & Morehouse, 1994: 7-24). Therefore, in terms of the decisiveness of the findings of this study, it is more appropriate to speak

of the suggestion of a link between the variables, rather than to claim proof of a causal relationship between them. This is not to diminish the study's findings, but rather to ensure that the claims being made in its findings are appropriate to the nature of the study itself, given its roots in the qualitative paradigm.

(9) Another key finding of this study is the insight which it provides into the nature of the dominant concept of development in Ireland. According to this view, economic growth, competitiveness and the provision of physical infrastructure, particularly housing stock, constitute development. This view is held frequently by state actors in both local and central government, as revealed by the case-studies. It is dominant in the Republic's *National Development Plan 2000-2006* (see (10) below and Walsh, 2004a). This reflects the strong influence of the economic growth and modernisation approach on Ireland (see Chapter Four). The dominance of the economic growth and modernisationist view has implications both for development policy and policy on the Irish language. It precludes broader definitions of development which emphasise social or cultural factors and prioritises the economic. Therefore, it overlooks the contribution to *social well-being* of the many voluntary language-based projects described in this study. It offers little sympathy towards the Irish language or understanding of it. In fact, it has had extremely damaging consequences to Irish in the Gaeltacht. Nowhere is this more clearly illustrated than in the policies of local government to allow uncontrolled housing 'development' in the Gaeltacht, thereby favouring market forces over other factors. There is evidence of a gap in understanding between those social groups attempting to protect the Gaeltacht linguistically from the effects of such housing and large sections of local or national government or the private 'developers' whom they have favoured. Although the Official Languages Act obliges all public bodies to improve their services in Irish, it will arguably take decades to develop an awareness of bilingualism in what have long been overwhelmingly

monolingual organisations. As illustrated in Chapter Seven, the dominant approach has also been to the fore in the policies of the state agency which was established to develop the Gaeltacht, Údarás na Gaeltachta. Although Údarás is now reviewing its policies, it has been until very recently a quintessentially growth-led and modernisationist organisation, and it is too early to re-categorise it. It has shown signs of adopting elements of the minority language promotion approach, but substantial movement in that direction has not yet come about.

(10) It follows from the above that there is an urgent need in Ireland to make development more holistic and amenable to language. The existing concept of 'development' needs to be rescued from the 'developers', as recent planning controversies, in the Gaeltacht and elsewhere, have revealed (Reid, 2005; Newman, 2005). The linguistic political economy of development contributes to broadening this concept, by considering the interaction of language with a complex web of social, cultural and economic factors. Furthermore, making the concept of development more holistic and more inclusive of economic, social, cultural and linguistic aspects of a community's life increases the possibility that such a community will engage more closely with the meaning, process and outcome of development. A reconceptualisation of development which considers language could contribute to enhancing and expanding the range of human *capabilities*, as envisaged by theorists such as Sen (see Chapter Four) and contribute to a more participative process where communities take control of their *own* development, rather than being guided by an external model inappropriate to their particular circumstances.

(11) In Ireland, language planning and socio-economic development policies have been pursued in complete isolation from each other. Examples of this are the recent major policy documents on development, the *National Spatial Strategy* (NSS) and the *National Development Plan*

(NDP), neither of which contains more than scant references to language, culture or the Gaeltacht.[2] Information obtained under Freedom of Information (FOI) legislation reveals that discussion of these issues was extremely marginal to the consultation process.[3] This is unsurprising, given the fact that the Irish language voluntary sector is excluded from the structure of National Partnership which has since the 1980s been recognised by the government as a central tenet of socio-economic development. In 1996, community and voluntary organisations were invited to take part as a fourth partner, thereby opening up valuable communication channels with government for this sector. However, as illustrated recently by Ó Murchú (2003), the Irish language voluntary sector is not included in this fourth partner with the state. It is similarly excluded from the Community and Voluntary Pillar established under the national pay agreements, *Partnership 2000* and the *Programme for Prosperity and Fairness* (Government of Ireland: 2001) and is not linked to the structure of local partnerships for socio-economic development in deprived regions. Similarly, there is no formal link between the Irish language sector and institutions such as the National Economic and Social Council, the National Economic and Social Forum, and the voluntary umbrella body, WHEEL (Ó Murchú, 2003b: 1-4). The Irish language sector was not, and is not involved in these important structures through which national socio-economic development is planned. It did not seek an active role for itself, and it appeared that the State did not consider it relevant to the processes being planned (Ó Murchú, 2003: 3). Furthermore, a survey of key national policy documents on development and entrepreneurship reveals a striking paucity of submissions from semi-

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[2] There are very few references to the Irish language in either the NDP or NSS. It is stated that 0.4 percent of the overall expenditure of €59.6 billion will be spent in the Gaeltacht, and that such expenditure will be 'aimed at increasing the competitiveness of existing Gaeltacht industry' (Government of Ireland, 1999: 137). This is in keeping with the NDP's emphasis on economic growth as the principal index of development (see the NDP's objectives at pages 5 & 33). The NSS refers to the Gaeltacht as an example of 'rural areas with particular cultural identities' (Government of Ireland, 2002: 52). Neither document refers to Irish in the country as a whole.
[3] FOI request received from DCRGA, 4 November, 2003.

state bodies charged with implementing language policy (Walsh & Ní Bhrádaigh, 2004). This underlines the need for greater integration between language planning and development policy (see section 6 below).

(12)   Another conclusion which can be drawn from this study is that, even among those who work in the realm of community development, there is little critical engagement with what the process means or what it should lead to. This is not to say that the participants interviewed did not reflect aspects of each of the three approaches outlined in Chapter Four. All three approaches were apparent, although the distinctions were often blurred (see 3 above). However, of all the participants engaged in aspects of development in practice, only one (Mallaghan) was capable of stating *clearly* what she viewed as the desired outcomes of the development process. One former co-operative manager complained that a combination of poor funding and an excessively broad range of responsibilities made it difficult to maintain a clear focus on what was meant by 'development' and that narrow short-terms goals frequently clouded the broader long-term objectives (interview with Ní Dhíreáin, 2004). This raises questions for educators and for academic researchers alike (see section 6 below).

(13)   The final conclusion relates to the theoretical framework, the linguistic political economy of development. As stated earlier, the framework is an innovative and original contribution to the study. However, it has also proved very useful in guiding investigation of the inter-relationship of variables whose meanings are frequently contested. For instance, use of the framework drew out the tensions between the competing approaches to development, and facilitated consideration of the influence of Irish on the interplay of a wide range of stakeholders from state, market and civil society. However, as stated in Chapter Six, the linguistic political economy of development also contains a cyclical dimension, whereby Irish is understood to influence the state-civil society-market nexus and in turn, is

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itself consolidated by the synergies which emerge from those inter-relationships. This dimension pre-supposes a broader concept of development which recognises the role of language and which, in turn, benefits the community of speakers in a more meaningful way than the current dominant model.

5. SIGNIFICANCE AND REPLICABILITY OF FINDINGS

The principal significance of this research is that it addresses the gap in existing knowledge about the precise influence of the Irish language on Ireland's socio-economic development. This it achieves by grounding in theory the general assertions of historical writers that promoting Irish contributed to national development. Furthermore, it investigates empirically the relationship between language and development in a variety of settings, most of which are similar linguistically to the majority of the country. As stated above, another significant factor is the theoretical framework, the linguistic political economy of development, because it goes further than any single existing body of theory in guiding investigation of the language-development link. No other study has to date considered the ways in which Irish influences the state-market-civil society nexus and the developmental outcomes which emerge from it. Furthermore, the study is innovative and original because it argues against conventional views of minority languages and development and presents a new framework for interpreting the relationship between the two variables. In a more general sense, the study presents detailed developmental profiles of a number of areas and links them to the use of the Irish language. This is further evidence of the work's originality as such profiles have not before been compiled. The study also engages with the current sociolinguistic state of the Irish language (in terms of its legal status, community of speakers, institutional support and use in certain domains). Such background information, while of secondary

importance compared to the research question, is not available from any single source.[4]

The methods used to examine the Irish situation are replicable in other situations of language shift and language displacement. The linguistic political economy of development could also be applied to other minority language situations in order to investigate the influence of a specific language on the state-market-society interplay. Because Irish is rapidly becoming a language of social networks and is ceasing to be the language of a clustered geographical community, it may be particularly fruitful to carry out this research in similar linguistic situations in other countries. Obvious adjacent examples are the Welsh language in Wales and the Basque language in the north of Spain and south of France (Eusko Jaurlaritza, 1999; Welsh Assembly Government, 2003). Irish is unusual internationally because it is both the *national* and *official* language (along with English) of a sovereign state and a *minoritised* language both in that state (Republic of Ireland) and in another state (United Kingdom) which was traditionally hostile to it. However, there are similarities between Irish and both Welsh and Basque because the latter are acquired through the education system by second language speakers outside the languages' geographical heartlands (notwithstanding the obvious difference that neither country is independent). Another comparison is the case of French *outside* Québec in Canada. Due to the country's official bilingual character, French is a national language (along with English) and is known by a minority throughout Canada due to the education system, but it is not spoken widely outside certain core geographical areas (interview with Cardinal, 2004).

Because the theoretical framework is embedded in theories of *minority* language promotion, it would not be suitable for guiding investigation of the

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[4] A comprehensive overview is provided by Ó Murchú, H. and Ó Murchú, M., (1999), but it has been superceded by the many legislative developments of recent years (see Chapter Two).

influence of a *dominant* language on socio-economic development. Such an influence is not usually contested and is taken for granted. However, as outlined in Chapter Four, *minority* languages have long been viewed through the dominant lens of modernisation and depicted as *impediments* to development, rather than contributors to it. Therefore, this theoretical approach goes some way towards providing a philosophical base for ongoing efforts to consolidate the Irish language in Ireland, one of the questions prompted by Professor Lee's comments (see Chapters One and Three).

6. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICY

Several aspects of policy in relation both to development and to the Irish language have been alluded to in the course of this study. This section makes specific recommendations for policy in both areas, based on the findings of the research.

Because the study has established a link between promoting the Irish language and Ireland's socio-economic development, it is appropriate to recommend granting the language a more central role in development policy. At a conceptual level, this involves broadening the concept of development itself. The academic community has a central role to play in presenting new frameworks for interpreting development, and in contributing to a national debate about what development means. This requires input both from social scientists and from Irish language scholars. However, to date, both groups have by and large ignored the issues investigated in this study. For instance, no Irish university has invested significant resources in the study of sociolinguistics and there are only a handful of professional sociolinguists in the country. A more critical engagement by Irish academia with these questions could begin to redress the balance. The establishment of a variety of courses in, for instance, language planning and community development would provide practitioners with the conceptual and practical tools required to

link both variables on the ground. A common complaint from participants was that such a training structure did not exist.[5]

At a practical level, the reconceptualisation of development demands closer co-operation between agencies charged with promoting the Irish language and those dealing with development. A starting point could be the identification of various stakeholder organisations in both fields: the state and voluntary Irish language sector; the co-operative and community development sector; local authorities; health boards; county development boards; government departments; Area Development Management (the structure of local area partnerships); Enterprise Ireland; Shannon Development; Forfás; Western Development Commission and so on. A new national co-ordinating structure could be established, linking such language and development bodies at local, regional and national level. Such a structure should be formally constituted in order to increase its political weight.

Acknowledging the role of Irish in development should also result in greatly strengthened protection for the Gaeltacht in local authority development plans. As well as restricting uncontrolled housing which could threaten the linguistic specificity of the Gaeltacht, this would also involve recognising the linguistic capacity of each community, whether strongly Irish speaking or not.

Employment creation based directly on the Irish language has been limited to date. However, given the strong public support for Irish, there is no reason why a formalised national structure of adult education in the language, including the provision of teaching resources, the training of qualified teachers and the establishment of language learning centres could not generate significant employment, as well as harnessing the potential

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[5] Several academic courses in various aspects of community development are available (for instance, in University College Dublin; NUI Maynooth; NUI Galway; University College Cork; Tipperary Rural Institute). However, there is no reference to the Irish language on any of these courses.

psychological benefits of learning or re-learning Irish. No such structure exists at present and existing efforts are not usually co-ordinated. Further economic and social opportunities could emerge from a co-ordinated national structure of micro-level Irish language initiatives. Although several such initiatives are being conducted at present throughout the country, there is no co-ordination between them, or no over-arching plan for their future development. There is no structure similar to the *Mentrau Iaith* ('language ventures') in Wales, local Welsh language 'one-stop-shops' providing various services (Campbell, 2000; Williams, C.H., 2000).[6] This brings attention to the importance, particularly in largely English-speaking areas, of centres dedicated to the Irish language. Such physical spaces are needed in every threatened language community as points of reference and in order to ensure that the language has a visible presence in the area. 'Family support centres', aimed at supporting Irish speakers who wish to raise their children through Irish, have been suggested for the Gaeltacht (Mac Donnacha, Ní Labhradha & Ní Ghriallais, 2004). An urban example is Cultúrlann McAdam-Ó Fiaich in West Belfast (see Chapter Eight). There is no reason why similar centres could not be established elsewhere outside the Gaeltacht, as is the case with the Welsh *Mentrau Iaith*.

As stated at 4 above, the example of Gaillimh le Gaeilge illustrates how Irish can contribute to economic development in an urban setting where the community of speakers is small and scattered. The example could be replicated in other mostly English-speaking towns throughout the country. In 2005, Foras na Gaeilge announced a new scheme to support businesses willing to use Irish in advertising and signage (communication with Ní Ghréacháin, 2005). Such a scheme is welcome and could be used as the basis for new projects similar to Gaillimh le Gaeilge. It could also be linked to the establishment of a structure similar to *Mentrau Iaith*.

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[6] The closest Irish equivalent is the national Glór na nGael Irish language competition. However, Glór na nGael relies largely on voluntary effort at local level. *Mentrau Iaith* are more formally constituted.

Some of the above elements are already in place, but their impact is severely weakened by the absence of a national plan for Irish, setting out clear targets and ensuring that various language planning initiatives are co-ordinated and their effectiveness constantly monitored. The absence of such a plan is a very serious weakness in national language policy and means that the full contribution of the Irish language to Ireland's development is not being exploited (Walsh, 2005b). The final section considers future research possibilities which stem from this study. Many have been alluded to already in the findings and recommendations.

7. FUTURE RESEARCH DIRECTIONS

Several other research projects arise from this dissertation. The influence of Irish on individual aspects of development (social, economic, cultural), rather than on development as a whole, could be examined. For instance, using a quantitative methodology, a study could be undertaken to investigate the precise contribution to *economic* development which Irish makes in towns neighbouring Gaeltacht communities, similar to the Ó Cinnéide and Keane report which provided much of the rationale for Gaillimh le Gaeilge. A study could be made of the influence of the 64,000 daily speakers of Irish returned for Dublin on the *social* aspects of that city's development, or of groups of Irish speakers in any town or city in the country.

Further research could also be carried out on the *reverse* influence of development on the Irish language. This has been mentioned in passing in parts of the study, for instance, in the discussion of the perceived deleterious effects of uncontrolled planning on the Gaeltacht. More detailed research of the effects of planning could be carried out, as could an investigation into the precise influence of industrialisation on the strength of Irish in the Gaeltacht. As stated in Chapter Six, although industrialisation is frequently blamed for

advancing anglicisation, there is no contemporary research to substantiate this claim.

This research could be repeated in other areas of Ireland where local Irish language projects have been undertaken in the past or are currently being conducted (see 4 above). This would allow more detailed consideration of the *precise* influence (economic, social, cultural, psychological) of promoting Irish in a variety of settings *other* than those examined in this dissertation. Different methodologies could be used for these studies, for instance random surveying of population samples, through focus groups with certain sectors of society (private industry, young people, community groups), or through a combination of the above.

This study also underlines the need for models of integrated sociolinguistic area planning, in order to guide *in a practical way* future efforts to integrate Irish with socio-economic development. A rolling programme of action research is required to develop models which could then be adapted for different areas according to their socio-economic profiles and linguistic vitality. It would be challenging and potentially rewarding work to develop plans for areas as diverse as a deprived housing estate in Derry, a strongly Irish-speaking rural community in west Kerry, an affluent suburb of Dublin, Cork's inner city and a 'post-Gaeltacht' community in west Clare where Irish was still a community language up to 50 years ago. Another programme of action research could be undertaken to develop a national micro-level language planning structure similar to the *Mentrau Iaith* in Wales.

As stated at 4 above, one of the key findings of this study was the inadequacy of the dominant concept of development in Ireland for acknowledging the role that the Irish language has to play in that development. It was argued that a reconceptualisation of development was urgently needed in order to make it more holistic and amenable to integration with language. It is hoped that the findings of this study can contribute to

such a reconceptualisation. Broadening the meaning of development in this way could strengthen considerably public attitudes towards Irish and allow its rich potential as a unique national resource to be exploited in earnest by all.

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List of Constitutions, Statutes, Statutory Instruments, EC Treaties and Legislation, and International Treaties and Conventions

Constitution

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Legislation (Ireland)

British-Irish Agreement Act, 1999
Gaeltacht Industries (Amendment) Act, 1965
Gaeltacht Industries Act, 1957
Housing (Gaeltacht) Act, 1929
Housing (Gaeltacht) Amendment Act, 2001
Ministers and Secretaries (Amendment) Act, 1956
Official Languages Act, 2003
Planning and Development Act, 2000
Planning and Development Acts, 1963-1999
Údarás na Gaeltachta Act, 1979
University College, Galway Act, 1929

Statutory Instruments (Ireland)

Gaeltacht Areas Order, 1956
Gaeltacht Areas Order, 1967
Gaeltacht Areas Order, 1974
Gaeltacht Areas Order, 1982
Local Offices and Employments (Gaeltacht) Order, 1928
Placenames (Ceantair Ghaeltachta) Order, 2004

All Irish legislation available at: http://www.irishstatutebook.ie

International Treaties and Conventions

Agreement between the Government of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and the Government of Ireland ['Belfast Agreement'], 1998
European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, 1992 (CETS No: 148). Available at: http://conventions.coe.int/Treaty/Commun/ChercheSig.asp?NT=148&CM=8&DF=3/17/05&CL=ENG (read 3 March 2005)

BELFAST AGREEMENT, 1998

SECTION 6: RIGHTS, SAFEGUARDS AND EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY

Economic, Social and Cultural Issues

1. Pending the devolution of powers to a new Northern Ireland Assembly, the British Government will pursue broad policies for sustained economic growth and stability in Northern Ireland and for promoting social inclusion, including in particular community development and the advancement of women in public life.
2. Subject to the public consultation currently under way, the British Government will make rapid progress with:

    i.   a new regional development strategy for Northern Ireland, for consideration in due course by a the Assembly, tackling the problems of a divided society and social cohesion in urban, rural and border areas, protecting and enhancing the environment, producing new approaches to transport issues, strengthening the physical infrastructure of the region, developing the advantages and resources of rural areas and rejuvenating major urban centres;

    ii. a new economic development strategy for Northern Ireland, for consideration in due course by a the Assembly, which would provide for short and medium term economic planning linked as appropriate to the regional development strategy; and

    iii. measures on employment equality included in the recent White Paper ("Partnership for Equality") and covering the extension and strengthening of anti-discrimination legislation, a review of the national security aspects of the present fair employment legislation at the earliest possible time, a new more focused Targeting Social Need initiative and a range of measures aimed at combating unemployment and progressively eliminating the differential in unemployment rates between the two communities by targeting objective need.

3. All participants recognise the importance of respect, understanding and tolerance in relation to linguistic diversity, including in Northern Ireland, the Irish language, Ulster-Scots and the languages of the various ethnic communities, all of which are part of the cultural wealth of the island of Ireland.

4. In the context of active consideration currently being given to the UK signing the Council of Europe Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, the British Government will in particular in relation to the Irish language, where appropriate and where people so desire it:

    - take resolute action to promote the language;
    - facilitate and encourage the use of the language in speech and writing in public and private life where there is appropriate demand;
    - seek to remove, where possible, restrictions which would discourage or work against the maintenance or development of the language;
    - make provision for liaising with the Irish language community, representing their views to public authorities and investigating complaints;
    - place a statutory duty on the Department of Education to encourage and facilitate Irish medium education in line with current provision for integrated education;

- explore urgently with the relevant British authorities, and in co-operation with the Irish broadcasting authorities, the scope for achieving more widespread availability of Teilifís na Gaeilige (sic) in Northern Ireland
- seek more effective ways to encourage and provide more financial support for Irish language film and television production in Northern Ireland; and
- encourage the parties to secure agreement that this commitment will be sustained by a new Assembly in a way which takes account of the desires and sensitivities of the community.

5. All participants acknowledge the sensitivity of the use of symbols and emblems for public purposes, and the need in particular in creating the new institutions to ensure that such symbols and emblems are used in a manner which promotes mutual respect rather than division. Arrangements will be made to monitor this issue and consider what action might be required.