Multilingualism in Dublin
LUCIDE city report

LANGUAGES IN URBAN COMMUNITIES INTEGRATION AND DIVERSITY FOR EUROPE

LUCIDE

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1. Introduction

This report focuses on societal multilingualism and individual plurilingualism in the city of Dublin. It is not that multilingualism and plurilingualism do not exist elsewhere – the Irish language, for instance, is spoken along the west coast and in other areas of Ireland, and most rural areas of Ireland are now affected by mobility and migration. Yet Dublin is a concentration of many different languages that both drives and is driven by social and cultural change. In accordance with the Irish constitution, Irish-English bilingualism is visible on city signage; English is the dominant language of city life and, at the same time, the global lingua franca that claims speakers from a range of backgrounds; and inward migration has led to the dramatic linguistic and cultural diversification of the city as a whole.

Across Europe, cities are beacons of linguistic diversification essentially because migrants (internal and external) are attracted to what cities offer, and so they become places where multiple communities gather, work, live and celebrate. As Europe becomes increasingly urbanized and culturally diverse, its cities are important in studies on multilingualism for a number of reasons:

- Cities are living examples (even laboratories) of what can be, and how diverse communities interrelate and create;

- Cities are places where the constraints of national policies and national discourse can be modified or overcome;

- Cities are places where local policy discourse can be shaped more easily.

From these perspectives, cities are therefore 'beyond the nation'. And this is not simply a European phenomenon: Bruce Katz and Jennifer Bradley (2013) argue that in the USA, its multi-ethnic, complex and globally connected cities – rather than federal states or the 'republic' – will be its powerhouses in the 21st century. They write, "In a world in which people live, operate, communicate and engage through networks, [cities] have emerged as the über-network: interlinked firms, institutions, and individuals working together across sectors, disciplines, jurisdictions, artificial political borders, and, yes, even political parties" (ibid., p. 4). The city is thus the locus for multilingualism and plurilingualism in all its functions (learning and communication) and in all its sites (institutional, commercial, educational, governmental and private).

The LUCIDE network represents cities where many language communities have traditionally coexisted (e.g. London, Hamburg) as well as places, such as Dublin, where such linguistic diversity is relatively new to the city. Research in the context of Dublin presents a rich opportunity to bring together policymakers and policy users, theoreticians and practitioners, as stakeholders in the multilingual city. Based on a series of interviews with these stakeholders, as well as analyses of pertinent secondary data, this report describes how multilingual Dublin looks, sounds and functions in the early 21st century. To date, there has been little research on language diversity in the city of Dublin. When we consider the sustained period of inward migration since the 1990s, recent developments in Irish language policy, and the positioning of English as the global language, this report on multilingual Dublin is both timely and important. It aims to highlight some of the best practices that take place in the promotion of multilingualism, as well as to address the issues and challenges that the city faces in accommodating a plurilingual population. As the city constitutes a number of spheres and networks, this report takes a broad approach in considering *inter alia* multilingual classrooms, businesses, public services, celebrations and urban signage. We make no claim, however, that our findings are in any way exhaustive or generalisable. By providing a snapshot of multilingual Dublin, we aim to develop ideas on how to manage this diverse urban community. This will be a continuing and dynamic process with city stakeholders and language users and learners.

In defining what we understand to be 'multilingualism', the distinction drawn by the work of the Council of Europe (Beacco, 2007) is helpful. We therefore employ the terms 'multilingualism' and 'plurilingualism' to distinguish between societal and individual multilingualism. Multilingualism refers to *societal* multilingualism: the co-existence of many languages, for the purposes of this study, within a city. Plurilingualism refers to an individual's repertoire of languages, or "the capacity of individuals to use more than one language in social communication whatever their command of those languages" (Beacco, 2007, p. 19).

2. Short history of language diversity in Dublin

Ireland has historically been a country of emigration, rather than immigration, with patterns of population outflows both in colonial (especially during the Great Famine, 1845-1852) and postcolonial times to Britain, North America, Australia, New Zealand and elsewhere. Emigration was not outstripped by immigration until 1996. Recently, emigration has again become a feature of Irish life for its working population, to the same English-speaking destinations, and to new locations which promise prosperity. In the 19th and 20th centuries, the Irish global diaspora fostered aspirational ideas of 'Irishness', a perceived white, Catholic, rural, Gaelic population, a package which has now been sold across the world.

Figure 1: Huguenot Cemetery, Merrion Row, Dublin 2

At home in Ireland, the same notions of a homogeneous population were exploited for a variety of political and cultural causes, despite heterogeneity. For, although immigration to Ireland came later than to neighbouring European countries, Ireland in general and Dublin in particular have historically been sites of considerable population diversity. Its geographical position as a coastal city has meant inevitable population flows since at least the eleventh century. And, whilst the industrial revolution did not have an impact on Dublin in the same way as other European cities, Dublin's status as a university city and as a centre for public administration has led to a more heterogeneous population profile than elsewhere in Ireland.

Even the name 'Dublin' and its Irish equivalent *Baile Átha Cliath* tell us something about this historical diversity. *Baile Átha Cliath* means "town of the hurdled ford", describing the settlement in Celtic times at a ford on the River Liffey when Old Irish would have been the daily vernacular. "Dublin", however, derives directly from *Dubh Linn* (meaning "black pool") and was the name of another area. The city now known as Dublin grew from a 9th-century Danish Viking settlement between these two areas and, in Old Norse, was referred to as *Dyflin*. This settlement was later captured by a Norman army. Linguistic interaction through settlement meant that Irish borrowed many terms from Norse, Norman-French and English. Yet a process of Anglicisation commenced in Dublin with the arrival of the Anglo-Normans. In the 16th century attempts were made to proscribe Irish in the area known as The Pale (Dublin and its surrounding areas). However, when Henry VIII declared his kingship over Ireland in 1541 to the Irish Lords and Commons, it had to be translated into Irish for the benefit of the listeners (Crowley, 2008, p. 15). Furthermore, the official crown appointment of Interpreter of the Irish Tongue to the Dublin Lord Deputy was also made (ibid). Established by Queen Elizabeth in 1592, Trinity College Dublin was a site of considerable activity for Irish-language scholarship, not least in producing Irish-speaking ministers to convert the so-called native Irish. By the mid-17th century, Irish was said to still be "scandalising the inhabitants and magistrates of the city" (in ibid, p. 59). Nevertheless, the critical shift from Irish to English was already underway at this stage.

As a port city, Dublin enjoyed extensive European trading links and population growth. At the end of the 17th century, Dublin became home to Protestant refugees, fleeing wars of religion in continental Europe. For instance, the Huguenot cemetery dating from 1693, close to St Stephen's Green, contains the graves of settlers who left France following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Dublin offered commercial opportunities as well as exile, and the impact of this Huguenot population, descendants of some 10,000 French exiles to Ireland, can be seen in family and Dublin street names, such as D'Olier, Aungier, Jervis, Le Fanu, La Touche and Mercer.

In the early 18th century, the Lord Mayor of Dublin issued a proclamation on the provision of relief for Protestant refugees from the Lower German Palatinate[1]. Family names from this period outlived the population, who mostly left the city for rural settlements; the name of the landmark Dublin department store Switzers (now Brown Thomas) is derived from the Palatinate surname Schweitzer, and the estate agency Wyse is derived from the name Weiss.

The Portobello neighbourhood of Dublin was known as 'Little Jerusalem'. Jewish populations, fleeing from pogroms in the Russian Empire (modern-day Lithuania), settled in the area in the 1870s (Hyman, 1972; Keogh, 1998). The trade unionist James Connolly was the only candidate in the Dublin Corporation election of 1902 to distribute his literature in Yiddish. The synagogue on Adelaide Road is still visible today and the original Kosher bakery remains in operation in Dublin 8. The Irish Jewish Museum opened in Portobello in 1985.

Figure 2: The Irish Jewish Museum in Dublin, plaque with Hebrew inscription.

Dublin became the 'second city' of the British Empire. The city's wealthy Anglo-Protestant population thrived on trade and commerce, and intensive urban planning created the buildings and neighbourhoods we know today as 'Georgian Dublin', as well as the two canals which traversed Ireland (the Grand Canal and the Royal Canal), connecting Dublin to the west of the country. Italian migrants came to Ireland from the late 18th through to the early 20th centuries, many of whom found work in the stucco, mosaic and terrazzo industry of Dublin's grand building projects (Reynolds, 1993; Dietz, 2011).

With the decline of the Irish language, revival movements began from the late 18th century. Already in 1752, an Irish language society in Dublin was proposed (Crowley, 2008, p. 89). The Royal Irish Academy, founded in Dublin in 1785, made Irish studies part of its focus. Revival efforts at this time were mainly led by the educated, liberal and wealthy Anglo-Irish. Politics and religion were to play no part in reviving the language, as ordained in the principles of the Gaelic Society of Dublin, founded in 1807 (ibid., pp. 99-100). *Conradh na Gaeilge* (The Gaelic League), founded in Dublin in 1893, became the leading organisation in the revival and was established on the same non-political and non-sectarian principles. However, with the push for Irish Home Rule – and later political independence – from Britain, the Irish language became embroiled in polarised politics. The equation of 'one language-one nation-one state', as used by nationalists across Europe at that time, linked Irish with politics and with a 'pure' past – despite the fact that actual Irish-language usage had dramatically decreased among the population, most obviously in Dublin. For Irish nationalists and the United Irishmen of this period, the capital had been 'polluted' by anglicising influences, and was not a site of Irishness. Moffat (2011, p. 8), writes, "It was not simply that urban Ireland, in the shape of Dublin, could be identified with foreign rule but that the notion of urban Ireland was constructed as fundamentally foreign to Irish identity." Criticisms of anglicised Dublin focussed on the use of the English language rather than the Irish (Gaelic) used in rural settings. Independent Ireland retained an ideological commitment to the Irish language with the 1937

Figure 3: Advertisement for the Gaelic League in the Gaelic Journal, Volume 5, No. 3, June 1894[2]

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constitution declaring "the Irish language as the national language is the first official language", with recognition that English is a second official language (Bunreacht na hÉireann, 1937, Art. 8).

In the 20th century, changes in Ireland's population profile can be traced to the ratification of the 1951 Geneva Convention in 1956 (and later, its 1967 Protocol), its accession to the European Economic Community in 1973 (and its subsequent expansions) and the dramatic period of economic growth known as the Celtic Tiger in the 1990s which brought both refugees and workers to Ireland.

Turning firstly to Ireland's response to 'crisis situations', following the Second World War, the country was slow to accommodate immigrants – perhaps understandably due to its own small population (c. 3 million) and challenging economic circumstances. Nonetheless, in 1946-47 more than 400 German children were brought to Ireland, most through the Irish Red Cross and a number by private families. German-language courses were established for these children in 1952, the beginnings of St. Kilian's Deutsche Schule in Clonskeagh (see below in the section on the educational sphere in Dublin). Some 500 Hungarian refugees from Soviet occupation were accepted in 1956, although dispersed to County Clare rather than Dublin, and seen as temporary exiles. Quarantined in disused army barracks, they received almost no state aid, and the majority did not settle permanently in Ireland. A small group of Chilean refugees arrived in a bilateral resettlement programme agreement, following local lobbying. They too were dispatched to rural settlements, most likely motivated by fears that they would engage in political (Marxist) activism (Healy, 2006) in the capital. A third post-war group of programme refugees arrived from Vietnam in 1979, again following international pressure and local lobbying (Maguire & Saris, 2007). Initially housed in temporary accommodation, they too were moved to more 'provincial' areas to assist integration; in fact, most of the Vietnamese re-migrated back to housing estates in Greater Dublin, and established take-away food businesses (unsurprisingly known as 'Chinese' restaurants). As in other European cities, Italian immigrants too found work in catering and hospitality in Ireland. Many Irish-Italian families are descended from a single chain migration, which commenced in 1912 in the region of Lucca, and still continue the fish and chip trade in Dublin (De Tona, 2006; King & Reynolds, 1994).

Beyond the commitments of housing Programme refugees, Ireland's improving economic situation was accompanied by a rapidly increasing number of requests for Convention refugee status. These increases in requests for asylum from the early 1990s were rapid and dramatic: statistics from the Office of the Refugee Applications Commissioner in Ireland (ORAC, 2006) show only 39 requests for asylum in 1992; in 1996 there were 1,179 applications; in 2002 there were 11,634 applications. Numbers started to decline in 2005, and have since returned to levels experienced in the late 1990s – in 2012, there were 956 applications for asylum (ORAC, 2012). Since 2000, and in order to cope with the increase in requests for asylum, individuals enter a system of Direct Provision Accommodation Centres, dispersed around the country. Backlogs in the asylum process meant waits of up to three years for a decision on cases. Smith examines the issues of place, identity and belonging as a kind of "social and spatial engineering" (2012), where all aspects of the official asylum process are located in Dublin (2008). There were evident strains on interpretation services during the asylum process, in the health services and in policing (Fanning & Mac Éinrí, 1999).

In addition to changes in population diversity arising from asylum applications, Ireland's population was also growing in response to pressing economic needs. Whilst in the late 1990s there was a clear need to recruit skilled workers in order to meet emerging and future gaps in construction, information technology, pharmaceuticals and health, soon the Government found itself facing unprecedented numbers of economic migrants, all eager for employment in the Celtic Tiger economy. An employment permit system with a salary threshold was thus established in 2004, in an attempt to regulate the system and discourage economic migration for occupations such as hospitality and catering, construction, retail and manual trades. In the same year, a referendum to change the basis of Irish citizenship was passed, with 79 per cent of voters favouring the amendment. Prior to the referendum, Irish citizenship was determined by birth in Ireland. Smith (2008) notes that the referendum turnout, the highest in almost twenty years, demonstrated the "overwhelming wish" of the Irish population to change how rights to citizenship and belonging in Ireland were to be claimed. The referendum thus changed legislation which had previously granted Irish passports to those born on Irish soil (*jus solis*) to deriving from at least one parent with Irish citizenship (*jus sanguinis*). However, for many of Ireland's new migrants, the enlargement of the European Union in 2004 to include Cyprus, Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia, and in 2007 to include Bulgaria and Romania, meant that the change in citizenship did not impact their newly-acquired right as European Union citizens to settle, study or work in Ireland. The following section will examine population and linguistic diversity in contemporary Dublin.

3. Contemporary perspectives on diversity in Dublin

Ireland is increasingly urban. In April 2011, 62% of the population lived in urban areas – the highest on record. The total population of Dublin city and suburbs was 1.27 million, around 28% of the population of Ireland.

As Ireland transformed from a country of emigration to one of immigration, Dublin is an example of a city where immigration is relatively new. Reacting to such change in Ireland, the census of 2002 asked a question on nationality for the very first time. Consecutive censuses in 2006 and 2011 continued to ask this question. According to recorded responses, between 2002 and 2011 there was a 143% rise in non-Irish nationals living in Ireland. It is estimated that by 2006, the migrant population (excluding those born in Ireland or the UK) had increased five-fold to 13.3% of the population of Dublin over the space of a decade (Fahey and Fanning 2010, p. 1626). This figure is higher than the national average, with the census of 2006 estimating that migrants made up approximately 10% of the general population (CSO, 2008). In spite of the recent economic downturn, immigration to Ireland has continued to increase with a growth of 25% since 2006. According to the census of 2011, non-Irish nationals represented 12% of the overall population, coming from 199 different countries (CSO, 2012). In terms of absolute numbers, Dublin City had the highest numbers of non-Irish nationals in 2011 (however, as a proportion of the resident population, Galway City is slightly more diverse than Dublin). One in six residents of the administrative division of the City of Dublin (within Greater Dublin) was a non-Irish national. Some of the largest national groups come from non-English speaking countries, such as Poland, Romania, China and Brazil. Polish nationals have overtaken UK nationals as the largest non-Irish group living in Ireland.

With two official languages (Irish and English), consecutive censuses in Ireland have contained a question on Irish-language ability. In 2006, the number of households in Dublin with one or more Irish speakers (49.2%) was lower than the national average (53.4%) (CSO, 2007). The ability to speak Irish relies on the self-assessment of census returnees. The frequency with which Irish is spoken can tell us more about the sociolinguistic vitality of the language, as well as the effectiveness of language policies. Of those who claimed to be able to speak Irish in Dublin in 2006, roughly one quarter spoke it within the education system, reflecting its compulsory status in the curriculum (see section on education). Yet around just 2% of those Dubliners who are able to speak Irish use it on a daily basis and outside of education. The census of 2011 showed the highest number of recorded Irish speakers since the foundation of the State, with a 7.1% rise in those claiming ability in Irish. Due to the size of its population, Dublin had the largest number of Irish speakers on a daily basis – some 18.4% of all daily speakers in 2011. Overall, however, Dublin city and suburbs represented some of the lowest levels of Irish speakers (e.g. 32% in Dublin city and 36% in South Dublin) (CSO, 2012).

Ability in Irish	Persons in Dublin City
Yes	162,879
No	326,811
Not stated	18,487
Total	**508,177**

Table 1: Population of Dublin City aged 3 or over by ability to speak Irish. Source: CSO, 2012.

Irish speakers in Dublin City by frequency of speaking Irish	
Speaks Irish Daily, within education system only	38,967
Speaks Irish Daily, within and also outside education system	3,122
Outside education system, Daily	4,651
Outside education system, Weekly	9,675
Outside education system, Less often	61,046
Outside education system, Never	43,742
Outside education system, Not stated	1,676
Total	**162,879**

Table 2: Irish speakers in Dublin City by frequency of speaking Irish. Source: CSO, 2012.

For the first time, a question on language other than Irish was included in the census of 2011. Around 11% of Irish residents claimed to speak a language other than English or Irish at home, and 182 different languages were coded in census responses. 26% of those foreign-language speakers were born in Ireland. Irish nationals who spoke another language at home were most likely to speak French, German or Spanish. For European nationals, Polish is by far the most common language, followed by Lithuanian, Russian, Romanian and Latvian. Asian nationals spoke mainly Filipino, followed by Chinese (Mandarin and Cantonese), Malayalam, Urdu and Hindi. Amongst African nationals, Yoruba dominates, followed by French, Arabic, Igbo and Afrikaans. And amongst nationals of the Americas, Portuguese was highly represented (mainly in Brazilian households), followed by Spanish, French, Polish and German (CSO, 2012). It is likely that 182 languages is an under-estimate for at least three reasons. Firstly, the formulation of the census question which asked, "Do you speak a language other than English or Irish at home", precluded responses from residents who speak more than one additional language at home. Secondly, some language varieties are grouped together by respondents, and described as, for example, Chinese or Filipino, preventing any distinction between, for instance, Tagalog and Pangasinan or some one hundred and fifty other Filipino language varieties. Thirdly, the prestigious status of English and concomitant perceived low status of some home languages may mean that such varieties may not be considered as worth mentioning.

Language	Total	Born in Ireland	Born elsewhere
Polish	119,526	10,573	108,953
French	56,430	37,800	18,630
Lithuanian	31,635	2,819	28,816
German	27,342	14,841	12,501
Spanish	22,446	3,596	18,850
Russian	21,640	11,257	10,383
Romanian	20,625	4,112	16,513
Italian	10,344	3,624	6,720
Chinese	15,166	2,663	12,503
Arabic	11,834	2,876	8,958
Other	177,080	39,026	138,054
Total	**514,068**	**133,187**	**380,881**

Table 3. Foreign languages spoken at home in Ireland: Source: CSO, 2012.

Location	Birthplace	Nationality
Ireland	403,596	412,645
UK	22,535	7,962
Poland	12,724	13,438
Lithuania	3,034	3,210
Other EU 27	26,222	26,404
Rest of World	43,233	37,024
Not stated	0	10,661
Total	**511,344**	**511,344**

Table 4: Usually resident population of Dublin City by place of birth and nationality. Source: CSO, 2012.

Language	Persons
Polish	12,467
French	8,832
Lithuanian	2,453
Other	59,484
Total	**83,236**

Table 5: Speakers of foreign languages in Dublin City by language spoken. Source: CSO, 2012.

In addition to the question on language practice in the home, a question on how well speakers of other languages can speak English was included in Census 2011. Presumably, authorities felt little need to ask about English-language ability in previous censuses, taking for granted its dominant role in Irish public life. The question on the census form divided into four categories: "very well", "well", "not well", "not at all". This question was only asked of those who answered "yes" to speaking a foreign language at home. Of those who speak a foreign language at home, 48% claim to speak English very well, 31% speak it well, 15% indicated that they do not speak English well, and 6% claim to not speak English at all. There appears to be some correlation between an improvement in English-language ability and time spent in Ireland. Of those non-Irish nationals who indicated that they arrived in Ireland in 1990, more than three quarters claim to speak English very well. Of those who arrived in Ireland in 2010, 37% claim to speak English very well and 23.7% claim not to speak English well or at all. Children and youths exceeded adults in ability to speak English (CSO, 2012).

Ability	Persons
Very well	41,853
Well	28,018
Not well	9,396
Not at all	1,422
Not stated	2,547
Total	**83,236**

Table 6: Speakers of foreign languages by ability to speak English. Source: CSO, 2012.

4. The LUCIDE network

This section outlines the objectives and research activities of the LUCIDE network. LUCIDE (*Languages in Urban Communities: Integration and Diversity for Europe*) is composed of university and civic partners from thirteen European cities[3], along with research teams from Ottawa and Melbourne. The aims of our network are to depict how communication occurs in multilingual cities and to develop ideas about how to manage multilingual citizen communities. In LUCIDE's research activities, we are therefore interested in the real-life complexities faced by individuals in various spheres and aspects of city life. The five overarching topics we have set out to explore are:

1. *Good practice in the provision of language learning opportunities for immigrants:* How do immigrants learn the language of the host country and how are they helped to maintain their own languages? What happens in schools and also in adult education?

2. *Social inclusion:* How do cities support social inclusion through linguistic support in social services, health etc. and what kind of training is desirable in these areas? What happens about translation and interpreting?

3. *Neighbouring languages:* How do cities provide for communication and cultural exchange with "neighbouring languages"? What do we mean by neighbouring languages in a city context?

4. *Intercultural dialogue:* How do cities promote intercultural dialogue and understanding by celebrating community cultures in common spaces? What is the culture of a multilingual city?

5. *New patterns of migration:* Do particular challenges confront cities in countries that have traditionally been countries of emigration but are now receiving many immigrants? How do they respond to this changed perspective and what is the impact on civil society?

Our approach to researching multilingualism and plurilingualism in our cities considers language in its communicative processes and practice rather than from a more static perspective (e.g. counting people/languages). These communicative processes and practices may be understood within a typology of language use:

- Symbolic/representational use of language (bottom-up, realities of everyday life – how we use language to send messages)

- Transactional/communicative (e.g. pragmatic use/unofficial acceptance of ML/PL by authorities on the ground, for communicative efficiency)

- Authoritative/directive (official, uni-directional, tends towards monolingualism)

Our network is involved in secondary data collection and primary data collection. These two phases of data collection were designed to feed into the content development of our network: *inter alia*, its seminars, workshops and city reports. We present these two phases of our research activities below.

Secondary data collection

LUCIDE partners conducted meta-surveys of recent secondary data on multilingualism/plurilingualism in the network's cities. The aim of this phase of our research was to help create a multiplicity of up-to-date narratives on the multi/plurilingual realities of the cities in our network, referring to data related to multilingual practices, processes and products in local contexts, and to develop original research questions for the next phase of primary research. As well as the more traditional academic or policy documents on multilingualism, we were also interested in examples of multilingualism. These varied in each sphere, but included artefacts (printed/visual/digital) which illustrated the multilingual reality of the city, like websites, advertising campaigns, public or private documents (biographies, diaries, official correspondence). When surveying pre-existing data, we took a broad rather than a narrow approach when deciding what could be

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3   London, Osijek, Athens, Sofia, Dublin, Madrid, Hamburg, Utrecht, Rome, Limassol, Strasbourg, Oslo, Varna

included in the first phase of our research. In this phase of our research activities, we focused on recent data, published in 2010 and onwards, or the most recent possible, in order to ensure that we created up-to-date and fresh narratives of languages in each city, and to help formulate valid research questions for the primary data collection phase. In collecting secondary data, we distinguished between:

(a) data *on/about* multilingualism/plurilingualism (censuses, academic reports, civic studies, etc., employing a wide variety of methodologies). These tended to be narrative documents, although are not necessarily official or academic.

(b) manifestations/examples *of* multilingualism/plurilingualism present in (or available from) each city. These visual examples were found in printed images and graphic design, TV/film, computer/software design, Internet, digital multimedia, advertising in all media, fine art and photography, fashion, architecture, design, and urban design.

Five key spheres were delineated in order to provide for comprehensive and systematic exploration of how languages are encountered, used and learned in city life. These spheres included the public sphere, economic life, the private lives of citizens, and urban spaces or the 'cityscape'. It was decided to examine education as an individual sphere, given the focus of our network on language learning, although often it falls within the public remit.

Reporting templates (see appendix) were deployed in order to simplify data recording and sharing in each of the spheres. These templates captured concise information from data on/about multilingualism and plurilingualism (narrative studies/reports etc.), and examples of multilingualism and plurilingualism. Templates collected information on (a) bibliographic information, content overview, methodology and key outcomes of empirical studies and research reports, and (b) on the authors/creators of examples and artefacts, a description of the example and its place of creation/ observation. Secondary data was collected and shared via an online city survey. The data generated from this phase of the network's research activities was employed to generate overarching research questions for the primary data collection phase (semi-structured interviews), and to feed into the content development of LUCIDE's reports, seminars, workshops and city reports. This phase of secondary research yielded a considerable quantity of data which allowed us to generate a relevant set of research questions arising from the key areas identified in a content analysis of the recent studies and examples provided by city partners. We articulated the following research hypotheses, on language visibility (audibility), affordances and challenges:

1. Visibility

- We hypothesize that some languages are more visible than others in city life, and that this visibility/invisibility is meaningful (Which languages are most/least visible/invisible? Why? How do we figure out which languages are invisible?)

- We hypothesize that sometimes, when languages are visible, the visibility operates at a symbolic level. This symbolism is seen and understood by some, and largely ignored by others. Languages which are highly visible may not be the languages in which the various transactions and policies of city life are enacted.

2. Affordances at the level of governance/policy

- We hypothesize that when cities want to encourage multilingualism/plurilingualism, meaningful linguistic diversity (projects, examples of languages in use) will emerge (e.g. diversity of public library projects)

3. Challenges/obstacles

- We hypothesize that costs/inconvenience/lack of political will/prejudices can inhibit good communication between people in multilingual cities.

- We hypothesize that there is sometimes a mismatch between policy (as it is 'promised') and practice or daily reality, e.g. in health service interpretation provision

We hypothesize that language is sometimes understood to represent cultural/economic capital; we also hypothesize that there may be contradictions in some cases (e.g. an indigenous language which is important culturally but may not seem to be important economically, or vice versa).

Primary data collection

In the second phase of our research, we sought to question city respondents about the reality of multi/plurilingualism in their city, about language policy/practice, visibility, affordances and challenges. A qualitative research design was deemed the most appropriate model, given the diversity of research sites, and the importance of gathering input from key stakeholders. A semi-standardised research design based on stakeholder interviewers was created to support primary data collection in each partner city. This phase involved the targeted questioning of selected individuals in the different spheres. Interviews were administered in a variety of modes: face-to-face, over the telephone/skype, and via email. In the case of face-to-face and telephone interviews, these were recorded (audio only) and transcribed where possible. In Dublin, thirteen interviews were conducted with two participants from the public sphere, three participants from the economic sphere, four participants from the educational sphere, two participants from the private sphere, and two from the urban sphere. It proved difficult to find participants from the urban sphere in the timeframe of data collection, although the responses of two participants involved in tourism are considered under this category given the impact of tourism on a city's visual environment.

The types of respondents in each sphere included, where possible, two types of individuals: (i) policy-maker/influencer, and (ii) policy-implementer/user-client-recipient. Sample templates of respondent types (role, place of work etc.) were provided from two cities as guides for partners. We asked that each city attempt to interview a similar type of respondent. The semi-standardised model did not specify a minimum or maximum sample size, but indicated a target of two respondents per sphere. A template of interview questions was provided for each research team, to be adapted according to the local context and to the background of the interviewees. Interviewers were encouraged to try to ask for specific examples rather than general statements where possible, and to try to focus on comments and reflections related to respondents' own areas of expertise (health, education, arts, retail etc.). In Dublin, the participants' described their occupations as:

Interview no.	Activity area
1_ECON:	Business excellence specialist
2_ED:	ESOL development officer
3_PRIV:	Multinational company worker
4_ECON:	Embassy local staff worker
5_ECON:	Voluntary sector
6_ED:	Educational evaluation
7_PUB:	Director, arts and community resource centre
8_ED:	PhD student
9_ECON:	Customer support in large multinational corporation
10_URBAN:	Tourism
11_URBAN:	Tourism
12_PRIV:	Actor and writer
13_ED:	Primary school teacher

Table 7: Interview respondents by sphere.

The core interview questions included:

• Do you think that the issue of multilingualism is a sensitive matter in Dublin?

• We've noticed in our study of different examples of multilingualism that some languages are more visible than others in the city. In your area of work, are there any particularly important or visible languages? Any neglected or less visible languages?

- The co-existence of multiple languages in a city brings with it some challenges and choices for local government and companies, for example in terms of policy decisions. Do you agree with the way that Dublin approaches the issue of multilingualism? Can you give an example of a recent approach that you agree or disagree with?

- There seem to be two main ways of handling language barriers when we encounter a language we don't understand, by either using human translation/interpretation, or with language technology (in the past, dictionaries, and nowadays with online translation for instance). In your area of expertise, how are translation/interpretation handled? Do you think it is handled well and appropriately?

- Have you recently witnessed difficulties experienced by an individual or group because of a lack of proficiency in English or Irish?

- Is there any one language you think deserves a boost in use or in visibility in this city?

- Sometimes, languages are used symbolically, but there isn't really any in-depth provision for the speakers of that language. Have you any experience of this type of symbolic, 'on the surface' language use in your area of work/expertise?

- If you could change one thing [about languages] in Dublin …

Context and background questions were developed, to be selected and adapted as necessary by research partners. These included:

- What is your role/position, and what type of work do you do? / What kind of agency/institution do you work for?

- How would you identify your ethnic origin?

- Do you consider yourself to be monolingual/bilingual/plurilingual?

- Which languages do you speak or interact with in (a) your personal and (b) work life?

- Would you say that you are a keen language learner?

- If you have learned other languages, what has been the most significant language learning experience for you?

Semi-structured interviews generally involve a set of questions that the researcher plans to ask, but they also allow for flexibility if new topics come up during conversation. The nature of semi-structured interviews (rather than fully structured interviews) is that researchers tend not to approach the interviewee with prepared, detailed questions in a strict order. Whilst a semi-standardised list of questions was provided for research teams, researchers could select to omit questions, adapt questions, change the order of questions, and talk about new issues during the interview. A training pack on conducting semi-structured interviews was provided for all interviewers in the network, including useful strategies for successful interviewing and guidelines on ethical research.

Informed consent was gained from all interviewees, given in the knowledge of the possible consequences of participating in the research. Participants were told they could withdraw from the study at any time, and did not need to give a reason, without any negative consequences for them. A short information leaflet and a letter of invitation for potential respondents were provided for participants, in order to give them time to think over whether they would like to participate or not. Empirical research that involves human subjects is subject to ethical scrutiny. LUCIDE partners committed to ensuring that their city project meets the standards for ethical research as set out by their own university/national bodies. Whilst the type of research involved in our project does not carry a high level of risk for participants, it was nevertheless important to ensure that the tenets of ethical research were fully adhered to: that a researcher should respect the people who provide the data (for example, their right to privacy), and avoid doing them any harm in the process of collecting, analysing and publishing data (for example, causing any disruptions or stress). Data collection by the Dublin LUCIDE team was granted approval by the Research Ethics Committee of the School of Linguistic, Speech and Communication Sciences, Trinity College Dublin.

4.1 Multilingualism and plurilingualism in education

The educational sphere represents a range of different languages in Ireland, with different statuses in legislation and in educational curricula. English is the primary language of use throughout most of the country, and Irish is a compulsory subject through primary and post-primary education. This section will examine the cases of immersion/bilingual schools, English as an Additional Language in the education sphere, encouraging Irish-language learning and foreign language learning, and language learning outside of formal schooling.

4.1.1 Immersion/bilingual schools

Dublin hosts a small number of immersion schools which provide mainstream education through languages other than English or Irish (Carson, 2011). Two examples of such LOTE/LOTI schools are *St Kilian's Deutsche Schule and the Lycée Français d'Irlande*, which provide mainstream education through German and French respectively at both primary and secondary level. The two schools share a single campus, termed the Eurocampus, in south Dublin. The Muslim National School[4] in Dublin provides Arabic language instruction in addition to English and Irish, and strives for a multilingual environment. The School Principal writes on the school website: "It is lovely to hear Irish, Arabic and English spoken at assemblies"; extracts from the same website provide examples of multilingual practices. Following a greeting in Arabic ('God willing'), the school wishes visitors an enjoyable visit to their website in English and in Irish: *"Inshallah* you will enjoy visiting our website. *Tá suíl agam go mbainfidh sibh leas agus taithneamh as an suíomh".* Another example is reproduced below, announcing Seachtain na Gaeilge (Irish-language Week). The bilingual announcement provides a statement about the event in Irish and in English. Clarifying information on the no-uniform day and the day's theme is in English:

Seachtain na Gaeilge
An tseachtain seo chugainn is í Seachtain na Gaeilge í agus beidh ceolchoirm againn ar scoil. Next week is Seachtain na Gaeilge, a week in which we celebrate all things Irish. Mr X is organising a ceolchoirm (concert) in the hall and we are expecting some very important guests. Friday will be a no-uniform day and children should wear Irish colours (Green, white or orange) if possible.

Figure 4: Bilingual announcement, Muslim National School, Dublin[5]

In addition to immersion schools, there are several International Schools in Dublin, which provide international curricula as an alternative to the Irish Junior and Leaving Certificate examinations. These often cater to children of international employees living temporarily in Dublin. One such school, St. Andrew's College, runs a European Annexe, which offers 'mother tongue classes' to international students, i.e. tuition in their first language, as well as one or two other foreign languages. Nine languages, all European, are currently offered on the mother tongue tuition programme in this school. The same policy is not necessarily followed by all international schools, however, and the choice of language instruction is at the discretion of individual schools.

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4   http://muslimns.scoilnet.ie/blog/
5   http://muslimns.scoilnet.ie

4.1.2 Irish-medium schools

In contrast with the relative scarcity of LOTE/LOTI schools, *gaelscoileanna* (Irish medium schools) – while still in a minority when compared to English medium schools – are increasing in popularity in Dublin. Recent figures on the number of *gaelscoileanna* (from 2011-2012) indicate that there are currently 31 *bunscoileanna* (primary schools) in the Dublin area, catering for 7,929 pupils, and 8 *meánscoileanna* (secondary schools), catering for 3,023 pupils, of a total number of 125,474 primary pupils in the Dublin area (Gaelscoileanna Teo, 2012). There have been some controversies regarding the socioeconomic status of pupils attending Irish-medium schools, seen by some in Dublin as a way of avoiding schools with high enrolments of 'non-nationals', i.e. children from migrant backgrounds (who may of course be Irish citizens). Interviewee 2 for instance argues that such "*Gaelcolaistí* [sic] have become for the middle classes", and believes that funding should be made available for children from disadvantaged backgrounds to go to the *Gaeltacht* (Irish-language speaking regions in western parts of Ireland, as well as in Co. Meath and Co. Waterford) if a love and appreciation of the language is to be promoted.

4.1.3 English as an Additional Language

For students who do not speak English as their first language, the supports available to them at primary level have varied considerably over the past number of years. In recent years, as a result of the Irish economic downturn, the Department of Education and Skills radically scaled down English-language support resources (Lyons & Little, 2009). The Department of Education and Science has issued two circulars on provision for the language needs of newcomer pupils, with Circular 0015/2009 entitled Meeting the needs of pupils learning English as an Additional Language superseding the previous Circular 0053/2007, entitled Meeting the needs of pupils for whom is a second language, following extensive cuts in the public service budget[6]. Interviewee 2 describes the situation of students who are not literate in the first language learning English in the Irish education system, mentioning specifically the cases of Roma students and Congolese students in the interview: "They are on a conveyor belt moving towards state exams without the required support in place. Schools are doing what they can but more resources (teaching hours) are needed for minorities who seriously struggle with English." This interviewee mentions the incongruity of some students who were illiterate in their L1 being proposed the use of dictionaries as 'reasonable accommodation' when taking the Leaving Certificate examinations. At post-primary level, language supports have also been cut, and the system for supporting the language needs of students at this level has come under criticism, particularly for students who enter the education system later (Ní Chonaill, 2010).

Information on the Irish education system has been translated into different languages for the parents of newcomer children. The Department of Education and Skills provides information on its website for newcomer parents in English, Irish, German, Latvian, Lithuanian, Polish, Spanish and Russian, and the National Parents Council has produced a brochure entitled "Your Child in the Primary School System" available in English, French, Arabic, Russian and Chinese, and to be published in Urdu. Interviewee 13 describes the importance not just of information, but also guidelines on communicating with parents:

> One experience I've had would be when a parent would come in for a meeting about their child's progress and English may not be their first language and they might have very broken English, and in those situations it can be quite difficult to convey your message to the parent. I suppose in that case you have to be particularly sensitive to their culture as well and how they might perceive what you're saying, and in that situation you just try to keep it very straightforward and show examples of what I was talking about to get the meaning across.

Home language tuition is provided through the voluntary sector, mostly as a result of efforts by parental associations, and complementary schools have been established to teach Polish, Russian, Mandarin, Korean and Lithuanian, amongst other languages, to children from these language backgrounds. However, Interviewee 2 describes some issues of concern encountered in the educational sphere, including "ignorance of the value and necessity of speaking other languages in educational settings and preserving first language skills":

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6   http://www.ivea.ie/resources/esol_survey/cl_eal_15_2009.pdf

I have heard of some school staff encouraging students to "speak English" when groups of migrant teens are on a break from class and chilling in groups speaking their first language. […] Some Primary teachers telling parents to speak English at home with their children when their first language is not English: the lack of understanding of the role of the L1 in literacy development. Some children in primary are embarrassed when their parents speak to them in front of their peers in their first language.

Although this interviewee notes that these incidences "are on the wane as people in Education begin to value multilingualism more and its key role in learning", interviewee 13's comments point to a misunderstanding about the role of children's first languages, "if they don't speak English at home they don't progress I suppose":

There was a child I taught several years ago, she was in First Class (age 7), and she was from Lithuania. When she first started in the school she had no English at all... she was a very happy child, very enthusiastic, very eager to learn, she was super at Maths; but she didn't speak at all... Then one day in her language class she said 'Thank you' for something she got, and the language teacher was so relieved; I wasn't too concerned because I knew she was happy, but the language teacher was very happy. From then on, I'd say a month later she was speaking in full sentences, and her mother told us she was beginning to speak English at home as well... They spoke their own language at home, and we'd often have seen that, and we'd be encouraging the parents to try to use the few words at home because if they don't speak English at home they don't progress I suppose.

A misunderstanding, or lack of understanding, of the processes and benefits of bilingual language learning as well as the perceived need to speak English in the home are widespread. However, the work of the Principal of Scoil Bhríde Cailíní in Blanchardstown, Dr Déirdre Kirwan, and her colleagues can be cited as an example of good practice in supporting pupils learning English, as well as valuing all 40 home languages of those pupils – more than 70% of pupils are from a non-English-speaking background. The languages pupils bring with them to school are seen as resources which can support the learning of English and Irish – represented visually on the school's walls as the roots of 'language trees', roots which must also be nurtured and watered. Above these 'home language roots', pupils stick on leaves of language learning accomplishments, creating a colourful and growing image of the interconnectedness of linguistic repertoires and a reminder that language learning does not happen in isolation. Pupils are encouraged to draw on their linguistic knowledge to make guesses, for example, about the meanings of new words and how words are connected across languages. They are free to use their home languages to communicate with other pupils as well as pupils from neighbouring language families, and they are indeed encouraged to reflect on why and how, for example, some of them can understand aspects of other language varieties when spoken slowly, without having learned them. The school's journey of encouraging multilingualism as a way of encouraging the successful acquisition of English as an Additional Language is demonstrated in the girls' homework projects, for example through creative writing where pupils use each of their languages (e.g. English, Irish, French and Urdu) to recount parts of a story, or through small translation projects. Most of these pupils initially enrolled at Scoil Bhríde Cailíní without any English, yet the language tree and supporting 'proofs' of homework, demonstrate how English as an Additional Language can be supported through multilingual language learning and sustained language awareness initiatives which receive whole-school support.

Figure 5: Example of a Language Tree from Scoil Bhríde Cailíní, Blanchardstown, with language learning accomplishments in English as the branches, and home languages as the roots (permission obtained from Dr Déirdre Kirwan).

Figure 6: The home language 'roots' of a Language Tree from Scoil Bhríde Cailíní, Blanchardstown (permission obtained from Dr Déirdre Kirwan).
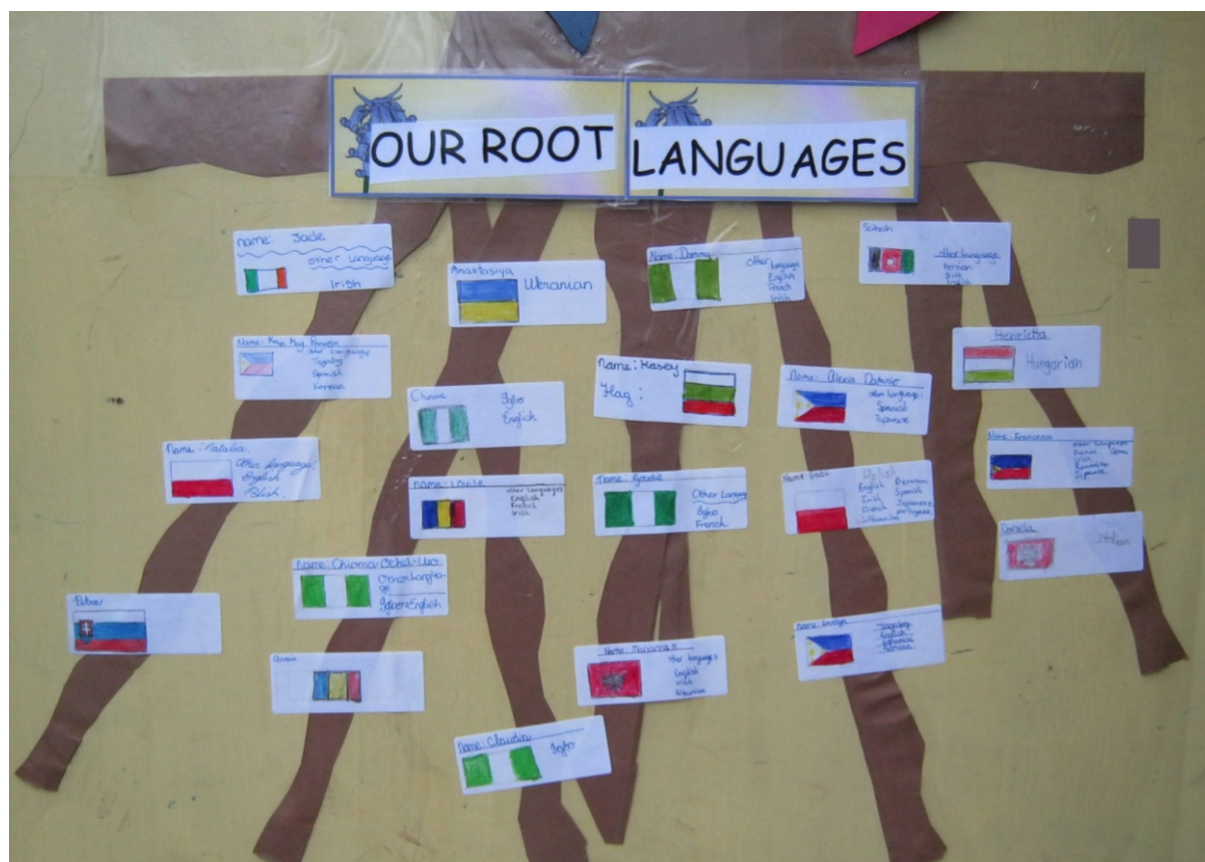
This type of whole-school support is important. Interviewee 2 describes "a huge need for professional community interpreters in minority languages at an affordable price to support schools and parents in communicating with each other when important messages need to be gotten across […]", and describes a recent "information night targeted at migrant parents where all slides were translated into 15 languages. Information was given on using dictionaries in state exams and sitting non-curricular exams for the Leaving Cert. We hope that this will be an annual event despite relatively poor turnout." Interviewee 4 points out that published documents are not sufficient for parents of children with English as an Additional Language: "At a CAO information evening recently organised by the Immigrant Parents & Guardians Support Association in Fingal Community College, a number of questionnaires completed by attendees pointed to the fact that parents found it difficult to access the information as there were no interpreters there (lack of funds) although the documents were available in sixteen languages." In Scoil Bhríde Cailíní in Blanchardstown, parents are actively encouraged to participate in the life of the school, and all languages spoken are described as the school's unofficial languages, bolstered through multilingual signage and dual language reading books. The school encourages parents and children to speak their own language at home, and bilingual parents help to translate letters from the school into the various other languages spoken by the school community, maximising the involvement of parents in school life.

4.1.4 Learning Irish and other languages

Language policy at primary level in Ireland emphasises the role of Irish in the national curriculum. All primary school teachers must satisfy a requirement set by the Department of Education and Skills to be able to instruct Irish, and to be able to instruct all other subjects on the primary school curriculum through the medium of Irish. One interviewee with ten years' experience in an all-girls junior primary school in Dublin stated that her school actively fostered an interest in the Irish language in a number of ways. These included the encouragement of staff members to communicate with one another primarily through Irish; the maintenance of an Irish-language school noticeboard, featuring elements from the primary curriculum, regularly updated by a dedicated member of staff; and the hosting of an annual Irish-language festival close to St Patrick's Day named *Seachtain na Gaeilge* ('Irish-language week', see also the example above from the Muslim National School in Dublin).

Apart from Irish, other languages may be taught at the discretion of individual schools, but as these are extra-curricular subjects (at least in the majority of schools, which follow the national primary curriculum), these usually take place outside school hours. Foreign language learning has therefore long been an area of particular concern. Ireland's policy focus concentrates on the Irish language, and whilst English and Irish are compulsory components throughout formal education, foreign languages are optional. Interviewee 2 describes a "two-tier system" where non-EU languages in post-primary schools are "badly neglected as you can't sit them for the Leaving Cert". It is argued that foreign languages only survive in post-primary schools because the National University of Ireland requires a foreign language for matriculation (Little, 2003). Key challenges faced by language professionals in Ireland include, for example a lack of contact between languages learned in the classroom, which are taught in isolation without connections between Irish, English and other languages including home language, or lack of foreign language learning in the primary sector following the government's decision to abolish the Modern Languages in Primary Schools Initiative in 2012, on the pretext of 'curricular overload'. The fact that languages are taught in isolation means that learners and teachers are unable to access fully the resources that a multilingual repertoire can represent when learning a new language, whether English as an Additional Language, or a new foreign language. Interviewee 2 describes "ignorance of the scaffolding nature of using the first language to consolidate meaning in a second language – some teachers are unsure whether to separate teens in their class who speak the same first language or allow them to stay together for support". The same interviewee suggests "subsidized/funded organized classes for all minorities to sit Leaving Cert in their first language – not only those who speak EU languages. [...] see www.assetlanguages.org.uk [...] offered in many minority languages in UK." Interviewee 5, when asked what single thing should be changed about languages in Dublin, would improve the provision of foreign-language learning in Ireland: "This will provide jobs in Ireland for Irish people with European language skills rather than employing staff from other European countries with such language skill" (see section 4.3 on multilingualism and plurilingualism in economic life).

4.1.5 Lifelong language learning

There is an active English as a Foreign Language sector in Dublin, consisting of private language schools, whose learners may be of any age, language background, nationality or length of residence. Many schools offer preparation programmes for major English-language examinations, including TOEFL, IELTS, and Cambridge. Learners in these institutions tend to be adults, though some schools cater to younger learners as well, particularly to teenage exchange students from schools and colleges around Europe, who may come to Dublin for a brief stay of one or two weeks to improve their English. Most schools offer English language instruction for virtually all proficiencies, ranging from beginner to advanced level. Dublin also has a dynamic evening class sector, and publishes an annual guide to courses open to the general public in the evening. Many of these evening classes are foreign language courses, run for example by university language centres and cultural institutes such as the Goethe Institute and the Instituto Cervantes. The Dublin *Alliance Française*, for instance, is the third largest in Europe outside of Paris and Brussels, with an annual enrolment of over 5,000 students of all ages.

In closing this section on multilingualism and plurilingualism in education, there are some key challenges ahead in Dublin and Ireland. It remains unclear, for example, how the government's '20 Year Strategy for the Irish Language' (Department of Arts, Heritage and the Gaeltacht, 2010) may impact Irish language networks in Dublin, and attained the targeted increase in speakers who use Irish outside the education system. Beyond such desired increases in Irish language users, the challenges in the areas of, respectively, foreign language learning, learning English as an Additional Language and migrant language learning are, at best, underestimated, and at worst, disregarded. In 2011, the director of education policy within the Irish Business and Employers' Confederation (IBEC) called for Ireland "to become a truly multilingual society where the ability to learn and use two and more languages is taken for granted and fostered at every stage of the education system and through lifelong education" (IBEC, 2011).

## 4.2	Multilingualism and plurilingualism in the public sphere

This section considers examples and challenges of multilingualism within Dublin's public authorities, police, healthcare, public transport and broadcasting.

4.2.1 Public authorities

In February 2013 Dublin hosted the Intercultural Cities Milestone Conference – an initiative of the Council of Europe and the European Commission. Dublin City Council is proactive in this initiative having established an Office for Integration in 2006. In 2010, Dublin City Council and the Dublin City Development Board developed the first city-level framework for integration: *Towards Integration: A City Framework*. This was developed in response to the changing social, cultural and linguistic landscape of Dublin city as a result of immigration and to create a framework for Dublin's future success through migrant integration. It wishes to see Dublin as a city "where language is not a barrier in the city and language acquisition is enabled" (p. 10), where access to English-language acquisition opportunities should be prioritized (pp.11, 15, 17). Having poor English on arrival is noted by members of new communities as a significant challenge, along with the impatience of the host community in this context (p. 37). Dublin City Council's website is in English. It also has an Irish-language version, although it is not comprehensive in terms of content. The Irish Naturalisation and Immigration Service (INIS) is located in Dublin. Its website[7] provides information on immigration, visas, citizenship, asylum and repatriation in English only.

The first city report based on the framework for integration was published in 2012 and raises many interesting points on language and integration in Dublin. The Open Learning Centre at Dublin's Central Library is identified as an example of best practice as it offers a wide range of computer and language self-learning courses. The 'Tell Me More' self-access language learning programme housed in the library has received endorsement from the Council of Europe and now caters to more than 2,500 non-Irish nationals (The Integration Centre, 2012, p. 84). In 2012, participants represented 113 nationalities (23% EU, 77% non-EU). Forty-three different languages are offered through the programme, yet English is by far the most popular and is available at all levels. Some 134 languages are available on CD ROM allowing learners to study English through lesser-used languages such as Farsi. Dublin schools that have been adversely affected by cuts to EAL support can now avail of these resources at the library. For instance, interviewee 3 praises the work of Dublin's libraries: "I would cite the example of libraries as an excellent example of assisting integration and language exchange."

Figure 7: Dublin City Council's 'One City One People Campaign'[8]

7	www.inis.gov.ie

8	Retreived from http://www.dublin.ie/arts-culture/one-city-one-people.htm

In autumn 2011 and 2012, Dublin City Council's Office for Integration led a campaign focused on integration. The 'One City One People Campaign' aims at combatting racism and discrimination, as well as at the inclusion and integration of Dublin's immigrant population. It worked with city transport networks, migrant organisations, galleries and libraries to promote Dublin as a city that welcomes difference.

There is an absence of immigrant representatives in Dublin City Council and language barriers certainly play a role in this deficiency. Dublin City Council launched a Migrant Voters Campaign in an attempt to raise awareness among migrants on their right to vote, the need to register to vote and how to vote on election days. Working in tandem with minority ethnic representatives, promotional materials were made available in 25 languages.

Citizen's Information, provided by the Citizens Information Board[9], has a number of service points in Dublin city and greater metropolitan area. They provide information on social welfare, education and training, employment, housing, tax and finance, health, consumer issues, family and legal matters. Its website is available in English and Irish, and forms translated into Polish, Romanian and French can be downloaded.

There is a shortage of qualified Irish Sign Language interpreters throughout Ireland. To help mitigate this shortage, the Sign Language Interpreting Service was established in 2007 through the Citizens Information Board. It provides a referral service to assist clients find the right interpreter for Irish Sign Language (ISL) interpretation. It advocates for high standards in sign language interpreting.

In 2009, the Dublin City Centre Citizens Information Service produced *Find Your Way: A Guide to Key Services in Dublin City Centre*. This directory of key services in Dublin is available in English, Polish, Russian, French and Mandarin. Interviewee 2 describes some of the needs in this sphere:

> There needs to be a one-stop shop online for migrants to access all information on living here in multiple languages. Citizens' information staff should have language training (how to speak in graded English) to migrants who come looking for information. There's no need to shout or speak overly slow, it is the words/jargon used which can confuse and alienate. Social welfare letters and all government communication should be graded to A2 level for people whose first language is not English. There is way too much formal language and jargon used. This is not the same approach as to use Plain English and people don't understand this.

4.2.2 Policing

The Garda (Police) Racial, Intercultural and Diversity Office (GRIDO) is located in Dublin. It coordinates, monitors and advises on all aspects of policing in the area of diversity. The annual Diversity Consultation Day is a key event in community policing where Garda representatives meet with representatives from the various communities in Dublin. Since 2002, Ethnic Liaison Officers have been appointed within the police force. Part of their remit is to ensure appropriate support mechanisms to members of ethnic minorities, including the provision of interpreters and translators. If arrested or appearing in court, those who have difficulty speaking English are entitled to avail of the services of an interpreter. A 2010 report in the Irish Times claimed, however, "hundreds of interpreters working in the courts and for the Garda have no formal qualification to interpret or translate" (O'Brien, 2010). Crime prevention and community safety information is available on the GRIDO website in Arabic, French, Latvian, Lithuanian, Mandarin, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Russian and Spanish. An information sheet on the police service in intercultural Ireland is also available in these languages with a glossary of terms:

Garda	Is an Irish language term and is the singular for a police officer
Garda	C'est un terme irlandais et c'est le singulier d'un agent de police
Garda	To pojęcie w języku irlandzkim i oznacza policjanta
Garda	é um termo irlandês para um agente de polícia

The Garda Charter for victims of crime is also published in a number of languages on www.garda.ie. However, a recent monitoring report from the Council of Europe's European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI, 2013) criticised the Irish police service for "racial profiling" of non-Irish nationals. There has been a concerted effort to recruit officers from different ethnic backgrounds, and to train Ethnic Liaison Officers. To facilitate recruitment, the requirement for prior proficiency in the Irish language was removed and replaced with Irish language provision during training. Garda stations are also points through which information can be distributed. For example, the guide *Living in Ireland* by the Crosscare Migrant Project was distributed, *inter alia*, via Garda stations. It was available in five languages. General information on the Garda website is available in English and Irish[10].

4.2.3 Healthcare

The Health Service Executive is responsible for the delivery of health and social services in hospitals and communities throughout Ireland. It is publicly funded and has the largest annual budget of any public sector organisation. The Minister for Health has overall responsibility for the HSE. In recent years, the HSE has produced two sets of guidelines for staff in response to increasing language diversification among patients and service users. *On Speaking terms: Good Practice Guidelines for HSE Staff in the Provision of Interpreting Services* was published in 2009. These guidelines provide advice for staff in accessing and working with trained interpreters, including sign language interpreters. Within these guidelines, HSE staff are advised to seek a trained interpreter when a patient does not speak English "very well". Staff are also advised to let patients know that they have a right to an interpreter. The guidelines also state that "there are various arrangements throughout the HSE regarding sourcing and booking interpreters". The report also advises against the use of family, friends or other HSE staff members for interpreting services. However, it appears likely that public sector cuts will adversely affect translation and interpretation provision in hospitals in Dublin. We have been anecdotally informed that guidelines are not strictly adhered to. Yet the HSE has also developed an Emergency Multilingual Aid[11] to be used with non-English speaking patients, prior to the arrival of an interpreter. It contains a welcome sheet, a language ID card for staff, guidelines for staff on using and accessing interpreters, and phrasebooks in English, Arabic, Bosnian, Cantonese, Chinese, Czech, French, German, Hungarian, Irish, Latvian, Lithuanian, Mandarin, Pashtu, Polish, Portuguese, Romanian, Russian, Slovak, Spanish, Somali, and Urdu.

As yet, there is no general data on using interpreters in healthcare in Dublin. However, the Emergency Multilingual Aid appears to be widely used. A pilot carried out from 2005 also gives us some relevant information on GP visits (The Integration Centre, 2012, p. 159). GPs in Dublin and surrounding areas were offered free phone interpretation services. Romanian, Polish, French, Arabic and Russian were the most frequently requested languages (ibid.). *Lost in Translation? Good Practice Guidelines for HSE Staff in Planning, Managing and Assuring Quality Translations in Health Related Material into Other Languages* was published in 2012. It provides guidelines for staff on identifying translation needs for written material and information from the HSE, as well as working with professional translators. The context for these guidelines is the apparent diversification of the Irish population according to the Censuses of 2006 and 2011, as well as equality legislation. In terms of both interpreting and translation, there is still a lack of regulation and standards in Ireland. The HSE website, *Informing Families*, contains information in French, Lithuanian, Polish, Brazilian Portuguese, Romanian and Russian. This project is listed as a case study in translation on the *Lost in Translation?* website. The Health Information and Advocacy Centre (HIAC) acts as a one-stop shop in the provision and development of health information for ethnic minorities in Dublin. It works in partnership with the Ethnic Minorities Health Forum (EMHF[12]) and assists clients in six different languages.

The Centre for Deaf Studies at Trinity College Dublin is a partner in the EU-funded MEDISIGNS[13] project. This project aims to help spread good quality Irish Sign Language interpreting throughout the health service, which involves an online course on medical interpreting, an iPhone App, an information pack for the medical profession with guidelines on treating sign language users; master classes for interpreters; workshops for medical professionals providing them with a better understanding of what they need to know when working with Deaf patients and interpreters, and workshops for Deaf people to inform them on issues that arise in medical encounters and tips on how to get the best from interpreted medical encounters.

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10   An Garda Síochána (Irish National Police Service), www.garda.ie
11   Health Service Executive, Emergency Multilingual Aid www.hse.ie/eng/services/Publications/services/SocialInclusion/EMA.html
12   Ethnic Minorities Health Forum, http://cairde.ie/ethnic-minority-health-forum-emhf/
13   www.medisignsproject.eu/

4.2.4 Public transport

Dublin has a number of public transport networks. The Luas, Dublin's light rail transit system, displays and announces all stops bilingually (English/Irish). The Luas website is also available in English and Irish, with additional information in Spanish, French, Italian, German, Romanian, Latvian, Polish and Chinese for transport users.

Dublin Bus serves the city and greater metropolitan area; destinations are usually displayed bilingually (English/Irish) on the front

Figure 8 (left): Bilingual Luas stop sign   *Figure 9 (right): Dublin Bus bilingual display*

of the bus. As a service, however, Dublin Bus functions in English and its website is available in English only[14]. Yet the company developed an Equality and Diversity Strategy aimed at its workforce and serving the community:

> Diversity embraces the range of individual skills, educational qualifications, work experience, cultural background, languages and other relevant attributes and experiences that we bring to the workplace. It is about linking the positive aspects of these differences with the business needs of the organization[15].

Interviewee 5 describes an example of good practice from Dublin Bus: "Instructions on how to use the new Dublin bus ticket system – it was in English, Polish and Chinese. It was a great idea to educate most commuters in languages that are widely spoken in Dublin." Interviewee 2 points out the policy of displaying and broadcasting the names of stops in English and Irish, which is "great for all", not just migrants.

4.2.6 Broadcasters

Irish-language programmes are broadcast on television, radio and increasingly in online forums such as YouTube. *TG4* is a TV station for Irish speakers and learners. It broadcasts original programmes in Irish including documentaries, lifestyle programmes, and its own soap opera *Ros na Rún*. It also broadcasts news and sport events with Irish-language commentary, foreign-language films with Irish subtitles, and other shows dubbed into Irish. It broadcasts in Ireland and Northern Ireland. *RTÉ One* broadcasts news items in Irish (*Nuacht*), a series on scandals in Irish history in Irish with English subtitles (*Scannal*), and a weekly bilingual community programme (*Pobal*) that takes a particular interest in the lives of recently-arrived migrants in Ireland. RTÉ broadcasts nationally. *RTÉ Raidió na Gaeltachta* broadcasts radio programmes nationally and entirely in Irish. *Raidió Rí-Rá* is a youth-orientated chart music station that is broadcast on the internet in Irish. *Raidió na Life* is an Irish-language radio station that has broadcast in the Greater Dublin Area since 1993. It features a broad range of talk and music shows and is also available online. It hosts a bilingual website (Irish/English) and its philosophy is stated as follows:

> Raidió na Life is a community-of-interest radio station set up to provide a community-oriented Irish language radio service to the Irish-speaking community of Dublin and surrounding areas on a non-profit basis. Community and education are some of the key pillars of Raidió na Life's broadcasting philosophy. Raidió na Life integrates Irish language organisations, Irish speakers, people with an interest in the language and music-lovers of all kinds – including those who would not necessarily have regular contact with the Irish language. The station takes care to include a wide range of interests in its programmes, with a focus on Dublin city and county as well as the commuter belt. It is a multicultural and diverse community, vis-a-vis the range of interests, age profile, level of fluency in Irish and active participation in the Irish language community.

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14   www.dublinbus.ie
15   Dublin Bus, 'Equality and Diversity – what we mean', available at www.dublinbus.ie

In 2013 *Raidió na Life* won Radio Station of the Year at the Celtic Media Awards.[16] Multilingualism and plurilingualism in the city have also been the subject of a recent programme series by Dublin's *Near fm* radio station. In 2013 it ran a three-part series entitled *Babel Átha Cliath*. The programme's promotional material[17] describes its contents:

> In this new 3 part series, Babel Átha Cliath, will touch on the history and remnants of the older languages that were once spoken in Dublin, such as Fingalian, Norman French, Cant, middle English, Leinster Irish and this examination will place emphasis on the way we use English today and the preservation of local accents, sayings and the idiosyncracies of Northside Dublinese. We will also meet native speakers of Spanish, Mandarin, Polish, Arabic, German, Lugandan and Irish.

4.3 Multilingualism and plurilingualism in economic life

We interpret economic life to include all aspects of working life and income generation, from large multinational companies to small businesses, and from high-skilled professions to manual labour.

4.3.1 Economic transformation and demographic change in Dublin

Ireland's economic transformation is apparent in Dublin's urban landscape. Many areas that were derelict or run down in the 1980s are now areas of significant cultural and economic activity. One such example is the Dublin Docklands that today host Ireland's International Financial Services Centre, as well as bars, restaurants, living and tourist accommodation.

Figure 10 (left): Development at Dublin's Docklands
Figure 11 (right): Financial services at Dublin's Docklands

Multinational corporate investment was integral to Ireland's economic transformation from the 1990s. A favourable tax regime for corporations, access to the common European market, and a young, English-speaking workforce were attractive to international firms. Many multinational companies in the global economy located in and around Dublin at that time, having significant implications for the urban economy. Traditional manufacturing was replaced with global industries in the areas of software, pharmaceuticals, biotechnology and financial services: "nowhere is economic structural change away from traditional manufacturing towards high-value-added service sectors more pronounced than in Dublin city and county" (CLIP, 2012, p. 9).

The Irish labour market peaked in 2007 following years of almost full employment. Migrant workers made up 16.2% of the workforce at that time and they played a significant role in the development of the Irish economy (ibid.). With

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16   www.celticmediafestival.co.uk/shortlist
17   http://nearfm.ie/babel-atha-cliath/

steady economic growth from the 1990s, employers relied on labour from abroad to fulfill market requirements. Ireland (along with Sweden and the UK) allowed full access to its labour market to citizens of new EU member states following enlargement in 2004. However, Ireland then introduced restrictive measures on inward migration following the 2007 enlargement which saw Romania and Bulgaria join the EU. Dublin, as the capital of Ireland, was the target destination for most EU and non-EU immigrants. Although many from the A8 states settled throughout Ireland, most concentrated in Dublin. Moreover, most non-EU immigrants have settled in Dublin. According to the census of 2006, 60% of all Asian residents in Ireland reside in Dublin.

Immigrants with particular skill sets were critical to Dublin's development and they were recruited to occupy a plethora of positions, from high-skilled and well-paid positions to low-skilled and poorly remunerated jobs. Non-Irish workers were employed in the hospitality sector, health, support services, ICT, retail, construction and industry. Between 2006 and 2011, the number of non-Irish people working in Ireland increased by 10% (CSO, 2012). And, in spite of the economic recession, they continue to fill positions as doctors, nurses, engineers, chefs, care assistants, IT professionals, multilingual customer service workers and drivers (Power and Szlovak, 2012, ix).

4.3.2 Multinational companies

Some of the multinational companies to establish offices in Dublin include Allianz, Amazon, Ebay, Facebook, IBM, LinkedIn, Microsoft, PayPal, Twitter, Wyeth, Yahoo!, and Zurich. The computer software industry is a significant employer of highly-skilled migrants in Ireland – in 2006 migrants made up 16% of the computer software workforce (Krings et. al., 2008). Moreover, this is a sector that continues to grow in a period of economic difficulty. Microsoft, for example, located in Sandyford in Dublin, has more than 1,000 employees from more than 50 countries. Its commitment to language diversity was also highlighted by Foras na Gaeilge (the Irish language body) in its report *Value of the Irish Language to the Private Sector* (2007). It noted that Microsoft had developed an Irish Language Interface Package, thus demonstrating the company's commitment to Ireland as an operations base. And when Homebase (a British home improvement store and garden centre) established a store in Dublin in 2006, it chose to use Irish in company signage. Superquinn, an Irish-owned supermarket chain, was also praised in the report for its use of English-Irish bilingual signage. The report concluded: "for international companies entering the Irish market, use of the Irish language can act to mitigate domestic opposition. For domestic companies, failure to use the Irish language, where foreign or multinational companies are doing so, is relinquishing an important competitive advantage."

The multinational sector in Ireland undoubtedly requires a range of language skills for its operations in Dublin. In light of poor performance in language learning in Ireland, Forfás commissioned a report in 2005 to examine this potential skills deficit in the Irish economy. The report drew attention to the fact that migrants from non-English speaking countries would be required to fill such labour market gaps, although this pool of resources can go untapped (Forfás, 2005, p. 31). It further stated that an internal supply of foreign language skills would be necessary if Ireland is to continue to attract foreign direct investment (ibid., p. 39). Interviewee 4 referred to these challenges in the context of their online sales company: "As we expand further into Europe it's challenging for us to find staff to support other European languages." In 2010 the National Skills Bulletin indicated that there now just limited skills shortages in Ireland including language skills for niche areas. From a survey of recruitment agencies in Ireland, it is indicated that hard-to-fill vacancies tend to be filled by non-Irish candidates. Such vacancies include the need for language skills (Expert Group on Future Skills Needs, 2010). A perusal of Irish recruitment websites highlights a significant number of companies looking for candidates with skills in German, Dutch, Norwegian, Finnish, Spanish, Italian, French and Hebrew. A number of sources cite the need for Nordic languages in economic life in Ireland (e.g. Joyce, 2012). The Expert Group on Future Skills Needs emphasises that vacancies continue to arise in this area in spite of economic recession, referring to the globalized nature of the Irish economy[18].

In February 2013, Facebook announced 100 new jobs at its EMEA headquarters in Dublin. It actively sought people with skills in Arabic, Brazilian Portuguese, Mandarin, Cantonese, Dutch, French, Indonesian, Japanese, Korean, Latin American Spanish, Malaysian, Filipino, Russian, Vietnamese, Polish, Swedish, German, Danish, Italian and Turkish to fill

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18   http://www.egfsn.ie/newsevents/news/title,7647,en.php

positions in media solutions, user operations, sales, and business development[19]. The Irish Jobs Minister described this recruitment drive as "a major endorsement of the tech environment in Dublin and further confirmation of our city's status as the internet capital of Europe". At the same time, the mainstream media have reported on the recruitment challenges faced by multinational companies as Ireland simply does not produce enough language graduates. In July 2012, the Irish Independent newspaper ran a headline stating "PayPal forced to 'import' 500 workers and warns of language skills crisis." And Interviewee 8 mentioned some of the social repercussions of recruitment from abroad in times of economic crisis: "Although multinational companies need people with language skills, the native population still does see these non-Irish workers as intruders. They fail to recognize the richness of it."

Figure 12: Screengrab image of Facebook Dublin's recruitment site shows the range of language skills sought by the company in Dublin[20]

4.3.3 Construction

The booming construction sector, based on an inflated property bubble, began to slow down from 2007, dealing a significant blow to the many immigrants who had found employment there. Migrants played an important role in the thriving construction sector as both an unskilled labour force and as specialized employees during a time of rapid growth (see Bobek et. al., 2008). Migrants in the former category were not required to have a high level of English and were thus more vulnerable to exploitation. In response, trade unions issued information translated into Polish, Lithuanian, Romanian and Chinese (ibid., p. 9). In some instances it proved useful to speak a migrant language in order to facilitate communication between management and workers (ibid., p. 12). As the sector went 'from boom to bust', many of the low-skilled workers have fewer chances of finding work in another area on account of poor English-language skills (Krings et. al., 2011, p. 13). In 2011, unemployment among non-Irish people was higher than that of Irish-born people (22% as opposed to 18.5%). One factor may be low abilities in the English language. Support for English-language programmes for adults in Ireland has also been subject to cuts in recent years.

4.3.4 Tourism and hospitality

Coupled with high levels of economic development, Dublin saw a dramatic increase in the opening of restaurants, pubs, hotels, retail outlets, leisure centres and other services from the 1990s up to the recent economic recession.

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19   www.facebook.com/careers/locations/dublin
20   ibid

The hospitality sector continues to be a major employer of economic migrants in Ireland. In April 2011, hotels and restaurants had the highest proportion of non-Irish national workers at 38.1% (CSO, 2012).

Dublin has the highest "share" of tourism employment in Ireland (Fáilte Ireland, 2011). 56% of hotel employees in Dublin are non-Irish – a much higher proportion than other regions in Ireland (ibid.). As Dublin attracts large numbers of visitors, the tourism industry is faced with catering to speakers of other languages. Interviewee 10 highlighted the number of initiatives taken in their place of work:

> Our leaflets are available in ten languages: Irish, English, 'Old Europe' such as German, French, Italian, Spanish; I added Japanese and Dutch, because I was friends with a Dutch tour guide, and even though Dutch people speak very good English, they like the fact that you offer the leaflet in Dutch; I then added Russian and two versions of Chinese. We also have an audio guide in English, German, French, Italian and Spanish. The languages are chosen on the basis of demand. We're also considering Portuguese and Hindu [sic], as we have a lot of visitors coming from Brazil and India at the moment.

On the other hand, Interviewee 11 pointed to the limitations in services for tourists:

> We can offer language tours but only to group bookings of 15 people and over. For individuals visiting then from international countries who do not have English as their mother tongue, I imagine it is quite frustrating when they visit.

The reasons for this are unclear. It could be that multilingual personnel are not being recruited as Interviewee 11 also stated:

> I always feel that when we're employing people who work in a tourism industry, that they should have a second language. It's not always the case, but I would like us to develop that strategy going forward.

4.4.5 Targeted recruitment: Nursing

Targeted recruitment continues to take place outside the European Economic Area for software engineers, computer programmers, medical practitioners, chefs and nurses. In relation to nursing, the Dublin Academic Training Hospitals (DATH) Recruitment Project targets nurses from overseas. *An Bord Altranais* (the Irish Nursing Board[21]) seeks proof of English-language competence for those seeking to register as nurses in Ireland. A test must be taken with the International English Language Testing System (ielts.irg) for a fee. English-language training for nursing is provided by private companies such as the Swan Training Institute and the Irish Business School in Dublin. A number of foreign-born nurses also work in the informal care sector. Retention of nurses from overseas is also of concern (Humphries et. al., 2008). A survey of foreign-born nurses by the Royal College of Surgeons in Dublin revealed that many consider onward migration to Canada, the USA and Australia, or returning home (ibid.). It must also be added that active recruitment of Irish nurses is currently taking place in England, Canada, Australia and the USA, which exacerbates work shortages in this area.

4.4.6 Small businesses/ethnic entrepreneurs

Ireland's economic transformation also saw an increase in small firms: between 1995 and 2005, the number of small firms in Ireland jumped from 160,000 to 250,000. Around 30% of all small firms were based in Dublin in 2005 (CLIP, 2012, p. 12). Small firms were also established by non-Irish entrepreneurs and Cooney and Flynn found in their 2008 study that approximately 12.6% of foreign nationals in Ireland fell into the "employer/own account worker" category. Around 49% of ethnic entrepreneurs in Ireland come from central or eastern Europe, 28% from Africa, and 18% from Asia (CLIP, 2012, p. 18). A concentration of so-called 'ethnic' businesses is found in the north inner city around Moore Street and Capel Street and includes shops, hair and beauty outlets, food markets and restaurants.

Figures 13, 14:
*Multilingual signage on storefronts in
Dublin's north inner city*

The economic sphere is the most visibly multilingual aspect of city life, particularly in store frontage. Szmytkowska (2011, p. 149) analyzes Polish migration in Dublin's urban spaces, and describes the "quantity of Polish institutions and their activity in real and virtual space" as "very visible", particularly in the two central Dublin districts (D1 and D2), and in Tallaght (D24), noting that in addition to Polish language, businesses also display the Polish national colours, emblems and other typically Polish symbols.

Figure 15: Polish and eastern European food store on Parnell St.

Mottiar and Walsh (2012) provide a fascinating insight into the ethnoscape of Parnell Street East (D1), described by travel guides as Dublin's 'tiny Chinatown'. This deprived inner city district of historical significance had a brief time known as 'Little Africa' before morphing, over the last ten years, into an area with many Asian entrepreneurs. The authors describe the aspirations of local business owners to erect an arch marking this status, as in other international cities with a 'Chinatown', and "the tension that exists between whether areas should be encouraged and supported to develop as specific monocultural area such as a Chinatown, or in a more multicultural form encompassing other immigrant and local groups who operate and use such urban space" (2012, p. 29).

Figures 16, 17: Multilingual signage on Moore Street (Dublin 1) shows the diversity of languages, cultures and foods in central Dublin

Figure 18: "Chinatown" sign on Parnell St.

Whilst there may be some reluctance in Dublin City Council to fully embrace a 'Chinatown', there is a recently established 'Italian Quarter' in the Smithfield district – a result of urban planning in hospitality rather than representing the site of Ireland's original Italian population. One interviewee touches on the peculiarities of newly 'branded' areas when asked about language visibility; she notes "a lack of signage and knowledge of the Italian quarter" (Interviewee 1), although it is described as such in tourist guides to Dublin.

Many of the challenges faced by minority ethnic entrepreneurs are shared with majority community business owners. However, immigrant entrepreneurs also have distinctive needs, not least in terms of language (Cooney and Flynn, 2008).Cooney and Flynn's 2008 study showed that Dublin accounted for the highest concentration of ethnically-owned businesses across 13 counties in Ireland. Over 1,000 foreign nationals were identified to take part in the survey, however not all of them participated to the end. The authors speculate that this was due to limited English-language abilities (ibid., p. 50 n.11). The study included a direct survey of foreign nationals across Dublin city centre. Of those surveyed, language barriers played a role in the challenges faced as ethnic entrepreneurs, however they were not deemed as significant as challenges in terms of finance, the business environment, discrimination and gaining the trust of the majority Irish population (ibid., p. 77). Cooney and Flynn's study was produced at the Institute for Minority Entrepreneurship, established at the Dublin Institute of Technology (DIT) on Aungier Street. It is specifically designed for entrepreneurs coming from disadvantaged and minority communities, including ethnic minority communities.

The Guide to Enterprise in Dublin City[22] offers guidance to business owners and those seeking to start their own business in Dublin. Some sections of the website have been translated from English into Irish, including the section "For those from abroad, welcome to the business world in Dublin…" CLIP (2012, p. 40) notes that the hardcopy guide is only available in English, except for a general introduction in Polish, Chinese, Czech and Latvian. Pinkowski surveyed ethnic entrepreneurs in Dublin in 2009 (using surveys in English and in Polish). He recommended that support agencies for (prospective) immigrant entrepreneurs make information available in the relevant languages and that translators should be available in city departments (Pinkowski, 2009, p. 48). In consultation with a Chinese supermarket owner on Parnell Street, he concluded that an ability to speak English does not necessarily conflate with an ability to read regulations in that language (ibid). Negative perceptions of all immigrants in the workplace can arise through language barriers and the media ought to report on some of Dublin's success stories in order to overcome such images in society (ibid). Interviewee 8 echoed this observation: "I do think that quite often non-native English speakers are underestimated professionally."

4.4.7 Language and the economy

Power and Szlovak maintain that the migrant population in Ireland tends to be highly skilled and that "the variety of languages they hold is invaluable to the Irish economy and the majority reports no major problem with speaking English". Quinn (2010, x) links highly qualified migrants with an ability to integrate successfully as they will usually possess relevant language skills. However, Ireland's immigrants tend to be under-employed and Barrett (2006) speculates that this may be due to lack of English-language skills. For example, many teachers from Lithuania do not practice their profession in Ireland. Census results correlate language ability with employment. According to analyses from Census 2011, foreign-language speakers who claimed to speak English well or very well were less likely to be

unemployed. Results also show that over 35,000 people who did not speak English well or at all were at work in April 2011. 12% of them worked as cleaners, 10% in restaurants, 8% in building and landscape maintenance.

Language training is critical to the integration and economic potential of migrant workers and the Department of Education and Skills has provided English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL) through its adult literacy programmes. In 2008, around 12,000 migrant adult students enrolled in such courses (Quinn, 2010, p. 38; Department of the Taoiseach, 2009). Although the National Skills Strategy recommended that such provision be extended, financial cuts have been made in recent years making access to English-language training more difficult. Power and Szlovak call for language provision to be combined with occupational related instruction. Moreover, recognizing the value of education to economic development, they call for the Modern Languages Initiative in primary schools to be continued and linked with existing voluntary initiatives by migrant communities. The EPIC programme (Employment for People from Immigrant Communities) assists migrants in Dublin in seeking employment. Some 338 migrants participated in the programme in 2011 which focused on language skills training, interview skills and coaching (EPIC Programme Statistics, 2011). Run by Business in the Community, the programme claims to have impacted the lives of over 1,300 people of 93 nationalities.[23]

4.4 Multilingualism and plurilingualism in the private sphere

We understand multilingualism in the private sphere to encompass activities related to family, friends and social networks, local or city-wide activities.

4.4.1 Religious life

According to the Directory of Migrant-Led Churches and Chaplaincies (AICCMR, 2009) in Dublin, Christian worship is conducted in the following languages, in addition to English and Irish:

Brazilian Portuguese	Lingala
Cantonese	Malayalam
French	Mandarin
German	Polish
Greek	Romanian
Italian	Russian
Kilundi	Tamil
Korean	Yoruba
Latvian	

These languages are listed as the principal languages of migrant-led churches. The website[24] provides a search option by "service language". In addition to the languages listed earlier, Christian services in Dublin are available in Arabic, Coptic, Filipino, Hindi, Lithuanian, Ndebele, Portuguese, Spanish, Syriac, Telugu and Zulu.

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23   http://www.bitc.ie/employment-programmes/employment-for-immigrants/
24   www.dublinchurches.com

Other faith groups in Dublin demonstrate similar diversity. The Dublin City Interfaith Forum[25] records the main activities of the Baháʼí, Buddhist, Hindu, Muslim, Jewish and Sikh communities of the city. Much of their public communications are delivered uniquely through English, but they demonstrate considerable linguistic diversity in their activities. For example, the Islamic Cultural Centre in Dublin provides translation services between English/Arabic, French/Arabic, French/English, English/Kurdish, and Kurdish/Arabic, as well as sharing accommodation with Dublin's Muslim National (primary) School (see above).

Figure 19: Multilingual Bible groups in Dublin

4.4.2 Informal language learning

Technology means that communities are no longer restricted to existing networks or neighbourhoods. The growth of meet up groups (people who come together with a common social purpose, often making initial contact online)

Figure 20: French-language meet up at a weekend food market.

reflects some of the language interests in the city. At the time of writing, one of the largest meet up websites[26] listed a Dublin Spanish Language group, an English Corner group, two German speakers in Dublin groups, a Dublin Dutch and Flemish group, and a Dublin Russian-language group.

A number of Dublin City libraries host free 'Conversation Exchanges' where participants practise their language skills with native speakers. These include a long-established conversation exchange in the Dublin Central Library, with weekly exchanges in French/English, German/English, Irish/English, Japanese/English, Russian/English, Spanish/English and Italian/English, as well as general English language conversation. Conversation exchanges are also available in six of the other public libraries[27] in the city, including Polish, Irish Sign Language and general Irish conversation.

4.4.3 Theatre and the arts

Dublin has a thriving theatre scene, mainly in English but with more and more Irish-language events. This sector is also diversifying. Interviewee 7, Director of an Arts and Community Centre, emphasized that "the Irish language is a central part of our work" and that "we have found and publish text in Polish, Latvian in our programme to reflect these communities in our locale." In 2008, the Players' Theatre at Trinity College hosted a Korean language production of Samuel Beckett's *Waiting for Godot*.

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25   www.dublincityinterfaithforum.org
26   www.meetup.com
27   Ballymun, Walkinstown, Terenure, Cabra, Raheny and Donaghmede

4.5 Multilingualism and plurilingualism in urban spaces

Our theme of 'urban spaces' encompasses all publically visible and audible aspects of a city, and includes the analysis of language in public signage, advertising, official and unofficial street art, instructions and announcements. These visual and audible aspects of multilingualism are the external markers of Dublin's many languages. Study and analysis of these markers is perhaps best approached with the tools provided by the academic field of linguistic landscaping. Kallen provides a helpful summary on the affordances of this approach: "Studies of the linguistic landscape generally start from the assumption that signage is indexical of more than just the ostensive message of the sign" (2010, p. 41). For example, Ireland has two official languages, Irish and English, with legislation providing for how these languages are used by public bodies in signage and stationery.

Figures 21 (above left), 22 (above right): Typical bilingual street signage in Dublin. Figure 21 displays Gaelic typeface, while the more modern sign in Figure 22 is displayed in Latin script.

4.5.1 Linguistic landscape: Bilingual Dublin

As Carson and Extra (2010, p. 8) remark, "Travellers who arrive at Dublin airport from abroad easily receive the impression that they have arrived in a bilingual country." However, outside of the public and educational spheres, Irish is not as audible as public signage suggests. Interviewee 3 writes, "Having lived in Dublin for several years I am surprised by the lack of people that speak Irish. Only on occasion over the past 10 years have I heard Irish language conversations". Interviewee 1 describes displays of Irish as 'haphazard', and suggests a different model: "In Canada, French and English appear on all domestic goods, though perhaps it doesn't help with the usage of language, it helps with the visibility of it."

The Irish language has a protected status in the public sphere (including education) due to its constitutional recognition as "first official language" of the Republic of Ireland (Bunreacht na hÉireann, 1937, Art. 8). The Constitution recognises English as the second official language. Although Ireland's public sphere has operated bilingually in many respects, the Official Languages Act of 2003 seeks to strengthen the provision of Irish in public services. For instance, according to the Act, "oral announcements (whether live or recorded) made by a public body, the headings of stationery used by a public body and the contents and the lay-out of any signage or advertisements placed by it shall, to such extent as may be specified, be in the Irish language or in the English and Irish languages". Ireland's official language policy is immediately visible in traffic signs: "The use of Irish on the country's traffic signs is the most visible illustration of the state's policy regarding our official languages, Irish and English. The road authorities are obliged to adhere to the obligations imposed on them with regard to the use of those languages on traffic signs under the Traffic Signs Manual" (An Coimisinéir Teanga, n.d.). A Statutory Instrument in 2008 provided clarity on the presentation of bilingual signage placed by public bodies, which must either be provided in the Irish language, or in the Irish and English languages. The following provisions apply to bilingual Irish and English signage (Article 7.2):

   (a) the text in the Irish language shall appear first,

(b) the text in the Irish language shall not be less prominent, visible, or legible than the text in the English language,

(c) the lettering of the text in the Irish language shall not be smaller in size than the lettering of the text in the English language,

(d) the text in the Irish language shall communicate the same information as is communicated by the text in the English language, and

(e) a word in the text in the Irish language shall not be abbreviated unless the word in the text in the English language, of which it is the translation, is also abbreviated.

This legislation explains the visual – although not always grammatically accurate – prominence of the Irish language in Dublin in the civic sphere. As Kallen (2010, p. 47) notes, "Bilingualism here is not dependent on linguistic vitality in the sense of everyday language use". Whilst Irish is not as visible in the city's economic sphere, what Kallen and Ní Dhonnacha describe as "Celticised English" (2010, p. 22) is ubiquitous in Dublin city centre, its symbolism pointing towards Irish authenticity. This often includes the use of English names in a Celtic script rather than lexical items. One well-known online restaurant guide lists 600 restaurants in Dublin city centre, of which only eight have Irish names. Whilst Dublin is geographically distant from the Gaeltacht areas of Ireland, the Irish language is audible in the city. Nevertheless, just how often (and how much, and how well) Irish is spoken in everyday public life is a subject of controversy. Take, for instance, an extract from a tourist information website:

The language spoken in Dublin is English. Street signs and official buildings are signposted in both English and Gaelic, the indigenous Irish language. Despite this, you are highly unlikely to hear any Gaelic spoken on your travels across town. You are, however, likely to come across a lot of cursing in casual conversations. Relax, it does not carry the same connotations it might in other languages[28].

Interviewee 6 describes the Irish language as "a very good example" of a language used symbolically. At the same time, as there have been a number of pushes to promote Irish in different sectors in recent years, Interviewee 7 notes that "the symbolic may be the only real starting point."

The intersection between the languages most likely to be heard in Dublin (including multiple varieties of English) is beautifully illustrated in a short film by Daniel O'Hara (2003), entitled *Yu Ming is Ainm Dom*[29] (My name is Yu Ming). A young Chinese man decides to come to Ireland, having picked his adventure at random by spinning a globe. Before coming, his next step is to learn Irish. However, on arrival in Dublin, he is perplexed to discover that no-one understands him. He meets an elderly man, Paddy, in a pub who explains, *Ní labhraítear Gaeilge anseo, labhraítear Béarla anseo, ó Shasana*! (Irish isn't spoken here, English is spoken here, from England!). The eavesdropping barman is amazed at the conversation between the two, and exclaims, "Did you know that ol' Paddy could speak Chinese?" The young Chinese man finds a job in the Connemara Gaeltacht (Irish-speaking area), on the west coast of Ireland. Yet there may also be lack of awareness on where and when Irish is spoken in Dublin. Concentrations of Irish speakers have emerged in the city to the extent that the recent Gaeltacht Bill (2012) allows for recognition to be given to them. This has led to much speculation that areas with concentrations of Irish speakers (such as Clondalkin or Ballymun in Dublin) may attain some sort of Irish-speaking status. *'Urban Gaeilge'* is now frequently raised in Irish language policy-making (McMonagle, 2012).

4.5.2 Linguistic landscape: Migrant languages

Whilst the representation of Irish in Dublin reflects authoritative (state-led) and symbolic aspects of Ireland's societal bilingualism, there are examples of pragmatic multilingualism outside of the Irish/English paradigm. Kallen (2010) shares an example of a police road safety poster in Portuguese and Arabic from 2006 in Dublin's inner city. Road rules are available in Irish, English, Russian, Polish and Mandarin Chinese. He goes on to argue that "[p]ublic safety

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28   www.dublin.info, 2009 – 2011
29   www.youtube.com/watch?v=JqYtG9BNhfM

concerns may become a point of entry in the official domain for languages that lack official status, even where there appears inconsistency as to which languages should receive this recognition" (p. 49). The 'Safe Pass' course for construction site safety is available in Polish, Romanian, Czech, Hungarian, Russian, Lithuanian and Portuguese. An example of advertising for the Safe Pass course in Polish (above the shopfront of a Chinese supermarket and internet café) is shared by Kallen (2010, p. 49). Whilst warning signs for road works are addressed by An *Coimisinéir Teanga*, construction site safety notices in Dublin are monolingual (English), with supporting imagery.

Migrant languages are very visible in the shop-fronts of Dublin's cityscape, and are arguably the languages most encountered in the city's streets by citizens and visitors alike.

Figures 23, 24: Multilingual storefronts in Dublin.

Yet despite this new visible and audible linguistic heterogeneity and beyond the academic studies cited here, little attention has been paid to the representation of languages in the city. Cronin writes, "The transformation of the linguistic landscape in Ireland has been rapid and extensive, but has remained almost wholly ignored in political and cultural debates" (2004, p. 12).

Cronin (2004) cites a Romanian journalist's experiences of Dublin's transforming soundscape in 2001. Anna Lebedeva writes, "Walking around Dublin these days is like travelling the world. The streets echo the languages of the city's newly found diversity and one cannot stroll the span of the Ha'penny Bridge without bumping into a foreigner." Kallen (2010, p. 44) puts forward three inter-related developments which have contributed to increasingly multilingual markers in the city: diversification in the tourism industry, international retail, and in-ward migration. It is also worth noting that developments in printing technology, including reduction in printing costs for large, professional signs, have also contributed to a more multilingual linguistic landscape. Kallen (2010, p. 55) highlights how the 'linguistic landscape in Dublin is undergoing a profound change'. This shifting city landscape is observable both in '"top-down", official signage' (ibid., p. 42) in the civic domain – where state agencies now frequently provide information in Russian, Polish, Arabic and Mandarin Chinese in addition to Irish and English – through to prolific multilingual entrepreneurial signage, and even at the level of street detritus (ibid., p. 55).

4.5.3 Linguistic soundscape

The audible mix of languages on Dublin's streets can lead to some tense situations. Two of these are described by our interviewees. Interviewee 12 describes a communication breakdown witnessed on public transport in Dublin:

> Every country in the world is represented [on my bus] and you see a lot of racial clashes. The last time was last week [...] the card wasn't working and there was quite a tense exchange between her and the bus driver. She didn't quite have the English to – she just kept saying, "It not work, it not work," and he was going, "Show it to me, it's out of date" and there was a whole issue."

Interviewee 2 mentions a "lack of tolerance" for people speaking in another language in a loud voice on mobile phones on buses. Interviewee 12 describes a lack of familiarity with spoken Irish in Dublin:

> I think we're not terribly attuned to language generally, and on a personal basis I'm probably asked three times a week what language I'm speaking when I'm speaking Irish [by Irish people]. Relatively recently I was racially abused on a bus when I was speaking on the phone to my father [in Irish]. A woman started blasting that she was sick of us, and we were taking jobs, and her daughters were home with no work and it was because of the likes of us.

> People occasionally get a bit shy around me [when I'm speaking Irish] or a bit defensive. When people ask me what language I'm speaking, the response is "Well I always hated [Irish] in school, I can't stand it"... It always initiates a strong emotional response ... whether it's positive or negative.

5. Analysis of key themes/discussion

Our consideration of multilingualism and plurilingualism in five spheres of Dublin life has revealed some examples of good practice as well as tensions and contradictions. This section will draw together some of these key themes.

Sometimes, professionals and academics who work in areas such as this start their exploration of a topic in a higher gear than necessary, without moving up progressively through the lower gears. Our small data set of thirteen interviews tends to support this habit: as practitioners and theoreticians, we fail to engage sufficiently with the way that terminology is understood and used in the very spheres we study. For example, every linguist (theoretical or applied) will have been asked the question "how many languages are you fluent in?", although their work will be most likely far removed from the work of professional linguists such as translators or interpreters. In this way, five of our thirteen interviewees described themselves as 'monolinguals', despite learning and using other languages. When asked if they were monolingual, bilingual or multilingual, they responded:

- Monolingual with some French and Irish

- Monolingual English (Minimal French, Spanish, Italian, Russian and Irish)

- Monolingual, I suppose (but with good levels of Irish)

- Monolingual […] however I have recently begun learning the Korean language

- Monolingual with some French and Irish

These responses chime with the comment by Interviewee 12: "I think we're not terribly attuned to language generally". In this perspective, multilingualism is not only seen as something 'done by others', but is also an ideal, balanced bilingualism or the plurilingualism of professional interpreters, aspirational levels of linguistic proficiency rather than the work day reality which linguists understand as a typical multilingual repertoire: first language fluency, with varying levels of comprehension in different languages according to education, needs, family background and work, which may include only receptive comprehension or a few words in a particular language variety. These comments on 'monolingualism plus' ("monolingual with some French and Irish") indicate a need for researchers and professionals in the field of multilingualism to raise awareness of what a multilingual repertoire looks like in practice and in the real lives of citizens. This would help mitigate, for example, the assumption that native speakers are automatically qualified to help out as interpreters in high stakes settings. For example:

> Irish has caused some issues because I think people assume that as we are a national institution that we should all be able to speak Irish, and that can be a difficulty. For instance TG4 a few times asked to do interviews, and there was a slight scramble: who was going to speak Irish? Because if you're going to do an interview you can't just get by. We've three or four Irish speakers who would have Irish but who might not necessarily have the required information about the subject of the interview; so that has, on occasion, been a bit sensitive (Interviewee 10).

Interviewee 12 describes the opposite situation, where native speaker proficiency is assumed to be sufficient:

> […] you tend to be asked to translate […] on the hoof because it saves them money. It's like, "Oh, but you can just bang it out," and you're like, "Well actually, how long has it taken you to get this English wording right?" So there's a lot of misuse of knowledge in that way.

Interviewee 11 notes that the tourism sector understands the information of getting a translation right, and that native speakers are not necessarily qualified translators:

> We use the assistance of an agency. We have found in the past, given the prestige of the company, that it is not advisable to assume that, for example I speak German and I can translate everything into German, because I would have a certain dialect, certain colloquialisms that would not translate into corporate language. So we would use an agency to fulfil our requirements for translating documents.

Part of this normative perception of multilingualism must be understood within the various roles of the Irish language described earlier. Interviewee 7, when asked whether multilingualism was a sensitive matter in Dublin, responded, "I think the issue of sensitivity may relate to the relationship we have with our own native language".

In Dublin, 'intercultural dialogue' and shared spaces can only fully be understood with reference to recent immigration to Dublin, where multilingualism and plurilingualism are simultaneously 'problems' and assets. Interviewee 4 describes a situation where multilingualism is only seen as a sensitive or delicate topic when discussed in relation to immigration. In other optics, it is seen as an asset and is not a sensitive topic. Interviewee 6 states that the only reasons that ML/PL may be raised as issues occur when "immigrants have yet to learn or choose not to learn the language".

Some examples of linguistic support in health and in civic life are identified above, but there are clear training and policy response needs as well. As Dublin handles a new situation of population diversity, translation and interpreting practices seem to occur in a policy vacuum in the public and educational spheres, where schools, for instance, are left to make their own arrangements. Whilst this may result in good practice in some instances (see the example from Blanchardstown mentioned above), it may also mean a lack of systematic encouragement to maintain and encourage home languages.

6. Conclusion

The city of Dublin has a long history of societal multilingualism and individual plurilingualism, despite vacillating between two versions of dominant monolingualism (Irish or English) and the strong emphasis on Irish/English bilingualism. Dublin in 2013 is audibly and visibly a city full of many languages. Yet, it is impossible to talk about multilingualism and plurilingualism in Dublin without referring to what David Little calls the 'policy vacuum' (see, e.g. Little & Lazenby Simpson, 2009): the lack of any overarching or specific language policy in Ireland beyond that which deals with the role of Irish in the public or educational spheres. The disconnect between visual bilingualism and what is seen, heard and experienced in the streets of Dublin is striking. Appadurai (1997, p. 33) coins the term "ethnoscape" to describe the "the landscape of persons who constitute the shifting world in which we live: tourists, immigrants, refugees, exiles, guestworkers, and other moving groups and persons constitute an essential feature of the world, and appear to affect the politics of and between nations to a hitherto unprecedented degree." Our brief exploration of multilingualism points to some of the power relations and tensions in a city which is impacted by an official bilingual language policy, recent migration, international tourism, industry and a globalised economy. Perhaps conceiving of Dublin as an ethnoscape, with all the complexities and changes inherent in human and urban life, is a helpful way of understanding multilingual lives in the city. Through our short review of five spheres of Dublin life, and the voices of our interviewees, this report adds to the growing body of literature on linguistic diversity in urban settings, and the crucial role of languages in contributing to the quality of city life.

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Appendix

This appendix contains text data from the 13 interviews carried out for the Dublin city report. All interviews were carried out by email, and the text transcribed here is unedited. Questions without responses are omitted.

Interviewee 1 (ECON) Business excellence specialist

1. Do you think that the issue of multilingualism is a sensitive (or delicate) matter in Dublin? No.

2. We've noticed in our study of different examples of multilingualism that some languages are more visible than others in Dublin. In your area of work, are there are any particularly important or visible languages? Any neglected or less visible languages? We (employer) tend to focus on French, Italian, Spanish, German language skills (as that's where the highest percentage of our business for EU non-english language is). As we expand further into Europe it's challenging for us to find staff to support other European languages. Particularly given our staffing needs for these additional languages is less, we ideally looking for staff who are fluent in more than one language.

3. The co-existence of multiple languages in a city brings with it some challenges and choices for the city council and companies, for example in terms of policy decisions. Do you agree with the way that Dublin approaches the issue of multilingualism? Can you give an example of a recent approach that you agree or disagree with? I'm not familiar enough with Dublin City policy decisions to comment.

4. In your area of expertise, how are translation/interpretation handled? Do you think it is handled well and appropriately? Translations are ideally handled by internal content team. When they are fully booked, we rely on staffers who speak the language to translate/write content. When the former it's handled well, but slow. When the later, it's not ideal but better than nothing.

5. Have you recently witnessed difficulties experienced by an individual or group because of a lack of proficiency in English or Irish? No.

6. Is there any one language you think deserves a boost in use or in visibility in this city? I'm clearly blind to language usage in the city as apart from commenting on a lack of signage and knowledge of the Italian quarter I can't think of other areas where language is used or an area where a boost is needed.

7. Sometimes, languages are used symbolically, but there isn't really any in-depth provision for the speakers of that language. Have you any experience of this type of symbolic, 'on the surface' language use in your area of work/expertise? Symbols - no, but we have a seperate language of acronyms that mesmerise newcomers.

8. If you could change one thing about languages in Dublin … That Gaellic wouldn't be so hap-hazardly used. In Canada, French and English appear on all domestic goods, though perhaps it doesn't help with the usage of language, it helps with the visibility of it.

9. What is your role/position, and what type of work do you do? / What kind of agency/institution do you work for? (you don't have to answer this question in much detail if you prefer not to) I'm a Business Excellence Specialist, I work on cost saving initiatives and customer experience improvements. I work for the Customer Service Org of an Online Sales Company.

10. How would you identify your ethnic origin? Canadian by way of French, English and Danish heritage.

11. Do you consider yourself to be monolingual/bilingual/multlingual? Bilingual.

12. Which languages do you speak or interact with in (a) your personal and (b) work life? to both - English and French.

13. Would you say that you are a keen language learner? No.

14. If you have learned other languages, what has been the most significant language learning experience for you? I had to re-learn English in secondary school. It was a painful experience to be able to speak the language but not to be able to write it.

15. Anything we haven't asked and you would like to add? Nothing to add.

Interviewee 2 (ED) ESOL development officer

1. Do you think the issue of multilingualism is a sensitive (or delicate) matter in Dublin? In some instances, yes. This is through lack of tolerance:

    a. people speaking in another language in a loud voice on mobile phones on buses,

    b. ignorance of the value and necessity of speaking other languages in educational settings and preserving first language skills: I have heard of some school staff encouraging students to "speak English" when groups of migrant teens are on a break from class and chilling in groups speaking their first language.

    c. Ignorance of the scaffolding nature of using the first language to consolidate meaning in a second language – some teachers are unsure whether to separate teens in their class who speak the same first language or allow them to stay together for support.

    d. Some Primary teachers telling parents to speak English at home with their children when their first language is not English: the lack of understanding of the role of the L1 in literacy development.

    e. Some children in primary are embarrassed when their parents speak to them in front of their peers in their first language.

    The above incidences (b, c and d) are on the wane as people in Education begin to value multilingualism more and its key role in learning. Leargas does great work in highlighting Language Learning.

2. We've noticed in our study of different examples of multilingualism that some languages are more visible than other in Dublin. In your area of work, are there any particularly important or visible languages? Any neglected or less visible ones? Eastern European languages are more visible – Polish in particular as they are in the majority. Russian and Chinese are becoming more popular in schools. French, German, Spanish are most visible in schools with some schools employing language assistants with EU funding to support language development of teens. All Non-EU languages in schools are badly neglected as you can't sit them for the Leaving Cert. This is a 2 tier system in which some languages are privileged (students can get up to 100 points towards going to third level for reading and writing their first language) and other languages are devalued and marginalized. With the new Junior Cert cycle there is great scope for short 10 week courses to be offered in schools and in TY which students may later choose to continue and sit for LC.

3. The co-existence of multiple languages in a city brings with it some challenges and choices for the city council and companies, for example in terms of policy decisions. Do you agree with the way that Dublin approaches the issue of multilingualism? Can you give an example of a recent approach that you agree or disagree with? Names of stops displayed on a screen as you arrive at them on Dublin Buses. Names of stops are in English and Irish. This is great for all. If the names were spoken it would help migrants pronounce place names and relate pronunciation to what they see on the screen in writing.

4. In your area of work/expertise, how are translation/interpretation handled? Do you think it is handled well and appropriately? There is a huge need for professional community interpreters in minority languages at an affordable price to support schools and parents in communicating with each other when important messages

need to be gotten across. Could this be funded by embassies?

We recently ran a CAO information night targeted at migrant parents where all slides were translated into 15 languages. Information was given on using dictionaries in State exams and sitting Non-Curricular exams for the Leaving Cert. We hope that this will be an annual event despite relatively poor turnout.

There needs to be a one-stop shop online for migrants to access all information on living here in multiple languages.

Citizens information staff should have language training (how to speak in graded English) to migrants who come looking for information. There's no need to shout or speak overly slow it is the words/jargon used which can confuse and alienate.

Social welfare letters and all government communication should be graded to A2 level for people whose first language is not English. There is way too much formal language and jargon used. This is not the same approach as to use Plain English and people don't understand this.

5.   Have you recently witnessed difficulties experienced by an individual or group because of a lack of proficiency in English or Irish? Yes. Students who are not literate in their first language being told as reasonable accommodation for the Leaving Cert they can use a bilingual dictionary in their exams!! This is a HUGE area of need in our schools – Roma students, Congolese students. These students don't have special needs necessarily – just the lack of opportunity to attend school in their own country before coming here as a refugee. They are not counted as having special needs nor are there resources in place for EAL so they fall between two stools. They are on a conveyor belt moving towards state exams without the required support in place. Schools are doing what they can but more resources (teaching hours) are needed for minorities who seriously struggle with English.

6.   Is there any one language you think deserves a boost in use or in visibility in this city? Lingala. It is different to French and this leads to confusion.

Arabic. It unfortunately has a negative image due to politics and needs a boost to promote it. You can sit it as a curricular language for the Leaving Cert but as it is spoken in so many countries no one group seems to be organizing classes for this group of students (unlike polish, Bulgarian, Hungarian, Finnish where one country speaks the language). It is important that native speaking teens can preserve their language skills in Arabic and not be ashamed of their heritage.

8.   If you could change one thing about languages in Dublin, what would it be?

A programme to twin schools in countries where students study the language so more students can actually meet and see how each other live. (a continuation from etwinning but with costs covered). This would help promote languages enormously.

Subsidized/funded organized classes for all minorities to sit Leaving Cert in their first language – not only those who speak EU languages. Then for the LC students could do their exam online – see www. assetlanguages.org.uk – there is a curriculum/ exams offered in many minority languages in UK. Doing exams online would greatly cut costs.

I would like to see more non- EU languages available both for the JC and LC.

I strongly feel that international students *should be funded to sit KET (after 2 years in Ireland) and PET for Schools* (University of Cambridge ESOL) before going into Senior Cycle – as this is the level at which students can handle the academic language of the LC. They should get points for doing PET or First Cert for college. This would recognize the effort involved in studying second level subjects through a language which is not your first one. Credit should be given for this.

Funding should be made available for children from disadvantaged backgrounds to go to the gaeltacht if a love and appreciation of the language is to be promoted. Gaelcolaistí have become for the middle classes.

9. What is your role/position, and what type of work do you do? / What kind of agency/institution do you work for? (you don't have to answer this question in much detail if you prefer not to). I work for County Dublin VEC. I am ESOL Development Officer. I look after (as best I can in an age of cutbacks!) the needs of international students in our 26 second level schools. I currently run training courses for science, geography, history etc teachers so that they can take into consideration the language needs of international students in their classes when they plan, deliver and assess their lessons. This is a short course with certification from Uni of Cambridge ESOL. We also try to fund PET for Schools for those entering senior cycle each year. 6th years sit BULATS and therefore have a cert of their English language competence to present with their CV when applying for work. We became a University of Cambridge Exam Centre to support our students and teachers. I also coordinated 8 Adult refugee Groups up until Dec 2013.

10. How would you identify your ethnic origin? Irish. I was asked to go into more detail (where funding for minorities was an issue for a course I did in UK) but don't think it is appropriate.

11. Do you consider yourself to be monolingual/bilingual/multilingual? Multilingual.

12. Which languages do you speak or interact with in (a) your personal and (b) work life? I speak Spanish at home as my husband is Mexican. My children have only ever addressed him in Spanish. I promote their learning of French, Spanish and Irish in any way I can at home.

13. Would you say that you are a keen language learner? Yes.

14. If you have learned other languages, what has been the most significant language learning experience for you? Being thrown in the deep end and having to sink or swim. While living and working in Spain for 11 years, teaching Spanish undergrad students (groups of 50) of Medecine, Biology, Applied Chemistry, Dietics, Journalism reading comprehension skills. Delivering the class in Spanish with a microphone when I am not a graduate of any of those subjects.

15. Anything we haven't asked and you would like to add? I'm sure there's lots more I could add but can't think of anything now!

Interviewee 3 (PUB) Embassy local staff worker

1. Do you think that the issue of multilingualism is a sensitive (or delicate) matter in Dublin? I do not think that this a big current issue. However, I foresee it becoming a bigger issue as greater exchanges continue between Ireland, its European partners and developing economic partners.

2. We've noticed in our study of different examples of multilingualism that some languages are more visible than others in Dublin. In your area of work, are there are any particularly important or visible languages? Any neglected or less visible languages?

   I work alongside several Korean colleagues, so in my day-to-day work, the Korean language is the one I encounter most. Having lived in Dublin for several years I am surprised by the lack of people that speak Irish. Only on occasion over the past 10 years have I heard Irish language conversations.

3. The co-existence of multiple languages in a city brings with it some challenges and choices for the city council and companies, for example in terms of policy decisions. Do you agree with the way that Dublin approaches the issue of multilingualism? Can you give an example of a recent approach that you agree or disagree with? In general, I think the councils in Dublin and companies in the area are doing a good job in relation to this matter. I would

cite the example of libraries as an excellent example of assisting integration and language exchange.

4. In your area of expertise, how are translation/interpretation handled? Do you think it is handled well and appropriately? I have not had much experience in relation to this matter. However, I know when it comes to translating Korea-English and the opposite, there are significant challenges in Dublin as there is limited professional services in this area.

5. Have you recently witnessed difficulties experienced by an individual or group because of a lack of proficiency in English or Irish? Yes. I study alongside Chinese students that have a very low level of English. This is a significant challenge in undertaking their course work.

6. Is there any one language you think deserves a boost in use or in visibility in this city?

   I think to distinguish Ireland as different to the UK, the use of the Irish language and nameplaces should be encouraged.

7. Sometimes, languages are used symbolically, but there isn't really any in-depth provision for the speakers of that language. Have you any experience of this type of symbolic, 'on the surface' language use in your area of work/ expertise? No specific experience relate to this matter.

8. If you could change one thing about languages in Dublin Make Irish more visible. Also provide free introductory language classes to encourage update of foreign languages.

9. What is your role/position, and what type of work do you do? / What kind of agency/institution do you work for? (you don't have to answer this question in much detail if you prefer not to) I recently finished working for the Korea Embassy in Dublin. I am now enrolled on the MBS in Asian Studies course as part of the Farmleigh Fellowship programme.

10. How would you identify your ethnic origin? Irish

11. Do you consider yourself to be monolingual/bilingual/multilingual? Monolingual.

12. Which languages do you speak or interact with in (a) your personal and (b) work life? Only English in both.

13. Would you say that you are a keen language learner? No. However, I have recently begun learning the Korean language.

14. If you have learned other languages, what has been the most significant language learning experience for you? Not relevant.

15. Anything we haven't asked and you would like to add? It would be valuable if some government body provided free introductory classes to Asian languages so that business people and the general public had an opportunity to get a feel for very different languages and get a taste for the languages before possibly moving on to study it in greater detail.

Interviewee 4 (PRIV) Voluntary sector

1. Do you think the issue of multilingualism is a sensitive (or delicate) matter in Dublin? Yes and no! It depends on the people to whom one is talking. When it's mentioned to people not immediately involved with immigrants, it can be sensitive; otherwise people see it as an asset.

2. We've noticed in our study of different examples of multilingualism that some languages are more visible than other in Dublin. In your area of work, are there any particularly important or visible languages? Any neglected or less

visible ones? I worked in a school until January 2012 where a systematic effort was made to ensure that the mother tongues of all students were represented in the common areas in the school. It is my experience that the most visible non-English languages in Dublin are Polish and Chinese.

3. The co-existence of multiple languages in a city brings with it some challenges and choices for the city council and companies, for example in terms of policy decisions. Do you agree with the way that Dublin approaches the issue of multilingualism? Can you give an example of a recent approach that you agree or disagree with? I'm not sure that I am aware enough to respond to this question with any authority. I know that many efforts are made by the public service to produce information booklets in as many languages as possible but without researching this, I cannot be more definite.

4. In your area of work/expertise, how are translation/interpretation handled? Do you think it is handled well and appropriately? In general, not well handled and I think it has a lot to do with diminishing finances. Too many people do not distinguish between translators and interpreters.

5. Have you recently witnessed difficulties experienced by an individual or group because of a lack of proficiency in English or Irish? Yes, at a CAO information evening recently organised by the Immigrant Parents & Guardians Support Association in Fingal Community College, a number of questionnaires completed by attendees pointed to the fact that parents found it difficult to access the information as there were no interpreters there (lack of funds) although the documents were available in sixteen languages.

6. Is there any one language you think deserves a boost in use or in visibility in this city?

Many but I would focus on languages like Romanian and Albanian because of the major challenges faced by those groups.

7. Sometimes, languages are used symbolically, but there isn't really any in-depth provision for the speakers of that language. Have you any experience of this type of symbolic, 'on the surface' language use in your area of work/expertise?

Yes, in education.

8. If you could change one thing about languages in Dublin, what would it be?

I would oblige all schools to carry out a linguistic audit among their students and once the number of mother tongues being spoken in a school was ascertained, I would oblige schools to ensure they are represented on the walls of the school in some way. I will attach a copy of the Beata Project which IPGSA is currently working on and is a way of executing this audit.

9. What is your role/position, and what type of work do you do? / What kind of agency/institution do you work for? (you don't have to answer this question in much detail if you prefer not to)

Recently, I left teaching in order to pursue a PhD in the area of immigration and integration; until I decide on a topic, I am working with a number of organisations in a voluntary capacity including:

• The Immigrant Parents & Guardians Support Association (see www.ipgsa.ie).

• The English Language Support Teachers' Association.

• Amnesty International as a teacher trainer with Amnesty International.

• The Professional Development Service for Teachers – occasionally.

10. How would you identify your ethnic origin? Irish.

11. Do you consider yourself to be monolingual/bilingual/multilingual? Monolingual.

12. Which languages do you speak or interact with in (a) your personal and (b) work life? English.

13. Would you say that you are a keen language learner? No.

14. If you have learned other languages, what has been the most significant language learning experience for you? N/A.

Interviewee 5 (ECON) Multinational company worker

1. Do you think that the issue of multilingualism is a sensitive (or delicate) matter in Dublin? I never thought that multilingualism is an issue in the first place. From my observation and experience being in Dublin, it is highly encouraged to be multilingual. It is also a sort after skill/talent in multinational corporate organisations and jobs like interpreters and language teachers.

2. We've noticed in our study of different examples of multilingualism that some languages are more visible than others in Dublin. In your area of work, are there are any particularly important or visible languages? Any neglected or less visible languages?

   Body language and facial expressions! – It is widely understood across the borders. But if I were to pick a language in this category, it would be Italian.

3. The co-existence of multiple languages in a city brings with it some challenges and choices for the city council and companies, for example in terms of policy decisions. Do you agree with the way that Dublin approaches the issue of multilingualism? Can you give an example of a recent approach that you agree or disagree with?

   E.g. Instructions on how to use the new Dublin bus ticket system – it was in English, Polish and Chinese. It was a great idea to educate most commuters in languages that are widely spoken in Dublin.

4. In your area of expertise, how are translation/interpretation handled? Do you think it is handled well and appropriately? I don't have much experience in this area so I can't comment.

5. Have you recently witnessed difficulties experienced by an individual or group because of a lack of proficiency in English or Irish? Yes I have, mainly in Irish language.

6. Is there any one language you think deserves a boost in use or in visibility in this city? Irish and Mandarin.

7. Sometimes, languages are used symbolically, but there isn't really any in-depth provision for the speakers of that language. Have you any experience of this type of symbolic, 'on the surface' language use in your area of work/ expertise?

   Don't think I have experience this in my area of work or expertise.

8. If you could change one thing about languages in Dublin.

   Provide more European language schools. This will provide jobs in Ireland for Irish people with European language skills rather than employing staff from other European countries with such language skill.

9. What is your role/position, and what type of work do you do? / What kind of agency/institution do you work for? (you don't have to answer this question in much detail if you prefer not to) I work in a multinational company with multinational employees. Most of them are Bi-lingual at least.

10. How would you identify your ethnic origin? I have a bit of a mishmash accent and not a common surname. But I

guess the closest way to identify my ethnic origin is my accent.

11. Do you consider yourself to be monolingual/bilingual/multlingual? Multilingual

12. Which languages do you speak or interact with in (a) your personal and (b) work life? Personal – English, Malay, Cantonese. Work – English.

13. Would you say that you are a keen language learner? Yes I am.

14. If you have learned other languages, what has been the most significant language learning experience for you? Having the option and opportunities to work in other countries where these languages are widely used.

15. Anything we haven't asked and you would like to add? The word Multilingualism is a bit of a tongue twister. Must be my ethic origin!

Interview 6 (ED) Educational evaluation

1. Do you think the issue of multilingualism is a sensitive (or delicate) matter in Dublin? I don't think it has been raised as a particularly problematic issue in Dublin. The expectation, I suppose, is that most people in Dublin speak English. The only reason it might be raised as an issue is where eg immigrants have yet to learn / choose not to learn the language

2. We've noticed in our study of different examples of multilingualism that some languages are more visible than other in Dublin. In your area of work, are there any particularly important or visible languages? Any neglected or less visible ones? English is the predominant language. The second most visible language is probably Irish, though in my view most people wouldn't be aware of this. All traffic signs, place names etc appear bilingually. The destinations on Luas lines are offered bilingually. Buses display their destinations bilingually. A very small number of shops and restaurants mostly in the inner city display signs in eg Chinese or Polish.

3. The co-existence of multiple languages in a city brings with it some challenges and choices for the city council and companies, for example in terms of policy decisions. Do you agree with the way that Dublin approaches the issue of multilingualism? Can you give an example of a recent approach that you agree or disagree with? I don't think that Dublin approaches the issue of multilingualism. Bilingualism is another matter. I'm not aware of any concerted effort on the city's part to promote the concept of multilingualism – which of course is not to say it doesn't happen.

4. In your area of work/expertise, how are translation/interpretation handled? Do you think it is handled well and appropriately? Many of my colleagues are bilingual and can work effectively through English and Irish. Our website has information posted in a number of languages and this has been done by external contractors.

5. Have you recently witnessed difficulties experienced by an individual or group because of a lack of proficiency in English or Irish? Children enrolling in school without English (eg immigrant children or children born here to immigrant parents where the home language is not English) experience difficulties in school. They do not present with the richness of language that would be evident in a native speaker. My experience, however, is that if the child enrolls in school at the age of four or five, he / she can become very proficient in English very quickly.

6. Is there any one language you think deserves a boost in use or in visibility in this city?

   I'd have a problem with the concept of any one language 'deserving' a boost. It would also depend on what exactly was meant by boosting – what would be the intention / aim? For example, the promotion of ISL would be welcomed greatly by the deaf community and its promotion would be of real and tangible benefit to users.

7. Sometimes, languages are used symbolically, but there isn't really any in-depth provision for the speakers of that language. Have you any experience of this type of symbolic, 'on the surface' language use in your area of work/ expertise? Irish is a very good example.

8. If you could change one thing about languages in Dublin, what would it be? Make it easier for speakers of Irish to congregate to use the language.

9. What is your role/position, and what type of work do you do? / What kind of agency/institution do you work for? (you don't have to answer this question in much detail if you prefer not to) Education – evaluation of schools / teachers.

10. How would you identify your ethnic origin? Irish.

11. Do you consider yourself to be monolingual/bilingual/multilingual? Bilingual.

12. Which languages do you speak or interact with in (a) your personal and (b) work life? English and Irish for both.

13. Would you say that you are a keen language learner? Not particularly.

14. If you have learned other languages, what has been the most significant language learning experience for you? Immersion.

Interviewee 7 (PUB) Director, arts and community resource centre

1. Do you think the issue of multilingualism is a sensitive (or delicate) matter in Dublin? I think the issue of sensitivity may relate to the relationship we have with our own native language.

2. We've noticed in our study of different examples of multilingualism that some languages are more visible than other in Dublin. In your area of work, are there any particularly important or visible languages? Any neglected or less visible ones? We have found and we publish text in Polish, Lativian in our programme to reflect these communities in our locale.

3. The co-existence of multiple languages in a city brings with it some challenges and choices for the city council and companies, for example in terms of policy decisions. Do you agree with the way that Dublin approaches the issue of multilingualism? Can you give an example of a recent approach that you agree or disagree with?

   I think DCC has worked very well in this area to combat any access issues and at local level lots of communities have developed intercultural groups. There is though the ongoing issue of the diverse language resources that are required.

4. In your area of work/expertise, how are translation/interpretation handled? Do you think it is handled well and appropriately?

   We have a close relationship with Ballymun Intercultural group and our programme contains half a page of information in English, Arabic, Slovakian and Polish.

   At all events that might have a large contingent of people attending with different languages we partner with same to have resources on site

   Work in the Irish language is a central part of our work.

5. Have you recently witnessed difficulties experienced by an individual or group because of a lack of proficiency in English or Irish?

You can see it in some contexts but over all I think there has been quite a good transition.

6.   Is there any one language you think deserves a boost in use or in visibility in this city?

Polish.

7.   Sometimes, languages are used symbolically, but there isn't really any in-depth provision for the speakers of that language. Have you any experience of this type of symbolic, 'on the surface' language use in your area of work/expertise?

Yes this happens in the context of the Irish Language a lot, but this is changing and there has been a push in the last number of years to mainstream same within the arts

Axis has been central to this in provision of work in irish language

In relation to other contexts I agree yes but also that the symbolic may be the only real starting point.

8.   If you could change one thing about languages in Dublin, what would it be?

That the education system would allow languages to be viewed as living, spoken things.

9.   What is your role/position, and what type of work do you do? / What kind of agency/institution do you work for? (you don't have to answer this question in much detail if you prefer not to) Director of an arts and community resource centre.

10. How would you identify your ethnic origin? Irish.

11. Do you consider yourself to be monolingual/bilingual/multilingual? Mono lingual with some French and Irish.

12. Which languages do you speak or interact with in (a) your personal and (b) work life? English.

13. Would you say that you are a keen language learner? Would like to be but no.

14. If you have learned other languages, what has been the most significant language learning experience for you? n/a

Interviewee 8 (ED) PhD student

1.   Do you think the issue of multilingualism is a sensitive (or delicate) matter in Dublin? Yes. Although multinational companies need people with Multilanguage skills, the native population still does see these non-Irish workers as intruders. They fail to recognize richness of it.

2.   We've noticed in our study of different examples of multilingualism that some languages are more visible than other in Dublin. In your area of work, are there any particularly important or visible languages? Any neglected or less visible ones? Portuguese is often invisible because people fail in tell the difference between Portuguese and Spanish language. Also despite the increasing number of Brazilian in Dublin and the effort of the Irish government is attracting Brazilian students to Ireland, I never came across translated material for Brazilian immigrants.

3.   The co-existence of multiple languages in a city brings with it some challenges and choices for the city council and companies, for example in terms of policy decisions. Do you agree with the way that Dublin approaches the issue of multilingualism? Can you give an example of a recent approach that you agree or disagree with? It is necessary to provide translated version of institutional information regarding issues such as welfare, taxation system, visas, working law and so on.

4. In your area of work/expertise, how are translation/interpretation handled? Do you think it is handled well and appropriately? There is still limited support for non-native English speakers.

5. Have you recently witnessed difficulties experienced by an individual or group because of a lack of proficiency in English or Irish? I hear stories from Brazilian immigrants in a regular basis.

6. Is there any one language you think deserves a boost in use or in visibility in this city?

    Brazilian Portuguese.

7. Sometimes, languages are used symbolically, but there isn't really any in-depth provision for the speakers of that language. Have you any experience of this type of symbolic, 'on the surface' language use in your area of work/ expertise? I do think that quite often non-native English speakers are underestimated professionally.

8. If you could change one thing about languages in Dublin, what would it be? I believe if more native speakers could speak other languages than English conflicts and misunderstandings could be minimized.

9. What is your role/position, and what type of work do you do? / What kind of agency/institution do you work for? (you don't have to answer this question in much detail if you prefer not to) PhD student.

10. How would you identify your ethnic origin? Brazilian.

11. Do you consider yourself to be monolingual/bilingual/multilingual? Multilingual

12. Which languages do you speak or interact with in (a) your personal and (b) work life?

    (a) English and Portuguese, Italian and Spanish

    (b) English

    (c)

13. Would you say that you are a keen language learner? Yes.

14. If you have learned other languages, what has been the most significant language learning experience for you? English.

Interviewee 9 (ECON) Customer support in large multinational corporation

1. Do you think that the issue of multilingualism is a sensitive (or delicate) matter in Dublin? At work there are speakers of many different languages, so sometimes you have to be careful on what you comment; for example in a very recent instance yesterday, there were a lot of people together for training, and one girl was commenting that everything can be difficult because we have so many different languages, and she said, "The language they use, it sounds so weird, it sounds like Greek!" And there was a Greek guy beside her who said, "Hello, I'm Greek!" Everybody laughed afterwards but you always have to be a bit more careful in our context.

    Generally speaking though, I think in Dublin, multilingualism is everywhere, there are a lot of immigrants, you can always hear different languages in the city centre, so I don't know if it's something that strikes other people as something weird but I'm used to it. I would always be with Greek people and speaking Greek with each other, and I never found it uncomfortable or found anyone looking weird at me.

2. We've noticed in our study of different examples of multilingualism that some languages are more visible than others in Dublin. In your area of work, are there are any particularly important or visible languages? Any neglected or less visible languages?

    In my role I speak Greek 60-70% of my time, and the rest is English. My area is customer support, so it's self-evident that there will be support in a lot of different languages...but the main ones would be the more mature markets. English is one of the biggest markets, then French, Italian, German are the biggest ones, the most apparent ones.

    In my case we have a lot of smaller languages in the same team, so we have Lithuanian, Latvian, Portuguese, Slovenian, Serbian, so these are all very small markets but because there are very few representatives, employees, we're all part of the same team. So everybody speaks their own language with their two or three colleagues who speak the same language, but we would all communicate in English together, with our managers, because all the managers are also either Irish or French so we wouldn't have the same language.

    Mostly the visibility of the language depends on the size of the team, so for example the French team would have ten or fifteen people working for the team, so obviously it's a bigger team, they are one group on their own, while we have to be with other smaller markets so you can't say "The Greek team", you have to say "The emerging markets" or "The smaller markets", so immediately that hides our language, we're not called by the name of our language, while other markets would be.

    Outside my role, usually the more senior you are the more you would use English as a lingua franca...Usually we would speak our native language if we all go to lunch together, but usually English is the language you hear more than any other in the canteen; and then again the bigger languages, so a lot of Italian, French, German.

3. The co-existence of multiple languages in a city brings with it some challenges and choices for local government and companies, for example in terms of policy decisions. Do you agree with the way that Dublin, or your company, approaches the issue of multilingualism? Can you give an example of a recent approach that you agree or disagree with? I think that [this company] specifically celebrates the fact that it's a multinational environment so there are language courses, but only initiated by [employees] themselves, not by the company, there is no policy or initiative from the company itself to teach languages...But on other occasions there are events now and then to celebrate different nationalities, so we might have an event called "Get to know Poland!" and we'll have food from Poland, or "Get to know the Greek culture!" so we have different events to get to know the different nationalities and that was interesting. It's always positively dealt with, and I think it's amazing how they organise these events, even for the smaller markets, for example Lithuania or Serbia, so a month ago we had a band from Lithuania playing that nobody had heard of, only the Lithuanians, so they were super happy! But again the company sponsored that, the band to come here and play.

4. In your area of expertise, how are translation/interpretation handled? Do you think it is handled well and appropriately? Well since we have English as the main language, it's our lingua franca, then we don't really in our everyday communication need to translate; and when translation is needed, the native speaker will provide it in English, so there are no translators, there are no interpreters, we might use language technology so online translation, this could be used on some occasions, but it's mostly the native speaker that would provide the translation himself... [For example] if we have feedback from Greek clients we would translate them [into English] for other teams at work. I think that's good because you don't put another person in the middle so why would you use another person to translate something?

    For my role, the people that are already doing the job that I'm doing would provide the translation to the other team, but it's not a formal document, so it would just be e.g. feedback from clients, or something that has come to our attention that we need to forward to the other team so it wouldn't be official.

    If we needed to have something publically from one language to another then we do have another team that takes over the translation, so these are either internal or external, if there needs to be a formal translation for something.

5. Have you recently witnessed difficulties experienced by an individual or group because of a lack of proficiency in English or Irish? At work I think most people can express themselves in an adequate way [in English] to say what they want to say. They may choose the wrong word here and there, that's not such a big problem, at least in my role because I'm in a very junior role; in a more senior role I'm not sure how much it would matter or what impact it would have. I can't think of an example from work right now. I do have a friend who had problems at work and he needed lessons actually of English to be able to understand his level, he was really really low, so he wouldn't be able to communicate adequately at work so he had difficulties, but I'm not really sure of the details of this story. He's taking language classes at the moment; he took the classes himself, independently. On a personal level, mostly when you are with a group of friends and they're all from different nationalities and one person cannot express themselves really well in English we would have difficulties, particularly if the cultures are different, and it could lead to misunderstandings. At the workplace though, most people have quite a standard level of English.

6. Is there any one language you think deserves a boost in use or in visibility in this city?

   Irish! Because it's Irish, and I don't think I hear it very much. You can see it obviously on the signs and stuff but I don't hear it being spoken.

   I rarely come across the Greek language in Dublin but I don't think it deserves a boost; if it's there it's there, but why should it be any higher than any other language?!

   I'm a bit surprised that Polish [is not more visible]...They are the biggest majority in Dublin but I don't see anything in particular; like for example in work we had a day "Learn about Poland", and celebrate, and eat their food and drink their beers! But I've never seen such a festival in Dublin for example, for Poland. I mean I know it's the majority so these people contribute to the life here; they work here, so it would be nice to have a festival. Unless there is one and I'm just not aware of it.

7. Sometimes, languages are used symbolically, but there isn't really any in-depth provision for the speakers of that language. Have you any experience of this type of symbolic, 'on the surface' language use in your area of work/ expertise? No.

8. If you could change one thing about languages in Dublin …

   I've been looking for language courses, run by the government or by universities, and I haven't found classes for all languages, for example; it has to be either very difficult languages that are being taught or very "cliché" languages, the ones that are most commonly used. I think it would be better to have more courses available in different places, at more reasonable prices maybe.

9. What is your role/position, and what type of work do you do? / What kind of agency/institution do you work for? (you don't have to answer this question in much detail if you prefer not to) Customer support in large multinational corporation.

10. How would you identify your ethnic origin? Greek.

11. Do you consider yourself to be monolingual/bilingual/multlingual? Bilingual (Greek/English).

12. Which languages do you speak or interact with in (a) your personal and (b) work life? Greek/English.

13. Would you say that you are a keen language learner? Yes.

14. If you have learned other languages, what has been the most significant language learning experience for you? Learning English, because now I work in Dublin!

15. Anything we haven't asked and you would like to add?

I think Dublin doesn't really take advantage of the different nationalities that actually live here…I know that Dublin is multicultural and if you get the chance to meet the right people you would be exposed to that and you would benefit, even if you are Irish or even if you are not, but I don't think there's a lot of opportunity for festivals or other things that are organised by the city itself.

Interviewee 10 (URBAN) Tourism

1. Do you think that the issue of multilingualism is a sensitive (or delicate) matter in Dublin? Irish has caused some issues because I think people assume that as we are a national institution that we should all be able to speak Irish, and that can be a difficulty. For instance TG4 a few times asked to do interviews, and there was a slight scramble: who was going to speak Irish? Because if you're going to do an interview you can't just get by. We've three or four Irish speakers who would have Irish but who might not necessarily have the required information about the subject of the interview; so that has, on occasion, been a bit sensitive. Otherwise people just assume that we're only in English.

2. We've noticed in our study of different examples of multilingualism that some languages are more visible than others in Dublin. In your area of work, are there are any particularly important or visible languages? Any neglected or less visible languages?

    [Outside my workplace] I notice that the signs are all in Irish. I probably am aware for signs for Polish or Russian shops.

    In this job, our leaflets are available in ten languages: Irish, English, 'Old Europe' such as German, French, Italian, Spanish; I added Japanese and Dutch, because I was friends with a Dutch tour guide, and even though Dutch people speak very good English, they like the fact that you offer the leaflet in Dutch; I then added Russian and two versions of Chinese. We also have an audio guide in English, German, French, Italian and Spanish. The languages are chosen on the basis of demand. We're also considering Portuguese and Hindu, as we have a lot of visitors coming from Brazil and India at the moment.

3. The co-existence of multiple languages in a city brings with it some challenges and choices for local government and companies, for example in terms of policy decisions. Do you agree with the way that Dublin, or your company, approaches the issue of multilingualism? Can you give an example of a recent approach that you agree or disagree with? Probably we don't address it fully; there's an element of leaving everything in English because that's the way it is. The only thing is we would like to put up signage in various languages, and it slightly irks me that if I do that, I have to do it in Irish as well…I find that a bit irksome, that the process isn't more organic; only 7% of my visitors are from Ireland and the rest are from other countries.

4. In your area of expertise, how are translation/interpretation handled? Do you think it is handled well and appropriately?

    All my leaflets were translated in-house [by people in various language departments around the university]. I would usually contact a language department in the university and ask a postgraduate student to do the translation for me, but I did once get it done by an outside company because it needed to be done instantly, so that was outsourced. The audio guides were done by a company and they provided the actors to do the speaking voice, so they were outsourced. An Italian visitor once pointed out some typos in the Italian leaflet, so we got that fixed, but ordinarily the system is fine.

5. Have you recently witnessed difficulties experienced by an individual or group because of a lack of proficiency in English or Irish?

    Occasionally a group will come in and there's a misunderstanding, for instance with school groups coming in; however we have had misunderstandings with groups who speak English too, so it's sometimes communication, and not just a language problem.

6. Is there any one language you think deserves a boost in use or in visibility in this city?

    I think probably French because I think if you were able to do English and French, you've actually covered quite a lot; people who speak Spanish and Italian will also find French a help, so I think probably French.

7. Sometimes, languages are used symbolically, but there isn't really any in-depth provision for the speakers of that language. Have you any experience of this type of symbolic, 'on the surface' language use in your area of work/ expertise?

    It's kind of like Irish, isn't it? We're supposed to be doing all this – there's a whole load of stuff on the website; I'm meant to provide tours in Irish, but not on demand, somebody would have to ask me and I'd have to provide a tour guide. So there's a little artificiality around Irish because in all the years I've been here I've [only] got three letters as Gaeilge.

8. If you could change one thing about languages in Dublin

    I wish that Irish people were better at languages. When you think of going abroad and people can speak a few languages; Irish people don't tend to. And yet we should because we tend to be expressive, and we have a musical ear, and we're very expressive in our own language, so I think it's a shame that we aren't able to speak other languages. Maybe it's because we're an island; if we were only mainland Europe we'd have to. We don't have to.

9. What is your role/position, and what type of work do you do? / What kind of agency/institution do you work for? (you don't have to answer this question in much detail if you prefer not to) The visitor services manager. I run the admin, the back-up of the public areas in the Old Library. I do some tours, we process vouchers, run the team of library guards, and a range of other tasks.

10. How would you identify your ethnic origin? Irish

11. Do you consider yourself to be monolingual/bilingual/multilingual?

    Monolingual English (Minimal French, Spanish, Italian, Russian and Irish)

12. Which languages do you speak or interact with in (a) your personal and (b) work life? English

13. Would you say that you are a keen language learner?

    A general interest; enough that I did Russian and Italian lessons. I wouldn't have a great ability I think.

14. If you have learned other languages, what has been the most significant language learning experience for you?

    Learning Italian and Russian; I found I was able to use them both when I travelled to Italy and Russia.

Interviewee 11 (Urban) Tourism

1. Do you think that the issue of multilingualism is a sensitive (or delicate) matter in Dublin? I don't think it's sensitive; it's a realistic question to pose, because we are an international visitor centre, so it is realistic to expect people with multiple languages to be visiting us. It's a reality. It has posed challenges because in our operation of our business we ask ourselves do we have to provide audio guides, do we consider changing our way of describing our visitor experience, because all of our guides and all of our tours are conducted through English. We can offer language tours but only to group bookings of 15 people and over. For individuals visiting then from international countries who do not have English as their mother tongue, I imagine it is quite frustrating when they visit. To counteract this negative, we provide the tour brochure in eight different languages; we have

a short movie which we show at the start of the tour that we provide in eight different italic languages at the bottom, even though it's in English. The provision of an audio guide has come very much to the fore in the last two-three years, as our numbers are increasing from quite a wide range of foreign markets, and in particular because the Jameson brand itself is growing at such an astronomic rate in places like South America, where Spanish obviously and Portuguese are spoken, and we're seeing a large interest coming in from the Asian market, so Chinese is becoming a consideration. The eight languages in which the brochure is already translated was decided on the basis of the European base which we usually work with, and also considering that we are in Europe we felt that we had to have a European presence in what we can offer.

2. We've noticed in our study of different examples of multilingualism that some languages are more visible than others in Dublin. In your area of work, are there are any particularly important or visible languages? Any neglected or less visible languages?

   French and German are the two markets that we pay particular attention, simply because that's the demographic of tourists that come to us. On feedback coming in through social media reviews, I think Italian and Spanish needs to be looked at.

3. The co-existence of multiple languages in a city brings with it some challenges and choices for local government and companies, for example in terms of policy decisions. Do you agree with the way that Dublin, or your company, approaches the issue of multilingualism? Can you give an example of a recent approach that you agree or disagree with? I have not noticed such policies in Dublin [outside this company].

   I'm not responsible for making language policy decisions [in this company] and I don't agree with them, because I speak a fluent second language and not many other people do, and I've lived in Germany and other foreign language countries, and I never had a problem orienteering myself in those cities because English was always provided as a secondary language to orientate oneself with, and I don't think that's certainly neglected in Dublin.

4. In your area of expertise, how are translation/interpretation handled? Do you think it is handled well and appropriately? We use the assistance of an agency. We have found in the past, given the prestige of the company, that it is not advisable to assume that, for example I speak German and I can translate everything into German, because I would have a certain dialect, certain colloquialisms that would not translate into corporate language. So we would use an agency to fulfil our requirements for translating documents.

5. Have you recently witnessed difficulties experienced by an individual or group because of a lack of proficiency in English or Irish? I witnessed it at a Luas stop actually, and on the actual Luas, because [local stop] being the main thoroughfare from the station up to O'Connell St, there is nothing in a second language around any of the areas for them to orientate themselves. Simple things like 'tagging on' and what to do with a ticket, it's near impossible to understand what they're supposed to do. We don't have language options when buying tickets in vending machines, and on the Luas the second language that's spoken is Irish which half of us don't understand anyway, so I really think that that needs to be considered, definitely. I felt as an Irish person kind of obliged to help them because of that inefficiency. In Dublin definitely French and German are the most often required.

6. Is there any one language you think deserves a boost in use or in visibility in this city?

   That's very hard to say. From a tourism point of view, possibly either one of French or German, or Spanish... So it's hard to say what one language could really qualify for that. If I was a student coming from Central Europe, most languages being based in Latin, French would be pretty much understood across most of those platforms...Once you've had a French foundation in the language you can pull from it the Italian and the Spanish.

7. Sometimes, languages are used symbolically, but there isn't really any in-depth provision for the speakers of that language. Have you any experience of this type of symbolic, 'on the surface' language use in your area of work/ expertise?

Like Irish... We don't use it. We don't feel obliged to provide Gaelic or Irish to a demographic of visitor that just would not understand it.

8. If you could change one thing about languages in Dublin.

It needs to be more present, to prevent people from being biased against it. Because a lot of people who just don't understand a second language won't even bother to interact with a person. But it is the Irish character that prevails here because we like to be helpful and we like to assist, we want to be able to show you a direction; we're known for being like that...but our lack of a second language, a lot of Irish people don't speak a second language and it's quite alarming, and I think that has to come from the schools, it has to come from a young age.

If you're talking about services I just there isn't a very strong provision of a second language.

9. What is your role/position, and what type of work do you do? / What kind of agency/institution do you work for? (you don't have to answer this question in much detail if you prefer not to)

Sales and marketing executive for the Jameson Visitor Centres in Ireland (Dublin and Cork). Site inspections, sales calls, meeting media and research teams, working with operations team on the ground. Office-based but in the public domain.

10. How would you identify your ethnic origin?

Born in Johannesburg; mother German, brother American, father Irish. Irish passport. Came to Ireland at age 9.

11. Do you consider yourself to be monolingual/bilingual/multilingual?

Bilingual (German/English).

12. Which languages do you speak or interact with in (a) your personal and (b) work life? English and German.

13. Would you say that you are a keen language learner? Yes.

14. If you have learned other languages, what has been the most significant language learning experience for you? Spanish; lived in Spain for two years within past twelve years.

15. Anything we haven't asked and you would like to add? I always feel that when we're employing people who work in a tourism industry, that they should have a second language. It's not always the case, but I would like us to develop that strategy going forward.

Interviewee 12 (PRIV) Actor and writer

1. Do you think that the issue of multilingualism is a sensitive (or delicate) matter in Dublin? Yes. I think we're not terribly attuned to language generally, and on a personal basis I'm probably asked three times a week what language I'm speaking when I'm speaking Irish [by Irish people]. Relatively recently I was racially abused on a bus when I was speaking on the phone to my father [in Irish]. A woman started blasting that she was sick of us, and we were taking jobs, and her daughters were home with no work and it was because of the likes of us...

...People occasionally get a bit shy around me [when I'm speaking Irish] or a bit defensive...When people ask me what language I'm speaking, the response is "Well I always hated [Irish] in school, I can't stand it"...It always initiates a strong emotional response...whether it's positive or negative.

2. We've noticed in our study of different examples of multilingualism that some languages are more visible than others in Dublin. In your area of work, are there are any particularly important or visible languages? Any neglected or less visible languages?

    English is predominant...Irish certainly would be a minority sport in theatre. The Abbey [Theatre] have a remit to produce Irish language productions, and the artistic director is an Irish speaker, but they actually have less Irish productions now than they used to, I think because the Abbey has gone back to being writer only...and there isn't a tradition of writing theatre in Irish...So there is not an Irish language tradition in drama, so anything that has been written usually comes from a poet or an author; there aren't playwrights writing only and singularly in Irish.

    Irish is a curious one because it has great State support but it doesn't seem to be particularly proficient in terms of engendering relationship to it with its citizens. The policy is there but on the ground it's not really working out.

3. The co-existence of multiple languages in a city brings with it some challenges and choices for local government and companies, for example in terms of policy decisions. Do you agree with the way that Dublin, or your company, approaches the issue of multilingualism? Can you give an example of a recent approach that you agree or disagree with? The Abbey is concentrating a lot on writers so it's gone back to being a literary theatre...but what's happening in Irish is more of a European theatre-making experience. So the Abbey, the National Theatre, which has the remit [to produce at least one Irish language production per year] is not aligning with what's actually happening in the theatrical world.

4. In your area of expertise, how are translation/interpretation handled? Do you think it is handled well and appropriately?

    Often, particularly in TV, I would be asked [to translate a script]. You very rarely work from an original script [in Irish] in TV...but their storywriters will be working in English...I do sometimes find it problematic because you're never dealing with an original beast and it's always very last-minute and it's not very nicely written...

    I also direct dubbing of cartoons and I would do that kind of voiceover work and a lot of the translating of the scripts for that, and I would also do a lot of ad voiceovers in Irish. They always are in English and you tend to be asked to translate them on the hoof because it saves them money. It's like, "Oh, but you can just bang it out," and you're like, "Well actually, how long has it taken you to get this English wording right?" So there's a lot of misuse of knowledge in that way [in doing Irish voiceovers for ads]...There are always dictionaries in every studio because you're always triple-checking, and that's very difficult because you're trying to lip-sync a language that's a third longer on average than English...millions of dictionaries! Studios are dictionary-tastic!

5. Have you recently witnessed difficulties experienced by an individual or group because of a lack of proficiency in English or Irish?

    That would be kind of regular, wouldn't it? ...Every country in the world is represented [on my bus] and you see a lot of racial clashes. The last time was last week when a woman, I don't know where in Africa she was from, but she was with another two women, and they had a gaggle of children, and the first woman had the card and all the other people went forward, but the card wasn't working and there was quite a tense exchange between her and the bus driver. She didn't quite have the English to – she just kept saying, "It not work, it not work," and he was going, "Show it to me, it's out of date" and there was a whole issue.

6. Is there any one language you think deserves a boost in use or in visibility in this city?

    Of course I'm going to say Irish! Of course there are other languages now and I think it would be really

interesting to try and use that new multilingualism that we have on our doorstep, to lock ourselves out of notions of monolingualism and bilingualism and embrace language, because I'm not sure we're very good at embracing language. So I think there's an opportunity there – I think we could have a language festival.

7. Sometimes, languages are used symbolically, but there isn't really any in-depth provision for the speakers of that language. Have you any experience of this type of symbolic, 'on the surface' language use in your area of work/ expertise?

    Well yes, as we were talking earlier, where remits are very clearly laid out, and they're not followed through on the basis of an absence of available work, whereas actually that's not the case or at least there are ways around it...I don't understand why something that is a remit need necessarily be seen as a burden, I suppose, as opposed to opportunity.

8. If you could change one thing about languages in Dublin.

    On a completely idealistic [level] it would be great if, a little like 'Fiver Friday' [an unofficial local business initiative for Dubliners to spend €5 every Friday in a local shop] we could have 'Language Monday' or something, and that certain areas of Dublin would be designated those language areas and you could go in and use those language for that day, once a month even. Even if it was just on a street-by-street basis.

9. What is your role/position, and what type of work do you do? / What kind of agency/institution do you work for? (you don't have to answer this question in much detail if you prefer not to)

    I am an actor and writer.

10. How would you identify your ethnic origin? Irish.

11. Do you consider yourself to be monolingual/bilingual/multilingual? Bilingual (English/Irish) but I would comprehend quite a number of other languages (French and Italian)

12. Which languages do you speak or interact with in (a) your personal and (b) work life? (a) English/Irish (b) English/ Irish

13. Would you say that you are a keen language learner? Yes.

14. If you have learned other languages, what has been the most significant language learning experience for you? French was the most obvious in school, and my mother has some French so she always spoke a little of it.

15. Anything we haven't asked and you would like to add? I think with Irish it's very difficult and it's very complex. You have a strange relationship with it because in some way it's the language people feel that they should have, so when you speak it, it opens something in the other person that's not necessarily a positive thing.

Interviewee 13 (ED) Primary school teacher

1. Do you think that the issue of multilingualism is a sensitive (or delicate) matter in Dublin? One experience I've had would be when a parent would come in for a meeting about their child's progress and English may not be their first language and they might have very broken English, and in those situations it can be quite difficult to convey your message to the parent. I suppose in that case you have to be particularly sensitive to their culture as well and how they might perceive what you're saying, and in that situation you just try to keep it very straightforward and show examples of what I was talking about to get the meaning across. That would be the only issue or sensitive area I would have experienced...

    ...There isn't really any advice or guideline from the school or Department of Education on how to deal with

such matters, but I've heard of another school that asked a friend of a teacher who spoke Polish to sit in on a meeting with Polish parents who did not have English. The parents agreed to the interpretation and it worked very well and was a very beneficial experience for them, but it was all organised unofficially...We don't have any official guidelines but we would ask if they have any other member of the family who might be able to translate, but it's a very grey area in that respect.

2. We've noticed in our study of different examples of multilingualism that some languages are more visible than others in Dublin. In your area of work, are there are any particularly important or visible languages? Any neglected or less visible languages?

The school generally promotes Irish throughout the school year, but coming up soon before St. Patrick's Day we'll have Seachtain na Gailge [Irish week], which in recent years has kind of become a fortnight instead of a week. In that situation we would be encouraging the parents to use the cúpla focail at home, and that week we send our lists of words and phrases, simple things to do with food, greetings, table manners, all those sorts of things, and remind the children to teach them to Mammy and Daddy if they don't know them. We also have a special noticeboard in the school that displays Irish vocabulary to do with items from the [national] curriculum, hobbies, pets, feelings, etc., throughout the year; we have a special St. Patrick's Day noticeboard; and a traditional Irish band comes in for Seachtain na Gaeilge, and they speak in Irish to the children and teach them traditional Irish songs.

In Dublin, the only other language I see on road signs or streets is Irish. You wouldn't see any other language. I'd often hear, especially on the bus, people who are on the phone or passing on the street speaking another language. In the summertime again you hear French, German, Spanish and Italian [from young students]. You'd often hear Polish or other Eastern European languages as well.

3. The co-existence of multiple languages in a city brings with it some challenges and choices for local government and companies, for example in terms of policy decisions. Do you agree with the way that Dublin, or your company, approaches the issue of multilingualism? Can you give an example of a recent approach that you agree or disagree with? When I first started teaching we had a teacher who was a member of staff whose job it was specifically to take the children for 40 minutes a day, 5 days a week, for children whose first language wasn't English, to give them the basics. It would be a lot of oral work, vocabulary development, and then once they had some language, helping them with their reading and writing and phonics. Unfortunately then due to cutbacks we don't have a language teacher for those children anymore, so I do see that those children are at a disadvantage straight away coming into the Irish primary school now. The instruction from the Dept of Education is that those children are to be withdrawn with the children who receive learning support, so now children who say are having difficulty with reading, they are now included in one group with the children whose first language isn't English. This isn't very satisfactory because there are different needs there... Their needs aren't being met in the sense that it's not specific enough for their vocabulary development and enhancement...It used to be that the number of language support teachers were determined by the number of non-native English speaking children in the class, but now all language support services have been withdrawn and the directive is that students who do not have English as their first language go under the general allocation of learning support and there's no specific teaching time for them.

4. In your area of expertise, how are translation/interpretation handled? Do you think it is handled well and appropriately? I can't remember an instance in my school where translation or interpretation has been required and provided by the school. When I have to speak to parents who are non-native English speakers, I cope in the way I described before, simply by adapting my speech to suit them, but no official provisions are made by the school as such.

5. Have you recently witnessed difficulties experienced by an individual or group because of a lack of proficiency in English or Irish? There was a child I taught several years ago, she was in First Class (age 7), and she was from Lithuania. When she first started in the school she had no English at all...she was a very happy child, very enthusiastic, very eager to learn, she was super at Maths; but she didn't speak at all...Then one day in her language class she said 'Thank you' for something she got, and the language teacher was so relieved; I

wasn't too concerned because I knew she was happy, but the language teacher was very happy. From then on, I'd say a month later she was speaking in full sentences, and her mother told us she was beginning to speak English at home as well...They spoke their own language at home, and we'd often have seen that, and we'd be encouraging the parents to try to use the few words at home because if they don't speak English at home they don't progress I suppose.

6. Is there any one language you think deserves a boost in use or in visibility in this city?

    It would be hard to pick one over the other really...There are a lot of Polish people in Ireland now, we'd certainly see that in the school, Polish and Lithuanian, and I'm sure they find it very hard to negotiate their way around Dublin because there's absolutely nothing to help them, and their language is completely different to English. So I suppose particularly Polish.

7. Sometimes, languages are used symbolically, but there isn't really any in-depth provision for the speakers of that language. Have you any experience of this type of symbolic, 'on the surface' language use in your area of work/ expertise? No, I don't think so.

8. If you could change one thing about languages in Dublin. I think signs for tourists – you know, why is it just English or Irish? It might be no harm to have another language, at least one or two other languages visible. I don't know which you'd give priority to, but as part of a welcoming sign or a sign of acceptance, there should be signs and other languages visible in Ireland, in Dublin.

9. What is your role/position, and what type of work do you do? / What kind of agency/institution do you work for? (you don't have to answer this question in much detail if you prefer not to)

    I'm a primary teacher and I'm teaching Senior Infants [age 5-6] this year. I teach in a girls' junior primary school [age 4 – 8, Junior Infants to Second Class].

10. How would you identify your ethnic origin? Irish.

11. Do you consider yourself to be monolingual/bilingual/multilingual?

    Monolingual, I suppose [but with good levels of Irish]

12. Which languages do you speak or interact with in (a) your personal and (b) work life? (a) English [with occasional Irish when abroad](b) English and Irish

13. Would you say that you are a keen language learner? Yes.

14. If you have learned other languages, what has been the most significant language learning experience for you? You do need a certain standard of Irish to be a primary teacher and I would have gone to the Gaeltacht [Irish language school and camp] for three weeks every year from the age of 6 to 18, and then I took Irish as my academic subject in college. I would often put on the news on TG4 [Irish language TV station] and we'd often at work speak in Irish because the school would be keen to foster it and promote it, so it's good for the children to hear their teachers talking in Irish as well. I also did French and German in secondary school and I really enjoyed them, but I don't use them at all now, which is a pity.

15. Anything we haven't asked and you would like to add?

    There could be more done to foster multilingualism and encourage other languages, for tourists and even people coming to live in Ireland, because there's really very little to help them. Going back to my experience in the primary school as well, I do think there should be better allocation for those children whose first language isn't English, because it's a step backwards really from where we were.

LUCIDE

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