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The Irish Language Attitudes
Survey 2025:

Ability, Use and Attitudes on the Island of Ireland

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The Irish Language Attitudes Survey 2025: Ability, Use and Attitudes on the Island of Ireland
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Executive summary

Background

Research on language attitudes provides a valuable insight into how people experience their social worlds. While language attitudes give us a sense of how people feel about a particular language, they are also about more than just language. They provide a window into how speakers of the language in question are regarded in society. They reveal the social, cultural, and political values that are associated with that language, including the role it plays in building and projecting personal, group, and national identities. A person's attitude may be associated with the languages they choose to learn, how well they learn them, how frequently they use a language, with whom, and in what contexts. Language attitudes can also be associated with decisions such as where someone decides to live, to work and to go on holidays, and what schools they choose to send their children to. With respect to minority language vitality, language attitudes may play an important role in whether a language undergoes shift or is subject to revitalisation efforts. Gaining an insight into language attitudes represents a vital step in designing robust, effective language policy.

The present report builds on a long-established tradition of Irish language attitudes research. Large-scale survey research on attitudes to the Irish language dates to the 1970s and versions of the same survey have been administered roughly every 10 years since then in the case of the Republic of Ireland (ROI). The survey was first conducted in Northern Ireland (NI) in 2001 as part of an all-island survey funded by Foras na Gaeilge, and this jurisdiction has continued to feature in the surveys completed since then. Collectively, this body of work illustrates how Irish is and has been regarded by the general public in both ROI and NI and how they regard government policy in relation to the language. The surveys are, of course, set in two very different sociolinguistic contexts and need to be understood in relation to the status of the Irish language in both jurisdictions.

In ROI, Irish occupies a complex sociolinguistic position. It has a high status among the general population in terms of its symbolic value but is used on a regular basis by just a small minority of the public. As the national and first official language of the state, Irish enjoys a level of constitutional recognition and institutional support that is unusual when compared to many minority languages internationally. Irish is a core subject throughout primary and post-primary education, it has an established presence in public administration and broadcasting, it is supported in legislation by the Official Languages Act, and it has full official language status within the European Union. Furthermore, census data consistently show that a substantial proportion of the population report some ability in Irish, with 40% of respondents in the most recent census indicating that they can speak the language. Nevertheless, only a relatively small minority (1%) were returned in the census as using Irish on a daily basis outside the education system. Irish maintains a presence as a habitual community language mainly in a small number of Gaeltacht areas that have a high density of daily speakers of the language. Even in these most-strongly-Irish-speaking enclaves, maintaining Irish as a language of the home and the community is challenging. Beyond the Gaeltacht, new speakers of Irish, who have often learned the language through schooling, provide another avenue for the continued vitality of the language into the future.

Despite relatively low levels of use, attitudes towards Irish in ROI have remained broadly positive over time. A large majority has reported being positively disposed towards Irish, and the language has been widely regarded as an important marker of national identity and of cultural distinctiveness. Strong public support has also existed for the principle of state involvement in the promotion of Irish. Positive attitudes towards Irish have been evident even among individuals who report low levels of proficiency and who rarely, if ever, use the language. This apparent disjunction between favourable attitudes and limited use has been a consistent finding across decades of research and represents one of the central sociolinguistic questions when trying to understand the role of the Irish language in society in ROI. For the majority, Irish is valued as a symbol of heritage, belonging and identity, but it is much less commonly a language of regular communication. Investigating this tension between language attitudes and language use is important in order to formulate effective policy to support the Irish language and its speakers.

The situation in NI differs in important respects. In this jurisdiction, Irish functions as a minority language within a context marked by political division, contested identities, and negligible institutional support for the language historically. Census data indicate lower overall levels of ability and use than in ROI, and the language's social meanings are more sharply differentiated across the population. Ability in Irish, use of the language, and attitudes towards the language are closely related to religious background and national identity. Positive attitudes towards Irish have tended to be concentrated primarily within

the Catholic and Nationalist community, where the language has often been understood as a cultural resource, as an emblem of political identity, and as a symbol of historical continuity. Among the Protestant and Unionist population, Irish has been more likely to be viewed as irrelevant or as politically charged. The attitudinal profile among the Protestant and Unionist community in NI has included a small minority who support the language, a largely indifferent majority, and another minority who can be overtly hostile towards Irish.

These differences are set in the context of the broader political and institutional context in which Irish operates in NI. The language has historically lacked the official recognition and systemic support afforded to it in ROI. Policy to promote Irish has also often been entangled with politics and debates about identity. While there have been significant developments in recent decades, including the growth of Irish-medium education, recognition under the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, and the official recognition of the status of Irish in the jurisdiction, Irish is still contested in public discourse in NI. As in ROI, attitudes towards the language in NI are shaped not only by linguistic factors, but also by wider social, cultural, and political dynamics. In NI, however, these dynamics are polarised and are much more sharply contested than in ROI. This report situates the most recent survey findings within that context.

The survey

In the present report, contemporary attitudes to Irish across the island of Ireland were analysed using data from a large-scale, representative survey carried out in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland in summer 2025. The survey constitutes the sixth iteration of a programme of research that spans more than five decades. The survey findings therefore offer an opportunity to explore current attitudes to Irish in the context of those reported from previous surveys. As with the previous studies, the focus here is not solely on attitudes towards Irish and towards various aspects of Irish language policy. Data were also generated on participants' sociodemographic profiles, their self-reported ability in Irish, and their self-reported use of the language. This report was undertaken with a view to contributing to our understanding of the sociolinguistic dynamics of Irish in both jurisdictions, at a time of significant policy developments and ongoing debates about the language's future.

The survey instrument was developed in order to maintain consistency with previous iterations of the survey, while also incorporating necessary amendments to reflect current linguistic dynamics and policy contexts in ROI and NI. The methodology employed reflects best practice in large-scale survey research. In total, 1,000 adult participants were recruited in ROI and 498 adult participants were recruited in NI. The samples were probability-based, random samples, and they are, therefore, highly representative of, and generalisable to, the total population of adults in each jurisdiction (ROI margin of error $\pm 3.1\%$, at 95% confidence level; NI margin of error $\pm 4.4\%$, at 95% confidence level). Response rates of 50.1% (ROI) and 38.5% (NI) were achieved and this is very much in line with current trends in survey research participation nationally and internationally. Corrective weighting was applied to adjust the results and to bring them more in line with the population. This was done according to gender, age and region, and with reference to population estimates in the Central Statistics Office Labour Force Survey Q1 2025 in ROI and to Census 2021 in NI.

The questionnaire was administered through Computer-Assisted Personal Interviewing, marking the first use of this technology in this survey series. Trained Ipsos B&A interviewers conducted face-to-face interviews at participants' homes, with respondents given the option to participate through Irish or English. While the survey is necessarily limited to self-reported data, its scale and design provided a strong empirical basis for analysing broad patterns of ability, use and attitudes, and for setting these in the context of earlier surveys conducted over the past fifty years.

Results

With respect to ability in Irish, in the 2025 survey almost half (49%) of adults in ROI reported at least basic fluency in speaking the language, while one in ten (10%) indicated advanced fluency in Irish. The overall figure for basic or advanced fluency in Irish was lower in 2025 than that reported for the 2013 survey (57%). The figure reported for advanced fluency in 2013 was also higher at 14%. Self-reported ability to speak Irish was considerably lower in NI, where just under one in five respondents (19%) reported at least basic fluency in the language and only a small minority (2%) reported having advanced fluency. The figures reported for 2013 were 17% with at least basic fluency and 3% with advanced fluency.

A notable finding is the concentration of Irish language ability among younger adults in both jurisdictions. For instance, those aged 18–24 in ROI reported the highest levels of advanced fluency (17%) and were half as likely to report having no Irish compared to those aged 25–44 (14% compared to 29%). In NI, ability in Irish was strongly associated with national identity and religious affiliation, with proficiency concentrated primarily among those who identify as Irish and Catholic (e.g., 32% of Catholics reported at least basic fluency compared to just 4% of Protestants with at least basic fluency). Higher educational attainment was positively associated with Irish language ability in both jurisdictions, with degree holders more likely to report advanced fluency than non-degree holders (ROI: 13% of degree holders compared to 8% of non-degree holders; NI: 4% of degree holders compared to 1% of non-degree holders).

Regarding language use, speaking Irish daily remains relatively uncommon, with 9% of adults in ROI and 4% in NI reporting daily use of the language. The figures reported from the 2013 survey were 6% (ROI) and 1% (NI). The 2025 survey demonstrates a clear association between self-reported ability and frequency of use, with those who reported advanced fluency more likely to speak Irish regularly. In ROI, more than two thirds of adults with advanced fluency (68%) reported speaking Irish daily or weekly.

Exposure to Irish in the home during childhood was an important factor in current language use in ROI, with respondents who grew up in homes where Irish was spoken daily more likely to use the language themselves as adults than those who had limited or no exposure to Irish in the home. Parental ability in Irish and parental motivation for children to learn the language also showed strong associations with current language use. The importance of the education system in promoting Irish was furthermore evident. In ROI, a large majority of those who attended schools where all subjects were taught through Irish reported that they currently speak Irish daily or weekly (60% for those who attended Irish-medium primary schools and 64% for those who attended Irish-medium post-primary schools). Engagement with Irish language media was reported as relatively infrequent, though participants reported accessing television and video content more regularly than other forms of media in Irish.

Overall attitudes towards Irish were largely positive in both jurisdictions, with majorities expressing support for the language. In ROI, a very large majority (78%) of respondents in 2025 reported being in favour of Irish overall, which is notably higher than reported for the 2013 survey (67%). In NI, a majority (55%) also reported being in favour of Irish overall. While overall support for Irish was lower in NI than in ROI, this figure is higher than the large minority (45%) reported for NI in the 2013 survey.

Strong majorities (66%) in both jurisdictions disagreed that Irish is a dead language and many respondents linked the Irish language to the distinctiveness of their jurisdiction: in ROI, 70% agreed that Ireland would not be Ireland without the Irish language, while in NI 46% agreed with this same statement in relation to that jurisdiction. The 2025 survey revealed considerable support for various pro-Irish-language government policies. Very large majorities in ROI (ranging from 71% to 89%) and around half of respondents in NI (ranging from 49% to 59%) attributed importance to a range of government policy initiatives that support Irish. These included maintaining Irish in the Gaeltacht, ensuring Irish is taught well, and providing services and resources in Irish. Only a small minority in both ROI (13%) and NI (12%) agreed that the government should not promote Irish at all.

In terms of Irish in the education system, majorities in both jurisdictions agreed that all children should learn Irish as a subject (87% in ROI and 57% in NI) and that Irish-medium schools should be provided where demand exists (84% in ROI and 67% in NI). Sizeable minorities of parents in both jurisdictions demonstrated a willingness to send their children to Irish-medium schools if available locally (44% in ROI for primary and 40% for post-primary; 26% for both primary and post-primary in NI). This is much higher than the figures reported from the 2013 survey (in ROI 23% indicated this for primary and 12% for post-primary; in NI 18% indicated this for primary and 11% for post-primary).

The option for the linguistic future of Irish endorsed by the highest proportion of participants in both jurisdictions was for a bilingual model with English as the principal language. Over half (55%) of respondents in ROI favoured this model and just under half (44%) of respondents in NI favoured it. The reported figures for 2013 were 43% for ROI and 34% for NI. Only a tiny minority in both jurisdictions agreed that Irish should be discarded and forgotten (1% in ROI and 2% in NI). The percentages reported in 2013 for ROI and NI were 1% and 8% respectively.

Interpretation

The findings of the 2025 survey in relation to reported language ability can in large part be understood in the context of the historical and current status of Irish in the education system in both jurisdictions. In both ROI and NI, Irish-medium primary and post-primary schools are scarce relative to their English-

medium equivalents and relative to other minority language jurisdictions like Wales and the Basque Autonomous Community. There are also just a small number of Irish-medium programmes in further and higher education and there are only limited opportunities for the sustained study of Irish alongside other subjects in these sectors. In ROI and in NI, there is an absence of a coordinated, integrated and adequately resourced language development infrastructure for adult education that would allow learners to continue their language journeys beyond compulsory schooling. This is also the case for continued professional development for teachers, lecturers and other public sector employees. Furthermore, a series of reductions in the minimum time allocated to Irish in schools in ROI over the past six to seven decades limits the opportunities for deep engagement with Irish, as does the more recent introduction and review of the system of exemptions from the study of Irish during compulsory schooling.

The relatively high levels of daily and weekly use of Irish reported in the 2025 survey are encouraging, as are the largely positive overall attitudes to the language. These findings may be understood in light of heightened public awareness of the Irish language in contemporary society. In recent years, Irish has featured prominently in public discourse. This has extended beyond academic and policy circles into mainstream media and civic debate. This includes, for example, debate and discussion of the precarity of Irish as a community language in the Gaeltacht, recent policy initiatives such as the Official Languages (Amendment) Act 2021 and the Identity and Language (Northern Ireland) Act 2022, and the growing prominence of Irish-language arts at national and international levels. Irish furthermore has an increased presence in the broadcast media in ROI in recent years due in part to requirements for public bodies in the jurisdiction to advertise through Irish and due to increased Irish-language television broadcasting by the national broadcaster RTÉ. The current growth of multilingualism in Ireland does not appear to be detrimental to positive attitudes towards Irish either. Rather, the broader normalisation of multilingualism may be contributing to a re-evaluation of the role of Irish in society and a reframing of the language as one language among many within an increasingly multilingual society.

Implication and recommendations

There are a number of implications of the survey findings in the context of language policy and planning. First, the low levels of reported ability in Irish stand out as a concern in the context of policy initiatives, particularly in ROI, that aim to increase the overall number of speakers of Irish and to increase the numbers of workers in the public service who are proficient in the language.

While the relatively high levels of daily and weekly use of Irish are encouraging, unless the use of Irish is underpinned by high levels of ability in the language, it is unlikely that policy aspirations for Irish can be realised. Successful Irish language policy is largely contingent upon a critical mass of language users who have advanced levels of ability in the language.

The findings from the language attitudes portion of the survey illustrate that the attitudinal environment in both jurisdictions is mainly positive. The high levels of support for the language overall, and for government intervention on behalf of the language specifically, suggest that further policy initiatives to support Irish would be well received by the general adult population. The findings also provide evidence that there is demand for Irish-medium education among substantial minorities of parents and that there is an appetite among a notable minority of the adult population to engage with language development opportunities.

On the basis of the survey results, several policy-relevant recommendations are made. The gap between favourable attitudes towards Irish and levels of ability in the language suggests the need for more targeted and sustained interventions aimed at language development across the life course. Policy measures that prioritise the systematic strengthening of ability in Irish across the education systems could be targeted in this respect. This could include a critical review of the opportunities to increase the provision of Irish-medium pre-schools, primary schools, and post-primary schools in both jurisdictions. The provision of Irish-medium programmes, and the opportunities for the sustained study of Irish alongside another main area of study, are currently quite limited within further and higher education. Increasing supply in these sectors could make a valuable contribution to the development of Irish-language ability among the adult population. The reduced minimum time allocated to Irish as a subject in primary schools in ROI appears at odds with overall state policy goals for Irish and could be reviewed in order to increase exposure to Irish at this level. If recent recommendations to make statutory the learning of languages other than English in primary schools in NI are implemented, it would provide a valuable opportunity for the expansion of Irish-language learning in that sector in the jurisdiction. Opportunities to expand the provision of Irish as a subject beyond Catholic and integrated schools in the post-primary system in NI could also be explored with a view to developing ability in Irish across wider sections of the

population. The proposed development by Foras na Gaeilge of an Irish-language interpretative centre in Belfast, if delivered, could also make a contribution to the expansion of knowledge of and ability in Irish to sectors of the population who currently have limited access to the language. In ROI, the system of exemptions from the study of Irish could be reviewed in order to realise the goal that these would be provided only in rare and exceptional circumstances, which is not currently the case.

Increasing the provision of adult Irish-language classes in both formal and community-based settings and introducing a structured and systematic continuum of language development, could be explored, as could facilitating increased opportunities for Irish-language development as part of continuing professional development, particularly for public sector workers and for educators across all sectors. This could include language development opportunities for adults who arrived in ROI or NI having already completed compulsory education, or for adults who did not have the opportunity to study Irish during post-primary education due to an exemption. Associated teacher education courses for the adult education sector would be required in order to support any expanded provision of Irish language education for adults. In this respect, it will be relevant to monitor the forthcoming establishment in Wales of a National Institute for Learning Welsh which will be responsible for supporting people of all ages to learn Welsh.

Finally, a number of recommendations for future research are considered. The scale and ambition of the original study of the Committee on Irish Language Attitudes Research provide an example of what can be achieved in this type of research. The original study, as a heavily resourced, multi-year project carried out by a panel of experts, was beyond the scope of what was possible in the present study and in other recent iterations of this survey. At a minimum, the resourcing of future surveys could aim to facilitate the recruitment of 1,000 participants in both jurisdictions. Methodologically, it is recommended that all future iterations of the survey should be based on weighted samples, so as to bring the sample in line with the profile of the general population. An oversampling of the Gaeltacht is also recommended in order to provide much-needed data on the status of Irish in these linguistically precarious communities. Building on the robust design of the present survey, the design of future studies would be enhanced further by including additional quantitative measures (e.g., the match-guise component included in the 1973 study), as well as qualitative instruments, such as in-depth interviews with strategically selected subsets of participants. Consideration should also be given to the possibility of providing long-term public access to the data generated through the different versions of this survey by depositing the data in a publicly available research archive. Finally, and crucially, the study points to a large and important gap in the existing research landscape, namely the absence of recent large-scale data on language ability, language use, and language attitudes among children and young people under the age of 18. Addressing this gap is fundamental, both to better understand the origins of the competence issues identified in the present study and to explore the development of attitudes towards Irish among younger cohorts.



Introduction

1. Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The focus of this study is an investigation of attitudes to the Irish language on the island of Ireland, based on a large-scale, representative survey carried out in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland in summer 2025¹. This is the sixth and the latest in a series of surveys on attitudes to Irish that began with the first survey carried out in the Republic of Ireland in the early 1970s. The survey, commissioned by the North South Implementation Body, Foras na Gaeilge, focuses on adult participants' self-reported proficiency in Irish, their use of Irish and their attitudes to the language, to its speakers and to Irish language policy initiatives. In addition to a presentation and discussion of the findings from the survey and the conclusions drawn, this report includes a review of the context and status of the Irish language, two case study reports on comparative European minority-language contexts, and an outline of the methodology employed in generating and analysing the data. This introductory chapter begins with a definition of attitudes and language attitudes and a discussion of the usefulness of language attitudes research. The history of Irish language attitudes research is then briefly sketched. The chapter concludes with an outline of the structure of the remainder of the report.

1.2 Defining attitude

Attitude is an important and well-established area of research in the social sciences. While authors do not all agree on the exact essence of attitude, it has been broadly defined as “a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects” (Sarnoff, 1970, p. 279). It is furthermore generally accepted that attitudes are learned, that they are evaluative (i.e., favourable or unfavourable) and that although they can be subject to change, they tend to remain relatively stable over time (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). In addition, attitudes are described as comprising three components: cognitive, affective and behavioural (Eagly & Chaiken, 1998). While the cognitive component refers to a person's beliefs and thoughts, the affective component refers to feelings and emotions, and the behavioural component refers to how a person acts towards the attitude object. Attitudes are representations of our evaluations of ourselves, of other people, of things, actions, events and ideas (Bohner & Wanke, 2002), including language.

1.3 Language attitudes

Language attitudes have been a central concern in linguistics since the earliest research in modern psycholinguistics and sociolinguistics in the late 1960s and early 1970s. They have not always held such a position, however. Until the middle of the twentieth century, the study of language users, their social worlds, and their awareness of their language was considered by many in linguistics, and in related fields, as secondary or even peripheral to the study of language structure (Gal & Irvine, 1995; Woolard, 1998). Bloomfield (1933), for instance, argued that such issues comprise only one problem of linguistics, a problem that is not fundamental, a detour that could be attacked after other things are known. However, pioneering research on language attitudes by psychologists Wallace Lambert and Robert Gardner (e.g., Gardner & Lambert, 1972), and by William Labov (1966) in sociolinguistics, firmly established language attitudes as a core and enduring area of investigation in their disciplines. Silverstein (1979: 193) subsequently argued that people's thoughts about language are crucial to arrive at a full understanding of how language works. Language attitudes remain central not only in psychology and sociolinguistics but also in related disciplines like the social psychology of language, applied linguistics, and communication studies (Kircher & Zipp, 2022). This is because language is interwoven with the social and cultural experience of humans.

The value of researching how people respond to language in their thoughts, feelings and behaviours lies in the fact that these responses provide insights into how they experience their social worlds (Preston, 2018). It has long been recognised that language attitudes are not just about language but that they can also reveal attitudes to the speakers of specific languages and to the social, cultural and political values associated with those languages (Garrett, 2010; Kircher & Zipp, 2022). In this way, they can highlight how people perceive and treat others, revealing biases and prejudices that exist in society but that may not be

¹ Throughout this report, we use the terms Republic of Ireland (abbreviation ROI) and Northern Ireland (abbreviation NI). We acknowledge that there are issues with both terms and that they are contested

openly expressed (Kircher & Zipp, 2022). Drawing on previous research, Kircher and Zipp (2022) highlight how language attitudes can influence the languages people decide to learn, how frequently they use a language, which languages they use in particular contexts and with whom, which languages they pass on to their children, whether languages undergo language shift or loss, or whether they are maintained or revitalised. Knowledge of language attitudes is furthermore recognised as playing an important role in formulating effective language policy.

The different components of language attitudes are interrelated but do not always necessarily align with one another (Garrett, 2010; Kircher & Zipp, 2022). An Irish person may, for example, think that Irish is a valuable skill in modern society, believe that the language is an important part of their individual and national identity, but in their behaviour, they may be quite passive in the way that they engage with Irish. For example, although a person may be relatively proficient in Irish, they might never have conversations in the language, they may never read in Irish, consume Irish-language media or elect to send their children to an Irish-medium school. In this sense, people's linguistic behaviour can provide a perspective on their language attitudes that seems at odds with what they openly say they think and believe. Understanding apparent discrepancies like these is part and parcel of language attitudes research and investigating how they present in the Irish language context makes an important contribution to our understanding of Irish society.

1.4 Attitudes to the Irish language

Researchers in the Irish language context were early adopters in language attitudes research. The first large-scale, formal survey of public attitudes to Irish was conducted in the Republic of Ireland in the early 1970s and was the work of the Committee on Irish Language Attitudes Research (CILAR). Joshua Fishman, the prominent scholar on reversing language shift and a consultant to the Committee, remarked that the resulting report (CILAR, 1975) was by all odds the best country study of a language that he had read (Armstrong, 1975). Versions of this same survey have been administered regularly in the intervening years, at roughly 10-year intervals. Reports on studies replicating the CILAR survey were published by Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann (ITÉ) in the 1980s (Ó Riagáin & Ó Gliasáin, 1983) and again in the 1990s (Ó Riagáin & Ó Gliasáin, 1993). ITÉ and its staff were instrumental in much of the research on attitudes to Irish carried out in the early decades and Pádraig Ó Riagáin, who worked in ITÉ and later in Trinity College Dublin, has maintained an involvement in all iterations of the survey carried out from the 1970s right up to the present.

The first all-island survey of attitudes to Irish was commissioned by Foras na Gaeilge in 2001 and for the first time included data on Northern Ireland. This survey was designed by Ó Riagáin, a member of CILAR and first author of the 1983 and 1993 reports, and he aimed to achieve a level of continuity with the earlier surveys carried out in ROI. Although a full report on this survey was not published, some of the data are analysed in Ó Riagáin (2007) and Ó Riagáin (2012). It was not until 14 years later that the report on the next iteration of the all-island survey (Darmody & Daly, 2015) was published, the longest interval since the start of this research in the 1970s. This survey was carried out by the Economic and Social Research Institute and Amárach Research, with Ó Riagáin consulting on the content of the survey instrument.

As a result of this work and notwithstanding modifications to the questionnaire, to the sample population and to the sampling methodology, robust data are available that document public attitudes to the Irish language over the past 50 years, a remarkable timespan when considered in the international context.

This core body of work is supplemented by parallel strands of activity by other researchers investigating attitudes to the Irish language using large-scale representative samples. For instance, Micheál Mac Gréil included a survey of attitudes to Irish in ROI as part of a series of wider projects focusing on intergroup attitudes and relations (Mac Gréil, 1977; Mac Gréil, 1996; Mac Gréil & Rhatigan, 2009).

Although the population under 18 years of age were not included in the research above, their attitudes towards Irish, and towards the learning of Irish, has been examined in another important strand of research. This work again highlights the instrumental role ITÉ has played in research on attitudes towards Irish and on competence in Irish. Harris and colleagues (e.g., Harris & Murtagh, 1999; Harris et al., 2006) included measures of pupil, teacher and parent attitude/motivation in wider studies of student achievement in Irish, revealing that in many cases positive attitudes predicted higher student achievement. The dearth of recent large-scale research on the attitudes of children (under 18 years of age) towards the Irish language stands out here. While some data are available, mostly based on a small number of questionnaire items in larger studies on childhood and education in Ireland, no large-scale, representative survey of children's attitudes to Irish and to the learning of Irish has been carried out since

2002 in ROI and this issue has not been the subject of thorough, large-scale investigation in Northern Ireland. While the present research is not designed to address this issue, it does emerge as a very salient gap in the available knowledge base.

Alongside the large-scale, probability-based work that has been carried out on attitudes to the Irish language lies a related body of complementary research. This research comprises both quantitative and qualitative studies of language attitudes that is not based on probability samples and that is not designed to be representative. This research nevertheless makes a valuable contribution to Irish language attitudes research by employing quantitative and/or qualitative methods to assess attitudes towards Irish among targeted populations. In doing so, it often provides a deeper understanding of language attitudes among specific populations than can be gleaned from probability research alone.

1.5 Structure of the report

The present report comprises seven chapters. Following this introductory chapter, Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 provide a review of the context of the Irish language in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland respectively. Census data are used to outline the present-day status of Irish with respect to speaker numbers and demographics, and this is set within the context of historical trajectories of language shift and revitalisation in both settings. A discussion follows on the status of Irish in legislation and in official state policy in both settings, including a review of the position of the language in the education system. Finally, previous research on language attitudes is analysed in both jurisdictions.

In order to set the Irish language within its international minority-language context, the focus in Chapter 4 shifts to a review of other minority-language contexts. Case studies are presented of the Welsh and the Basque languages. These settings were selected on the basis of their relative similarity to the Irish language context in various aspects. An abridged account of the status of the relevant languages is provided in the case studies.

In Chapter 5, the methodology adopted for the study is presented. This includes a discussion of the questionnaires used in both jurisdictions, the sample populations and the sampling strategy, participant recruitment procedures and the methodology employed in analysing the data. The approach adopted in the present study is set in the context of previous iterations of the survey, particularly the 2013 all-island survey. Similarities and changes across aspects of the methodology are highlighted as a guide to the reader regarding the comparability of results.

Chapter 6 includes a presentation of the results from the ROI and NI contexts, focusing on ability in Irish, the use of Irish and attitudes towards the language. Where relevant, this is set against the sociodemographic profile of the respondents.

The final chapter, Chapter 7, includes a discussion of the results as well as the implications and conclusions that can be drawn. The chapter concludes with a list of policy and research recommendations. A full list of references is provided at the end of the report and the questionnaire is provided in the appendix.



The Irish Language in the Republic of Ireland

2. The Irish Language in the Republic of Ireland

2.1 Introduction

An outline is provided in this chapter of the context in which the Irish language functions in the Republic of Ireland (ROI). The trajectory of language shift from Irish to English as main vernacular is briefly sketched and this is followed by a discussion of the language revival efforts that have taken place from the late 19th century onwards. Speaker numbers, both historical and present, are then presented and discussed. Next, the current legal framework and policy context for Irish in ROI are discussed. A review of the position of Irish in the education system is provided, before concluding the chapter with an overview of previous research on attitudes to the language in ROI.

2.2 Language shift and revitalisation in ROI

The Irish language has been spoken on the island of Ireland since the early centuries of the Christian era, with a written tradition that dates from the 5th century (Ó Riagáin, 2007; Stifter et al., 2023). Subsequent sections of this chapter will provide a detailed discussion of social, political and linguistic changes that took place over the centuries. However, it will suffice to say here that its position as a minority language in a predominantly English-speaking Ireland has come as a result of colonisation, famine, emigration, anti-Irish (language) legislation, (weak) language policy and planning, and attitudes towards the language.

By the start of the 18th century, Irish had already begun to lose ground rapidly to English as the medium of spoken communication in many places throughout the country (Ó Riagáin, 2007). By the end of the 19th century, with the recession of Irish as a spoken language to isolated pockets, three distinct dialect areas had emerged: Munster, Connacht and Ulster. In much of the province of Leinster, however, Irish by this time was no longer the common vernacular (Ó Cuív, 1951), and its quick decline in this region thereafter resulted in almost no Irish-speaking community remaining there by the 20th century.

Notwithstanding the foregoing, Irish was probably the dominant language of a majority of the people on the island of Ireland, at least in rural areas and especially in Munster, Connacht and Donegal, until the early 19th century (FitzGerald, 1984; Mac Giolla Chríost, 2005; Ó Murchadha, 2021). Wolf (2014) goes further in arguing that for much of the 19th century, Ireland was probably largely an Irish-speaking island. As previously mentioned, the decline of Irish did not start at this point. In fact, English had already come to dominate in some areas, especially urban areas, by the late 17th or early 18th century (Mac Giolla Chríost, 2005). The first census that recorded the number of Irish speakers was administered by the British Government in 1851. That census found that there were 1,524,286 respondents who were declared as Irish speakers. Mac Murchaidh (2014) points out, however, that at least one contemporary commentator – Robert Mac Adam, writing in 1858 – felt that this number was a low estimate, and that a very considerable number of Irish speakers in bilingual areas returned themselves as ignorant of Irish for reasons of shame, or because of a suspicion that it could not be to their benefit that the government would ask such a question.

Mac Murchaidh (2014), along with FitzGerald (1984), draws attention to another reason offered by commentators for the lower-than-expected numbers of Irish-speakers in the 1851 census: the fact that the language question appeared in a footnote at the bottom of the census form. It was argued by Adams (1973) that many enumerators may have missed the question or assumed it to be unimportant due to its placement in a footnote. The practice of placing the language question in a footnote continued in the censuses of 1861 and 1871. The figures returned in those years continued to show a slow decline, but when the language question was included in the main part of the census form in 1881, the number of recorded Irish-speakers increased despite a decrease in the population in general. Adams (1973) concludes that this trend lends support to the idea that the total numbers of Irish speakers recorded in the 1851 census, as well as those in 1861 and 1871, were underestimations. FitzGerald (1984) furthermore emphasised that the prevailing climate in 1881 did not lend itself to claiming proficiency in Irish where that was not present and that opportunities for individuals to develop their proficiency in Irish beyond the home were few and far between in the pre-Revival period.

Despite these methodological and potential affective issues impacting the number of Irish speakers recorded in the 19th century, there is no doubt that the number of speakers on the island continued to decline into the 20th century. The 1901 and 1911 censuses, the last censuses to record figures for the whole island, return 619,710 speakers (19%) and 553,717 speakers (18%) respectively for the area which would later become the Irish Free State. However, starting with the first census run by the Irish Free State in 1926, we begin to see a steady increase in the percentage of the population who are returned as Irish speakers, from 543,511 (18%) in 1926 to 1.6 million (43%) in 2002. This upsurge in recorded Irish speakers is no doubt due largely to the introduction of Irish in primary and secondary school curricula, as well as efforts by Conradh na Gaeilge to teach Irish to adult learners (Ó Fiaich, 1972).

In the years 2006, 2011 and 2016 a slight decline is evident again in the percentage of the population recorded as Irish speakers from 43% to 40%. The figure remained unchanged in 2022 (i.e., 40% of the population). However, in line with an increase in the overall population, the overall number of Irish speakers rose from 1.76 million to 1.87 million between 2016 and 2022. Of those returned as being able to speak Irish, 195,029 were reported as being able to speak Irish very well (a question included in the 2022 census for the first time). A slight decrease was recorded in the number of people returned as speaking Irish daily outside the education system from 73,803 in 2016 to 71,968 in 2022.

The role and impact of Irish-language educational policy will be considered in a separate section below. However, it is important to mention here that the drastic rise in the number of speakers who reported themselves as Irish speakers from the foundation of the state to the present day is undoubtedly due in large part to the fact that Irish has been a core subject for schoolchildren since the founding of the Irish Free State. This has translated into a large number of census respondents now being returned as having some knowledge of the language as a result of their schooling (see e.g., Walsh, 2022). The fact that throughout most of the 20th century and into the present one the use of Irish as a community language has been very limited, and perhaps even less so as a language of the home, means that the vast majority of census-recorded speakers have acquired Irish as an additional language via the education system. The education system can also be an important factor in developing Gaeltacht children's proficiency in Irish, even for children who use Irish in the home in the most strongly Irish-speaking areas of the Gaeltacht.

The census does not tell us much about who might be considered an L1 or 'native' speaker of Irish. In any case, it is widely recognised that it is difficult to define precisely what an L1 or native speaker of a language is in any context (see e.g., Davies, 2003). This is especially fraught in the context of a minority language like Irish. For example, a person who normally resides in the Gaeltacht and declares themselves an Irish speaker, might be counted as an L1 speaker of Irish. But this would be, at best, a crude measure, since there are likely many Irish speakers who have moved to the Gaeltacht for any number of reasons. At least some, if not many, of such speakers were raised through English and/or another language outside the Gaeltacht. Even among those who were raised in the Gaeltacht, there have been changes over the years in the rates of intergenerational transmission of the language. It is not uncommon by now for someone to be raised with English (and/or another language) as the home language in a Gaeltacht area (Ó Giollagáin & Mac Donnacha, 2008; Ó Laighin, 2022). This fact is evident in census data. For example, in the 2022 census there were 102,973 people aged three years and over living in the Gaeltacht areas and 65,156 (63%) of them indicated that they could speak Irish. This is a drop from 66,238 or 69% in 2011. Of the Irish speakers aged three years and over in the Gaeltacht in 2022, 20,261 (31%) were reported as speaking the language daily outside the education system, and another 6,435 people spoke Irish on a weekly basis outside the education system.

Due to the reasons mentioned in the previous paragraph, researchers are reluctant to give estimates on the present number of L1 speakers of Irish. Those that have been willing to try and do so for Irish have put the number of L1 speakers in the range of 60,000 to 100,000 (e.g., Ó Dochartaigh, 2006; Singleton, 2007). The majority of these L1 speakers live in the Gaeltacht areas in counties Donegal, Mayo, Galway, Kerry, Cork, Waterford and Meath.

There are also additional Irish speakers who could be categorised as L1 speakers dispersed throughout the rest of the country. These would include L1 speakers who have relocated beyond the boundaries of the Gaeltacht, and possibly their children if they are being raised through Irish. One may also include the children of L2-speaker parents who were raised through Irish outside the Gaeltacht. Analyses of returns from the 2016 Census of Ireland estimated that there are 1,796 households in the Gaeltacht, with children, where Irish is spoken daily in the home (Joyce et al., 2021; Ní Chéilleachair, 2025). The figures for areas in ROI outside the Gaeltacht suggest that there were 4,458 households where Irish is spoken daily (Joyce et al., 2021). An analysis of the 2022 census data in the Gaeltacht suggested that the number of homes in which Irish was likely a main language of the household remained relatively stable at 1,751 (Ní Chéilleachair, 2025).

Moving beyond the L1, native speaker category, a more recent classification of Irish speakers are the so-called new speakers of Irish (O'Rourke & Walsh, 2015, 2020). This relatively new conceptualisation of speakerhood was first developed as an attempt to dispense with the negative connotations associated with labels such as 'second-language speaker' or 'learner', so that the important role of those who have acquired a high level of proficiency in the language and use it regularly in their daily lives would be recognised in a positive light. The use of this term is not limited to the Irish context, but it was originally coined to describe language users in minority-language contexts. It has since been applied more broadly (see e.g., Ó Murchadha et al., 2018). The concept is important here since the very small number of traditional L1, Gaeltacht speakers of Irish cannot, on their own, revitalise the language either through their own language use or through intergenerational transmission. Therefore, the future of Irish as an everyday vernacular is, at least in part, dependent on dedicated new speakers of Irish. Speakers in this category have often acquired Irish outside the home, and in many cases later in life through conscious effort and dedicated use. O'Rourke and Walsh (2015) point to speakers who are committed to using Irish regularly and with fluency.

While the label new speaker may be new, recognition of those that fall into the category (i.e., adult learners, as important agents in minority language revitalisation is not; Ó Murchadha et al., 2018). It has been argued for some time that those who learn the minority language later in life may play a distinct and important role in augmenting the number of speakers of the language in question and reversing language shift (e.g., Baker et al., 2011; Flynn, 2020; MacCaluim, 2007; McLeod et al., 2010). The Irish government recognised this as well in the 20-Year Strategy for the Irish Language (Government of Ireland, 2010).

2.3 Legislation and policy in ROI

The Republic of Ireland has two official languages: Irish and English. Irish is the first official language of the state and gained full status as an official working language of the European Union in 2022. While it enjoys this privileged status, Irish is also a minority language spoken by few as a first language (L1), and as a daily language of communication by a somewhat larger, yet still small, number of people.

From 1922 onwards, the Irish government put Irish at the heart of its vision for the new state. It set about implementing a series of policies that would aim to achieve the re-Gaelicisation of Irish government and society. From the start, Irish was named as an official language in the 1922 Constitution of the Irish Free State, and subsequently as the national and first official language in the 1937 Constitution of Ireland. English was equally recognised as an official language (1922) or second official language (1937). This privileged status for Irish allowed for the implementation of Irish-language policies in relation to public administration, education, broadcasting, and in Gaeltacht planning (Walsh, 2022). In fact, the status of Irish in the 1937 constitution as the country's first official language dictates that where there is any conflict between the Irish and English text of a law, the national language (i.e., Irish) shall prevail (Article 25.4.6 of the Constitution; see Walsh, 2022 for an extended treatment).

In the years from 1922 to the present day there has been a range of legislation enacted which was concerned with, or had a direct impact on, the Irish language. The official status of Irish led to its designation as a core curricular subject, which meant that the Department of Education and by extension the schools would have a major role in Irish language revitalisation.

Another important legislative development was the setting up of the Gaeltacht Commission in 1925 to determine where Irish was still spoken as a community language to greater or lesser degrees. The Commission's findings were published in a comprehensive report in 1926. It was from this point forward that the term Gaeltacht was used in an official sense to refer to a geographical region. Prior to this, the term was used in a broader sense to refer to the culture associated with the Irish language community (Ó hÍfearnáin, 2009; Ó Laighin, 2022). The commission made a substantial number of recommendations to the government in their report, one of which was that a government department responsible for Gaeltacht affairs be established. Another was that efforts should be made to promote the Irish language in all aspects of life in the Gaeltacht regions immediately, and to restore Irish to such areas of life through a gradual process as soon as possible (Ó Laighin, 2022).

As it would happen, the establishment of a dedicated government department for the Gaeltacht would take 30 years to realise. In the interim, various departments were charged with its administration (e.g., the Department of Fisheries, which then housed the Gaeltacht Services Division and the Department of Lands; Walsh, 2022). In 1956, the Department of the Gaeltacht was established. This coincided with a reduction of the area of the official Gaeltacht. This was done in order to delineate exactly what areas the new department would be responsible for (i.e., what were deemed truly Irish-speaking areas; Ó Riagáin, 1997; Walsh, 2022).

Irish language policy development in the second half of the 20th century took on new characteristics compared to the first decades after the independence. This period constituted a critical transitional phase in the state's approach to the Irish language. It was characterized by a shift from a primarily symbolic and educational model towards an integrated approach which encompassed socio-economic development, community revitalisation, and language rights. This period also witnessed the gradual, and often contested, re-conceptualisation of language policy from a matter of cultural preservation to one of strategic planning and institutional support.

The post-war decades (c. 1950–1970) were marked by a growing recognition of the inadequacies of the foundational policies inherited from the earlier period. The state's policy of compulsory Irish within the education system had failed to generate a sustainable, Irish-speaking populace. This realisation culminated in the Report of the Commission on the Restoration of the Irish Language (1963). The report highlighted, *inter alia*, the primary need to restore Irish as the vernacular of the people through the family and in the home. The report has been criticised as being vague and romantic in its rhetoric (Breathnach, 1964), but it undoubtedly drew attention again to the importance of an Irish-speaking population for the language's survival and expansion. It emphasised the view that the survival and strengthening of the Gaeltacht was the single most important factor for the language's future. It also recognised important economic underpinnings (i.e., that language decline in the Gaeltacht was driven by poverty and emigration, thus linking language policy to regional economic development).

In response to the commission's report, the government published a White Paper on the Restoration of the Irish Language (1965), which began a transition to the language planning approach to Irish-language maintenance and restoration. This new approach was characterised by its concerns for fact-finding, planning (i.e., setting targets and selecting means), implementation, and the use of feedback to direct the entire process (Ó Ciosáin, 1988).

On the topic of regional economic development, especially in the Gaeltacht, the government established Gaeltarra Éireann in 1957 to promote industry in these regions. The body set up industrial estates throughout the Gaeltacht with the primary aim of developing 'native' industries, and in turn assisting the maintenance and expansion of Irish as a vernacular (Walsh, 2022). However, the impact of continued economic depression throughout the 1950s resulted in widespread emigration throughout Ireland, and this had a major impact on Gaeltacht regions. Around this time, Seán Lemass and T.K. Whitaker implemented the First Programme for Economic Expansion (1958–63). This economic plan had the aim of abandoning the principle of protectionism developed in the early decades of the state and replacing it with a policy of encouraging foreign direct investment. Gaeltarra Éireann followed suit and from the mid-1960s it was concerned with facilitating private development through foreign investment in the Gaeltacht (Walsh, 2022).

In 1972, Raidió na Gaeltachta was launched as a dedicated Irish-language radio service following a grassroots campaign. This transcended mere broadcasting in that it constituted a policy of language normalisation in the media. It also enhanced the language's status and functional utility within Gaeltacht communities and provided a vital link for a dispersed Irish-language community.

The 1980s witnessed another development in Irish language policy. At the start of that decade Údarás na Gaeltachta was established. The Údarás replaced Gaeltarra Éireann but continued with its statutory aim of language maintenance via socioeconomic development and mitigating emigration and demographic decline through integrated regional planning. However, as Walsh (2022) notes, the subsequent decades demonstrated that the Údarás primarily succeeded in supporting certain economic activities and only had a peripheral role in maintaining and/or expanding language use in the Gaeltacht.

This mid-century period is often characterised as one of stagnation and disillusionment, but which ultimately led to a fundamental reappraisal of state strategy. It also marked the end of the uncritical, revivalist period which followed independence and the beginning of a more pragmatic, albeit uncertain, policy framework.

Around the start of the 21st century, there was another flurry of important language policy developments. Foras na Gaeilge was established in 1999 as one of the two agencies that form The North/South Language Body (the other being Tha Boord o Ulstèr-Scotch or The Ulster-Scots Agency). Its establishment came as a result of the Belfast Agreement (Good Friday Agreement) of 1998. The agreement provided for the creation of an all-island implementation body for the Irish language. Its legal basis is the British-Irish Agreement Act 1999. Foras na Gaeilge took over the functions of the previous Republic of Ireland body, Bord na Gaeilge, as well as those of An Gúm and An Coiste Téarmaíochta. Its primary mandate is the promotion of the Irish language throughout the island of Ireland. The organisation's responsibilities also include developing terminology and lexicography, providing funding for language organisations,

supporting Irish-medium education and the teaching of Irish, and undertaking research, promotional campaigns, and public and media relations.

One of the most substantial developments of Irish language policy in this period was the enactment of the Official Languages Act 2003. The act was the culmination of decades of advocacy and legal pressure to give practical, enforceable effect to Article 8 of the Constitution, which states that Irish is the first official language of the state. It was passed by the Oireachtas in 2003 and came into force in stages. It is designed to ensure greater availability and a higher standard of public services through Irish. Crucially, it aimed to move policy from voluntary promotion to a statutory obligation for the public sector. Key aspects of the act's powers are: (1) It established Oifig an Choimisinéara Teanga (The Office of the Language Commissioner) an independent statutory office to monitor compliance with the act, to investigate complaints from the public, and to provide advice; (2) It obligated public bodies to prepare and implement language schemes. These schemes were required to detail the Irish-language services the body provided and services they planned to provide in the future (including plans for how future provisions will be implemented); (3) It placed existing rights to use Irish in court proceedings on a new statutory footing; and (4) It detailed regulations surrounding communication through Irish from and with the state.

The Official Languages (Amendment) Act 2021 was signed into law on 22 December 2021. This new legislation is a strengthening of the Official Languages Act 2003. The amended Act is intended to improve and increase the provision of public services through the medium of Irish, as well as create significant employment opportunities for those with a competency in the language. Among the provisions of the act are that: 20% of recruits to the public sector will be competent in the Irish language by the end of 2030; all public services provided in and for Gaeltacht areas will be provided through Irish; all public offices in the Gaeltacht will operate through the medium of Irish; and a National Plan for Irish Language Public Services will be developed.

The 20-Year Strategy for the Irish Language was published by the government in December 2010. The strategy arose from a recognition that, alongside the Official Languages Act 2003, a cohesive, long-term plan was needed to address the language's future. It is not a piece of legislation, but a high-level policy framework and roadmap. Its implementation is meant to guide the work of government departments and relevant language agencies. The strategy's overarching aim is to increase the number of daily speakers of Irish to 250,000 by 2030. It is centred around nine key areas of action: education; the Gaeltacht; family transmission of the language; administration, services and community; media and technology; dictionaries; legislation and status; economic life; and cross-cutting initiatives.

In 2007, a team of researchers, mainly based in the National University of Ireland, Galway, published the Comprehensive Linguistic Study of the Use of Irish in the Gaeltacht (Ó Giollagáin et al., 2007). The report called for a move away from a purely geographic definition of the Gaeltacht. The authors argued that linguistic criteria should determine Gaeltacht status. It recommended the introduction of community-based language planning that should be tailored to the sociolinguistic conditions of individual areas. It also emphasised the importance of family language transmission, particularly in early childhood and advocated for clearer institutional responsibility for language planning. Many of the report's recommendations directly informed subsequent policy developments, most notably the Gaeltacht Act 2012.

The Gaeltacht Act 2012 has two main aims: to establish a new language planning structure and to amend the structure and functions of Údarás na Gaeltachta. Community-level mobilisation is central to the language planning process introduced under the act and communities are required to act at a local level to design and implement language plans. For the first time in the history of the state, areas outside of the existing statutory Gaeltacht can also seek recognition under the act as Irish language networks or as Gaeltacht service towns, provided they meet specified criteria. Alongside changes to the functions of Údarás na Gaeltachta, the Gaeltacht Act 2012 gives statutory effect to the implementation of the language planning process by Údarás na Gaeltachta within the Gaeltacht. It also provides for a reduction in the size of the Údarás board and removes the requirement for board elections.

To summarise the trajectory of language policy and planning in ROI since 1922, we may follow Ó Murchadha's (2021) synthesis of previous research and divide this history into five phases. The first phase, from 1922 to the 1950s, established Irish language policy through the institutionalisation of Irish in education and the public sector. Policy drew heavily on pre-independence models and ideals, with the state taking a proactive leadership role and independently initiating measures.

From the 1950s to the 1970s, the state redefined its role in language policy. This period has been described as being characterised by stagnation or retreat (Ó Riagáin, 1997), de-institutionalisation (Mac

Giolla Chríost, 2005; 2012), or re-sectoralization of Irish (Ó Giollagáin, 2014). The state reduced efforts for a national language revival, compartmentalised Irish-language issues, retreated from Irish-medium education, downgraded Irish as a compulsory Leaving Certificate subject, and relaxed or withdrew civil service Irish-language requirements.

The 1970s to the 1990s is seen either as a period of benign neglect (Ó Riagáin, 1997) or as a phase in which the state responded to grassroots pressure before re-institutionalizing Irish (Ó hIfearnáin, 2009). During this time, the state shifted from leadership to support, by acting as a reactive facilitator of bottom-up initiatives, evident in establishing Irish-medium radio and television and the renewed focus on Irish-medium education.

From the 1990s to the mid-2000s, policy adopted a dual approach: treating Irish as a minority language rights issue and as a heritage language issue (Ó hIfearnáin, 2009). This period saw legal changes at national and EU levels, the creation of agencies to manage Irish language policy, and growing responsibility on individuals and communities for language maintenance and revitalisation.

Finally, from the late 2000s to the present, Irish language policy has been shaped by the 2008 global financial crisis and austerity, which disproportionately reduced funding for Irish and the Gaeltacht (Ó Ceallaigh, 2020). Policy shifted further, reflecting globalization and late capitalist trends (Heller & Duchêne 2016), increasingly treating Irish as a commodity (Brennan, 2018). The state also focused on providing services to the public while outsourcing responsibility to agencies and local communities, institutionalised through the Gaeltacht Act (2012). Despite this, the state retains significant power even as local communities assume primary responsibility for language planning.

2.4 Irish in education in ROI

In the Republic of Ireland, Irish is a core component of the curriculum, studied from the start of primary school through the completion of post-primary education. In certain cases, students may receive an exemption from studying Irish (i.e., based either on the student's age upon arrival in Ireland or on the presence of specific learning difficulties). An exemption granted at primary level automatically continues into post-primary education without the need for a further application. Traditionally, exemptions from Irish were rare; however, the number has been increasing exponentially since the introduction of new regulations surrounding granting exemptions in 2019 and a subsequent review of those regulations in 2022.

Irish language instruction is provided in two school types. The vast majority of the country's primary and post-primary schools function through the medium of English. Irish is taught as a subject in these schools. There are also Irish-medium schools, which account for just under 8% of schools at primary level and just over 3% at post-primary (Ó Ciardha, 2026). These schools operate through the medium of Irish and aim to teach the curriculum (except English) through the medium of Irish.

The current Primary Language Curriculum is an integrated language curriculum which supports teaching and learning in Irish and English. The curriculum has the same structure and strands for both English and Irish and aims to make connections across and within languages in order to support the transfer of skills between languages. There are two versions of the curriculum, one for use in Irish-medium schools and another for use in English-medium schools.

In English-medium primary schools, Irish should be taught for a minimum of 3 hours per week. This is a reduction from 3.5 hours, which came as a result of a review of the primary curriculum in 2025 (see e.g., Flynn & Singleton, 2025). There are no examinations in Irish at primary level.

In English-medium post-primary schools, students are generally provided with one Irish class per school day lasting approximately 40 minutes, with many schools now distributing this time so as to have a smaller number of longer classes in a week. At this level, Irish language skills are formally assessed via the Junior Cycle Profile of Achievement (at the end of Year 3) and the Leaving Certificate at Higher, Ordinary, or Foundation level (at the end of Year 6). While it is no longer required to pass the Irish exams to earn the Leaving Certificate, all pupils who do not have an exemption from the subject must study Irish until the end of post-primary schooling and are automatically registered to sit the Irish exams. In addition, Leaving Certificate Irish is a requirement for admission to the constituent universities of the National University of Ireland, and for some courses a minimum grade in the exam is required. Nevertheless, 28% of Leaving Certificate students in 2025 did not sit the Irish exam (National Council for Curriculum and Assessment, 2025).

Historically, the education system has borne the responsibility for Irish language revival. While Irish

was present in some schools prior to independence under the Bilingual Programme of Instruction, the founding of the state in 1922 provided the impetus for the aim to provide Irish-language education to all children. At that time the government decided that Irish would be used as a medium of instruction in infant classes (the first two years of primary school). It also decided that Irish would be taught for one hour each day or used as a medium of instruction in all schools. The implementation of this policy was, of course, dependent on teachers having the requisite language and pedagogical skills. It was, therefore, slow to get off the ground. However, by 1931 there were 228 Irish-medium primary schools in the state, and this increased to 704 in 1939 (Walsh, 2023).

To encourage the use of Irish as a medium of instruction in secondary schools, an incentive grant scheme was introduced in 1924, under which schools were categorised based on the level of Irish-medium provision. Grade A schools delivered all subjects through Irish except modern languages, Grade B schools taught some subjects through Irish, and Grade C schools taught Irish solely as a standard subject. By 1930 there were 21 Grade A schools and by the mid-1940s the number had increased to 100. Furthermore, by this time at least one subject other than Irish was being taught through the medium of Irish in more than 110 secondary schools (Ó Buachalla, 1984; Ó hUallacháin, 1978; Walsh, 2023).

This upward trend in Irish-medium education continued until the 1950s. There was still a lot of support for the government's focus on language and cultural revival in the decades after independence. However, by the late 1940s, teachers were beginning to voice concerns about this language-education policy through the Irish National Teachers' Organisation. Through the 1960s and 1970s the number of schools teaching through the medium of Irish declined drastically. For example, by the mid-1970s there were only very few post-primary schools in the country in which one or more class groups had Irish as the sole medium of instruction. Out of a total of 574 schools, there were fewer than 25 all-Irish secondary schools, and fewer than 30 bilingual secondary schools according to Ó hUallacháin (1978).

A great many language (-education) policy initiatives had a direct or indirect impact on Irish-language education over the years. In 1926, preparatory colleges (post-primary schools) were established as a means of recruitment for primary teaching. These schools required a high standard of Irish for entry and operated through the medium of Irish. In 1930, a number of places in these schools were set aside for pupils from the Gaeltacht. These schools were closed in 1961, however.

In 1928 Irish became a required subject for the Leaving Certificate and a pass in the subject was required for the certificate to be awarded. However, the pass requirement for Leaving Certificate Irish was abolished in 1973. An Irish oral examination was introduced for the Leaving Certificate in 1960 and in 2011, the percentage of marks awarded for the oral component of the Irish Leaving Certificate exam were increased to 40%.

The Report of the Committee on the Restoration of Irish (1963), discussed earlier, also made recommendations in relation to Irish in schools. For example, it recommended maintaining compulsory Irish but advocated for improved teaching methods and greater emphasis on spoken Irish. One result from this was the introduction of audio-visual language teaching methods in primary schools and post-primary junior classes. These were very modern at the time. It also suggested special all-Irish streams within English-speaking schools. This was realised in the form of Irish-medium units in post-primary schools which began in the 1980s and have grown in number since that time. In 2025, there were 14 such Irish-medium units, catering for 1,577 students (Department of Education and Youth, 2025b).

Starting in the 1970s, a grassroots movement (led by parents and language activists) for the (re-) establishment of Irish-medium schools flourished. As a result, there has, until recently, been a steady increase in the number of Irish-medium primary schools in ROI. The current figures from www.gaeloideachas.ie put the number of Irish-medium primary schools at 256, and the number of Irish-medium post-primary schools at 74.

There have furthermore been a number of recent policy developments in relation to Irish-medium education and Irish as a subject in English-medium schools. In 2016, The Policy on Gaeltacht Education 2017–2022 was introduced in order to respond to the objectives of the Government's 20-Year Strategy for the Irish Language. The policy provides a strategic framework to support Irish-medium education in Gaeltacht language-planning areas, recognising their linguistic, cultural, and economic importance. Its aim is to sustain Gaeltacht communities as Irish-speaking areas through seven pillars: strengthening education, improving teaching and curriculum, building school leadership, developing resources, supporting early-years education, and promoting awareness among parents. Targeted actions and supports aim to ensure high-quality provision while building on existing linguistic strengths alongside local language-planning processes. As with the Gaeltacht language planning process, responsibility for meeting requirements to be recognised as a Gaeltacht school is largely the responsibility of the local

school community.

From October 2022 to July 2023, the Department of Education and Youth consulted the public and stakeholders, including students, parents, educators, school leaders, boards, and Irish-language organisations, on a new policy for Irish-medium education outside the Gaeltacht. A report (Department of Education, 2022) on Irish-medium education provision outside the Gaeltacht was published to serve as a key reference for the consultation and policy development process. The new policy (Department of Education, 2025b) outlines the department's vision for high-quality Irish-medium education that is accessible to all in inclusive, multicultural settings. It aims to foster in children and young people a lasting connection to Irish language and culture, enabling them to use the language competently and confidently throughout their lives. Irish-medium settings and communities are to be supported with appropriate resources. Actions to achieve this vision focus on growing the sector, developing standards, supporting professional practice, building language proficiency, providing resources, and inspiring families and communities. The policy does not aim to establish new Irish-medium schools per se but rather commits to the establishment of a task force to increase Irish-medium provision, including facilitating English-medium schools to transition to Irish-medium schools.

The Action Plan for Irish in English-Medium Schools (Department of Education and Youth, 2025a) was launched in tandem with the Policy for Irish-Medium Education Outside the Gaeltacht. The action plan aims to support educators to enhance the teaching and learning of Irish in schools and to ensure that learners have a rewarding and engaging experience when learning the language. Four pillars are identified and focus on developing positive attitudes towards Irish, increasing the use of Irish, supporting access to Irish for all learners, and integrating supports for Irish. Interestingly, although inclusion is central to the third of those pillars (supporting access for all learners), the action plan does not address the contentious issue of exemptions from the study of Irish. The system of exemptions can be a barrier to the learning of Irish by some recent migrants and by learners with additional educational needs.

There have also been important developments in relation to higher education. For example, shortly after the foundation of the state, in 1929, University College, Galway was given special responsibility for higher education through Irish under the University College Galway Act. The act made provision “for increasing the annual grant payable to University College, Galway, and for securing that persons appointed to offices and situations in that college shall be competent to discharge their duties through the medium of the Irish language.” However, the University College Galway (Amendment) Act 2006 abolished the obligation to appoint Irish speakers but made Irish-medium education one of the main strategic aims of the University. In 1997, the Universities Act was passed. Among the university objects is “the promotion of the official languages of the State, with special regard to the preservation, promotion and use of the Irish language and the preservation and promotion of the distinctive cultures of Ireland.”

An Chomhairle um Oideachas Gaeltachta agus Gaelscolaíochta (COGG) was established in 2002 under the provisions of Section 31 of the Education Act (1998) to provide a specific structure to meet the educational needs of Gaeltacht and all-Irish schools. It is also concerned with supporting the teaching of Irish as a subject across all settings.

While there has been a mixture of positive and less positive developments in relation to Irish in the education system, the general result has been more positive than would have been the case if Irish was not afforded a central place in the education system. It is undeniable that whatever bilingual capacity exists among the general public in ROI has come about largely as a result of the state's Irish-language and education policies. It would not be possible for roughly 40% of the country's population to claim knowledge of the language without them, given where the figures were in the last decades of the 19th century. However, it is also clear that these gains in census-reported ability have not translated into widespread Irish-language use. Nevertheless, the figures from attitude surveys, which will be discussed in the next section, demonstrate that the long-term, generally positive attitudes towards Irish in ROI is linked to exposure to the language in school.

2.5 Attitudes to Irish in ROI

National surveys of public attitudes towards the Irish language, conducted over the past half-century, constitute a critical archive for understanding the complex relationship between language, identity, and state policy in Ireland. This research reveals a tension between language ability, language use, and language attitudes in relation to Irish, while also providing insights into the perceived symbolic and instrumental role of the language in Irish society. The introductory chapter to this report has already outlined previous attitudinal surveys conducted over the last fifty years. Here, attention is drawn to key

findings from this important body of research.

A landmark sociolinguistic study of public attitudes towards Irish was conducted in 1972–1975. The Committee on Irish Language Attitudes Research (CILAR) was established in 1970 by Comhairle na Gaeilge with the aim of gathering basic data on sociolinguistic issues necessary for devising a comprehensive language policy. The aim of the committee, which was made up of eminent Irish and international scholars from fields such as linguistics, sociolinguistics, sociology, planning, anthropology and psychology, was to investigate the current state of Irish, public support for it, attitudes towards policies, and ability in and use of the language (Walsh, 2022).

As Ó Riagáin (1997) and others have extensively documented, the CILAR report revealed a populace deeply supportive of the language as a marker of national distinctiveness, yet one which largely rejected it as a communicative medium for daily life. This disparity between a strong symbolic allegiance to Irish and weak patterns of language usage exposed the limitations of a state policy that was overly reliant on compulsory education and that was rooted in cultural nationalism.

The success of the CILAR project and the impact of its report laid the groundwork for subsequent surveys. Around the same time that CILAR was being established, the new Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann (ITÉ – The Linguistics Institute of Ireland) was being set up. ITÉ took over responsibility for the national surveys on attitudes towards Irish and ran them in the early 1980s and again in the early 1990s. The reports published based on the 1983 and 1993 surveys (Ó Riagáin & Ó Gliasáin, 1984, 1994) largely confirmed the 1973 findings (CILAR, 1975), indicating that the public's attitudes towards Irish, its learning and use, had not changed much over three decades.

During this period, while symbolic attachment to the language remained consistently high, daily usage continued to be limited to a small, often geographically concentrated minority. It was found that social class played an important role in attitudes towards Irish. For example, the strongest positive views toward Irish were most often expressed by people from a working-class background who had progressed socially, especially through education. This group typically had achieved a high level of formal education and a strong proficiency in the language. In terms of education, a majority felt that Irish should maintain its status as a compulsory subject. A majority also felt that more people would speak Irish if it was taught better, and that more effort should be spent on improving teaching methods. Only a minority expressed a positive attitude towards the effectiveness of teaching of Irish in school and most felt that it has not been taught effectively. A majority felt that most children do not learn enough Irish to use it outside of school (CILAR, 1975).

In the 2001 survey, commissioned and funded by Foras na Gaeilge, less positive attitudes towards Irish were recorded in than in previous surveys. Ó Riagáin (2007) states that the evidence suggests that in ROI there was a weakening in the perceived relationship between the Irish language and national or ethnic identity. However, there was no significant decline in support for strong language policy for Irish. For example, in all surveys up to this point, a large majority supported the teaching of Irish as a subject in schools in the Republic of Ireland: 71% in 2001, 72% in 1983 and 69% in 1993. Despite this, support for bilingual education as a norm for the country waned, from 21% in 1983 to 10% in 2001 (Ó Riagáin, 2007). Ó Riagáin (2007) also hypothesised that language attitudes in ROI would be class related, while religion and identity would be more significant in NI. These hypotheses were shown to be valid and the 2001 survey generally confirms this.

The next all-Ireland survey of language attitudes was conducted in 2013 (Darmody & Daly, 2015). It was the work of the Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI) and Amárach Research, and it was commissioned and funded by Foras na Gaeilge. In terms of Irish-language ability, ROI survey respondents in 2013 reported their level of proficiency in Irish as follows: no fluency: 43%; basic fluency: 43%; advanced fluency: 14%. As for language use, the survey found that 32% spoke Irish daily (6%), weekly (7%) or less often (19%). The remainder reported they never spoke Irish. This survey also found that Irish being spoken in the home as a child impacted on the adult respondents' current usage of the language, that is, those who grew up with Irish in the home were more likely to use Irish (56%) versus those who were seldom or never exposed to Irish in the home (18%).

Again, this survey showed strong support for teaching of the Irish language as a subject in schools in ROI. And, while a majority of respondents indicated that all-Irish schools should be provided where there is a demand for them, only a small number felt that all-Irish education was the most suitable programme for most children.

The survey recorded a majority 67% of respondents in ROI who held a positive attitude towards Irish. A majority (64%) also believed that Ireland would lose its identity without the Irish language. A large majority of parents (78%) indicated that they feel it is important that their child grows up with the Irish

language, and a smaller majority (53%) felt that the government should ensure that Irish is taught well in schools.

The report concluded that, when compared to the 2001 survey, there had been some positive developments in relation to attitudes to, and use of, the Irish language. The authors argue that the primary factor influencing attitudes to Irish seems to be the home environment, that is, whether Irish was spoken in the home and whether the respondents thought their parents wanted them to learn it at school (Darmody & Daly, 2015).

2.6 Summary

The aim of this chapter has been to provide context for the survey results from ROI that are presented in Chapter 6. The history of language shift and revitalisation was briefly sketched, followed by a discussion of current speaker numbers and their demographic profiles. The legal and policy framework in which Irish functions in ROI was then discussed, as was the history and current position of Irish in the education system. The chapter concluded with an overview of the most recent survey of attitudes to Irish in the jurisdiction. The focus of the next chapter will shift to the case of Irish in Northern Ireland.



The Irish Language in Northern Ireland

3. The Irish Language in Northern Ireland

3.1 Introduction

An outline is provided in this chapter of the context in which the Irish language functions in Northern Ireland (NI). The trajectory of language shift from Irish to English as main vernacular is briefly sketched and this is followed by a discussion of the language revival activity that subsequently emerged. Current speaker numbers are then presented and are examined according to demographic factors including age, religion, political identity and education. The current legal framework and policy context for Irish in NI are then discussed. A review of the position of Irish in the education system is provided, before concluding the chapter with an overview of previous research on attitudes to Irish in NI.

3.2 Language shift and revitalisation in NI

Like the Republic of Ireland, the area that now comprises Northern Ireland was once entirely Irish speaking. From the beginning and the middle of the first millennium AD, Irish was firmly established across all of Ireland (Stifter et al., 2023), including what is now NI. Evidence from this period suggests that Irish was the language of what is today NI (Ó Dochartaigh, 1992). There is little to suggest that there was any other native language (Ó hUiginn 2008; Stifter et al., 2023) or that any other language was in widespread usage at that time (Mac Giolla Chríost, 2005; Stifter et al, 2023).

The arrival of the Vikings and then the Normans unsettled the linguistic situation somewhat. However, this impact was short lived with respect to language shift and was mostly centred on the developing urban areas. Meanwhile, the overwhelming majority of the population remained Irish speaking. This began to change in the 16th and 17th centuries, however. The Tudor conquest in the 16th century resulted in the existing Irish-speaking population being induced or coerced to take on English law, language and culture, while the Plantation of Ulster and subsequent settlements led to readjustments to senses of ethnic, religious and linguistic identity (Mac Giolla Chríost, 2005). English and Scottish settlers in Ulster introduced the English language to this part of the island, with a strong Lowland Scots element and some Scottish Gaelic also. In terms of religious and ethnic identity, the new arrivals brought with them Anglicanism and Presbyterianism and a sense of English, Scottish and/or British identity. These adjustments in identity still correlate with ability in, and attitudes to, the Irish language in the jurisdiction to the present day.

By the end of the 17th century, the English language likely dominated in the immediate surrounds of present-day Belfast, Enniskillen, Derry and Coleraine (Mac Giolla Chríost, 2005). While Irish had a presence in the tracts of land between these areas, the use of Scots and English was spreading, while Scottish Gaelic may also have been spoken in these areas (Mac Giolla Chríost, 2005). Irish was likely dominant beyond these regions, including in the south and the southeast of modern county Derry, much of modern-day county Tyrone, south Armagh, as well as the northeast of county Antrim (FitzGerald, 1984). This Irish-speaking area had shrunk by the end of the 18th century as language shift progressed at a moderate pace, but Irish maintained a relatively strong presence in Upper Strabane in Tyrone, in south Armagh and in the Glens of Antrim (FitzGerald, 1984). Even beyond these core areas, and apart from most of counties Antrim and Down, north Armagh and the north-eastern part of Derry, there is evidence that Irish was still acquired by small concentrations of young people right up to the end of the 18th century (FitzGerald, 1984).

With the arrival of the 19th century came the decisive period for language shift on the island. Nevertheless, in analysing the 1911 Census returns, FitzGerald (2003) deduces that in the immediate pre-Famine period, Rathlin island remained entirely Irish speaking and at least a third of the population remained Irish speaking along a fifteen-mile-long strip on the eastern coast of Antrim. In Tyrone and Derry, he notes, Irish likely remained spoken at least to some extent in much of the northern half of Tyrone and in southeastern Derry, including a fifteen-mile-long stretch north of Omagh where Irish was probably the sole language of much of the population. Irish also likely remained in use to a low level in part of south Tyrone, while in south Armagh Irish was still spoken in significant numbers, with between half and two thirds of the population in some areas still Irish speaking.

Due to the continuing shift to English, however, by the end of the 19th century Irish is thought to have remained spoken habitually only in small, linguistically isolated areas in Tyrone and Antrim (Mac Giolla Chríost, 2005). The 1911 Census records almost 29,000 Irish speakers in the counties that subsequently came to comprise NI. These were concentrated mainly in the areas listed above, that is, in Antrim, northern Tyrone, southeastern Derry, south Armagh and also in part of south Down. This total represents an increase of over 7,000 speakers compared to the 1901 Census. It is unlikely that this was due to changes in the acquisition of Irish in the home and community but can instead be explained as an increase in the learning of Irish in the context of the Gaelic Revival and also a more favourable atmosphere in which to declare proficiency in Irish. A decade before the establishment of NI, therefore, definite, residual Irish-speaking communities existed in the area, but the native Irish-speaking population was aging (McKendry, 2007).

The dynamics of the Irish language and of language shift in NI in the 20th century are largely obscured by a dearth of data. Following the establishment of NI in 1921, a question regarding the Irish language was not included in the census again until 1991². The question was initially abandoned in the 1920s as part of a general disregard for the language post-partition and was subsequently reintroduced at the request of the Irish government under the provisions of the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985 (Cooley, 2022). Direct comparisons between the results of the 1911 and 1991 censuses are to be drawn with caution given changes in the question wording, changes in census boundaries, and changes in the sociopolitical context of Irish in the jurisdiction. This important point aside, a comparison of the results is instructive and indicates a number of salient points.

First, it reveals a substantial increase in the reported numbers of those with some ability in Irish to 142,003 (8% of the population) (Registrar General Northern Ireland, 1993). This figure is partly attributable to a substantial uplift in the acquisition of Irish through schooling, primarily in urban areas, following the limited expansion of Irish-language provision in schools. By 1991, there was also an almost complete break in the continuity of the widespread acquisition and use of Irish as a matter of course in those areas in which the language still had a significant presence in 1911. In the early 1950s, for instance, Wagner (1958) commented on “the ruins of a language” that he encountered in East Ulster. Mac Giolla Chríost (2005) nevertheless cautiously points to the possibility of limited continuity in the Irish-speaking communities recorded in 1911 and 1991. He notes that relatively larger proportions of older people with Irish are recorded in 1991 in areas that map closely onto areas where the language had a significant presence as a community language in 1911.

The most recent census in NI was carried out in March 2021 and three questions relating to language are of interest in the context of the present report. First, respondents were asked to indicate what their main language was, with the option to select ‘English’, or to select ‘Other’ and then write the name of that other language³. Second, respondents were asked if they could speak, read, write or understand Irish, with the option to select ‘No ability’, ‘Understand’, ‘Speak’, ‘Read’ and/or ‘Write’. Third, if respondents recorded an ability to speak Irish, they were asked to indicate how often they speak it, with the option to reply ‘Daily’, ‘Weekly’, ‘Less often’, or ‘Never’. While the 2021 census in NI featured a question about how well respondents speak English (‘Very well’, ‘Well’, ‘Not well’, ‘Not at all’), there was no equivalent question about levels of spoken proficiency in Irish or other languages.

The census returns (Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency, 2021) reveal that some 5,972 people reported that Irish was their main language, representing 0.3%⁴ of the population. While this figure suggests that relatively few people consider Irish to be their primary language, a broader picture emerges when looking at language ability. Some 12% of the population (228,617) were returned as having some ability in Irish, including ability to speak, read, write or understand the language, or some combination of those skills. The largest group among those with ability in Irish is the group of respondents who reported they can understand Irish but cannot speak, read or write the language (90,801 people, 5% of the population). Almost a third of respondents who reported having some ability in Irish (71,872 people, 4%

² Although Mac Giolla Chríost notes that this was preceded by the first British government publication on Irish in 1988 (i.e., Sweeney, 1988).

³ It is noted that the formulation of this question presents English as a default option. It is also out of step with the dynamics of bi/multilingualism where there may not be a main language or where there may be more than one main language.

⁴ Where percentages are provided, they refer to the percentage of usually resident people aged 3 years and over. Percentages greater than 1% are rounded to the nearest whole percent. Percentages less than 1% are rounded to the first decimal point.

of the population), reported being able to speak, read, write and understand the language.

A gap is evident between reported levels of ability in Irish and the frequency of speaking the language. A total of 43,557 people (2%) were returned as daily speakers of Irish in the census, while 26,285 (1%) reported speaking it weekly, and 47,143 (3%) reported speaking it less often than weekly. Some 9,758 people (0.5%) reported that they can speak Irish but never do so.

Individuals who reported Irish as their main language, who reported higher proficiency in Irish and who reported speaking the language more frequently are not evenly distributed across the jurisdiction. They are instead concentrated in particular geographical areas. The status of Irish as main language, proportionally and in absolute terms, is highest in areas of West Belfast, where the percentage in many census wards approaches or exceeds 3% of the population. Proficiency in Irish and more frequent spoken use of the language are similarly concentrated in certain areas. Between 10–14% of the population in areas of West Belfast, County Tyrone, Newry, Derry City and Carrington reported an ability to speak, read, write and understand Irish. With respect to speaking Irish daily, the highest proportion of reported daily speakers of Irish are found in West Belfast and in areas of east Tyrone and east county Derry, all of which returned a range between 10–14% daily speakers of Irish.

An analysis of the data according to sociodemographic factors reveals that the status of Irish as main language, ability in Irish, and regularly speaking the language are most prevalent among younger people, among Catholics, among those who identify as Irish only, and among those who have higher levels of formal education. Only a tiny number of those who claim Irish as their main language come from a Protestant/other Christian faith, or identify as British, Northern Irish or another nationality.

In terms of national identity, 5,746 (96%) of those individuals for whom Irish is the main language identified as Irish only, while 95 (2%) of them identified as Northern Irish only, and 8 (0.1%) of them identified as British only. With respect to religion, 5,155 (86%) people whose main language is Irish were returned as Catholic, 75 were returned as a Protestant/other Christian faith (1%), 729 were of no religion (12%), and 12 (0.2%) were returned as another religion.

As noted, ability to speak, read, write and understand Irish was reported by 71,872 individuals (4%), while 43,553 (2%) speak Irish daily and another 26,289 (1%) speak Irish weekly. A stark contrast is again evident when these figures are considered with respect to national identity and religion, however. Ability in all four skills in Irish was reported by 11% of those identified as Irish only, 1% of those identified as Northern Irish only, and 0.3% of those identified as British only. Speaking Irish daily and weekly was at 7% and 4% for Irish only, 0.5% and 0.6% for Northern Irish only and 0.1% and 0.1% for British only.

Considering the results in relation to religion, 8% of Catholics were returned as being able to speak, read, write and understand Irish, with the figure for Protestant and other Christian faiths standing at 0.3%. Among Catholics, the figures for speaking Irish daily and weekly were 5% and 3% respectively, while the figures for Protestant/other Christian faiths were 0.2% and 0.1%. Although having Irish as a main language, having ability in the language, and speaking it with a degree of regularity is most common among those who identify as Irish, and those who identify as Catholic, the overall numbers for British and Protestant/other Christian faith backgrounds are nevertheless notable. Among those identifying as British only, some 1,517 individuals claim ability to speak, read, write and understand Irish, 647 people claim to speak Irish daily, and a further 374 speak Irish weekly. Among those of Protestant/other Christian faiths, 2,357 people have ability in all four language skills in Irish, 1,128 speak Irish daily and another 512 speak it weekly. While small proportionally, these overall numbers are highly salient in a minority-language context like Irish.

As mentioned, Irish has a stronger presence among younger people. It is generally strongest among the school-going population and steadily decreases in each older age cohort. In the 3–15-year-old cohort, Irish is reported as the main language for 0.6%. Staying in this cohort, 5% have ability in all four language skills in Irish and 4% of them speak Irish daily. The 16–24-year-old cohort stands out as an exception in terms of language ability as this is the highest group for ability to speak, read, write and understand Irish at 6%. That anomaly aside, the trend of a gradual decrease with age for Irish as the main language, ability in Irish, and speaking Irish daily is observed overall so that in the 75 years+ cohort, Irish is the main language for just 0.1%, 2% have ability in all four language skills in Irish, and 1% speak Irish daily.

Irish as main language, ability in all four language skills, and daily use of Irish is furthermore strongest among those with higher levels of formal educational qualifications. Among those with a qualification at Level 4 or above on the Regulated Qualifications Framework (Vocational, Technical and Professional Qualifications, or Higher National Certificate), Irish is reported as the main language for 0.4%, 6% can speak, read, write and understand Irish, and 3% speak Irish daily. This gradually decreases for those with lower levels of qualifications and is lowest among those with no formal educational qualifications, at 0.1%, 1% and 1% respectively.

The general trends observed in census 2021 tally with previous census data and with results from other studies (e.g., Mac Giolla Chríost, 2005; Shuttleworth et al., 2022). Studies by Nelde et al. (1996) and Mac Giolla Chríost (2001) provide some additional useful details, although it is noted that we now approach 30 years since their publication and the surveys were not carried out using probability-based samples. With respect to self-perceived ability, 60% of respondents in the Nelde et al. (1996) survey rated their spoken ability in Irish as either very good or quite good. In Mac Giolla Chríost (2001), 10% of the young people (16–18 years of age) surveyed claimed the highest rating in terms of their ability to speak Irish, with a further 38% claiming better than average ability in this skill. Among the parent cohort in the same survey, 16% claimed the highest level of ability in spoken Irish and 33% claimed to have better than average spoken ability in the language.

The reported use of Irish in the home is quite limited according to these two surveys. Irish was the sole language of the home for just 7% of respondents in the Nelde et al. (1996) survey of Irish-speaking adults and Mac Giolla Chríost (2001) records the use of Irish often or always with parents and siblings at 10% and 13% respectively among Irish-speaking teenagers. It is therefore perhaps unsurprising that a majority of participants (80%) in the Nelde et al. (1996) survey of Irish-speaking adults claimed to have acquired their Irish at school, while Mac Giolla Chríost (2001) furthermore points to the importance of adult education for the acquisition of Irish by parents of Irish-speaking children. Actual use of Irish is generally confined to close-knit and clearly defined networks based on family, friends, the school, church and the workplace (Mac Giolla Chríost, 2001, 2005).

3.3 Legislation and policy in NI

The legislative and policy position of Irish in NI, and official approaches to the language, evolved during the three main periods of constitutional and governance arrangements in the jurisdiction: The Northern Ireland Parliament and Executive (1921–1972); Direct Rule from Westminster (1972–1998); and Devolved Power-Sharing under the Belfast (Good Friday) Agreement (1999–present). During each of these periods, Nationalist parties have generally been in favour of initiatives designed to support Irish, while Unionist parties oppose them, which has made for an unfavourable policy context for the development of robust legislation and policy for Irish (Ó Murchadha, 2021).

Following the establishment of NI in 1921, the overt official attitude towards Irish was characterised by dismissiveness (Crowley, 2016). The language was excluded from the state's internal administrative systems and from its interactions with the public (Ó Laighin, 2022). It has been argued that this was part of an express aim to establish NI as an English-speaking state (Crowley, 2005). The status of Irish in NI during this period stands in contrast to the prominent position afforded the language in the nascent Irish Free State and also to official supports provided later to Scottish Gaelic and, especially, Welsh in Britain (Commission on the Administration of Justice, 1993). While no new legislation pertaining specifically to Irish was introduced in NI during this period, Section 19 of the Public Health and Local Government (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act (Northern Ireland) of 1949 stipulated that street signs should be erected in no language other than English. This had the effect of prohibiting public street signs in Irish.

During the period of Direct Rule, the British Government is considered to have been better disposed towards Irish than its Stormont predecessor (McCoy, 1997a). The year 1989, for example, saw the establishment of the Cultural Traditions Group and the ULTACH Trust, which dealt, respectively, with the various cultural traditions and with the Irish language in NI, and which funded Irish-language initiatives. A year later, in 1990, Irish was also incorporated into the Northern Ireland Curriculum. In the mid-1990s, then, the Local Government (Miscellaneous Provisions) (Northern Ireland) Order (1995) sanctioned the expression of street names in any other additional language alongside the required English version, paving the way for some use of Irish in this space.

The Devolved Power-Sharing arrangements in Northern Ireland in effect since 1999 have seen the Irish language become a political battleground between Nationalist and Unionist parties in the Northern Ireland Executive. Unionist parties tend to oppose any policies to promote Irish. Some progress has been made in this environment, however. The Belfast Agreement marked a significant turning point as regards the position of Irish in NI. As part of the Agreement, the British Government committed to promoting the use of Irish, to seeking to remove barriers to its development, to placing a statutory duty on the Department of Education to facilitate Irish-medium education, and to increasing access to and production of Irish language film and television in NI (Government of the United Kingdom & Government of Ireland, 1998). Foras na Gaeilge, established in 1999, also under the Belfast Agreement, was set up as the all-island body responsible for the promotion of Irish in NI as well as in ROI.

The ratification by the British Government in 2001 of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in respect of Irish in Northern Ireland was seen as an avenue towards achieving the commitments in the Belfast Agreement. It raised hopes that NI was on track to provide a legal basis for the promotion of Irish (Walsh, 2022). Similar to Scottish Gaelic and Welsh, Irish in Northern Ireland was provided with protection under Part 3 of the Charter, the highest level of protection. It remained the case, however, that Irish had less legislative support in the UK than either Scottish Gaelic or Welsh (Commission on the Administration of Justice, 1993). The signing of the Charter was still significant, though, in that it ushered in a discourse of linguistic human rights around the question of the Irish language in Northern Ireland (Mac Giolla Chríost, 2012) and provided a frame of reference for legislation and policy.

The St Andrews Agreement of 2006 included a commitment by the British Government to introduce an Irish Language Act in Northern Ireland. The Northern Ireland (St Andrews Agreement) Act 2006 resulted from the signing of this Agreement. Section 28D of the Act, which came into force in 2007, outlined that the Northern Ireland Executive would adopt a strategy to enhance and protect the development of Irish. This strategy did not materialise in the following decade and Northern Ireland's High Court ruled in 2017, following a challenge brought by Conradh na Gaeilge, that the Executive was in breach of this requirement in the legislation. While the failure to introduce a strategy lay with the Executive, responsibility for the introduction of an Irish language Act, as articulated in the original Agreement, lay with the British government. Ó Laighin (2022) points out that in keeping with the British parliament's terms of reference, the commitment to introduce an Act ought to have initiated the formal start of a Bill's progress through Parliament. Ó Laighin goes on to argue that the ensuing delay in introducing an Act could be considered a breach of international law.

With respect to signage, following the introduction of the Local Government (Miscellaneous Provisions) (Northern Ireland) Order 1995, local councils now formulate policy regarding the language on street signs. Policies vary across councils. Belfast City Council, for instance, have a provision whereby individual residents of a street can request a sign in an additional language alongside the English version (Belfast City Council, 2022). In addition, under the street signs project for the Gaeltacht Quarter in West Belfast, en bloc, blanket approval was granted for bilingual street signs across the streets that comprise this area (Belfast City Council, 2022). Public signage remains a site of contention, however, as evident in the dispute over signage in Belfast Grand Central Station, a new transport hub in Weaver's Cross in the city. The 2024 opening of the station, which is run by Translink (a government-owned public company), sparked complaints about the absence of Irish-language signage in and around the station. The approval by the Minister for Infrastructure in March 2025 of dual-language signage and ticket machines in the station, to include Irish, subsequently drew opposition from Unionist parties. Work on the introduction of Irish on signs and machines at the station has subsequently stalled following reports of legal papers being lodged to initiate a judicial review of the decision.

In 2020, the New Decade, New Approach deal (Government of the United Kingdom & Government of Ireland, 2020) was published to restore the devolved government in NI. The deal included an agreement to establish the position of Irish Language Commissioner, to provide official recognition of the status of Irish in Northern Ireland and to repeal the Administration of Justice (Language) Act (Ireland) of 1737. Notably, it did not create any rights for Irish speakers (Walsh, 2022). Two years later, the Identity and Language (Northern Ireland) Act 2022 passed through parliament and the provisions agreed in New Decade, New Approach were subsequently given legal effect. The act stops short of designating Irish an official language in the jurisdiction, but rather its purpose is to "provide official recognition of the status of the Irish language in Northern Ireland" (Government of the United Kingdom & Government of Ireland, 2020). This was to be achieved through the appointment of an Irish language commissioner, by providing for the development of standards of best practice relating to the use of the Irish language by public authorities, and by requiring public authorities to have due regard to such standards (Government of the United Kingdom & Government of Ireland, 2020).

It was February 2025 by the time the Administration of Justice (Language) Act (Ireland) (1737) was repealed. This act had legislated for the use of English as the sole language of the courts. At its inception, the act targeted the exclusion of Latin and French specifically, without mentioning Irish or other languages. On the surface at least, this was introduced so that individuals would not be tried in a language unknown to them. Nonetheless, although the act predated the formation of the state, it precluded the use of Irish in the courts until it was repealed. Its repeal allowed for the drafting of guidelines for the use of Irish in legal, court and tribunal settings. By March 2025, the Irish Language Commissioner was not yet in place and the United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (2025) noted its regret that the institutions created to protect and promote Irish had not yet been established. Later that same month, the role of Irish Language Commissioner was advertised and the successful applicant subsequently took office in November 2025.

3.4 Irish in Education in NI

A divergence in the trajectory of the Irish language in schooling in NI and what became the Irish Free State/Republic of Ireland resulted in time from the partition of the island. Until March 1922, the same pre-partition arrangements officially applied across the island. These arrangements provided for the use of Irish as medium of instruction in Irish-speaking areas (under the Bilingual Programme of Instruction), the teaching of Irish as an ordinary subject during school hours, or the teaching of Irish as an extra subject outside school hours.

As of St Patrick's Day 1922, Public Notice No. 4 (Provisional Government of Ireland, 1922a) came into effect south of the border and required, at a minimum, that the Irish language be taught or used as a medium of instruction for at least an hour a day in all national schools, where teaching resources allowed. Significant efforts were also made to expand Irish-medium schooling in the new polity. These initiatives reflected the central role that Irish occupied in nation-building in the decades before and after the foundation of the Irish Free State (McMonagle, 2010; Walsh, 2023).

A little over a week after the announcement of Public Notice No. 4 on February 1st, 1922, the Minister for Education in Northern Ireland is reported to have commented that Irish was taught in certain schools in NI and that this provision would continue where desired and where there were suitably competent teachers (The Weekly Freeman, 1922). He is reported to have voiced his opposition, however, to introducing any element of compulsion to the teaching of Irish, thereby setting the scene for continuing divergence in official policy around the position of Irish in formal education in the two jurisdictions. Where Irish continued to be taught in schools in NI, it tended to be taught as a subject and only in Catholic schools, with restrictions on time and funding. The language was effectively excluded from the state-school, Protestant-majority sector (Zenker, 2013).

This again relates to the identity of the fledgling NI state. Unionist government members' views on Irish ranged from disregard to suspicion and hostility, and Irish tended to be associated with nationalism and potential subversion. It has been argued that the devolved government in its early years could, in some senses, be considered surprisingly accommodating towards Irish (McGrath, 2000). However, the language was merely tolerated in education rather than encouraged (Maguire, 1991; McGrath, 2000) and its presence was constrained in many ways. Andrews (1993) argued that the actions of the new NI government towards Irish were designed to damage existing support structures for the language. The decoupling of policy on Irish in education in the two jurisdictions in the 1920s saw NI progress along a different path to the Irish Free State in respect of Irish-language education. The two states, to the present day, still continue along separate paths in their approaches to the status of the language in schools.

Interestingly, though Public Notice No. 4 did not apply to Northern Ireland, a surreptitious arrangement by the Provisional Government of Ireland in Dublin resulted in the likely implementation of the provisions of the notice in some Catholic national schools in NI. A decision of the Provisional Government in January 1922 (Provisional Government of Ireland, 1922b) sanctioned the payment of the salaries of up to 800 national school teachers in up to 283 schools (of a total of 742 RC schools, 36%) in NI from February that year (Andrews, 1993; de Brún, 2010; Lindsay, 2023; Maguire, 1991; Ó Laighin, 2022). These were teachers in Catholic national schools in which the teachers and/or the school managers did not recognise the Northern Government. This arrangement came to an end in November 1922 when payments from the Provisional Government ceased and where teachers and schools came under increased pressure from the Ministry of Education to teach the curriculum in effect in the North and to accept their salaries from the Ministry of Education in that jurisdiction.

This clandestine arrangement apart, at the foundation of the Northern Ireland state, Irish was available as an optional subject in all standards and as an extra fee-paying subject outside school hours from Standard III up (Andrews, 1993). From the mid-1920s, however, the policy environment increasingly constrained the scope of Irish-language teaching. Indeed, throughout the period of the Northern Ireland Parliament and Executive (1921-1972), Unionists maintained a policy of restricting or containing the Irish language in schools (de Brún, 2010). The 1923 Education Act formally restricted the teaching of Irish to a maximum of 1.5 hours per week as an ordinary subject to national school pupils in Standard III and above and restricted the teaching of Irish as an extra subject outside regular school hours to pupils in those same grade levels, funded by the Ministry of Education. It appears in at least some cases, however, that the maximum time allowance of 1.5 hours per week was not always adhered to and that in some schools, Irish was taught for an hour each day (McGrath, 2000). The teaching of Irish as an extra subject was further curtailed in 1926 as Irish was restricted to pupils in Standard V and above and grants for teaching Irish in Standard III and IV were abolished (Maguire, 1991).

The early 1930s marked another decisive moment. Interest in Irish among pupils had persisted and 18%

of Catholic primary children were examined in Irish in 1932–33 and a significant share of secondary pupils continued to take the subject (McGrath, 2000). However, the abolition of special grants for teaching Irish in 1933 rendered the language a fringe subject with a bleak future in the primary school curriculum (Andrews, 1993). Around 10,500 pupils were studying the language in approximately 140 Catholic primary schools at this time, representing about 20% of Catholic schools and about 5% of all primary schools (McGrath, 2000). The cumulative effect of grant abolition, administrative barriers, and mounting Unionist hostility (McGrath, 2000) ushered in a period of policy stagnation with respect to Irish in education. The situation remained more or less unchanged in the four decades that followed 1933 (Andrews, 1993).

Despite these constraints, Irish did not disappear from the school system. Around 12,000 pupils were recorded as studying the language in 1943, with provision confined to Catholic schools (McGrath, 2000). A parliamentary question in the late 1940s revealed that roughly one-eighth of primary pupils and less than a quarter of secondary-intermediate pupils studied Irish, with levels much higher in Catholic grammar schools (McGrath, 2000). The language's exclusion from state schools, which were and are attended predominantly by Protestants, was by this time entrenched. It remains the case to the present day that Irish is taught mainly in Catholic or integrated schools, and the language has a negligible presence in the Protestant sector.

From the late 1940s into the 1950s, political debate on Irish in education was shaped largely by Catholic protests against the withdrawal of grants for the teaching of Irish, while Irish in general remained peripheral in nationalist discourse (Nic Craith, 2003). Interest in Irish remained high in education as the civil rights movement gained momentum during the 1960s, as evident in the steady rise in children studying Irish at O Level from 667 students in 1957 to 2,131 students by 1972 (McManus, 2016). The late 1960s ushered in new grassroots developments. While official policy remained largely unchanged and Irish continued to occupy a marginal position, community-driven revival initiatives began to reshape the educational landscape. Following the establishment of what was dubbed the first urban Gaeltacht, on the Shaws Road in Belfast in 1969, Scoil Ghaeilge Bhéal Feirste (later Bunscoil Phobal Feirste) was opened in 1971, despite the threat of legal action from the Ministry of Education.

Through the 1970s and 1980s, despite ongoing political ambivalence and periods of hostility, Irish-medium initiatives expanded slowly. By the late 20th century, the scale of participation in this sector had grown. In 1988, a survey indicated that 11% of children aged 3–15 had some Irish, including 51% of Catholic children aged 11–15 (Maguire, 1991). A significant policy shift occurred with the Education (Northern Ireland) Order 1998, which imposed a statutory duty on the Department of Education to encourage and facilitate Irish-medium education. This created, for the first time, a positive legal framework for the sector's development.

Regarding Irish as a subject at primary level, The Primary Modern Languages Programme was established in 2007 and was implemented in just over half of primary schools in NI. Spanish, Irish or Polish were taught as part of the programme, which was based on a peripatetic teaching model. The programme was criticised on a number of fronts and was ultimately abolished in 2015 due to budgetary constraints, at a time when 84 schools were offering Irish as a subject as part the programme.

At primary level in NI today, it is not statutory to teach languages other than English, or Irish in the case of the Irish-medium sector. Modern languages, including Irish, can still be taught, but are taught within the context of the six Areas of Learning in the Curriculum. The Language and Literacy Area of Learning aligns most closely with the teaching of modern languages and within this area schools are encouraged to teach additional languages (CCEA, 2007). Enumerating the number of schools that actually teach Irish at primary level is not straightforward. Nevertheless, the Language Trends Northern Ireland 2025 survey of 136 primary schools (out of a total of 781 schools) reported that 65% of schools taught modern languages, with 31% of these schools reporting that they taught Irish (Duff & Collen, 2025).

The absence of languages other than English as a statutory subject in the primary curriculum and in Key Stage 4 (post-primary, age 14–16 years) means that NI has the shortest statutory period of modern language learning in Europe. This was noted in a 2017 study and the inclusion of additional language learning as a statutory part of the primary curriculum in NI was recommended (Jones et al., 2017). More recently, NI's lagging language provision was noted in an official review of the Northern Ireland Curriculum, which included a recommendation that the teaching of languages other than English should be statutory during Key Stage 2 (Age 8–11 years) (Crehan, 2025). The report recommends that this provision should comprise an apprenticeship in language learning rather than the teaching of a particular language (Crehan, 2025).

At post-primary level, by the 1990s, approximately 25,000 students were studying Irish as a subject (Maguire, 1991). In 1992, then, it became a requirement for students in NI to study a modern language at

Key Stage 3 (11–14 years of age) and Key Stage 4 (14–16 years of age). Schools were required to offer at least one of French, German, Spanish or Italian, after which Irish could be offered as a further option in schools, with students offered a free choice of language subject from those available (see McKendry, 2020 for a full discussion). In 2007, the requirement to study Modern Languages at Key Stage 4 was abolished as part of curriculum review and a dramatic fall in the numbers of pupils studying modern languages ensued.

At post-primary, a GCSE Irish exam was taken by 1,993 pupils in 2025, the third most popular language at this level after Spanish and French, but ahead of German (Joint Council for Qualifications, 2025). However, this figure represents a significant drop since 2004, both in absolute terms and relative to the total number students taking the exams. A fall of 40% in the number of pupils taking the GCSE Irish exam designed for pupils in English-medium schools has been reported up to 2024, from 2,630 pupils (10%) to 1,572 pupils (4.9%) (Ní Thuathalláin, 2024). This fall is set in the context of changes to curriculum requirements for modern languages. While modern languages are core and compulsory in Key Stage 3 (11–14 years), this has not been the case in Key Stage 4 (age 14–16 years, the stage during which the GCSEs take place) since 2008.

At A Level, Irish continues to retain a smaller but stable cohort. In 2025, 287 pupils sat the Irish exam, the second most popular language after Spanish (Joint Council for Qualifications, 2025). Unlike the figures for GCSE Irish, the A Level figure has remained relatively stable over the past 25 years. It is in line with the stable trend noted for Spanish, but it stands in stark contrast to the sharp decrease in those taking the French and German A Level exams (Duff & Collen, 2025).

Today, Irish-medium education is a small but steadily growing part of the NI school system. In total, Irish-medium education is provided at 90 sites across NI. This includes 49 Irish-medium (IM) pre-schools, 28 IM primary schools and 7 IM primary units, 2 IM post-primary schools, and 3 IM units attached to English-medium post-primary schools. Enrolment figures for the Irish-medium sector in the 2024/25 school year (NISRA, 2025) show that 7,598 children attended Irish-medium settings, across nursery, primary, and post-primary school levels. Of these: 602 children attended funded IM nursery schools (representing 20% growth in this sector in the past 5 years); 4,621 pupils attended IM primary schools (3,638) or Irish-medium units (983) (this number has been stable with little variation over the past 5 years); 2,010 pupils attended IM post-primary settings, including 1,366 in Irish-medium schools and 644 in Irish-medium units (representing a 52% increase over the past five years, with the increase evenly distributed across IM schools and units). While the IM sector remains unevenly distributed across communities, its growth reflects both long-standing grassroots efforts and a more supportive statutory environment that has emerged since the late 1990s.

3.5 Attitudes to Irish in NI

The Irish language in NI is today predominantly associated with the Catholic/Nationalist community and it has been since before the inception of the NI state (McMonagle & McDermott, 2014; Sharma, 2021). However, there is a long history of engagement with Irish by the Church of Ireland and the Presbyterian Church, and by individuals belonging to those congregations (McMonagle, 2010). McCoy (1997a) traces this history from proselytisation efforts by the churches from the 16th century right up to the middle of the 19th century, antiquarian interest in Irish among individuals belonging to these churches during the 18th and 19th centuries, and on through the involvement of individuals from these churches in the Gaelic Revival at the turn of the 20th century. While attitudes to Irish in these churches were by no means universally favourable in these periods, a polarisation of politics in Ulster from the middle of the 19th century onwards saw Irish become associated primarily with Catholicism (Andrews, 2000). Ó Buachalla (1968) has discerned a notable change in attitude to the language among Protestants in Ulster from the 1860s onwards, whereby Protestants who maintained an interest in Irish after this point were out of step with their wider community. This progressed in the following decades and, for Protestants and Unionists in general, the decision of the Gaelic League in 1915 to devote itself fully to the pursuit of a Gaelic and independent Ireland probably confirmed their suspicions that Irish was the subversive language of Irish nationalism. This belief was likely copper-fastened with the prominent position afforded to Irish upon the establishment of the Irish Free State. This set the scene for an enduring hostility, suspicion or indifference towards Irish among the general Protestant, Unionist community that is evident in the present day.

Although the negative attitudes of many Protestants and Unionists towards Irish go back at least to the middle of the 19th century, its persistence to the present day can also be seen as a function of the lack of access that this community has had to Irish through the education system (Darmody & Daly, 2015; Mac Giolla Chríost, 2005; Nic Craith, 1999; Ó Murchadha, 2021; Pritchard, 2004). Nevertheless, the notable minority of Protestant and British-identifying individuals who have proficiency in Irish and who use it regularly, highlights that this attitude is not universal. The embracing of Irish by some Protestants and

Unionists is often embedded in a heritage discourse, emphasising the shared heritage of Irish in NI, the history of the language among this community, and the link that Irish provides with other Celtic languages in Britain (Dunlevy, 2023; Ó Murchadha, 2021). Nevertheless, it is observed that the interest in Irish among some Protestants/Unionists is generally something that is pursued discretely (Malcolm, 1997; McCoy, 1997b). It is notable in this respect that in 2025 Foras na Gaeilge funded a study on the feasibility of establishing an Irish Language Interpretative Centre in Belfast. The centre would aim to develop an understanding of Irish among groups who do not traditionally have ready access to the language, with a particular emphasis on the Protestant, unionist and loyalist community, as well as on minority groups in NI.

McCoy (1997a) and O'Reilly (1997, 1999) point respectively to the presence of a common heritage discourse and a cultural discourse in NI that see Irish as belonging to everyone in the jurisdiction, regardless of their background. This stance is present among a small subset of the Protestant/Unionist community and also among sections of the Catholic/Nationalist community. However, it exists alongside other discourses around language ownership. The secessionist (McCoy, 1997a) and decolonising discourses (O'Reilly, 1997, 1999) have reinforced the perceived link between Irish and nationalism and with the quest for the political independence of Ireland. The two cultures discourse (McCoy, 1997), which in its official guise emerged from the Anglo-Irish Agreement of 1985 and has featured in subsequent agreements also, again positions the Irish language as belonging to the Catholic, Nationalist community. A language rights-based discourse around Irish has also been identified in NI. This discourse, on the other hand, aims to side-step political/apolitical discourses around language ownership by focusing on civil rights, human rights and minority rights of individuals as a means of campaigning for the promotion of Irish (O'Reilly, 1997, 1999).

Attitudes to Irish among the general NI population have been the subject of systematic investigation since the beginning of this century. In 2001, NI was included for the first time in a survey of attitudes to Irish. In 2013, it featured again in the all-island survey of attitudes to Irish. The results from the 2013 survey are briefly reviewed here to provide an outline of prevailing attitudes to the language at that time.

Overall, notable support for Irish is reported. In total, 45% of the population are supportive of the language (Darmody & Daly, 2015). Just under half (48%) of adults believe Irish should be taught in schools and a majority (64%) believe Irish-medium schools should be provided where demand exists (Darmody & Daly, 2015). Very few adults feel Irish should be disregarded completely (Darmody & Daly, 2015). General support for Irish was strongest among those with higher levels of education and 44% of those from a Catholic background were strongly in favour of Irish (Darmody & Daly, 2015). On the other hand, respondents from a Protestant background were less likely to express strong support for Irish, with only 4% strongly in favour of Irish. However, a relatively small proportion of Protestants expressed negative overall attitudes towards Irish, with 9% 'Somewhat opposed' and 19% 'Strongly opposed' (Darmody & Daly, 2015). Interestingly, a majority of Protestants (55%) appear indifferent towards Irish, expressing 'no particular feelings' towards the language (Darmody & Daly, 2015), a finding that tallies with those of McCoy (1997).

Over one quarter of parents in Northern Ireland (28%) indicated that it was important that their children grow up with Irish. This sentiment was not restricted to Irish speakers and was shared by 21% of those with no Irish fluency, though it was markedly stronger among those with some knowledge of the language (68%). Regarding the future of Irish, the most commonly preferred scenario was a bilingual society in which English remains the primary language (34%). Only a very small minority felt that Irish should be forgotten (8%).

With respect to attitudes to Irish in education, 48% expressed a view that Irish should be taught in schools. The teaching of Irish as a subject only was the most commonly preferred model (primary: 42%; post-primary: 49%), with a sizeable minority expressing a view that Irish should not be taught at all (primary: 32%; post-primary: 28%) (Darmody & Daly, 2015). Teaching Irish well to schoolchildren was most-commonly identified as the initiative the government should focus on in developing Irish language policy (34%). When parents who participated in the 2013 survey were asked if they would send, or would have sent, their child(ren) to an Irish-medium school if located nearby, 12% responded positively for primary level and 11% responded positively for post-primary (Darmody & Daly, 2015).

With respect to perceptions of government policy towards Irish, similar proportions of respondents felt that the government does too little (29%) or enough (24%), while 16% believed that it does too much and many expressed no opinion. Support for maintaining Irish-speaking households in Gaeltacht areas stood at 27%, while agreement with the provision of public services in Irish as an important governmental responsibility was at 30%.

3.6 Summary

The aim of this chapter has been to provide context for the survey results from NI that are presented in Chapter 5. The history of language shift and revitalisation was briefly sketched, followed by a discussion of current speaker numbers and their demographic profiles. The legal and policy framework in which Irish functions in NI was then discussed, as was the history and current position of Irish in the education system. The chapter concluded with an overview of the most recent survey of attitudes to Irish in the jurisdiction. The focus of the next chapter will turn to an analysis of the current state of minority languages in other jurisdictions.



Comparative contexts: Wales and the Basque Autonomous Community

4. Comparative contexts: Wales and the Basque Autonomous Community

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of policies and practices regarding minority languages in two jurisdictions that have comparable profiles and sociolinguistic contexts to that of the Irish context, Wales and the Basque Autonomous Community. The chapter aims to provide useful points of comparison for the development of Irish language policy in ROI and NI.

4.2 Welsh in Wales

4.2.1 Context and status of the language

Like Irish, Welsh is a Celtic language. However, the Welsh language belongs to the Brittonic branch, alongside Cornish and Breton. Ball (2007) presents estimates for Welsh speakers as 80% in 1801 and 66% in 1871, while 55% of the population were recorded as Welsh speakers in the 1891 census, the first census in which there was a question about Welsh. The 20th Century witnessed a further decline in Welsh speakers, as recorded in the census, from 50% in 1901 to 19% in 1991 (Ball, 2007). However, like in Ireland, the number of speakers, and their decline, has been differentiated geographically, with language shift, as Ball (2007) argues, being more drastic in the southeast of the country due to the effects of the Industrial Revolution. In seaside areas, the development of tourism and inward migration have also impacted the language (Aitchison & Carter, 2000; Ball, 2007).

More recent census data tells a similar story. Williams (2023) presents the following figures: in 1991 there were 508,000 speakers, which was 19% of the population. In the 2001 census the number of Welsh speakers increased, for the first time in over 100 years, with 575,744 or 21% per cent of the population claiming fluency in Welsh. However, in 2011 this figure fell again, with 562,000 or 19% the population, recorded as being able to speak Welsh. According to the most recent census data, collected in 2021, an estimated 538,000 (18%) of usual residents in Wales aged three years and over were reported as being able to speak Welsh (Williams, 2023).

4.2.2 Language revitalisation efforts

According to Williams (2023), there have been three successive stages of language revitalisation in Wales. Between 1912 and 1962, initiatives were largely concerned with securing official and public recognition for Welsh, alongside the development of a dedicated system of Welsh-language education. The second stage, extending from around 1962 into the 1980s, was marked by intensified mobilisation linked to sustained protest against what was perceived as the marginalisation of Welsh in public and civic life. During this period, efforts focused on expanding Welsh-medium education, guaranteeing bilingual provision in public services, and achieving the establishment of a Welsh-language television channel, S4C. The third and current stage is defined by two broad and interconnected challenges. The first relates to the effects of uneven migration patterns on predominantly Welsh-speaking communities, as well as initiatives to normalise Welsh through widening the base of learners enrolled in Welsh-medium schools. A key feature here is the creation of a sociolinguistic environment that reinforces Welsh language competence and encourages regular use of the language beyond school-based contexts. The second challenge is political, administrative and legal in scope, and concerns the construction of a national infrastructure capable of embedding opportunities to use Welsh more deeply across society. This includes the formulation and implementation of language policy, the expansion of linguistic rights and citizen services, the enactment of new language legislation, the strategic use of information technology to access digital and virtual domains, and efforts to strengthen the role of Welsh language skills within the wider economy (Williams, 2023).

4.2.3 Recent Welsh-language policy

In response to the decline in the number of Welsh speakers discussed above, two policy initiatives were introduced, *Iaith Pawb* (Welsh Assembly Government, 2003) and *A living language: A language for living* — Welsh Language Strategy 2012–17 (Welsh Assembly Government, 2012). *Iaith Pawb* aimed to substantially broaden the opportunities available for learning and using Welsh. It also outlined a commitment to mainstreaming to ensure that Welsh language considerations were systematically integrated into policy development and programme delivery across organisations throughout Wales. The Welsh language strategy focused primarily on language transmission within the home and education system, while also promoting increased use of Welsh across wider social domains (Welsh Assembly Government, 2012; see also Ní Dhiorbháin et al., 2023).

More recently, the *Cymraeg 2050* language strategy was launched (Welsh Government, 2017). This strategy includes 3 main aims: (1) to increase the number of Welsh speakers to one million by 2050; (2) to increase the percentage of the population that speak Welsh daily; (3) to create favourable infrastructural and contextual conditions for the language. Importantly, the strategy acknowledges that the education system will be central to meeting the ambitious objectives. *Cymraeg 2050* recognises a specific role for Welsh-medium education in supporting language acquisition. Plans to expand Welsh-medium provision have been intensified, and it is envisaged that the proportion of learners educated through Welsh will rise from the current 22% to 30% by 2031, and to 40% by 2050 (Welsh Government, 2017). According to the Welsh Language Use Survey 2019–2020 (Welsh Government, 2022), 16% of children who are Welsh speakers spoke Welsh outside of school and 40% read content in Welsh. Less use is made of apps or games in Welsh.

In May 2025, the Welsh Language and Education (Wales) Act was passed. This legislation sets out how the Welsh Government intends to achieve the goal of one million Welsh speakers, establish school categorisation (see below), and link national-level language planning with that at the level of local authorities and schools. The act also provides for the establishment of a National Institute for Learning Welsh, *Athrofa Dysgu Cymraeg Genedlaethol* – a new body that will be responsible for supporting people of all ages to learn Welsh. The institute is due to be established in August 2027.

4.2.4 Welsh-language use and attitudes

Recent research on attitudes towards Welsh and on Welsh-language use reveals a contrast between strong ideological support for the language and more restricted everyday use. Findings from the Welsh Language Use Survey 2019–2020 show that attitudes towards Welsh are generally positive. Over two-thirds of Welsh speakers stated that the language is an important element of their identity (69%) and that Welsh speakers should pass the language on to future generations (90%) (Welsh Government, 2021b).

However, while more than half of Welsh speakers report using Welsh daily, this represents only around 10% of the overall population, indicating that regular use remains socially and geographically restricted. The percentage of Welsh speakers aged 3 to 15 who spoke Welsh daily was considerably higher than any other age group (67%). The report proposes that this reflects the fact that these young people use the language regularly in school. Among the older cohorts (30–44, 45–64, 65+), the percentage of Welsh speakers who spoke the language daily ranged between 53% and 55%. Just under half (49%) of Welsh speakers aged 16 to 29 spoke Welsh daily (Welsh Government, 2021b).

Recent research has examined the relationship between language exposure and language attitudes in greater depth. Gruffydd et al. (2025) demonstrated that early exposure to Welsh has long-term effects on both explicit and implicit attitudes towards Welsh and English. This points to the central role of childhood socialisation in shaping attitudes to Welsh and identity. Complementary research on young people's perspectives highlights differences based on educational context: learners in Welsh-medium or bilingual schools tend to associate Welsh with cultural value and employment opportunities, whereas pupils in English-medium settings are more likely to perceive Welsh as marginal to their everyday lives (Taylor et al., 2023). Research carried out on behalf of the Welsh Language Commissioner further underscores a persistent gap between favourable attitudes and actual language practices. Although many children and young people express pride in Welsh, English predominates in informal peer interaction, digital communication and online environments, limiting opportunities for Welsh use beyond formal contexts (Welsh Language Commissioner, 2025). Taken together, recent research suggests that while support for Welsh remains strong at an attitudinal level, sustaining and normalising its use across social, community and digital domains continue to present a significant challenge for language policy.

4.2.5 Welsh in the education system

Bilingual education has been a prominent feature of Welsh society since the mid-twentieth century. The year 1939 saw the establishment of what is believed to be the first Welsh-medium school of the modern era (Duggan et al., 2014). The establishment of the first state-funded school to use Welsh as the medium of instruction followed in 1947 (Lewis, 2006). Initially, such schools were intended to serve communities in which Welsh was the predominant first language. Over time, however, the linguistic profile of pupils has changed, and the majority of learners in Welsh-medium schools now come from English-speaking homes (Lewis, 2008).

Responsibility for the organisation and provision of education lies with local authorities, which are required to develop and implement Welsh language education delivery plans (Welsh Government, 2025a). These plans cover a ten-year period and are subject to a statutory review after five years. Through the delivery plans, local authorities are expected to expand the number of teachers qualified to teach through Welsh and to promote Welsh-medium education to parents and guardians. In addition, education authorities are to ensure that all learners, including those educated through English, achieve at least a B2 level on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) by the end of compulsory schooling at age 16.

Financial investment includes £6.7 million provided through the Welsh in Education Grant and a further £2.5 million allocated via the Welsh Language Professional Learning Grant (Welsh Government, 2023). Further funding is also directed towards initiatives such as the sabbatical scheme for teachers and the National Centre for Learning Welsh. This reflects a policy view of Welsh language acquisition as a lifelong endeavour, rather than one that is confined to the years of compulsory schooling. It is recognised that some expenditure intended to strengthen Welsh-medium education would have occurred regardless of the delivery plans, particularly in areas such as provision for learners with additional learning needs, which must be funded irrespective of the language of instruction (Welsh Government, 2023).

According to the Welsh Government (2025b), in January 2025 there were 405 Welsh-medium schools (catering for 21% of all pupils) and 66 dual-language schools (catering for 5% of all pupils). The goal in Cymraeg 2050 is to have 40% of learners receiving their education through Welsh by 2050. Working towards this, the policy aims to increase current participation by 30% in the coming 10 years and provide parents with a clearer insight as to the percentage of the curriculum and extra-curricular activities facilitated through Welsh (Welsh Government, 2021a). Schools are furthermore being encouraged to increase their provision through Welsh. Since September 2022 there are three categories of primary and secondary school (Welsh Government, 2021a). The primary school categories are:

Category 1: English-medium schools which spend 15% of teaching time through Welsh and communicate with parents through English.

Category 2: Bilingual schools with 50% of the teaching time through Welsh and communicate bilingually with parents.

Category 3: Welsh-medium schools with total early immersion up to age 7 and where 80% of subjects after that point are taught through Welsh. These schools have a strong Welsh ethos.

The secondary categories are:

Category 1: English-medium schools with 15% of teaching time spent through Welsh and communicating with parents through English.

Category 2: Bilingual schools where 40% of students study 40% of the curriculum and extra-curricular activities through Welsh and communicate bilingually with parents.

Category 3: Welsh-medium schools where 60% of students study 70% of the curriculum through Welsh. These schools have a strong Welsh ethos.

Category 3P: Designated Welsh-medium schools in which 100% of students study 90% of the curriculum and extra-curricular activities through Welsh. These schools have a strong Welsh ethos.

Prior to the new system of categories, schools were classified according to a large number of categories. Primary schools fell into one of five categories (i.e., Welsh-medium, Dual Stream, Transitional, Predominantly English-medium, and English-medium schools). Secondary schools were divided into four classifications (i.e., Welsh-medium, Bilingual (categories A, B, C & D), English-medium (but with significant use of Welsh), and English-medium schools; Welsh Government, 2021a). Under that system, there was a lack of clarity about the percentage of teaching time through the medium of Welsh. However,

more emphasis is placed now on including extra-curricular events and communication with parents through Welsh (Welsh Government, 2021a).

In order to facilitate expanding provision, schools can develop a five-year transition plan. This is done in collaboration with the local authority and the governing body in order to set out the measures required to progress to the next category. Schools are supported throughout this process, and no institution is expected to remain in a transitional category for more than ten years. The transition arrangements fall under the remit of Estyn as the education and training inspectorate for Wales. At primary level, schools may introduce total early immersion up to the age of 7 and, as these cohorts progress through the school, gradually transition to Welsh-medium status. Provision is also made for late immersion, allowing learners to transfer into Welsh-medium secondary education even if they have not previously attended a Welsh-medium primary school (Welsh Government, 2021a; see also Ní Dhiorbháin et al., 2025).

At secondary level, Welsh is a core subject up to age 16, the end of Key Stage 4. However, a lack of continuity in Welsh-medium education is most visible at secondary level. Many students move from the Welsh-medium system to English-medium secondary schools, from Key Stage 2 to Key Stage 3 (Duggan et al., 2016). This undermines much of the progress achieved, in relation to Welsh, during primary education.

Another important aspect to Welsh-language policy has been its explicit recognition of a role for adult learners of the language. In 2006, six Welsh for Adults Centres were established in various regions of the country to consolidate the broad range of Welsh language provision that existed in order to raise standards (Baker et al., 2011).

In 2016, the Welsh government established the National Centre for Learning Welsh to lead the ‘Welsh-for-Adults’ sector. In 2023, the Welsh Government expanded the centre’s remit to provide free targeted provision for learners aged 16–25 who wish to learn Welsh and further develop their language skills. The centre’s services are based on the national Learn Welsh curriculum, which is aligned with the CEFR (National Centre for Learning Welsh, 2025).

Overall, the Welsh education system and Welsh language policy in general provides a useful point of comparison for the Irish context. There is potentially much to learn from the Welsh experience when seeking to develop and strengthen Irish language policy in ROI and NI.

Another sociolinguistic context from which the Irish experience could fruitfully draw is that of the Basque Autonomous Community. The remainder of this chapter focuses on an overview of the Basque language in that jurisdiction.

4.3 Basque in the Basque Autonomous Community

4.3.1 Context and status of the language

Basque is a unique, non-Indo-European language spoken primarily in the Basque Country of northern Spain and southwestern France. It is a language isolate and is thus not related to any other known languages. The language is thought to predate the spread of Indo-European languages in Europe (Lakarra, 2017).

As Ortega and Manterola (2022) point out, the trajectory of the Basque language reflects a long-term process of language shift. Across centuries, Basque lost ground to surrounding Romance languages (Mitzelena, 2008). This decline intensified from the early 19th century as industrialisation and urbanisation reshaped social and economic life. This accelerated the reduction of Basque use in both rural and urban contexts (Urla, 2012). In addition to these social transformations, Basque was seriously weakened by deliberate state interventions designed to suppress it (Ortega & Manterola, 2022). Such policies were evident after the French Revolution of 1789 and reached their most extreme form during General Francisco Franco’s dictatorship in Spain (1939–1975), when the language was prohibited in public domains and its speakers were persecuted (Urla, 2012).

Paradoxically, this period of extreme decline and vulnerability, especially in the final years of the Franco regime, also marked the beginning of strong mobilisation in support of Basque. During the 1960s, opposition movements to the dictatorship increasingly incorporated demands for official recognition of the language. These pro-Basque campaigns gained further strength after Franco’s death in 1975, during the phase known as the Spanish Transition (Ortega & Manterola, 2022).

Today, Euskal Herria, the land of the Basque language, extends across three different territorial

jurisdictions, each with distinct language policies and where the Basque language has undergone different developments: the Northern Basque Country in France, and the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) and Navarre in Spain. In total the population of the Basque Country was over 3.2 million people in 2021. A very large majority of these people, approximately 2.2 million, live in the BAC, which is also the region with the strongest policy in favour of Basque and where most progress has been made in language revitalisation efforts. For that reason, the Basque language in the BAC will be the focus of this overview.

According to the Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey 2021 (Eusko Jaurlaritza, 2024a), 36% of the population of the BAC aged 16 or over were Basque-speaking, 19% were passive Basque speakers and 45% were non-Basque speakers. These figures represent notable progress from the 1991 data, when 24% of the population could speak Basque. The increase is more noticeable in the younger generations: among young people aged 16 to 24, 75% are Basque speakers. This increase is partly due to a limited recovery of intergenerational transmission within the family. However, it is mostly attributable to the learning of Basque by adults and, especially, by children during compulsory schooling where Basque has a prominent position as a subject and as a medium of instruction.

Basque has held official status in the BAC since the 1970s, when the Spanish government adopted a more supportive approach to its minority languages in the 1978 constitution. This constitution designates Spanish as Spain's official language while allowing Spain's autonomous communities to grant co-official status to other regional languages. Basque has since been declared co-official in the BAC. Language legislation detailing the implications of Basque's co-official status was later enacted (Williams, 2023). These include key provisions regarding the availability of Basque as both a subject and as a medium of instruction within the education system (Schukking et al., 2020).

4.3.2 Language revitalisation efforts

According to Williams (2023), language revitalisation in the Basque Country in general stands out in its scope and its impact for two key reasons. First, the process began under exceptionally adverse conditions, reflecting the profound structural repression imposed during the Franco dictatorship. At the same time, the way challenges are articulated has been shaped by the territory's political and administrative fragmentation, which has hindered the formation of sustained consensus across a region divided between two nation-states and three governing units. Second, revitalisation has been particularly remarkable due to the sustained, if uneven, level of political and social mobilisation in support of the language. Successive governments and social movements have demonstrated strong commitment to the language (Rodríguez, 2021; Williams, 2023).

4.3.3 Recent Basque-language policy

Basque language policy has focused on normalising the language rather than revitalising it. Linguistic normalisation in the Basque context has been defined by Zalbide as a social process aimed at retaining and recovering speakers and areas of use for Basque, so that the language is maintained or becomes the habitual language in the internal relations of the corresponding language community, both in formal and informal contexts, and in oral or written interactions (Zalbide, 1998, p. 365).

The two main language policies were the Law for the Normalisation of the Use of Basque (1982) and the Government's Decree on Bilingualism (1983). These laid the groundwork for the introduction of Basque into schools, administration and society in the BAC. In schools, it meant the language would now be available both as a curriculum subject and as a medium of instruction. There was no other language legislation enacted in the region for the next 40 years. However, the Basque Autonomous Community's Education Law 2023 was approved on December 21, 2023 and published in early 2024. It replaces older regional education legislation from the 1980s and 1990s and came into effect on 4 February 2024.

The law sets the legal foundation for transforming the Basque education system to better meet the needs of today's society. It aims to promote equity and excellence in education, ensure inclusion and social cohesion, support a multilingual and intercultural education, with a special emphasis on Basque as the region's own language, along with Spanish and at least one foreign language. It also aims to reinforce a culture of quality evaluation and continuous improvement in schools (Eusko Jaurlaritza, 2024b).

4.3.4 Basque-language use and attitudes

Although there has been a notable increase in the overall number of Basque speakers in the BAC over the past 40 years, this has not coincided with a corresponding increase in the regular use of the language (Martinez de Luna, 2020). The Seventh Sociolinguistic Survey 2021 (Eusko Jaurlaritza, 2024a) recorded that, in the BAC, 22% of people over 16 years old use Basque as much as, or more than, Spanish or some other language. It is reported that 12% use Basque but less than Spanish or some other language, and 6% use Basque very little. The remaining 61% only use Spanish or some other language. This is true even among young people and despite the fact that, for example, 75% of young people aged 16-24, are recorded as Basque speakers, as seen above (Eusko Jaurlaritza, 2024a).

In terms of attitudes towards the promotion of Basque, these are generally favourable (Eusko Jaurlaritza, 2024a). A large majority (67%) of the population of the BAC aged 16 or over expressed approval of the promotion of Basque, 26% were neither for nor against it, and only 7% were against it. It would appear then that in the BAC, like in ROI, there is a largely positive attitude towards Basque. However, this does not translate into widespread language use since only a relatively small number use it as their primary language. Furthermore, like in ROI and NI, in the BAC only a minority have an outright negative attitude towards the promotion of the minority language.

4.3.5 Basque in the education system

While there were a number of grassroots Basque-medium education initiatives led by parents and teachers during the Franco dictatorship (1937–1975), it was only after the Spanish Constitution came into existence in 1978 that Basque education began to thrive (Gardner, 2000). The aforementioned Law for the Normalisation of the Use of Basque (1982) was enacted to define the options for using either Basque or Spanish as the medium of instruction in schools in the BAC. Under this law, the choice of instructional language was assigned to parents rather than the government. The law required the government to ensure that this right is implemented (Zalbide & Cenoz, 2008). The legislation also specifies that by the end of compulsory education, which lasts until the age of 16, all students should have a knowledge of Basque (Aldekoa & Gardner, 2002). Another key element of the law is the guarantee that every child in the BAC has the right to receive education through the Basque language, requiring the government to provide Basque-medium schooling in all areas.

The Basque government's Decree on Bilingualism (1983) established a framework for regulating and overseeing the use of the official languages in pre-university education through three instructional models, each defining the language of instruction. Under Model A, teaching is conducted in Spanish, with Basque offered as a second language. Model B includes instruction in both Basque and Spanish, while in Model D (the letter c is not part of the traditional Basque alphabet), Basque is the primary language of instruction and Spanish is taught as a second language. There are also schools in the BAC in which Spanish is the medium of instruction and Basque has no presence. These are referred to as Model X schools. These are primarily international schools, and they comprise only a very small proportion of schools in the jurisdiction (Schukking et al., 2020). The legislation also affirms parents' right to choose the instructional model in which their children are enrolled. It is remarkable here that a very large majority (around 70%) of students across primary and secondary education attend Model D schools (i.e., the Basque-medium model).

The most recent legislation (Eusko Jaurlaritza, 2024b), the Basque Autonomous Community's Education Law, described above, emphasises the significance of critical thinking and autonomy in learners, the need for education to support social integration, pluralism, and democratic values, and multilingual and intercultural competencies. Special consideration is given to the official status of Basque and Spanish, but with a focus on Basque. Furthermore, the law sets minimum language levels on the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages (CEFR) that students should reach at different levels of schooling. Accordingly, a student should reach Level B1 on the CEFR in both Basque and Spanish by the end of primary school, and Level B2 on the CEFR in both languages by the end of compulsory secondary education. It also stipulates that a foreign language will be part of the educational experience and that by the end of primary school students should achieve Level A2 on the CEFR in that language, and by the end of compulsory secondary education Level B1 on the CEFR in that language.

4.4 Summary

This chapter has outlined a number of features of two sociolinguistic contexts that provide a useful point of comparison for the ROI and NI contexts, namely Wales and the Basque Autonomous Community. In doing so, it has drawn attention to aspects of the sociolinguistic context, language status, language policy, language use, and language education in these jurisdictions. These can serve as useful points of comparison for the development of Irish language policy in ROI and NI.



Methodology

5. Methodology

5.1 Introduction

An outline is provided in this chapter of the methodology adopted for this survey. First, the sample design process for both jurisdictions is described, along with the participant selection procedures. This is followed by an account of the corrective weighting applied to the data from the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland respectively. Details are then provided regarding the questionnaire, interviewer training and the pilot study, before describing the technique adopted for the administration of the questionnaire. The chapter concludes with a brief overview of the ethical, consent and data protection processes that were employed in the study. As this survey is the latest in a series dating back to the 1970s, and in view of changes in the intervening years to the sociolinguistic and policy contexts of the Irish language, the survey was designed to strike a balance between ensuring historical consistency while also ensuring that the survey adequately reflected the dynamics of the Irish language in society today. Instances where the approach for the present survey deviates from previous iterations of the survey are highlighted and contextualised.

5.2 Sample design

The samples for this survey were drawn by staff at Ipsos B&A in consultation with the research team at Trinity College Dublin, and Foras na Gaeilge as funders. The sample strategy adopted is a probabilistic or statistical sample and it is in line with international best practice. The approach adopted ensures that the sample is nationally representative by using a random sample of the population in both jurisdictions.

5.2.1 Republic of Ireland sample design

GeoDirectory is the primary sampling frame used for face-to-face questionnaires in the Republic of Ireland and it provided the sampling frame for the present study. Jointly developed by An Post and Tailte Éireann, GeoDirectory provides a list of all addresses in the Republic of Ireland. It distinguishes between residential and commercial establishments and uses Eircodes to allow selected buildings to be uniquely identified. The use of GeoDirectory in this survey to build a probability-based random sample of addresses is consistent with the 2013 version of the survey. It contrasts, however, to the pre-2013 surveys which were built on probability-based samples of adults using the Register of Electors.

The sample design was a multistage cluster sample and the stages in sample selection were as follows:

- 1. Selection of a fixed number of clusters:** Clusters consisted of electoral divisions, population estimates of which are published by the Central Statistics Office. Prior to selection, the clusters were stratified by 17 geographical regions.
- 2. Selection of addresses within a cluster:** An equal number of addresses within each cluster was selected for interview. Since the clusters themselves were selected with a probability proportional to their size, an EPSEM (Equal Possibility for Selection Method) sample was achieved in addresses, wherein each address had an equal probability of selection.
- 3. Selection of the individual for interview in the household.** In line with best practice, one person aged 18 or over was selected for interview in each household using the last-birthday technique.

The number of clusters and the number of addresses per cluster were selected to ensure the most efficient use of fieldwork resources whilst achieving an effective sample size of 1,000 participants. A multi-staged, quota-controlled sampling procedure was used to ensure sample representation. To ensure true randomness, randomly selected starting addresses within geographically stratified primary sampling units were included, with the subsequent application of random route procedures for the interviewers.

The ROI sample was based on the stratified random selection of 100 sampling points. The population of the country was stratified across region/province and urbanisation: i) large towns 10,000+, ii) medium towns 5,000–10,000, iii) small towns 1500–5000 and iv) rural areas <1500. Within each stratum of this matrix, all electoral divisions/wards were listed with their populations and sampling points were selected proportional to population. Once selected, the sampling points were reviewed to ensure the correct balance was achieved across all counties. For each sampling point, a list of 20 addresses, randomly

selected from the GeoDirectory Address data base, formed the basis of the respondent sample.

Four sampling points within the Gaeltacht were initially provided in the random selection. Three of the four selected Gaeltacht points were in areas that had a very low density of Irish speakers. Foras na Gaeilge as funders requested that these points be reviewed with a view to restricting the sample to electoral divisions placed in Category A or Category B according to Ó Giollagáin et al. (2007). Three replacement points were selected, closely matched to the original points in terms of population size and location.

5.2.2 Northern Ireland sample design

In Northern Ireland, the Postcode Address File (PAF) was used to draw a sample of addresses. The PAF is acknowledged to be the best available sampling frame in Northern Ireland and is used in almost all large-scale probability surveys in the United Kingdom. The PAF is owned and managed by the Royal Mail and contains all delivery points in the UK which receive post. The Small User version of the PAF was used, which removed addresses with their own postcode and that are mostly businesses.

Stratification was used when selecting the sample to ensure that different subgroups within the population were proportionally represented in the sample, thereby enhancing the precision and accuracy of the results. To draw the sample, stratification was carried out according to the 11 Local Government Districts. Within each district, stratification by Super Data Zones (SDZs) was carried out, sorted by the percentage of Irish speakers as revealed in census data. As the survey is looking at attitudes to the Irish language, answers to the census question about ability in and use of Irish may well reflect different attitudes. Stratifying by ability to speak Irish was therefore carried out to ensure that the sample was representative in terms of this important variable. The sample selected from PAF was a sample of residential addresses. At each address, one adult was randomly selected to take part in the interview using the last-birthday technique.

To achieve the targeted 500 interviews, a sample of 1,400 addresses was drawn, based on an expected 40% response rate and 11% ineligibles (due to e.g., vacancy, dereliction). A reserve sample of 500 cases was drawn in the same way, so that if any difficulties emerged during fieldwork, such as a higher proportion of ineligible addresses, it would be possible to quickly issue the additional sample while still maintaining the random probability approach.

5.3 Sample and response rate: Republic of Ireland

A sample of 1,000 participants was targeted in the Republic of Ireland, as in the 2013 version of this survey. In total, 1,000 participants were recruited for the present survey in ROI. This probability-based random sample of 1,000 participants is highly representative of and generalizable to the total population of adults in ROI (margin of error $\pm 3.1\%$, at 95% confidence level). A response rate of 50% was anticipated in ROI and a rate of 50.1% was achieved. This contrasts with a response rate of 73% in 2013 and 67% in 2001. It is as high a response as can be expected in this type of survey today and can be contextualised by reference to declining response rates in survey research across Europe and elsewhere (e.g., Jabkowski & Cichocki, 2025).

5.4 Sample and response rate: Northern Ireland

Due to budgetary constraints identified at the tendering stage of this project, it was not possible to target the recruitment of 1,000 participants in both the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. A sample of 500 participants was therefore targeted in Northern Ireland, in contrast to the target of 1,000 participants in the 2001 and 2013 surveys. In total, 498 participants were recruited for the present survey in NI. The smaller sample size results in a slight increase in the margin of error. However, the well-chosen 500-person sample here still provides accurate estimates and allows the results to be generalised to the adult population with just slightly less certainty than a sample with 1,000 participants (margin of error $\pm 4.4\%$, at 95% confidence level). The response rate in Northern Ireland for the 2025 survey was 38.5%, compared with 63% in 2013 and 64% in 2001. As noted above, the lower response rate relative to previous surveys was expected and is very close to the anticipated response rate of 40% for the present survey in Northern Ireland. It is set in the context of declining response rates in survey research across Europe and further afield and is as high a response rate as can be expected in the current environment.

5.5 Corrective weighting

In analysing survey data, weighting is generally used to adjust the results of a study to bring them more in line with the population. A decision was taken in conversation with Foras na Gaeilge as funders to weight the ROI and NI data for the current survey on gender, age and region. This was done with reference to population estimates in the Central Statistics Office Labour Force Survey Q1 2025 (Central Statistics Office, 2025) and to the Northern Ireland Census (NISRA, 2021). This approach differs from the approach adopted for both the 2013 and the 2001 versions of this survey, both of which used unweighted samples, and it was adopted with the future of the survey in mind.

The tables below provide the percentages of participants who took part in the survey, according to gender, age and region, alongside the weighting matrix that was used for the corrective weighting of the results.

Table 1:
*Actual vs weighted
sample distribution:
Republic of Ireland*

Republic of Ireland	Unweighted sample n=1,000	National Population (18+)
Gender		
Male	47%	49%
Female	53%	51%
Age		
18 – 24	6%	11%
25 – 44	32%	36%
45 – 64	35%	33%
65 – 74	15%	11%
75+	12%	9%
Region		
Dublin	32%	29%
Rest of Leinster	26%	27%
Munster	25%	27%
Connacht/Ulster	18%	17%

Table 2:

*Actual vs weighted
sample distribution:
Northern Ireland*

Northern Ireland	Unweighted sample n=1,000	National Population (18+)
Gender		
Male	44%	49%
Female	56%	51%
Age		
18–24	5%	11%
25–44	30%	34%
45–64	37%	34%
65–74	16%	12%
75+	12%	10%
Region		
Antrim and Newtownabbey	7%	8%
Armagh City, Banbridge and Craigavon	9%	12%
Belfast	14%	18%
Causeway Coast and Glens	8%	7%
Derry City and Strabane	15%	8%
Fermanagh and Omagh	5%	6%
Lisburn and Castlereagh	6%	8%
Mid and East Antrim	6%	7%
Mid Ulster	8%	8%
Newry, Mourne and Down	12%	10%
Ards and North Down	8%	9%

5.6 The questionnaire

The Irish- and English-language questionnaires for the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland are included as an appendix to this report. The 2025 questionnaire was designed based on the principle of maintaining consistency with the text of the 2013 questionnaire, but, where necessary, allowing amendments, deletions or additions to the text in order to provide more clarity, to achieve internal consistency or to better reflect the context in which the Irish language functions today. These changes were made in conversation with Foras na Gaeilge as funders. Readers can compare the 2025 questionnaire texts in the appendix of this report to the questionnaire texts provided in Darmody and Daly (2015).

5.7 Interviewer training

The survey was administered by a team of 65 Ipsos B&A fieldworkers who were trained and highly proficient in the technology used in the survey administration and who were experienced social research interviewers. Ipsos B&A provided interviewers with training for the fieldwork, with input from the research team in Trinity College Dublin and representatives from Foras na Gaeilge. The interviewers received the script of the questionnaire prior to attending the training. This allowed the focus of the training session to be on interactive discussions about the survey. A single two-part training session took place prior to the pilot. The first part centred on providing an overview of the study and included an introduction from the Trinity College Dublin researchers and from Foras na Gaeilge regarding the relevance of the survey in both jurisdictions and the development of evidence-based policy. The second session focused on sampling, respondent selection procedures, the digital contact sheet, as well as the administration of the questionnaire itself.

5.8 Pilot survey

A pilot study was undertaken prior to the main fieldwork in order to test the wording and routing of the face-to-face questionnaire. This pilot comprised 30 completed interviews with a range of respondents (a quota controlled demographically balanced sample) using a split interviewer team. The pilot provided an opportunity to test the interviewer training programme and identify any areas requiring updating or additional input from the survey team. No changes to the questionnaire or to the interview procedure were necessary following the pilot. The interviews that comprised the pilot were therefore included in the final sample.

5.9 Computer-assisted personal interviewing

The trained Ipsos B&A interviewers administered the survey using face-to-face Computer-Assisted Personal Interviewing (CAPI). The CAPI design involved the interviewers entering the respondents' answers into a computer rather than on a printed form, and this is the first time it was used in this series of surveys on attitudes to the Irish language. CAPI technology was used in conducting this survey and the technology allowed the interviewers to deploy a fully automated script. This facilitated the routing of the interview to the next relevant question as indicated by participant responses. This greatly simplified the questionnaire process, improved the flow and speed of the interview, removed interviewer error, and minimised missing data.

The interviews took place in person at the participants' homes, with the interviewer present to guide the respondent and enter the data. Respondents had the option to participate in the survey through the medium of Irish or English. Only interviewers proficient in Irish and trained to administer the questionnaire through the medium of Irish were deployed in the Gaeltacht areas included in the sample. Outside the Gaeltacht, the questionnaire was administered in Irish by the interviewer if they were proficient in the language and trained to administer the survey through Irish. In cases, outside the Gaeltacht, where interviewers were not proficient in Irish, respondents had the option to read the Irish-language version of the survey for themselves and indicate their answers to the interviewer who in turn selected the relevant response on behalf of the participant. On average, it took 15 minutes to complete the questionnaire.

5.10 Ethics, consent and data protection

This study was carried out in accordance with research best practice. It adheres to the Code of Conduct of the Market Research Society and the Association of Market Research Organisations (AMIRO) and to Trinity College Dublin's Policy on Good Research Practice. The project received ethical approval from the Research Ethics Committee of the School of Education, Trinity College Dublin. All participants opted to take part in the study based on informed consent. All information, consent, privacy and data protection materials were available for respondents in Irish and in English. The data processing procedures adopted for the study were reviewed by Trinity College Dublin's Data Protection Officer, who confirmed compliance with the relevant data protection legislation, specifically the EU General Data Protection Regulation 2016 and Data Protection Acts 1988–2018.

5.11 Summary

This chapter provided a description of the survey methodology employed in this study. This includes an outline of the sample design and participant selection processes, a discussion of the profile of the participants, the weighting process, and the questionnaire administration technique. The ethical and data protection considerations were also outlined. Throughout the chapter, the relationship of the methodology to those adopted in previous iterations of the survey was highlighted. The information provided in this chapter provides an important background to the presentation and discussion of results in the chapters that follows.



Findings 2025

6. Findings 2025

6.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the results of the Irish Language Attitudes Survey 2025 are explored, with the results set in the context of findings reported from previous iterations of this survey where possible. The chapter is divided into three overall sections based on language ability, language use, and language attitudes. The section on language ability includes an analysis of Irish language ability by age, gender, citizenship, religion, and level of education. The section concludes with a discussion of whether respondents have made efforts to improve their Irish as an adult. Language use is considered according to age, gender, Irish language ability, exposure to Irish at school, and parental factors. The final part of the section explores the extent to which respondents engage with Irish language media. Finally, overall attitudes to the Irish language are presented and are analysed according to gender, age, and national identity, before presenting findings in relation to the perceived status, distinctiveness, and importance of Irish. Attitudes to Irish and education and to official policy regarding Irish are then outlined, before concluding with a discussion of participants' desires for Irish in the future.

6.2 Ability in Irish

6.2.1 Self-reported ability to speak Irish

In ROI, almost a quarter of adults in 2025 (24%) indicate that they cannot speak Irish at all ([Table 3](#)). A similar proportion (26%) indicate that they have only 'the odd word' of the language, meaning that half of adults in ROI report having no fluency in speaking Irish in 2025. Around 39% of adults in ROI have what could be described as basic fluency in Irish, in that they report being able to speak a 'few simple sentences' (27%) or 'parts of conversations' (12%). One in ten adults in ROI rate their ability to speak Irish as extending to 'most conversations' (7%) or report that they have the ability of a native speaker (3%) (the advanced fluency group).

Self-reported ability to speak Irish is considerably lower in NI than in ROI, with 81% of adults indicating that they have no fluency in Irish, either being able to speak no Irish at all (59%) or only the odd word (22%). One in a hundred adults in NI indicate that their ability to speak Irish extends to most conversations, while a further 1% report having native speaker ability. The remaining 17% report having basic fluency in Irish.

Table 3:

Self-reported ability to speak Irish, Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland

		ROI	NI
No fluency	No Irish	24	59
	The odd word	26	22
Basic fluency	Few simple sentences	27	13
	Parts of conversations	12	4
Advanced fluency	Most conversations	7	1
	Native speaker ability	3	1

Note: The 'no Irish' category includes those who selected the 'not applicable' option (2% in both jurisdictions). In ROI, 0.2% selected 'Don't know' when asked to rate their ability to speak Irish.

The figures for ROI in [Table 3](#) are somewhat different to those reported for the 2013 and 2001 surveys. There is a higher percentage of respondents to the current survey who said they have 'no Irish' or only 'the odd word' than was reported in previous surveys. Also, there were fewer respondents in ROI who reported that they have advanced fluency in Irish than in the earlier surveys. In NI, the 2025 figure is slightly lower for the no fluency categories, and slightly higher in the basic fluency categories, than in previous surveys.

In ROI, there are no major gender differences in self-reported ability to speak Irish, although males are

⁵Unless otherwise stated, all figures in tables and charts are percentages. Due to rounding or the omission of categories with very few responses, percentages may not sum exactly to 100%.

somewhat more likely to indicate that they have no Irish (27% of males, compared to 21% of females) ([Table 4](#)).

In terms of age, native speaker ability in ROI is highest among those aged 75 and older (5%) and lowest among those aged 45–64 years (2%). However, taking together those who have native speaker ability and those whose proficiency extends to most conversations (i.e., those with advanced fluency), the highest proficiency is among 18–24-year-olds (17% having advanced fluency, against 11% of 25–44-year-olds, 8% of 45–64-year-olds, 11% of 65–74-year-olds, and 10% of those aged 75 and older). Further, 18–24-year-olds are half as likely to indicate that they have no Irish when compared to 25–44-year-olds (14% and 29%, respectively).

Table 4:
Self-reported ability to speak Irish by gender and age, Republic of Ireland

Republic of Ireland	Gender		Age				
	Male	Female	18–24	25–44	45–64	65–74	75+
No Irish	27	21	14	29	23	19	21
The odd word	25	27	28	24	26	30	30
Few simple sentences	25	30	24	24	33	27	24
Parts of conversations	12	13	18	13	9	12	16
Most conversations	7	7	13	7	6	7	5
Native speaker ability	3	3	4	4	2	4	5

Note: The ‘no Irish’ category includes those who selected the ‘not applicable’ option (2%). In ROI, 0.2% selected ‘Don’t know’ when asked to rate their ability to speak Irish.

As in ROI, there are no major gender differences in reported ability to speak Irish in NI, although females in NI are slightly more likely to say that they can speak no Irish (63%, compared to 56% of males) ([Table 5](#)).

There is an association between age and ability to speak Irish in NI, with nobody in the age 75 and older age bracket saying that they can speak more than a few simple sentences in Irish. Those in the 18–24-year-old age bracket are least likely to say that they have no Irish (45%), rising to 78% of those aged 75 and older ([Table 5](#)).

Table 5:
Self-reported ability to speak Irish by gender and age, Northern Ireland

Northern Ireland	Gender		Age				
	Male	Female	18–24	25–44	45–64	65–74	75+
No Irish	56	63	45	57	64	50	78
The odd word	24	19	36	22	19	25	12
Few simple sentences	13	12	6	16	11	17	10
Parts of conversations	4	4	9	4	4	5	0
Most conversations	2	1	0	0	2	3	0
Native speaker ability	1	2	4	1	1	0	0

In Northern Ireland, 45% of respondents describe themselves as Irish, 29% as Northern Irish, 13% as British, 4% as sometimes British and sometimes Irish, and 2% as having an Ulster identity. A total of 8% selected a different national identity or did not answer. Fluency in Irish in Northern Ireland is strongly concentrated among those who describe themselves as Irish, 32% of whom report having basic fluency in speaking Irish and 5% as having advanced fluency ([Table 6](#)). No participant who described themselves as Northern Irish, British, or Other reported having advanced fluency in Irish, and while 6% of respondents who described themselves as Northern Irish reported having basic fluency, no respondents who described themselves as British or as having another non-Irish national identity reported this level of ability to speak the language.

Table 6:

Self-reported ability to speak Irish, by national identity, Northern Ireland

	No fluency	Basic fluency	Advanced fluency
Irish	64	32	5
Northern Irish	94	6	0
British	100	0	0
Other	100	0	0

Note: Due to small sizes, the subgroups of 'Sometimes British and sometimes Irish' (n=15) and 'Ulster' (n=8) are omitted from this table. The 'other' category comprises people who described themselves as Polish, Lithuanian, Indian, and one person who did not answer.

In NI, 73% of respondents indicated that they are affiliated with a religion. Of those, 60% indicated that they were Catholic, 31% listed a Protestant denomination, and 9% fell in the 'other' category.⁶ Of those who identified as Irish in Northern Ireland and also belonged to a religion, 92% said this religion was Catholicism (3% Protestant, 5% other); of those who identified as British and belonging to a religion, 89% indicated that this was some form of Protestantism (4% Catholic; 7% other). Of those identifying as Northern Irish and belonging to a religion, 36% identified as Catholic, 57% as Protestant, and 7% as other. As shown in [Table 7](#), no respondent who identified themselves as Protestant indicated that they could speak more than a few simple sentences of Irish.

Table 7:

Self-reported ability to speak Irish, by religious affiliation, Northern Ireland

		Catholic	Protestant
No fluency	No Irish	37	88
	The odd word	32	8
Basic fluency	Few simple sentences	20	4
	Parts of conversations	7	0
Advanced fluency	Most conversations	2	0
	Native speaker ability	3	0

Note: Because of the small number of participants in NI indicating that they belong to another religion (n = 34), this group is omitted from this table.

Self-reported ability to speak Irish is strongly related to having Irish citizenship. In both ROI and NI, no respondent without Irish citizenship reports having advanced fluency in Irish ([Table 8](#)). Further, in NI no respondent who is not an Irish citizen indicated that they could participate in parts of conversations in Irish, while just 1% of non-Irish citizens in ROI indicated that they could do so ([Table 8](#)).

Table 8:

Self-reported ability to speak Irish, by citizenship, Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland

	ROI		NI	
	Irish citizen		Irish citizen	
	Yes (88%)	No (11%)	Yes (54%)	No (46%)
No Irish	17	76	40	82
The odd word	27	19	29	13
Few simple sentences	31	4	19	5
Parts of conversations	14	1	7	0
Most conversations	8	0	2	0
Native speaker ability	4	0	2	0

Note: In ROI, just under 1% said 'Don't know' or refused to answer the question on Irish citizenship.

⁶Mentioning another religion, selecting 'other', 'no religion' or 'don't know'.

Respondents who indicated that they could speak at least some Irish (i.e., ‘the odd word’ or more) were asked to indicate the level of difficulty they had with different elements of language. In both ROI and NI, respondents with at least some Irish are less likely to report having ‘much difficulty’ with pronunciation (27% in ROI; 35% in NI) than with other aspects of speaking Irish. In both jurisdictions, respondents are most likely to report ‘much difficulty’ with finding the right words for special topics, 45% in ROI and 69% in NI (Table 9). Overall, when compared to respondents in ROI, higher proportions of respondents in NI reported having ‘much difficulty’ across all four aspects of spoken language they were asked about.

Table 9:

Perceived difficulty with aspects of speaking Irish among those who say that they can speak at least some Irish, Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland

		ROI	NI
Pronunciation	Much difficulty	27	35
	Some difficulty	44	41
	No difficulty	30	24
Using correct grammar	Much difficulty	41	61
	Some difficulty	43	30
	No difficulty	16	9
Expressing what you mean	Much difficulty	38	55
	Some difficulty	42	34
	No difficulty	19	11
Finding the right words for special topics	Much difficulty	45	69
	Some difficulty	42	23
	No difficulty	13	8

Respondents were asked whether, since leaving school, they had attempted to learn or improve Irish as an adult. In ROI, 28% of respondents had made efforts to learn or improve their Irish in adulthood, while 21% of NI respondents had done so. (Table 10).

Table 10:

Experience of trying to learn or improve Irish ability as an adult

	ROI	NI
Once	9	8
Several times	19	13
Never	73	80

Table 11 shows the highest level of education completed by respondents in ROI and NI. A substantial minority in each jurisdiction is educated to degree level or higher (45% in ROI and 40% in NI). In ROI, 13% of degree holders have advanced proficiency in Irish, compared to 8% of those without a bachelor's degree (Table 12). In NI, 4% of degree holders have advanced proficiency in Irish, compared to 1% of non-degree holders.

Table 11:

Highest level of education completed by respondents, Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland

	ROI	NI
Primary school only	6	5
Lower secondary (e.g., Junior Certificate or GCSEs)	13	25
Completed secondary school (e.g., Leaving Certificate or A-Levels)	20	14
Post-school vocational or further education (e.g., PLC course)	8	5
Higher education diploma (typically two years)	8	9
Bachelor's degree	20	20
Postgraduate certificate or diploma	10	10
Master's degree	13	7
Doctoral degree (e.g., PhD)	2	2
Don't know	1	2
Other qualification	0.2	0.6

Table 12:

Self-reported ability to speak Irish among degree and non-degree holders, Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland

	ROI		NI	
	Non-degree holders	Degree holders	Non-degree holders	Degree holders
No fluency	54	45	86	73
Basic fluency	39	42	13	23
Advanced fluency	8	13	1	4

6.2.2 Ability to read Irish

Respondents who indicated that they could speak at least some Irish (i.e., ‘the odd word’ or more) were also asked to report on their ability to read Irish. Of those with at least some ability to speak Irish in ROI, one in four (25%) reported that they can read Irish with almost no help or independently and fluently. In NI, this was limited to just 7% ([Table 13](#)). Half of those in ROI who can speak at least the odd word in Irish can either not read any Irish (17%) or can only recognise a few words (33%); the corresponding percentages in NI are 29% (cannot read any Irish) and 47% (can only recognise a few words).

Table 13:

Ability to read Irish among those who say they can speak at least some Irish, Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland

	ROI	NI
Cannot read any Irish	17	29
Can only recognise a few words	33	47
Can read with much help	8	8
Can read with some help	18	9
Can read with almost no help	13	1
Can read independently and fluently	12	6

Note: In ROI, 0.3% selected the ‘Don’t know’ option.

Table 14:

Frequency of speaking Irish, Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland

6.3 Frequency of speaking Irish

In the Republic of Ireland, more than twice as many adults report speaking Irish daily than in Northern Ireland (9% versus 4%) ([Table 14](#)). In Northern Ireland, 81% of adults report never speaking Irish; the corresponding proportion in ROI is 57%.

	ROI	NI
Daily	9	4
Weekly	7	4
Less often	27	10
Never	57	81

Gender differences in frequency of speaking Irish are minor in both ROI and NI, although they differ in direction across jurisdictions. In ROI, a higher proportion of females report daily use of Irish (10%, compared to 7% of males), ([Table 15](#)), while in NI, a higher proportion of males (6%) report using Irish daily than females (3%) ([Table 16](#)).

There are also some minor differences in frequency of use among age groups in ROI, with daily use ranging from 7% of 45–64-year-olds to 11% of 18–24-year-olds. Fewer than half of 18–24-year-olds report never speaking Irish (47%); this rises to almost two thirds (65%) of those aged 75 and older. In NI, daily use of Irish is considerably higher, at 14% among 18–24-year-olds, than in all other age groups (2–4%, depending on age group). The proportion of NI respondents never using Irish is lowest among 18–24-year-olds (67%) and highest among those aged 75 and older (94%) ([Table 16](#)).

Table 15:

Frequency of speaking Irish, by age and gender, Republic of Ireland

Republic of Ireland	Gender		Age				
	Male	Female	18–24	25–44	45–64	65–74	75+
Daily	7	10	11	10	8	7	8
Weekly	6	8	13	6	8	8	5
Less often	25	29	30	29	27	23	23
Never	61	53	47	55	58	62	65

Table 16:

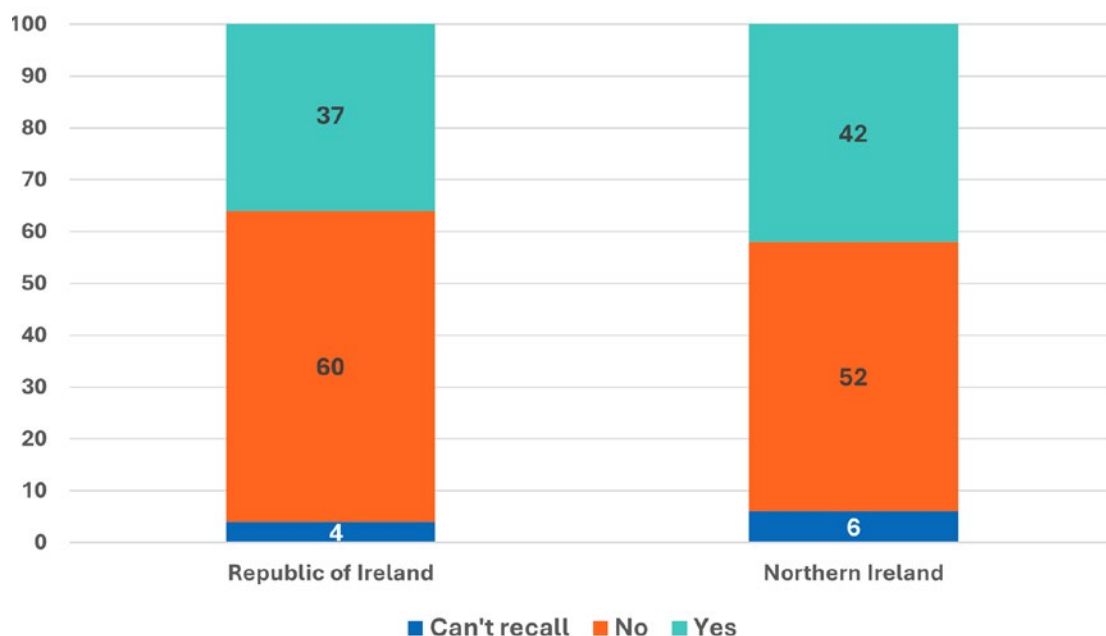
Frequency of speaking Irish, by age and gender, Northern Ireland

Northern Ireland	Gender		Age				
	Male	Female	18–24	25–44	45–64	65–74	75+
Daily	6	3	14	3	4	3	2
Weekly	5	4	2	8	2	2	0
Less often	11	10	17	12	7	12	4
Never	79	83	67	77	86	83	94

Respondents who reported ever speaking Irish (i.e., those who did not report that they never do so; 43% in ROI and 19% in NI) were asked to indicate whether they could recall if they had participated in a conversation in Irish during the past week. A slightly higher proportion of NI respondents (42%) indicated that they had done so than ROI respondents (37%) ([Figure 1](#)).

Figure 1:

Proportion of respondents who speak any Irish who had a conversation in Irish in the past week, Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland



In both ROI and NI, there is an association between ability to speak Irish and frequency of doing so. As would be expected, in both ROI ([Table 17](#)) and NI ([Table 18](#)), those with no fluency in Irish (no Irish or only the odd word) overwhelmingly report never speaking Irish (86% and 91%, respectively). Interestingly, 9% of those in ROI and 16% of those in NI with basic fluency (ability to speak a few simple sentences or parts of conversations) report speaking Irish daily. In ROI, more than two thirds of adults with advanced fluency (68%) report speaking Irish daily (48%) or weekly (20%). Given that the group of advanced fluency speakers in NI is very small (n = 11), this subgroup is not explored further.

Table 17:

Frequency of speaking Irish, by fluency level, Republic of Ireland

	Daily	Weekly	Less often	Never	Total
No fluency	1	1	12	86	100
Basic fluency	9	12	46	33	100
Advanced fluency	48	20	26	7	100

Table 18:

Frequency of speaking Irish, by fluency level, Northern Ireland

	Daily	Weekly	Less often	Never	Total
No fluency	1	2	6	91	100
Basic fluency	16	15	27	43	100

Note: Given the small size of the advanced fluency subgroup in Northern Ireland (n = 11), this is omitted from the table.

In ROI, 8% of respondents grew up in homes in which Irish was spoken daily, compared to just 2% in NI ([Table 19](#)). While 64% of respondents in ROI grew up in houses in which Irish was never spoken, the corresponding percentage in NI is 86%.

Table 19:

Frequency with which Irish was spoken in the home when growing up, Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland

	ROI	NI
Daily	8	2
Weekly	6	4
Less often	22	8
Never	64	86

There is an association in ROI between use of Irish in the home when growing up and the frequency with which it is currently used. For example, 38% of those who grew up in homes in which Irish was spoken daily currently speak Irish daily, while just 12% never do so ([Table 20](#)). Of those in ROI for whom Irish was never spoken at home while growing up, 4% now speak the language daily and 75% never do so. Given the small numbers of NI respondents who grew up in homes in which Irish was spoken daily (n = 11) or weekly (n = 19), an equivalent breakdown is not presented for the NI context.

Table 20:

Current frequency of speaking Irish, by frequency with which Irish was spoken in the home when growing up, Republic of Ireland

Frequency of use by someone at home when growing up					
		Daily	Weekly	Less often	Never
Frequency of current use	Daily	38	21	10	4
	Weekly	18	22	9	4
	Less often	33	45	49	17
	Never	12	12	32	75

In ROI, 10% of respondents attended primary schools in which some (5%) or all (5%) subjects were taught through Irish; in NI, 3% attended primary schools in which some (2%) or all (1%) subjects were taught through Irish (Table 21). In both jurisdictions, proportions attending schools in which some or all subjects were taught through Irish were lower at post-primary than primary level (Table 22). The figures recorded in relation to exposure to Irish in primary and post-primary education for 2025 are largely in line with the results reported for previous iterations of this survey. However, the present survey recorded a slightly higher percentage of respondents in ROI who had no Irish at both levels, as well as a higher percentage of 'other' responses, than was the case in previous surveys.

Table 21:

Extent of exposure to Irish while at primary school, Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland

	ROI	NI
No Irish at all (but education in ROI or NI)	8	82
Irish as a subject only	68	7
Some subjects through Irish	5	2
All subjects through Irish	5	1
Other	15	8

Note: The 'other' category includes those who don't know/can't remember, those educated outside the jurisdiction (ROI/NI), and those who selected 'not applicable'.

Table 22:

Level of exposure to Irish while at post-primary school, Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland

	ROI	NI
No Irish at all (but education in ROI or NI)	8	63
Irish as a subject only	66	28
Some subjects through Irish	4	0.5
All subjects through Irish	4	1
Other	18	8

Note: The 'other' category includes those who don't know/can't remember, those educated outside the jurisdiction (ROI/NI), and those who selected 'not applicable'.

There was an association between exposure to Irish at school and current use of the language. In ROI, of those who learned Irish as a subject only in primary school, 9% currently speak Irish daily, 8% weekly, 31% less often, and 52% never speak the language (Table 23). Of those who learned all subjects through Irish at primary school, 45% currently speak Irish daily, 15% weekly, and 30% less often. Just 11% of those who learned all subjects through Irish at primary level say they currently never speak Irish. A broadly similar pattern is seen for post-primary education (Table 24).

In NI, there were very few respondents who were (partially) educated through the medium of Irish (some subjects, n=8) or (all subjects, n=6). For this reason, equivalent tables are not presented for NI.

Table 23:

Current frequency of speaking Irish, by level of exposure to Irish while at primary school, Republic of Ireland

	No Irish at all	Irish as a subject only	Some subjects through Irish	All subjects through Irish	Other
Daily	1	9	8	45	1
Weekly	8	8	8	15	3
Less often	13	31	43	30	7
Never	78	52	42	11	89

Table 24:

Current frequency of speaking Irish, by level of exposure to Irish while at post-primary school, Republic of Ireland

	No Irish at all	Irish as a subject only	Some subjects through Irish	All subjects through Irish	Other
Daily	1	10	7	50	1
Weekly	4	8	7	14	3
Less often	13	33	46	21	9
Never	82	49	41	14	88

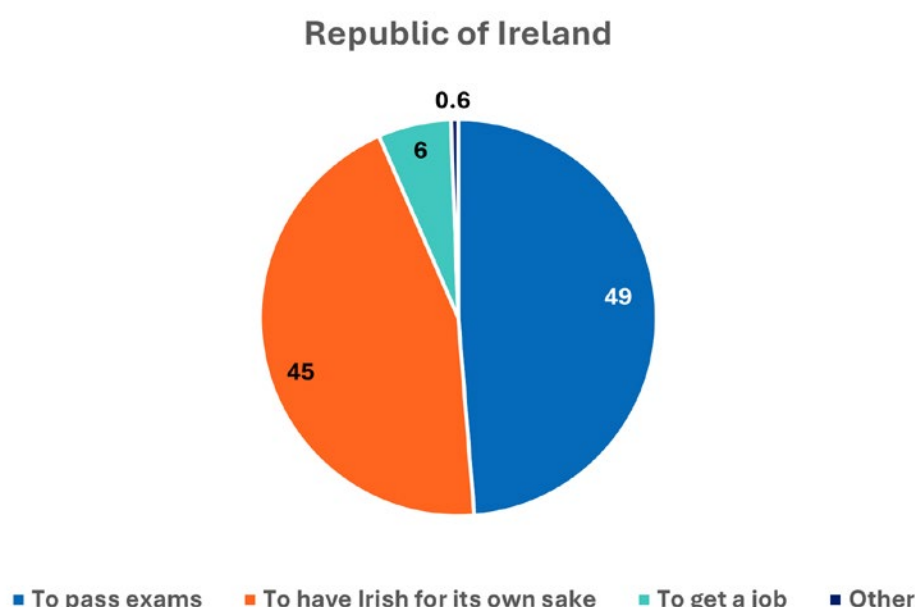
Respondents were asked if they could recall whether their parents wanted them to learn Irish when they were at school. More than twice the proportion of respondents in ROI reported that their parents wanted them to learn Irish at school (43%) than in NI (20%) (Table 25). In both jurisdictions, sizeable minorities indicated that their parents did not care whether they learned Irish at school (35% in ROI; 49% in NI). These figures are somewhat different than those recorded in 2013, where 57% in ROI and 17% in NI reported that their parents wanted them to learn Irish at school. Another difference is that the number of respondents in NI who felt that their parents did not want them to learn Irish at school is much lower in 2025 (22%) than that reported for the 2013 survey (just over 40%). The other figures reported in Table 25 are largely similar to those reported for the 2013 survey.

Table 25:
Respondents' recollections of whether their parents wanted them to learn Irish at school, Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland

	ROI	NI
Yes, they wanted me to learn Irish	43	20
No, they didn't want me to learn Irish	7	22
They did not care	35	49
Not applicable – not educated in ROI/NI	15	9

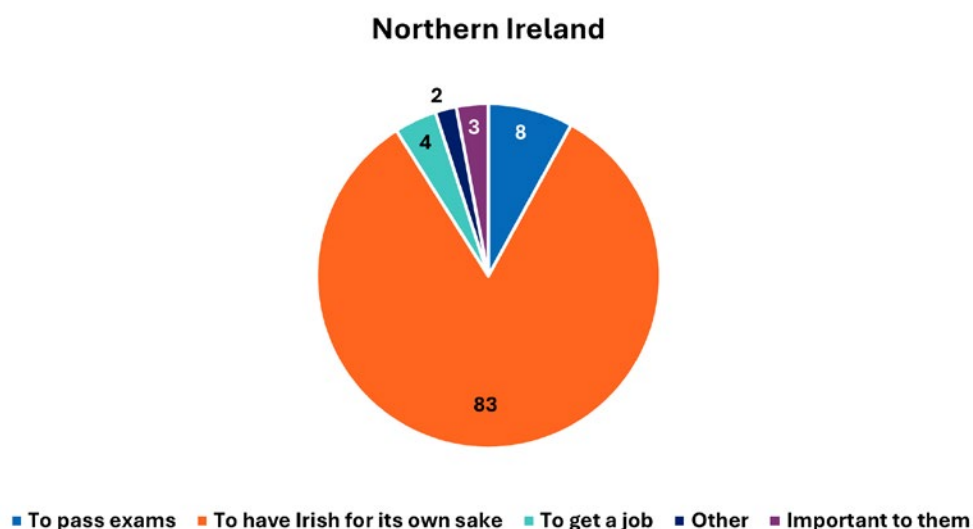
Of those whose parents did want them to learn Irish at school, motivations for this differed somewhat across the jurisdictions. In ROI, the most commonly mentioned parental motivation for wanting the child (the respondent) to learn Irish was to help them to pass exams (49%), followed by the motivation of having Irish for its own sake (45%) (Figure 2); in Northern Ireland, having Irish for its own sake was by far the most commonly mentioned motivation (83%), with passing exams the primary motivation for a much smaller group of respondents' parents (8%) (Figure 3). This result reflects the central role of Irish in the ROI education system.

Figure 2:
Respondents' parents' reasons for wanting them to learn Irish at school (of those who did want this), Republic of Ireland



Base: All respondents whose parents wanted them to learn Irish at school (ROI, n = 420)

Figure 3:
Respondents' parents' reasons for wanting them to learn Irish at school (of those who did want this), Northern Ireland



Base: All respondents whose parents wanted them to learn Irish at school (NI, n = 99)

Respondents were asked to rate their parents' ability to speak Irish. As with respondents' own reported ability, parental ability to speak Irish is rated as substantially higher in the Republic of Ireland than in Northern Ireland. However, in both jurisdictions, mothers ([Table 26](#)) and fathers ([Table 27](#)) are most commonly reported as having no Irish or only the odd word of Irish, while relatively small minorities are reported as having advanced fluency. The 2025 results to these questions are largely in line with the results reported for 2001 and 2013.

Table 26:
Mothers' ability to speak Irish, as reported by respondents, Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland

		ROI	NI
		%	%
No fluency	No Irish	36	73
	The odd word	26	12
Basic fluency	Few simple sentences	15	5
	Parts of conversations	7	2
Advanced fluency	Most conversations	4	1
	Native speaker ability	3	2
Other	Don't know	1	1
	Not applicable	7	5

Table 27:
Fathers' ability to speak Irish, as reported by respondents, Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland

		ROI	NI
		%	%
No fluency	No Irish	38	76
	The odd word	26	8
Basic fluency	Few simple sentences	14	6
	Parts of conversations	6	2
Advanced fluency	Most conversations	3	1
	Native speaker ability	4	2
Other	Don't know	1	1
	Not applicable	7	5

Respondents in ROI were further classified as having a) no parent with Irish at home (63%), at least one parent with basic Irish (26%) or at least one parent with advanced Irish (11%). Respondents with at least one parent with advanced fluency in Irish were most likely to report speaking Irish daily (24%) or weekly (16%), and those without any parent with any fluency were least likely to do so (4% speaking Irish daily and 5% weekly) (Table 28). Again, the 2025 results to these questions are largely in line with the results reported for 2001 and 2013 and underscore the importance of parental motivation towards Irish and their ability in the language. Given the small number of respondents with at least one parent with advanced fluency in Northern Ireland (n=13), an equivalent table is not presented for the NI context.

Table 28:

Current frequency of speaking Irish, by parental ability to speak Irish, Republic of Ireland

	No parent with any fluency	At least one parent with basic fluency	At least one parent with advanced fluency
Daily	5	13	24
Weekly	4	11	16
Less often	20	41	40
Never	72	36	20

Respondents were also asked about the contexts in which they speak Irish, specifically the frequency with which they speak the language a) at home and b) at work. Results show that, across both jurisdictions, use of Irish at home (Table 29) and at work (Table 30) is limited. This reflects the low overall frequency of Irish use in daily life. Irish-language use at work is particularly uncommon, especially in Northern Ireland.

Table 29:

Frequency with which Irish is spoken at home, Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland

	ROI	NI
Daily	6	3
Weekly	6	2
Less often	17	6
Never	72	88

Table 30:

Frequency with which Irish is spoken at work, Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland

	ROI	NI
Daily	7	2
Weekly	4	3
Less often	10	8
Never	78	87

Note: The table is based on responses from the approximately two thirds of people in each jurisdiction (66% in ROI; 64% in NI) who indicated that they are in paid employment (either self-employed, working full-time, or working part-time).

While respondents' own frequency of using Irish varies substantially between the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland, there are similar findings across the two jurisdictions in relation to the Irish use they report in their wider social circles. Roughly one third of respondents in each jurisdiction (32% in ROI; 34% in NI) report that people in their circles use Irish (Table 31). Substantial minorities also report having friends who are bringing up their children through Irish or use a lot of Irish with their children (45% in ROI; 39% in NI), and report having friends or relatives who speak any Irish outside their homes (42% in ROI; 40% in NI). In relation to all three of these questions, the positive response rate is higher than those reported for 2001 and 2013.

Table 31:

Irish language use among respondents' peers, Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland

	ROI	NI
	% yes	% yes
People in my circle use Irish	32	34
I have friends who are bringing up their children through Irish at home or who use a lot of Irish with their children	45	39
I have friends or relatives who speak any Irish at all outside their home	42	40

Participation in clubs or activities that use Irish is rare in both jurisdictions. Fewer than one in five respondents reported ever having had any involvement in either since leaving school ([Table 32](#)).

Table 32:
Incidence of participation in clubs or activities that use Irish

	ROI	NI
Once	4	3
Several times	12	13
Never	85	84

[Table 33](#) shows that consumption of Irish-language media is generally infrequent in both jurisdictions. Television and video content are the most commonly accessed formats. Nearly a quarter (22%) of respondents in ROI report engaging with the language daily or weekly through these media, while 10% do so in NI. Engagement with Irish via other media (e.g., audio content, magazines, books) is less frequent, ranging from 6–11% in ROI and 1–5% in NI.

Table 33:
Frequency of consuming different types of Irish language media, Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland

		ROI	NI
		%	%
Watch programmes in Irish on TV/other video content in Irish	Daily	6	1
	Weekly	16	9
	Less often	28	16
	Never	50	74
Listen to radio programmes in Irish/other audio content in Irish	Daily	4	1
	Weekly	7	4
	Less often	14	9
	Never	75	86
Read Irish-language content in English-medium news outlets	Daily	4	1
	Weekly	4	2
	Less often	10	6
	Never	83	91
Read Irish language newspapers/news websites or magazines	Daily	2	0.4
	Weekly	4	1
	Less often	8	6
	Never	86	93
Read books in Irish	Daily	3	1
	Weekly	3	0.4
	Less often	8	5
	Never	86	93

Furthermore, only a very small percentage of respondents attend religious services in Irish. In ROI 3% attend such services daily or weekly and 1% do so in NI.

Respondents were also asked about their use of social media or messaging platforms. In both jurisdictions, WhatsApp is the platform used by the most people (74% in ROI; 64% in NI), followed by Facebook (52% in ROI; 62% in NI) and YouTube (47% in ROI; 36% in NI) ([Figure 4](#)). In ROI, 14% of respondents report using none of these platforms; the corresponding figure in NI is 17%. Of those who ever use at least one of these platforms, 10% in ROI ([Figure 5](#)) and 11% in NI ([Figure 6](#)) has ever communicated on them through Irish.

Figure 4:

Respondents' use of social media and messaging platforms, Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland

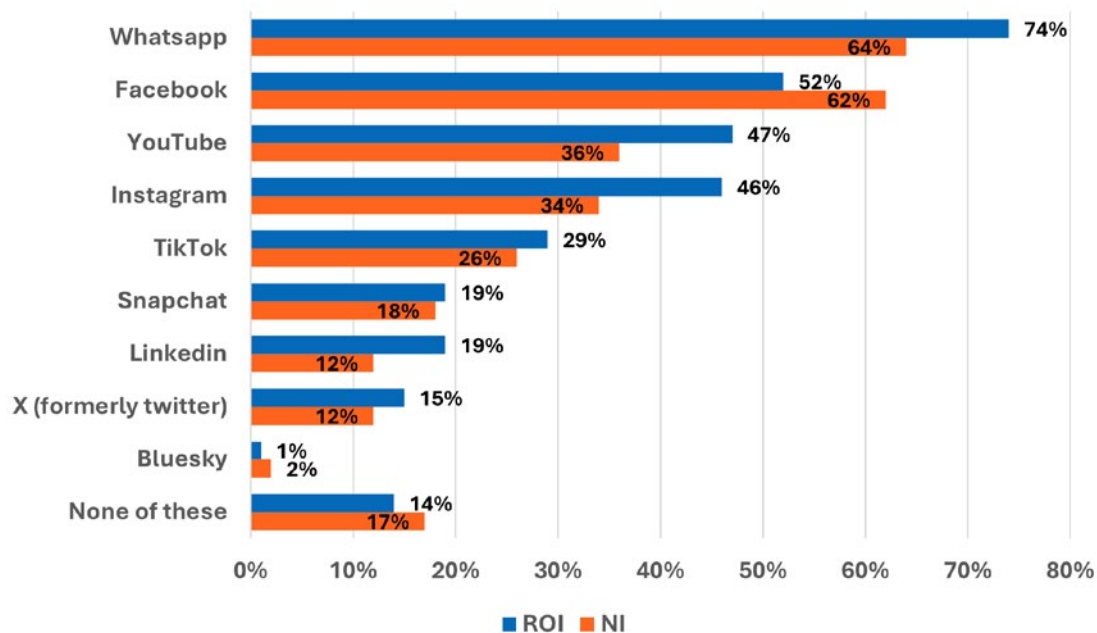


Figure 5:

Proportion of users of social media or messaging platforms who have communicated on these through Irish, Republic of Ireland

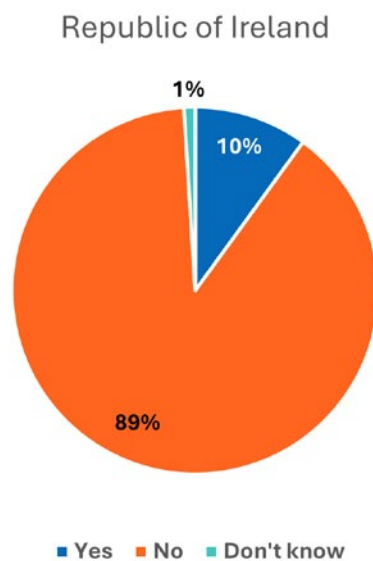
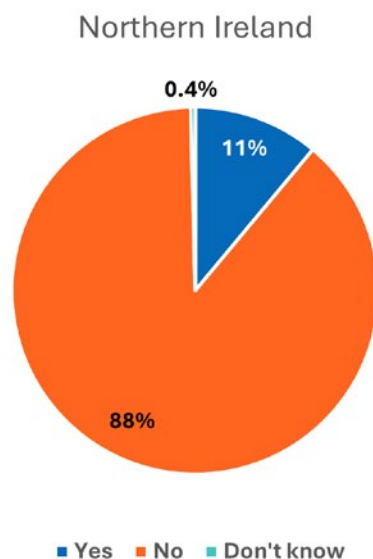


Figure 6:

Proportion of users of social media or messaging platforms who have communicated on these through Irish, Northern Ireland



6.4 Attitudes towards Irish

6.4.1 Overall attitude towards Irish

Respondents were asked to indicate whether they were in favour of, or opposed to, the Irish language. In ROI, 78% reported that they are in favour of Irish (44% strongly in favour; 34% somewhat in favour). This percentage is higher than was reported for the 2013 survey (67%). One in five adults in ROI have no particular feelings towards Irish in 2025, and just 3% indicate that they are opposed to the language (2% somewhat opposed, 1% strongly opposed) (Table 34).

Opposition to Irish is higher, but still low, in NI, where 4% report being somewhat opposed and 3% report being strongly opposed to the language (Table 34). More than one third of respondents in NI report being strongly in favour of Irish (36%), while an additional 19% are somewhat in favour. Again, these percentages are higher than were reported for the 2013 survey.

Table 34:

Overall attitude to the Irish language, Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland

	ROI	NI
Strongly in favour	44	36
Somewhat in favour	34	19
No particular feelings	20	38
Somewhat opposed	2	4
Strongly opposed	1	3

In ROI, despite the highest levels of self-reported proficiency in and use of Irish being reported by 18–24-year-olds, attitudes towards Irish are least favourable in this age group (70% in favour, compared to 79% of 25–44-year-olds and 45–64-year-olds, 80% of 65–74-year-olds, and 81% of those aged 75 and older). Those in the 18–24-year-old group are more likely to report that they are opposed to Irish (5%) than those in older age groups (1–3%, depending on age group).

A different pattern is observed in NI, where nobody in the 18–24 age group indicated that they were opposed to the Irish language. Opposition to the language rises with age in NI, with 4% of 25–44-year-olds, 8% of 45–64-year-olds, 13% of 65–74-year-olds, and 16% of those aged 75 and older expressing opposition to Irish.

Table 35:

Overall attitude towards Irish, by gender and age, Republic of Ireland

Republic of Ireland	Gender		Age				
	Male	Female	18–24	25–44	45–64	65–74	75+
In favour	75	81	70	79	79	80	81
No particular feelings	22	18	24	18	20	20	17
Opposed	3	1	5	3	1	1	2

Table 36:

Overall attitude towards Irish, by gender and age, Northern Ireland

Northern Ireland	Gender		Age				
	Male	Female	18–24	25–44	45–64	65–74	75+
In favour	57	53	64	61	51	57	33
No particular feelings	36	40	37	34	41	30	51
Opposed	8	7	0	4	8	13	16

In Northern Ireland, a large majority of those identifying as Irish indicate that they are in favour of the Irish language (Table 37). The majority position is to have no particular feelings on the language among those who identify as Northern Irish (60%), British (60%), or another national identity (55%). The highest level of opposition to Irish is among those who identify as British, at 23%.

Table 37:

Overall attitude towards Irish, by national identity, Northern Ireland

	In favour	No particular feelings	Opposed
Irish	86	14	0.5
Northern Irish	30	60	11
British	17	60	23
Other	45	55	0

Note: Due to small sizes, the subgroups of 'Sometimes British and sometimes Irish' (n=15) and 'Ulster' (n=8) are omitted from this table. The 'other' category comprises people who described themselves as Polish, Lithuanian, Indian, and one person who refused to answer.

In ROI, there are mixed views on the importance of being able to speak Irish in order to be truly Irish, with roughly similar proportions indicating that it is very important (22%), fairly important (26%), not very important (26%) and not at all important (22%) ([Table 38](#)).

Table 38:

Perceived importance of being able to speak Irish to be truly Irish, Republic of Ireland

Republic of Ireland	
Very important	22
Fairly important	26
Not very important	26
Not at all important	22
Can't choose/refuse to answer	4

Respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement with a series of statements about Irish. In both ROI and NI, two thirds of respondents (66%) disagree that Irish is a dead language, while around one in four agree, 26% in ROI and 25% in NI ([Figure 7](#)). Interestingly, however, in relation to their beliefs about public views on Irish, majorities in both jurisdictions agree that most people just don't care one way or another (67% in ROI; 59% in NI) ([Figure 8](#)).

Figure 7:

Level of agreement that Irish is a dead language, Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland

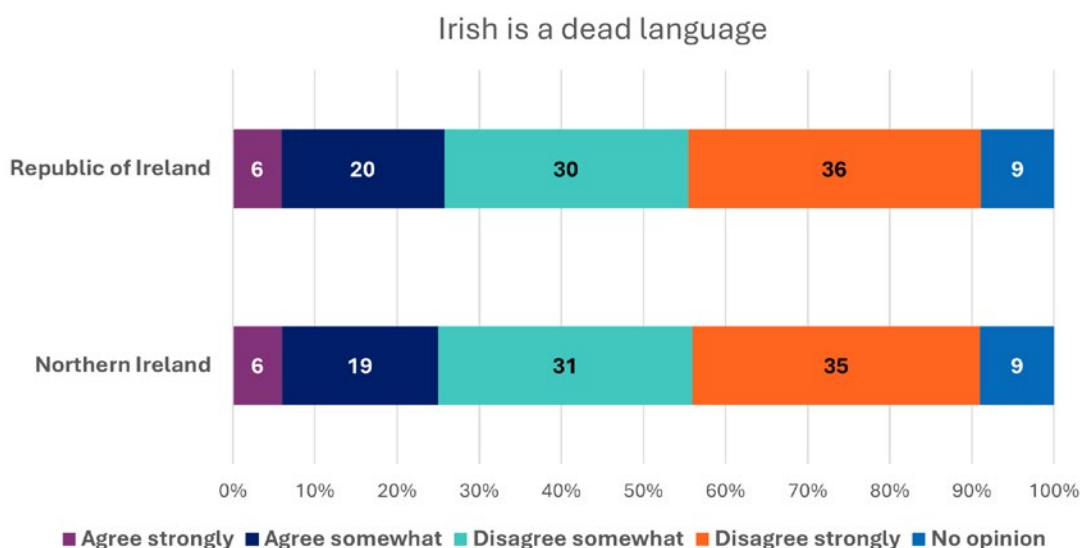
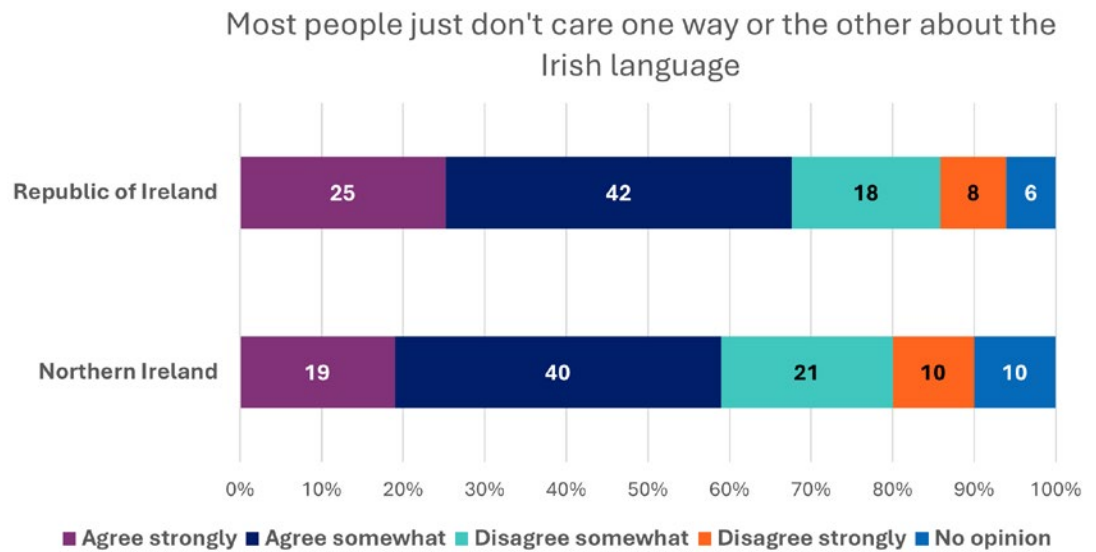


Figure 8:

Level of agreement that most people don't care one way or the other about the Irish language, Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland



In ROI, 70% agree that Irish-speaking people are a defining characteristic of Ireland. In NI, a large minority (46%) also expressed the same sentiment about Northern Ireland ([Figure 9](#)). Furthermore, approximately half of respondents in each jurisdiction (54% in ROI; 48% in NI) agreed that to really understand Irish traditional culture, one must know the Irish language ([Figure 10](#)).

Figure 9:

Level of agreement that Ireland/Northern Ireland would not really be Ireland/Northern Ireland without Irish-speaking people

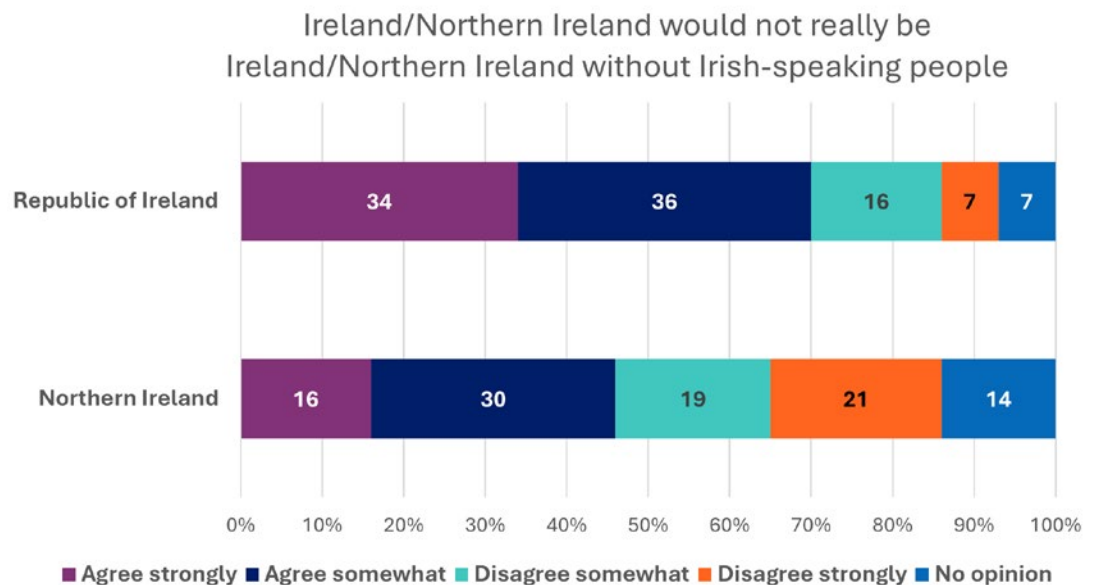


Figure 10:

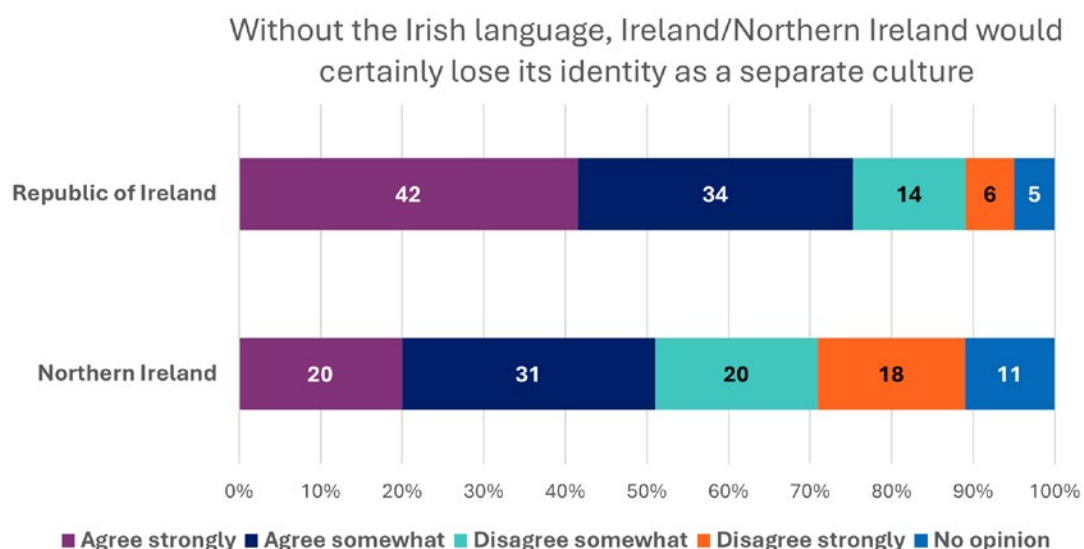
Level of agreement that to really understand traditional Irish culture one must know the Irish language, Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland



Around three quarters of ROI respondents (76%) and just over half of NI respondents (51%) agree that Ireland or Northern Ireland, respectively, would lose its identity as a separate culture without the Irish language.

Figure 11:

Level of agreement that without the Irish language, Ireland/ Northern Ireland would certainly lose its identity as a separate culture, Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland

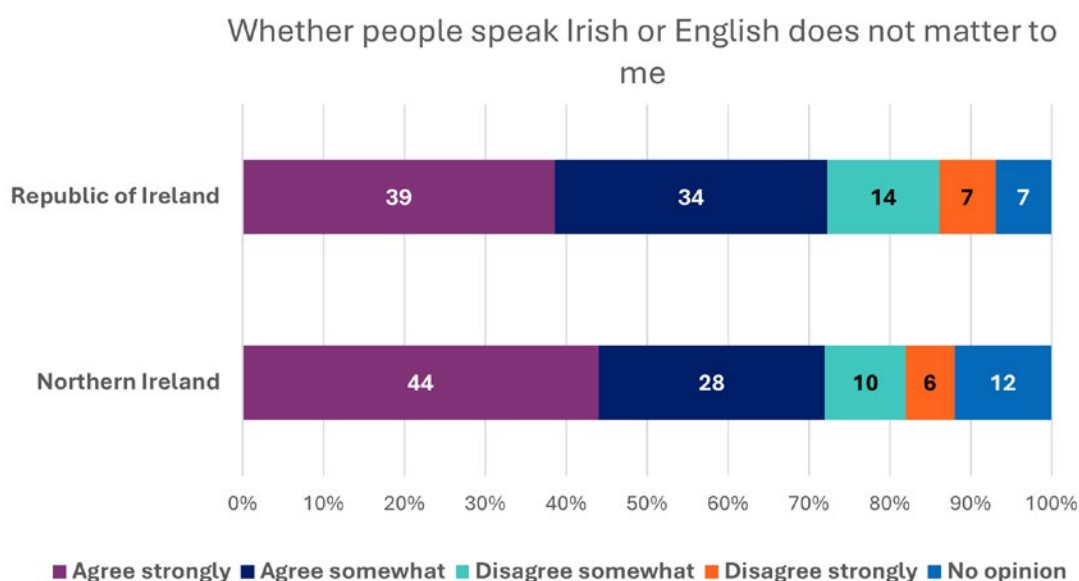


Finally, just under three quarters of respondents in each jurisdiction (73% in ROI; 72% in NI) agree that it does not matter to them whether people speak Irish or English ([Figure 12](#)).

These response patterns are very similar to those reported in the 2013 survey. However, the 2013 responses differed in relation to whether each jurisdiction would lose its identity as a separate culture without the Irish language. In 2025, 73% agreed in ROI; and 72% in NI, while in 2013 64% in ROI and 33% in NI agreed with that statement. There would appear to be greater support for that statement at present.

Figure 12:

Level of agreement that it does not matter to the respondent whether people speak Irish or English, Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland



6.4.2 Attitudes towards Irish language education

Respondents were asked about the extent to which they agreed with statements about teaching and learning Irish in schools. In ROI, 87% agree that all children in Ireland should learn Irish as a subject (56% agree strongly; 31% agree somewhat). The corresponding proportion in NI is 57% (25% agreeing strongly; 32% agreeing somewhat that all children in NI should learn Irish as a subject).

In ROI, 84% agree that government should provide all-Irish schools wherever people want them (49% agreeing strongly; 35% agreeing somewhat). A majority in NI (67%) also agree that government should provide all-Irish schools where there is demand (36% agreeing strongly; 31% agreeing somewhat).

Roughly half of respondents in each jurisdiction (51% in ROI; 46% in NI) agree that it is more important that a child learn Irish than a foreign language, although it was a minority view that it is more important that a child learn Irish at school than science (21% in ROI; 17% in NI).

Figure 13:

Attitudes towards the learning of Irish at school, Republic of Ireland

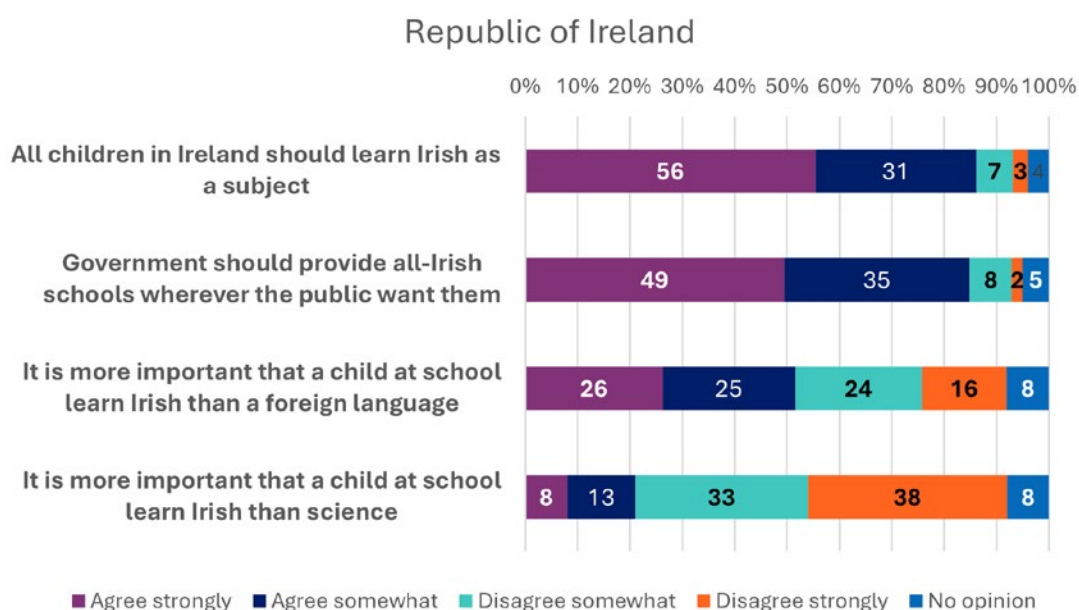
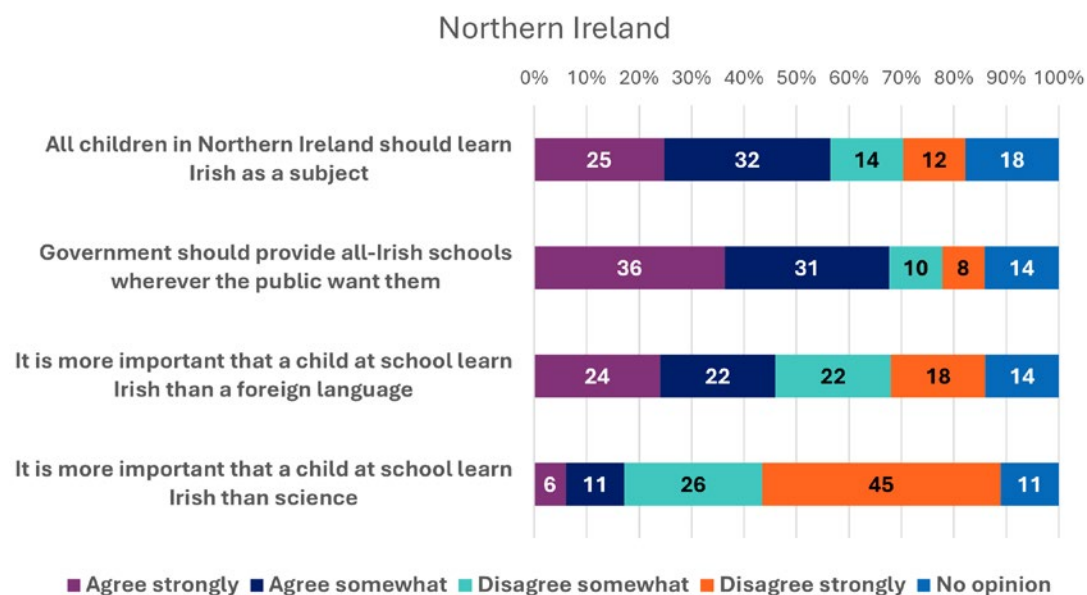


Figure 14:
Attitudes towards the
learning of Irish at
school, Northern Ireland



On the whole, there appears to be greater support for most of these statements in 2025 than was reported for the 2013 survey. The 2025 survey results demonstrate that there is strong support for teaching Irish in schools and providing Irish-medium education where it is desired. However, there is much less support for learning Irish at the expense of learning science. In NI, there is also less support for the idea that it is more important that a child learn Irish than a foreign language.

Respondents were asked to indicate what they felt the most suitable programme type would be for most children in school today with respect to the Irish language. Just over half of ROI respondents endorsed the current model in place in most schools, in which Irish is taught as a subject in English-medium schools (52% with respect to primary education; 53% at post-primary) ([Table 39](#)); In NI, the corresponding percentages believing that this model is the most suitable for most children today were 44% for primary and 47% for post-primary ([Table 40](#)).

In ROI, just 4% of respondents felt that no Irish should be taught in primary schools, and 6% felt no Irish should be taught at post-primary. In NI, these proportions were higher, but still low, with 12% of the opinion that no Irish should be taught in primary schools, and 10% indicating the same for post-primary schools.

Table 39:

Perceptions of the school programme 'most suitable for most children today', Republic of Ireland

Republic of Ireland	Primary	Post-primary
All English with Irish as a subject only	52	53
Some subjects taught through Irish	26	23
All Irish with English as a subject only	12	12
Don't know/No opinion	6	6
All English (with no Irish taught)	4	6

Table 40:

Perceptions of the school programme 'most suitable for most children today', Northern Ireland

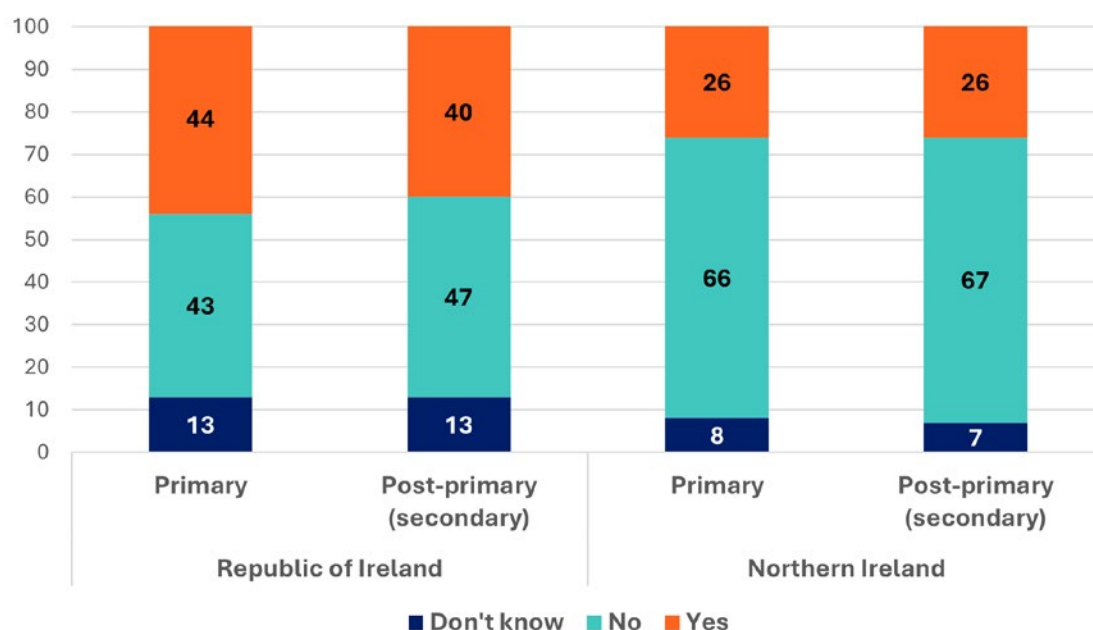
Northern Ireland	Primary	Post-primary
All English with Irish as a subject only	44	47
Some subjects taught through Irish	18	19
All Irish with English as a subject only	13	13
Don't know/No opinion	13	12
All English (with no Irish taught)	12	10

On the whole there is greater support for pro-Irish statements in 2025 than was reported in the 2013 survey. There is less support for all English education with Irish as a subject in ROI than reported in the past, and there is greater support of Irish-medium education. In NI, there is greater support for Irish as subject in English-medium schools as well as greater support for Irish-medium education than was reported for the 2013 survey.

A majority of survey respondents have children: 62% in ROI; 63% in NI. [Figure 15](#) shows that 44% of parents in ROI indicate a willingness to send their children to an all-Irish primary school if one were located near their home and 40% at post-primary level. In NI, just over one in four parents (26%) would send their children to an all-Irish primary or post-primary school if one were located near their home. These results indicate that there is a greater willingness among parents in both jurisdictions to send their children to an Irish-medium school than was reported for the 2001 (13% in ROI and 5% in NI) or 2013 (23% in ROI and 12% in NI) surveys.

Figure 15:

Parents' willingness to send children to an all-Irish school if located near their home: Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland



6.4.3 Attitudes towards government policy relating to Irish

In both jurisdictions, around half of respondents express a view that government is doing too little in relation to the Irish language (48% in ROI; 47% in NI) (Table 41). Fewer say that the government is doing enough (29% in ROI; 27% in NI), while notable minorities indicate that they do not know (22% in ROI; 16% in NI). Very few in ROI think the government is doing too much in relation to Irish (2%), compared to a larger, but still small, percentage in NI (10%).

Table 41:

Perceptions of the present government's position on Irish, Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland

	Primary	Post-primary
Too little	48	47
Enough	29	27
Don't know	22	16
Too much	2	10

A strong majority in ROI agree that Irish speakers have a right to expect civil servants to be able to speak Irish with them (70% agreeing to any extent) (Figure 16). In NI, a large minority hold the same view (46% agreeing to any extent, though only 12% agreed strongly with this) (Figure 17). In both jurisdictions, a majority disagree that promoting the Irish language should be the job of voluntary organisations and not the government (60% in ROI; 54% in NI). Most people reject the idea that government should not promote the Irish language at all, with 62% strongly disagreeing in ROI (and a further 18% disagreeing somewhat) and 49% strongly disagreeing in NI (with a further 29% disagreeing somewhat).

Overall, the 2025 results show greater support for government involvement in the maintenance of Irish than reported for 2001 and 2013 surveys. For example, there is much stronger support for the statement that the government does too little for the language (ROI: 48% / NI: 47%) than was the case in 2001 (ROI: 15% / NI: 15%) or 2013 (ROI: 37% / NI: 29%).

Figure 16:

Level of agreement with statements on government policy relating to Irish, Republic of Ireland

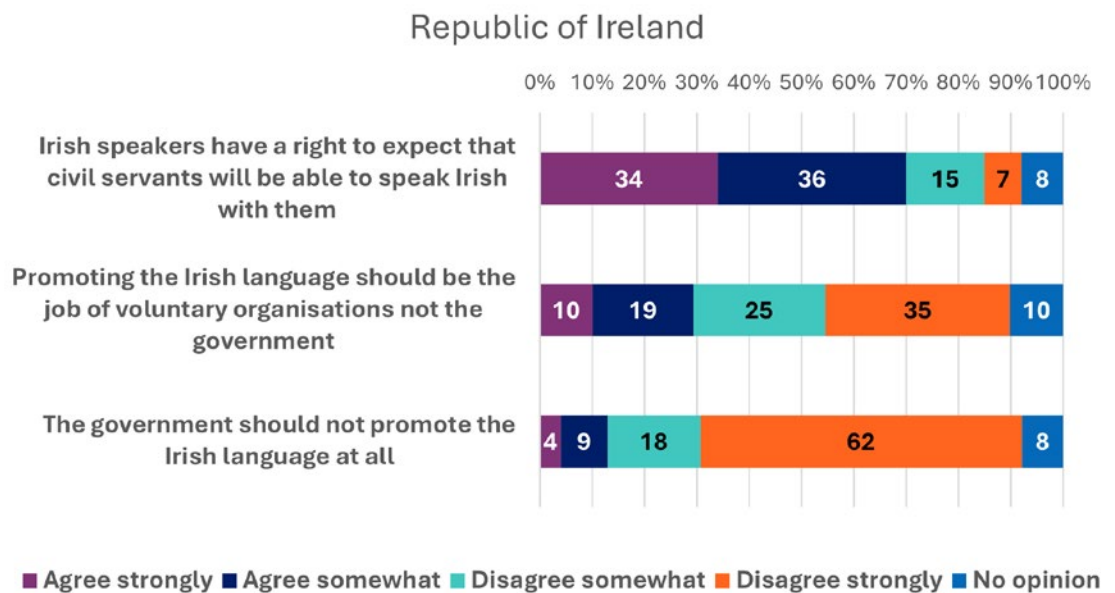
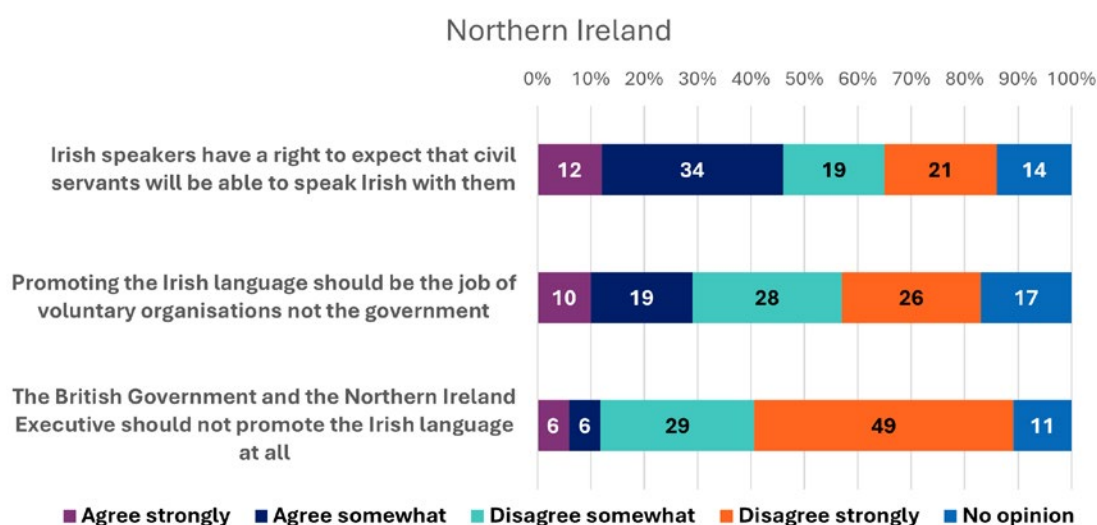


Figure 17:
Level of agreement
with statements on
government policy
relating to Irish,
Northern Ireland



In ROI, maintenance of Irish in the Gaeltacht is viewed as important (64% very important; 25% fairly important), as is teaching Irish well to all children (58% very important; 31% fairly important) (Figure 18). Availability of public services in Irish also receives support from the majority (48% very important; 33% fairly important). Media in Irish and books in Irish are both perceived as very important by 43% of respondents, and somewhat important by another 36% and 39% respectively. Digital technologies are also viewed as important by a majority, but with lower intensity than other initiatives (38% very important; 33% fairly important). Across all initiatives, only small minorities in ROI consider these measures 'not that important' or 'not at all important'.

In NI, views are more mixed, with respondents less likely to place importance on each of the initiatives listed. For example, 26% believe it is not important that there are public services for Irish speakers, 36% feel it is not important that there is media through Irish, 35% feel it is not important that there are books in Irish, and 34% feel it is unimportant that there are digital technologies in Irish. Nevertheless, many, and in some cases a majority (49–59%) in NI agreed with the statements regarding the importance of government initiatives to improve the position of the Irish language (Figure 19).

Figure 18:
Perceived importance of
government initiatives
to improve the position
of the Irish language,
Republic of Ireland

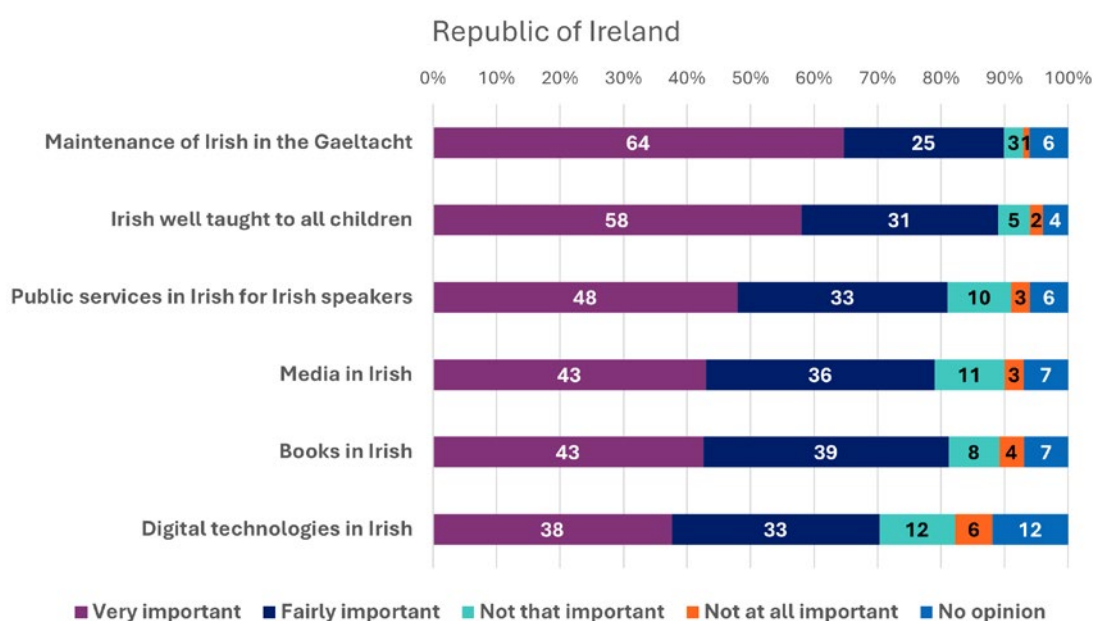
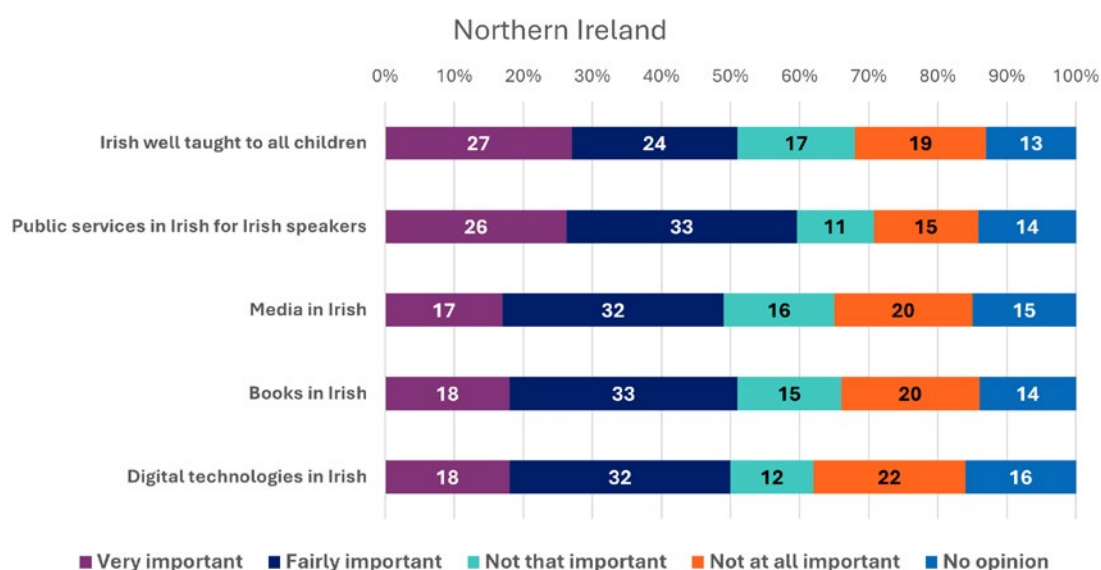


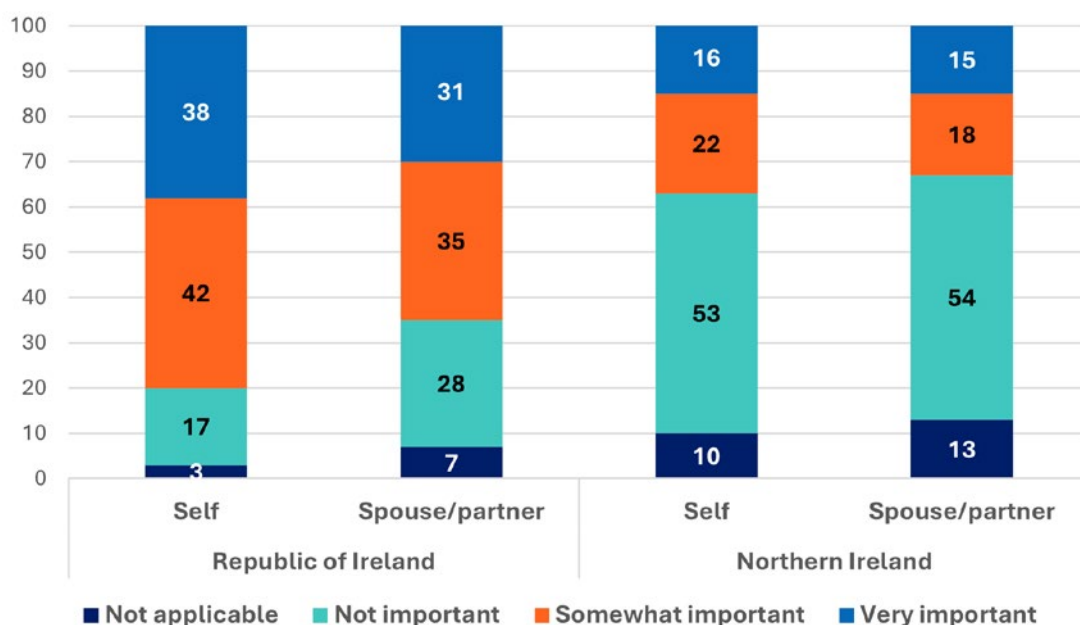
Figure 19:
Perceived importance of government initiatives to improve the position of the Irish language, Northern Ireland



6.4.4 Future of the Irish language

Survey respondents with children were asked to indicate the importance to them and their spouse/partner (where applicable) that their children grows/grew up knowing Irish. In ROI, 80% of respondents indicate that it is important to them that their children grow up knowing Irish (38% very important; 42% somewhat important) and 66% indicate that it is important to their partner or spouse (31% very important; 35% somewhat important) (Figure 20). In NI, less importance is placed on children growing up knowing Irish, with 38% of NI respondents indicating that it is important to them (16% very important; 22% somewhat important) and 33% reporting that it is important to their partners/spouses (15% very important; 18% somewhat important). For the present survey, the ROI response pattern is very similar to the results reported for the 2013 survey. However, in NI, the 2025 participants demonstrated a more positive attitude (38%) in relation to the importance of their children knowing Irish than was reported for 2013 (28%).

Figure 20:
Perceived importance among parents that their children grow up knowing Irish, Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland



At a societal level, a majority of respondents in ROI (55%) favour a model in which English remains the principal language alongside support for bilingualism; the corresponding figure in NI is 44%. Only tiny minorities (1% in ROI and 2% in NI) feel that the Irish language should be discarded and forgotten (Table 42).

Table 42:

Respondents' single preferred option regarding the future of the Irish language, Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland

	ROI	NI
Ireland/Northern Ireland* should be bilingual, with English as the principal language	55	44
Irish should be preserved as an important historical cultural heritage in literature and music but not as a spoken language	14	17
Irish should be preserved as a spoken language but only in the Gaeltacht	8	13
Ireland/Northern Ireland* should be bilingual with Irish as the principal language	8	8
Irish should be the principal language (like English is now)	7	3
Don't know	4	7
Don't care	3	5
The Irish language should be discarded and forgotten	1	2

**These items included the name of the relevant jurisdiction only (i.e., Ireland or Northern Ireland) where the survey was conducted.*

6.5 Summary

This chapter presented the results of the Irish Language Attitudes Survey 2025. With respect to ability in Irish, almost half of respondents in ROI reported some ability to speak the language. In NI, reported Irish-language ability is lower. Just under one in five respondents reported at least basic fluency in the language and only a small group claimed advanced speaking skills. A difference was noted in Irish-language fluency across age groups, which was somewhat different in ROI compared to NI. In ROI, advanced Irish-language fluency is most common among 18–24-year-olds while older age groups generally show lower overall fluency. However, native speaker ability was highest among the 75+ cohort. In Northern Ireland, Irish-language ability also varied by age. Here, too, younger adults were least likely to report no Irish and the oldest group showed the lowest levels of ability. It is clear in the case of NI that respondents' identity is connected to their ability in Irish, since fluency in Irish in NI is strongly concentrated among those who describe themselves as Irish and identify as Catholic.

In both jurisdictions, self-reported ability in Irish is associated with frequency of use, so a higher level of ability translates into regular language use of the language for many respondents. Finally, in both jurisdictions the results demonstrated there is an association between exposure to Irish in the home and at school and more regular use of Irish today.

In both jurisdictions, there is generally a positive attitude towards Irish. In ROI, 78% reported that they are in favour of Irish. In NI, the percentage of respondents that are in favour of the language is lower but still constitutes a majority (55%). Also, it is notable that in both jurisdictions two thirds of respondents disagreed that Irish is a dead language, and a majority agreed that Ireland or Northern Ireland would lose its identity as a separate culture without the Irish language.

In terms of Irish in the education system, a very large majority in ROI agree that all children in Ireland should learn Irish as a subject, while a smaller majority agree in NI. There is also strong support for the provision of Irish-medium education for parents who want it. Among the respondents with children, the percentages of those who would send (or would have sent) their children to an Irish-medium school if one were located near them were greater than reported in previous versions of this survey (44% for primary and 40% for post-primary in ROI and 26% for both primary and post-primary in NI).

Government's role in supporting Irish is deemed important by the public. In both jurisdictions, just under half of respondents agree that government is doing too little in relation to the Irish language and between a quarter and a third feel that the government is doing enough. Significantly, only very small percentages feel the government is doing too much. Provision of public services in Irish for Irish speakers also received support from a majority in both ROI and NI. A large majority in ROI, and a sizeable minority in NI, agree that it is important to them that their children grow up knowing Irish. However, more than half of respondents in ROI, and just under half in NI, favour a model in which English remains the principal language in their jurisdiction, but with support for bilingualism. These findings are discussed in the final chapter.



Discussion and conclusion

7.1 Introduction

The present study examines the status of the Irish language across the island of Ireland and investigates ability in, use of, and attitudes towards the language. The analysis is based on the Irish Language Attitudes Survey 2025, a survey of adults in both the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland. In the previous chapter, the results of this survey were presented and set in the context of results reported from the 2001 and 2013 iterations of the survey. In this chapter, the results are contextualised and discussed in the general context of the Irish language within the social and education systems of ROI and NI. First, a brief summary of the results of the 2025 survey, which were reported in Chapter 6, is presented. This is followed by a discussion of the factors that may underlie the findings in relation to respondents' reported language ability, language use, and language attitudes. The discussion then turns to the implications of these findings and recommendations for Irish language policy. The chapter concludes with recommendations for future iterations of the survey.

7.2 Summary of findings

The results of the 2025 survey demonstrate that almost half of respondents in ROI (49%) reported at least basic fluency in speaking Irish (39% in the basic fluency category and 10% in the advanced fluency category). In NI, Irish-language ability is lower, where just under one in five respondents (19%) reported at least basic fluency in the language (17% in the basic fluency category and 2% in the advanced fluency category). Both the overall fluency figures and the advanced fluency figures are lower than those reported for the 2013 survey. In ROI in 2013, 57% of respondents reported having at least basic fluency, with 14% reporting advanced fluency. In NI in 2013, the figures reported were 17% with at least basic fluency and 3% with advanced fluency.

With respect to the frequency of speaking Irish, 9% of respondents in ROI and 4% in NI reported that they speak Irish daily. The figures reported from the 2013 survey were 6% (ROI) and 1% (NI). In both ROI and NI, self-assessed ability in Irish is closely linked to how frequently the language is used. For example, higher levels of ability correspond to more regular use among many respondents. More than two thirds (68%) of respondents with advanced fluency in ROI reported speaking Irish daily or weekly. Furthermore, the findings in both jurisdictions show a clear association between exposure to Irish in the home and in school and more frequent use of the language now. For instance, in ROI, 60% of those who attended Irish-medium primary schools and 64% of those who attended Irish-medium post-primary schools reported that they currently speak Irish daily or weekly. Another issue connected to Irish language ability is the finding that no respondent without Irish citizenship reported having advanced fluency in Irish.

Public attitudes towards language are important because they have the potential to influence how and what languages are used, transmitted, and valued by individuals, by societies, and by governments. Language attitude surveys in Ireland have, since the 1970s, provided governments, language agencies, academics, and others, with evidence of how the public says it feels and what they say they want in relation to Irish and English. The Irish Language Attitudes Survey 2025 discussed in this report continues this tradition. Generally, there is a positive attitude towards Irish among the public in both jurisdictions and in many cases the figures reported in the present survey are higher than those reported for the 2001 and 2013 surveys. Overall, 78% in ROI and 55% in NI reported being in favour of Irish overall. The figures reported for 2013 were 67% (ROI) and 45% (NI). There is also general support for policy that aims to strengthen the position of Irish, but again this is stronger in ROI than NI. Respondents generally reported that the maintenance of Irish in the Gaeltacht is important, that Irish should be taught in schools, and that services, educational and otherwise, should be provided for Irish speakers. In total, 87% of participants in ROI and 57% in NI agreed that all children should learn Irish. The current survey has again evidenced a view among respondents that the provision of Irish-medium education to those who want it is important: 84% of participants in ROI and 67% in NI agreed that Irish-medium schools should be provided where demand exists. Furthermore, respondents generally reported that teaching Irish well to all children, including those attending English-medium schools, is also important. In terms of availing of Irish-medium education for their own children, 44% of respondents with children in ROI would send children to Irish-medium primary schools and 40% would send children to Irish-medium post-primary schools if located near their home. The figures reported for ROI for 2013 were 23% (primary) and 12% (post-primary). In NI, 26% of respondents with children reported they would send their children to Irish-medium primary or post-primary schools if available locally. In 2013, it was reported that 18% (primary) and 11% (post-primary) of NI respondents with children would avail of this model of education if provided nearby.

7.3 Context of the survey findings

The relatively low levels of ability reported by survey respondents may be attributed to a number of factors. Taken together, these factors provide a background for interpreting the results, rather than a set of empirically-established causal relationships. First, while Irish has been a core subject in the ROI national curriculum for more than 100 years, there have been a number of changes to the position of the language in the education system, particularly in the last 50 years. Chief among these is the substantial reduction in time devoted to teaching Irish in primary schools. As discussed in Chapter 2, from 1922 it was decreed that junior classes were to be taught entirely through the medium of Irish and that other class groups should be taught through Irish where possible. At a minimum, however, at least one hour a day was to be spent on teaching Irish. In the latter half of the 20th century, the partial immersion policy has been abandoned and the one hour per day has been reduced to 3 hours a week. Harris et al. (2006) documented a substantial decline in the time dedicated to Irish in primary schools. Teachers in the 1970s reported spending over five hours per week on Irish, compared to 3.5 hours in the 1999 primary curriculum (see also Ó Duibhir, 2018). The decline in Irish-language achievement in primary schools is attributed, *inter alia*, to this reduction in time spent teaching and learning Irish (Harris et al., 2006). In the current Primary Curriculum Framework, time spent on Irish from first class onwards in primary school should amount to a minimum of just 3 hours per week, a reduction of 30 minutes.

The quality of teaching and learning of Irish is another issue which may have impacted levels of ability in Irish. It has been noted in recent years (e.g., Inspectorate, 2022) that there are major concerns surrounding some teachers' level of proficiency in Irish, their teaching methods for Irish, and the impact these have on children's Irish-language learning. For example, the most recent inspectorate report (Inspectorate, 2025) concluded that the variation in teachers' proficiency in the Irish language represents a significant concern. Inspection reports indicate that, in English-medium schools, many teachers' levels of fluency in Irish are insufficient to support effective implementation of the Primary Language Curriculum. It is argued that this has negative consequences for children's Irish-language learning. In addition, it is argued that many classrooms focus too heavily on isolated vocabulary learning rather than meaningful communication. According to the report, there is also limited use of key pedagogical approaches such as communicative language teaching and content and language integrated learning, and assessment of progression in Irish is often underdeveloped.

It is notable that it was found in the present survey that there are relatively high levels of reported Irish-language use, particularly relative to levels of ability. For example, in ROI, 21% of those with just basic fluency in Irish reported using the language daily or weekly. It is possible that respondents do not all have a clear or shared idea about what is meant by speaking Irish daily or weekly. A few words a day may, for some people, constitute daily use, for example. This understanding of daily or weekly use may differ substantially from that of speakers with advanced proficiency, who regularly hold full conversations in Irish or who work through the medium of the language.

The findings of the language attitudes section of the survey may be interpreted in light of a heightened level of awareness regarding the Irish language in contemporary society. In recent years, Irish has featured prominently in public discourse. This discourse has extended beyond academic and policy circles into mainstream media and civic debate. This high level of visibility may have influenced participants' attitudes and responses, as awareness of language-related issues is likely to shape perceptions of the status, value, and future of Irish.

A salient aspect in this discourse is the frequently discussed precarity of Irish as a community language in the Gaeltacht. The discussion has increasingly underlined the fragility of intergenerational transmission in the Gaeltacht and the challenges facing Irish-speaking communities, with housing emerging more recently as a central concern. The limited availability and affordability of housing for Irish-speakers in Gaeltacht areas are seen as threats to the sustainability of these linguistically distinct communities (Ó Murchadha & Smith-Christmas, *in press*). Given the prominent position of the Gaeltacht in narratives around the Irish language, such discussion may have raised participants' awareness of the structural pressures faced by Irish-speakers and Irish-speaking communities in the Gaeltacht. This may in turn have influenced how they engaged with the survey.

A range of recent policy initiatives in both jurisdictions has drawn attention to the status of Irish. Irrespective of their actual effectiveness, these initiatives likely increase public awareness of the present position of Irish as a language in need of support. In ROI, the last decade or so has seen the introduction of the Gaeltacht Act 2012, and the related Gaeltacht local language planning process, and the Official Languages (Amendment) Act 2021. In NI, Irish was central in the debate on re-establishing the Stormont Executive under the New Decade, New Approach deal that followed the decision of the Minister for

Communities to cut government funding to the Lóifa Irish-language scholarship scheme in 2016, and the Renewable Heat Incentive scandal. The Identity and Language (Northern Ireland) Act 2022 was agreed as part of that deal and upon its introduction, it provided official recognition of the status of Irish in NI. The delay in the appointment of the Irish Language Commissioner as part of the provisions of that Act was in March 2025 noted with regret by United Nations Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, with the role subsequently advertised later that month. Although the post was not filled by the time the Irish Language Attitudes Survey 2025 was completed, the public discourse around the establishment of the role may nevertheless have contributed to a heightened awareness among the general public in relation to the status of Irish. The year 2025 also saw the repeal of the Administration of Justice (Language) Act (Ireland) 1737, which had proscribed the use of Irish in the courts, again potentially adding to a heightened public awareness of Irish.

There has been much attention on Irish in the educational sphere also. In ROI, there has been the review of Irish as a subject as part of the revised Junior Cycle Framework, the ongoing review of Irish as a subject as part of the ongoing Senior Cycle review, the review of the system of exemptions from the study of Irish and the ensuing increase in exemptions granted, and the introduction of the Policy on Gaeltacht Education 2017–2022. In NI, Irish featured in the discourse surrounding the review of the Northern Ireland Curriculum, particularly with respect to the potential (re)introduction of the teaching and learning of languages other than English at primary level. In both jurisdictions, Irish has furthermore featured prominently in the discourse on teacher shortages, both with respect to the Irish-medium sector and for Irish as a subject in post-primary schools. These shortages have been widely reported and debated and concerns about recruitment, retention, and workload within the teaching profession have been framed as structural barriers to the teaching and learning of Irish across both English-medium and Irish-medium settings.

Ongoing, prominent campaigns to establish new Irish-medium schools, particularly at post-primary level and in ROI, have also given rise to public discussion regarding the provision of Irish-language education. These campaigns often emphasise parental demand, educational rights, and the role of schooling in supporting language maintenance and revitalisation. As such, they may have heightened participants' awareness of both the opportunities and limitations associated with Irish-medium education. They may also foster a sense of urgency or collective consciousness around the Irish language. This may in turn influence perceptions of the levels of institutional support for the language and the future vitality of Irish. More recently, there has been significant public debate in ROI surrounding exemptions from the study of Irish, particularly in view of high numbers of students with exemptions from Irish at post-primary level. Discussions of exemptions frequently invoke competing narratives of inclusion, fairness, linguistic rights, and educational burden. The prominence of this discourse may have influenced how participants conceptualised the place of Irish within the education system and within society more broadly.

The recent growth of multilingualism on the island does not appear to be detrimental to positive attitudes towards Irish either. Rather, there appears to be a more complex and potentially complementary relationship. The findings presented in the previous chapter point to an attitudinal environment in which Irish is viewed quite favourably overall. This is the case even as linguistic diversity has increased markedly due to migration, mobility, and broader societal change. This challenges assumptions that the expansion of multilingualism might dilute support for Irish or displace it. This is perhaps especially true in ROI where Irish occupies a more central position in the public psyche. Indeed, it appears to be the case that the broader normalisation of multilingualism may in fact be contributing to a reframing of Irish as one language among many, rather than as an anomalous or burdensome requirement. Furthermore, the presence of new linguistic communities may also prompt a reassessment of the symbolic and instrumental role of Irish within an increasingly diverse society. Rather than competing with other languages for legitimacy, Irish may derive renewed relevance as a marker of shared civic identity within the multilingual societies of ROI and NI.

Connected to the changing demographics of the island, there is now a growing number of migrants and children of migrants who are Irish speakers. This is true throughout Ireland, including in the Gaeltacht (Ciribuco et al., 2024; Flynn, 2025; McCubbin, 2008, 2010). Research by Ciribuco and colleagues emphasises that migrants generally recognise Irish as an important element of local culture, heritage, and place, particularly in the Gaeltacht and in areas close to the Gaeltacht. Irish is often understood symbolically as part of what makes an area distinct, and migrants frequently associate it with local identity and community belonging. While not all migrants take steps to learn Irish, some do (Ciribuco et al., 2024; Flynn, 2025). Regardless of whether or not migrants learn Irish, it is notable that previous research has highlighted that they tend to recognise the symbolic value of Irish, in keeping with the general population.

Regarding the position of the Irish language in the media, specifically in ROI, the Official Languages (Amendment) Act 2021 includes a requirement for public bodies to ensure that 20% of all of their advertising annually is done through the medium of Irish. This has in turn led to an increased presence for Irish in English-medium media via advertising on radio, television, podcasts and newspapers. Relatedly, in 2018, An Coimisinéir Teanga (2018) found that the national broadcaster RTÉ was in breach of its statutory obligations under the Broadcasting Act 2009 by failing to broadcast a comprehensive selection of television programmes in Irish or current affairs television programmes in the language. Subsequent to this finding, RTÉ have reported an increase in Irish language television broadcasts from 123 hours in 2017 to 1,180 hours in 2023 (An Coimisinéir Teanga, 2025). These developments have facilitated a certain mainstreaming of Irish on the English-language media in ROI. As such, they provide new opportunities for the general population to engage with Irish in their everyday lives. This, albeit limited, mainstreaming may have the effect of normalising Irish. It provides an opportunity for latent speakers and non-speakers of Irish to develop their familiarity with and curiosity about the language. This may ultimately be among the factors contributing to the very positive attitudes towards Irish reported in ROI in the present survey.

In addition, the growing prominence of Irish-language arts on both the national and international stages forms part of the broader backdrop against which this study's results can be understood. High-profile cultural productions in film, music, and the performing arts have brought Irish to the attention of audiences well beyond traditional language communities. This may contribute to the visibility of Irish and its perceived contemporary relevance. However, it seems unlikely that a direct causal relationship is being asserted between the success of particular artistic works (the rap band Kneecap and the Irish-language film *An Cailín Ciúin* are frequently cited, for example) and the expression of positive attitudes towards Irish among the general public in the present survey. On the contrary, it is very likely the case that the success of these Irish-language artistic endeavours (and perhaps their very existence in the first place) can be understood, at least in part, as a function of the prevailing attitudinal and policy climate in which they were created. *An Cailín Ciúin*, for instance, may never have materialised as an Irish-language film were it not for the support available for Irish-language film producers as part of the Cine 4 initiative established in 2017.

With respect to Irish language use, it is encouraging from the perspective of policy to observe that a sizeable number of people reported that they speak Irish regularly. This reflects a level of engagement and goodwill towards Irish. However, if this 'regular' use is actually occasional or passive, this alone is unlikely to ensure the long-term vitality of Irish as an everyday language. Such usage needs to be underpinned by a high level of language ability. Otherwise, it is difficult to imagine a sustainable future for Irish as a living language that has a significant presence in all spheres of society. Realising policy aims to increase the regular use of Irish and to recruit Irish speakers into the public sector is largely dependent on a critical mass of people having requisite, advanced Irish-language skills. Such high levels of language ability in Irish are rare in ROI and NI according to the findings from this survey.

Language ability plays a central role in language vitality. While basic or formulaic use may contribute to visibility, it does not allow speakers to engage meaningfully across a wide range of domains, such as professional contexts, academic discourse, or other complex social interactions. Nonetheless, the regular use of Irish, particularly when accompanied by positive attitudes, is an important indicator of the potential for growth. Attitudinal factors are recognised as important in language maintenance and revitalisation (Kircher & Zipp, 2022). The willingness of individuals to engage with Irish suggests that the language is not rejected or viewed as irrelevant, but rather that it is viewed as something with cultural, social, symbolic, and instrumental value. This openness demonstrates that many people would be prepared to use Irish more extensively if meaningful opportunities and support structures were available to them.

Positive attitudes alone are insufficient, however. In order to achieve broader policy goals, enthusiasm must be complemented by effective policy, high-quality education, and opportunities for immersive and sustained language use across the life course. Without these supports, the favourable climate surrounding Irish risks remaining largely symbolic. At present, there exists a particularly favourable environment in which to advance the status of Irish, both in ROI and NI. The generally positive attitude towards the language provides a strong foundation upon which increased ability in Irish can be built. This can be capitalised on by ensuring effective language education, expanding opportunities for authentic communication, and normalising Irish in domains where it currently has only a limited presence. By prioritising language ability, it will be possible to move beyond surface-level engagement and towards a situation in which Irish is spoken well and more regularly by a larger proportion of the population.

7.4 Recommendations for policy

There is certainly no shortage of policy recommendations in relation to supporting Irish in ROI or NI and readers are guided towards the publications cited below for a full account of initiatives that could be undertaken to strengthen policy in both jurisdictions. A very brief overview is provided here of a number of recommendations from these publications. Based on a review of language policy in a series of contexts that recognise a minority language alongside the dominant language (Canada, Ireland, Wales, the Basque Autonomous Community, and Catalonia), Williams (2025) makes a range of overall recommendations for language policy in such jurisdictions. These include: 1) expanding the provision of an active offer of language services for users of minority languages; 2) the integration of language policy and planning with planning for land use and for regional and sustainable development; 3) the establishment of social networks, community centres and safe spaces where minority languages can be used freely; and 4) strengthening language skills as an economic asset. The creation of new social spaces echoes recommendations from a 2015 report on new speakers of the Irish language (Walsh et al., 2015). In that same 2015 report, the authors also point to the opportunities to develop new speakers of Irish through part-immersion educational provision and through reformed teacher education programmes (Walsh et al., 2015). Furthermore, a very comprehensive outline of specific policy recommendations for both ROI and NI has also been provided by Ó Laighin (2022). The main tenet of these recommendations is to pursue the institutionalisation of Irish as a full working language alongside English in state institutions. Specific recommendations include, *inter alia*, ensuring all government departments have Irish language sections, that an Irish-medium university is established, that Irish-language digital hubs are established in Dublin and other urban centres, and that the Irish language is integrated more fully into all aspects of housing and planning in the Gaeltacht. In a review of Irish language policy since 1922, Walsh (2022) celebrates some successes but also highlights weaknesses in provisions for Irish in both ROI and NI. He goes on to argue for a refocusing of efforts to support existing Irish speakers and to encourage others to develop their proficiency in Irish via a more robust policy programme than has been evident to date.

On the basis of the results of the Irish Language Attitudes Survey 2025, a number of policy-relevant recommendations are provided here.

1. First, the issue of language ability, which is clearly evident from the data, warrants particular attention. While attitudes towards Irish are generally positive, the gap between favourable attitudes and levels of ability suggests the need for more targeted and sustained interventions aimed at language development. Policy measures should therefore prioritise the systematic development of communicative competence across the education system, from pre-school, through compulsory schooling, and on through further and higher education, as well as in adult education and continuing professional development.
2. The protection and expansion of core instructional time allocated to Irish at both primary and post-primary levels in ROI is a necessary step if goals to develop language ability among the public are to be realised. Recent reductions in instructional time at primary level in ROI (Flynn & Singleton, 2025; cf. Harris et al., 2006; Ó Duibhir, 2024) point to the fragility of such provision and highlight the need for policy safeguards against further reductions. In NI, recommendations to reintroduce the study of languages other than English at primary level offer an opportunity to expand the study of Irish as a subject to a larger number and wider profile of NI schools. Efforts could be made in both jurisdictions to increase exposure to Irish, particularly where such increases are aligned with improved pedagogical approaches and meaningful language use, rather than examination-oriented instruction, for example CLIL or partial immersion programmes (Harris et al., 2006; Harris & Ó Duibhir, 2011). Furthermore, efforts could be made to address issues surrounding teachers' proficiency in Irish, both in initial teacher education and in continuing professional development offerings.
3. It is necessary to also recognise that the system of exemptions from the study of Irish in ROI may be misaligned with the overall attitudinal environment, which is strongly supportive of Irish-language learning. It also seems at odds with overtly stated policy goals in the jurisdiction. A critical review of exemption criteria and implementation could help to ensure that exemptions are applied in a more consistent and proportionate manner. This should be coupled with exploring alternative supports that enable learners with additional educational needs to engage meaningfully with Irish, rather than being excluded from its study altogether.
4. The results of the survey furthermore suggest that the current attitudinal climate is supportive of an expansion of Irish-language learning opportunities beyond compulsory schooling. There is considerable potential for increased provision of adult Irish-language classes, both in formal and community-based settings. This issue was highlighted in the 20-Year Strategy for the Irish Language (Government of Ireland, 2010) but has yet to be developed systematically. Such provision could, on the one hand, provide

opportunities to individuals who did not attain desired levels of ability in Irish during compulsory schooling to improve their proficiency in the language (Flynn, 2020). On the other hand, it could reinforce the idea that Irish-language development is a lifelong process rather than one that is confined to the years of compulsory schooling. If successfully developed, such an undertaking would not only have the potential to increase the number of Irish speakers, but it could also expand the language support network for learners beyond the school setting (Flynn, 2020; For similar discussions in relation to other minority languages see Baker et al., 2011; MacCaluim, 2007). However, efforts aimed at adult learners should be structured and there should be a systematic pathway available to people, rather than mere introductory courses. Such courses do exist in ROI, but they are not currently organised under a central agency like that of the National Centre for Learning Welsh. Expanding this type of provision in ROI could give employees in the public sector the opportunity to develop their skills as part of their working hours. Such endeavours should also ensure that opportunities to develop ability in Irish are made available to all potential learners, including adult migrants and others who do not hold Irish citizenship or who do not identify as Irish. In NI, this could include an expansion of existing initiatives that provide access to Irish to people from Protestant and Unionist backgrounds. The proposed development of an Irish-language interpretative centre in Belfast, with a particular focus on sections of the population who do not generally have ready access to Irish, also has the potential to make a contribution to expanding knowledge of and proficiency in Irish to a broader profile of individuals in NI.

5. In further and higher education, continued and enhanced Irish-language provision could furthermore provide an important support for the development of Irish-language ability among students studying in these sectors. Positive attitudes towards the language and maintaining it as part of the cultural heritage of the island highlight the importance of maintaining Irish and Irish-language literature as academic subjects in their own right. Expansion into new areas of provision should be complementary to, rather than at the expense of, existing disciplinary strengths within Irish-language scholarship. One existing example of this is the traditional BA and MA programmes in Irish-language studies which are offered alongside the BA in Gnó agus Gaeilge [Business and Irish] in Fiontar & Scoil na Gaeilge in Dublin City University.

6. The development of a long-term strategy to support the expansion of Irish-medium education within further and higher education is also recommended as an area for further development in order to support the continued development of students' Irish language ability in those sectors. There are currently only two Irish-medium programmes in ROI in which the programme content is not focused on Irish language, literature, culture and teaching. Drawing on models such as Sabhal Mòr Ostaig in Scotland, the Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol in Wales, and indeed, Acadamh na hOllscolaíochta Gaeilge in the University of Galway and Fiontar agus Scoil na Gaeilge in Dublin City University, could support the development of degree pathways and modules delivered through Irish in disciplines beyond the arts and humanities. This could include fields such as law, engineering, and other professional areas. Such initiatives could enhance the functional domains of Irish and signal its relevance within contemporary professional and academic contexts. It could also provide graduates with both the subject expertise and Irish-language ability to successfully complete their work through Irish in the public sector in the context of the ROI policy goal to increase the number of new recruits with Irish to 20%.

7. In addition, opportunities to develop Irish-language proficiency could be provided by creating additional opportunities for the continued study of Irish within further and higher education for students whose primary field of study lies elsewhere. The provision of accredited Irish-language modules in the form of electives or micro-credentials in Irish would allow students to maintain and develop their language skills alongside other disciplinary commitments. This would serve to enhance the status of Irish as a living language with applicability across a wide range of academic and professional disciplines. This is currently offered in some higher education institutions, e.g. the Trinity Electives programme in Trinity College Dublin. Similarly, University College Dublin offers an opportunity to continue the study of Irish through Irish language modules as part of the UCD Horizons initiative. Such programmes could be offered on a wider and more systematic basis, with an incremental structure that allows students to develop high levels of Irish-language ability during their studies.

8. Relatedly, providing increased opportunities for Irish-language learning as part of continuing professional development, with particular emphasis on public sector workers and educators would also contribute to the development of Irish language ability beyond compulsory schooling. Such initiatives should be underpinned by a coherent framework that conceptualises language development as a continuum, along the lines of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. This would provide clear progression pathways and would avoid the repetition or stagnation that can characterise ad hoc provision. This approach would support both individual language development and broader capacity

in publicly funded institutions.

9. August 2027 is due to see the establishment in Wales of a National Institute for Learning Welsh as a body responsible for supporting the learning of Welsh by people of all ages. There may be aspects of this institute's structures and functions that will be relevant to the context of Irish in ROI and NI. It is recommended to monitor the setting up and operation of this proposed new body.

7.5 Recommendations for future iterations of the survey

The continued value of these national surveys on Irish is evident in the 2025 study. Nevertheless, it is worth considering how to develop them further in the future. To that end we recommend the following:

1. Future iterations of the project would benefit from enhanced resourcing in order to increase their scale. In particular, providing sufficient resources to recruit at least 1,000 participants in each jurisdiction should be considered at a minimum. This would reduce the margin of error in the NI sample in line with the ROI sample, strengthen the robustness of the findings, enable the tracking of subtle changes over time, and facilitate further analysis of sub-groups within both samples.
2. In addition, targeted oversampling of Gaeltacht areas should be considered a priority. This was done in the original 1973 survey (CILAR, 1975). Given the sociolinguistic vulnerability of these communities and their centrality to the maintenance of Irish as a community language, oversampling in the Gaeltacht should be considered to allow for a more nuanced examination of language ability, use, and attitudes within these communities.
3. The methodological design of the 1973 study also provides a model for developing the design of recent Irish-language surveys. In that initial survey, it was possible, due to the lengthy timeframe (three years) and substantial budget (reported by Armstrong (1975) to be in the region of £250,000 at the time), to complement the survey instrument with additional techniques such as matched-guise experiments (CILAR, 1975). Building on this precedent, future iterations of the project could be strengthened by incorporating additional quantitative measures (e.g., more implicit measures of language attitudes), as well as qualitative components (e.g., in-depth interviews with a strategically selected subset of participants). The integration of qualitative data would allow for a richer exploration of participants' motivations and experiences and would provide valuable data in relation to their interpretation of the survey items. Furthermore, as mentioned in the introduction to this report, components of language attitudes are interrelated but do not always align (Garrett, 2010; Kircher & Zipp, 2022). Discrepancies between expressed beliefs and actual linguistic behaviour are a well-established feature of language attitudes research. Examining how they manifest in the Irish context could offer important insights into contemporary ROI and NI society and the role of the Irish language within them.
4. The application of corrective weighting in all future surveys is recommended. This would help to ensure that findings are fully representative of the general population and would enhance comparability between different iterations of the survey.
5. Consideration should also be given to the long-term accessibility of the data generated through this series of surveys. Depositing the data from all iterations of the survey in a publicly accessible archive would facilitate further analysis. It would also enable more efficient tracking of ability, use, and attitudinal trends over time.
6. Finally, and importantly, there is a significant gap in the existing research landscape, namely the absence of recent large-scale data on language ability, use, and attitudes among people under the age of 18. Addressing this gap is essential, both to better understand the origins of the competence issues identified in the present study and to explore the development of attitudes towards Irish among younger cohorts. Focused research in this area would provide critical evidence to inform educational policy and would complement the insights gained from studies of adult populations.

7.6 Conclusion

Taken together, the findings and contextual considerations discussed above point to a pivotal juncture for language policy on the island of Ireland. Across the two jurisdictions, there is clear evidence of a broadly favourable attitudinal environment with respect to the Irish language. This provides a significant opportunity, but one that is unlikely to yield substantive gains without deliberate and coordinated policy action.

The gap between positive attitudes and levels of ability and use highlights the limits of symbolic support for Irish when opportunities to engage in sustained and meaningful language development across the life course are restricted. Capitalising on current positive attitudes requires policies that prioritise continuity and expansion of provision, meaningful progression, and access to Irish-language development opportunities across the lifespan. The current climate appears particularly conducive to the introduction of radical and robust language policy and planning.

Further empirical work is needed to deepen understanding of how Irish is learned, used, and valued in an increasingly multilingual society, and of the conditions under which positive attitudes translate into active engagement. Research that integrates quantitative and qualitative approaches, and that attends to under-researched groups and settings, will be essential in informing policy interventions. Ultimately, fostering Irish language development and use will depend on aligning policy, practice, and research in ways that respond to contemporary sociolinguistic realities. At present, the language attitudinal environment appears particularly conducive to achieving that alignment.



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Appendix: Survey questionnaire

ASK ALL

Q1_1 Current location

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

Antrim	Armagh	Carlow
Cavan	Clare	Cork
Derry	Donegal	Down
Dublin	Fermanagh	Galway
Kerry	Kildare	Kilkenny
Laois	Leitrim	Limerick
Longford	Louth	Mayo
Meath	Monaghan	Offaly
Roscommon	Sligo	Tipperary
Tyrone	Waterford	Westmeath
Wexford	Wicklow	

IF CODES 6, 8, 12, 13, 21, 22, 29 at QA, ASK:

Q1b1 Is this a Gaeltacht area?

Yes	No	Don't know
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ASK ALL

Q1.a Where did you grow up? (By this we mean the place you spent most time in than any other between the ages of 0 and 18.

Select your County (Principal location only if several)

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

Antrim	Armagh	Carlow
Cavan	Clare	Cork
Derry	Donegal	Down
Dublin	Fermanagh	Galway
Kerry	Kildare	Kilkenny
Laois	Leitrim	Limerick
Longford	Louth	Mayo
Meath	Monaghan	Offaly
Roscommon	Sligo	Tipperary
Tyrone	Waterford	Westmeath
Wexford	Wicklow	Outside Ireland

IF CODE 33 (Outside Ireland) AT Q1a, GO TO Q1d**IF CODES 01-32 at Q1a, ASK:**

Q1.b Would you classify your principal location as urban or rural?

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

Urban	Rural
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IF CODES 6, 8, 12, 13, 21, 22, 29 at Q1a, ASK:

1.c Was this a Gaeltacht area?

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

Yes	No	Don't Know
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ASK IF CODE 33 AT Q1a

Q1.d Where did you grow up? List the Country (Principal location only if several)

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY OR WRITE IN

England	Scotland	Wales
Poland	India	Romania
Lithuania	Latvia	USA
Ukraine	Nigeria	
Other Europe (specify)	Enter Comment here...	
Other Outside Europe (specify)	Enter Comment here...	

ASK ALL

Q2. In your home when you were growing up, how often did anyone speak Irish?

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

Daily	Weekly	Less often	Never	Not Applicable
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ASK ALL

Q3. How much Irish did you do in primary school?

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

No Irish at all	Irish as a subject only	Some subjects through Irish	All Irish	Don't know/Can't remember	Education outside Ireland	Not Applicable (specify)	Enter Comment here...
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ASK ALL

Q4. And in post-primary/secondary school?

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

No Irish at all	Irish as a subject only	Some subjects through Irish	All Irish	Don't know/can't remember	Education outside Ireland	Not Applicable (specify)
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ASK ALL

Q5. What was the highest public examination you sat in Irish?

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

University – full degree level
University – subsidiary subject
Teacher Training College
A Level/AS/A2
Leaving Cert Higher
Leaving Cert Ordinary
O Level/GCSE/Inter/Junior Certificate
Other (specify)
Enter Comment here...
None
Can't recall
Not Applicable

Could I now ask a few questions about your parent(s) or guardian(s) and your own attitudes towards Irish when you were at school?

ASK ALL

Q6.a Did your parent(s) or guardian(s) want you to learn Irish at school?

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

Yes, they wanted me to learn Irish	No, they did not want me to learn Irish	They did not care	Not Applicable – Not Educated in Ireland/ Northern Ireland
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IF CODE 1 AT Q6a, ASK:

Q6.b Was this primarily

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

To pass exams	To get a job	To have Irish for its own sake	Other (Please specify)	Enter Comment here...
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IF CODE 2/3 AT Q6a, ASK

Q6.c Did you want to learn Irish at school?

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

Yes, I wanted to learn Irish	No, I did not want to learn Irish	I did not care
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IF CODE 1 AT Q6c, ASK

Q6.d Was this primarily

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

To pass exams	To get a job	To have Irish for its own sake	Other (Please Specify)	Enter Comment here...
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ASK ALL

Q7. What would you say best describes your general attitude to the Irish language now?

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

Strongly in Favour	Somewhat in Favour	No particular feelings	Somewhat opposed	Strongly opposed
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Now I would like to ask you about your ability at present to speak Irish. And also, that of your parent(s)/ guardian(s) when you were growing up.

ASK ALL

Q8.a.1 Can you please confirm your parent/guardian 1's gender?

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

Female	Male	Another gender	Prefer not to say	No primary parent/guardian
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ASK ALL

Q8.a Now how would you rate your parent/guardian 1's ability to speak Irish when you were growing up?

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

No Irish	The Odd Word	Few Simple Sentences	Parts of Conversations	Most conversations	Native Speaker ability	Don't Know	Not applicable
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ASK ALL

Q8.b.1 Can you please confirm your parent/guardian 2's gender?

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

Female	Male	Another gender	Prefer not to say	No second parent/guardian
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ASK ALL

Q8.b Now how would you rate your parent/guardian 2's ability to speak Irish when you were growing up?

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

No Irish	The Odd Word	Few Simple Sentences	Parts of Conversations	Most conversations	Native Speaker ability	Don't Know	Not applicable
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ASK ALL

Q8.c And how would you rate your own ability to speak Irish at present?

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

No Irish	The Odd Word	Few Simple Sentences	Parts of Conversations	Most conversations	Native Speaker ability	Don't Know	Not applicable
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IF CODE 2,3,4,5,6 AT Q.8C, ASK:

Q9. When you are speaking Irish would you say you have much difficulty, some difficulty or no difficulty with regard to

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

Much Difficulty	Some Difficulty	No Difficulty	Pronunciation	Using correct grammar	Expressing what you mean	Finding the right words for special topics
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IF CODE 2,3,4,5,6 AT Q.8C

Q10. What is your ability to read Irish?

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

Cannot read any Irish	Can recognise a few words only	Can read with much help	Can read with some help	Can read with almost no help	Can read independently and fluently	Don't know
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ASK ALL

Q11. In the 2021/2022 Census of Population, a question was asked about Irish. Can you remember if you said, or if somebody else said for you, that you could speak Irish?

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

Recorded as Irish-speaker in census	Recorded as non-Irish-speaker	Can't remember	Don't know
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ASK ALL

Q11.b How often do you speak Irish?

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

Daily	Weekly	Less often	Never
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Could I now ask a few questions about other languages?

ASK ALL

Q12.a Can you speak or understand, even an odd word, of any language other than Irish or English?

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

Yes	No
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ASK IF CODE 1 AT Q12a

Q12.b What language(s) is that?

SELECT ALL THAT APPLY

French
German
Spanish
Polish
Romanian
Portuguese
Lithuanian
Ukrainian
Russian
Other (specify)
Enter comment here...

ASK FOR EACH LANGUAGE STATED AT Q.12B

Q12.c And how would you rate your ability to speak this (these) language(s)?

SINGLE CODE PER LANGUAGE

	Q12c_1 French	Q12c_2 German	Q12c_3 Spanish	Q12c_4 Polish	Q12c_5 Romanian	Q12c_6 Portu-guese	Q12_7 Lithuan-ian	Q12_8 Ukrainian	Q12_9 Russian
Can't speak the language at all	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
The Odd Word	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Few Simple Sentences	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Parts of Conversations	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
Most conversations	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Native Speaker ability	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
Don't Know	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7

ASK ALL

Q13. Here are some statements about Irish in schools. I'll read them out to you. Please tell me which opinion on this card is closest to your own.

SELECT ONE ANSWER PER ROW

ASK ALL

Q13.1 All children in Ireland/Northern Ireland should learn Irish as a subject

Agree Strongly	Agree Mildly	Disagree Mildly	Disagree Strongly	No Opinion
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ASK ALL

Q13.2 The Government/the Northern Ireland Executive and/or the British Government should provide all-Irish schools wherever the public want them

Agree Strongly	Agree Mildly	Disagree Mildly	Disagree Strongly	No Opinion
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ASK ALL

Q13.3 It is more important that a child at school learn Irish than a foreign language

Agree Strongly	Agree Mildly	Disagree Mildly	Disagree Strongly	No Opinion
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ASK ALL

Q13.4 It is more important that a child at school learn Irish than science

Agree Strongly	Agree Mildly	Disagree Mildly	Disagree Strongly	No Opinion
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ASK ALL

Q14 Of the following school programmes, which one would you consider most suitable for most children in (a) primary and (b) post-primary/secondary schools today?

SELECT ONE ANSWER PER COLUMN

ASK ALL

Q14.1 Primary

Some subjects taught through Irish	Irish as a subject only	All Irish with English as a subject only	All English (with no Irish taught)	Don't Know/No opinion
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ASK ALL

Q14.2 Post-primary

Some subjects taught through Irish	Irish as a subject only	All Irish with English as a subject only	All English (with no Irish taught)	Don't Know/No opinion
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ASK ALL

Q15 Since leaving school, have you done any of the following: once, several times, or never.

SELECT ONE ANSWER PER ROW

Q15.1 Tried to learn (or improve) Irish as an adult

Once	Several Times	Never	Don't know
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Q15.2 Tried to learn (or improve) any other language as an adult

Once	Several Times	Never	Don't know
------	---------------	-------	------------

Q15.3 Participated in any activities or clubs that used Irish

Once	Several Times	Never	Don't know
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ASK ALL

Q16. At present, how often do you speak Irish?

SELECT ONE ANSWER

Daily	Weekly	Less often	Never
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IF CODE 1,2,3 AT Q.16A, ASK:

Q16.b Can you recall if you participated in a conversation during the past week in which you used Irish?

SELECT ONE ANSWER

Yes	No	Can't Recall
-----	----	--------------

ASK ALL

Q17.Which of the following would apply to you?

Q17.1 People in my circle use Irish

Yes	No	Don't Know
-----	----	------------

Q17.2 I do not like people speaking Irish when others who are present do not know Irish

Yes	No	Don't Know
-----	----	------------

Q17.3 I do not like to begin a conversation in Irish

Yes	No	Don't Know
-----	----	------------

ASK ALL

Q18.a Do you have any friends or relatives...

SELECT ONE ANSWER PER ROW

Q18.a.1...who are bringing up their children through Irish at home or who use a lot of Irish with their children

Yes	No	Don't Know
-----	----	------------

Q18.a.2...who speak any Irish at all outside their home

Yes	No	Don't Know
-----	----	------------

Q18.b Do you have any children?

SELECT ONE ANSWER

Yes	No
-----	----

IF CODE 1 AT Q.18B, ASK:

Q18.c Do you have any school-going children-or children attending pre-school?

SELECT ONE ANSWER

Yes	No
-----	----

IF CODE 1 AT Q.18C, ASK

Q18.d Are any of your children attending pre-school, primary or post-primary schools where some or all of the teaching is through Irish?

SELECT ONE ANSWER PER ROW

Q18.d.1 Pre-school (Naíonra)

Yes	No	N/A No children attending
-----	----	---------------------------

Q18.d.2 Primary

Yes	No	N/A No children attending
-----	----	---------------------------

Q18.d.3 Post-primary/secondary school

Yes	No	N/A No children attending
-----	----	---------------------------

IF CODE 1 AT Q.18B, ASK:

Q19.1 How important is (or was) it to you that your children grow up knowing Irish?

SELECT ONE ANSWER

Very important	Somewhat important	Not important	Not Applicable
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IF CODE 1 AT Q.18B, ASK:

Q19.2 How important is (or was) it to your spouse/partner that your children grow up knowing Irish?

SELECT ONE ANSWER

Very important	Somewhat important	Not important	Not Applicable
----------------	--------------------	---------------	----------------

IF CODE 1 AT Q.18B, ASK:

Q20.1 Would you send (or would you have sent) your children to an all-Irish primary school if it was located near your home?

SELECT ONE ANSWER

Yes	No	Don't know
-----	----	------------

IF CODE 1 AT Q.18B, ASK

Q20.2 Would you send (or would you have sent) your children to an all-Irish post-primary school if it was located near your home?

Yes	No	Don't know
-----	----	------------

ASK ALL

Q21.a Have you ever lived outside of Ireland/Northern Ireland?

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

Yes	No
-----	----

IF YES CODE 1 AT Q.21B

Q21.b How long were you abroad?

RECORD IN NUMBER OF MONTHS/YEARS

Years	Enter number of years
Months	Enter number of months
Don't know	

ASK ALL

Q22. Do you do any of the following things daily, weekly, less often or never?

SELECT ONE ANSWER PER ROW

Q22.1 Watch programmes in Irish on TV/other video content in Irish

Daily	Weekly	Less Often	Never
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Q22.2 Listen to radio programmes in Irish/other audio content in Irish

Daily	Weekly	Less Often	Never
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Q22.3 Speak Irish at home

Daily	Weekly	Less Often	Never
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Q22.4 Speak Irish at work

Daily	Weekly	Less Often	Never
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Q22.5 Read Irish-language content in English-medium news outlets

Daily	Weekly	Less Often	Never
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Q22.6 Read Irish language newspapers/news websites or magazines

Daily	Weekly	Less Often	Never
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Q22.7 Read books in Irish

Daily	Weekly	Less Often	Never
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Q22.8 Attend mass or religious service in Irish

Daily	Weekly	Less Often	Never
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ASK ALL

Q23.a Do you use any of the following social media platforms or social messaging services?

SELECT ALL THAT APPLY

Facebook	X (formerly Twitter)	LinkedIn
YouTube	Instagram	TikTok
WhatsApp	Snapchat	Bluesky
None of These		

IF CODE 1-9 AT Q.23A, ASK:

Q23.b How often do you use each of these social media platforms or social messaging services?

SELECT ONE ANSWER PER ROW

Q23.b.1 Facebook

More than once a day	Once a day	Once every 2/3 Days
Once a week	Once every 2/3 weeks	Once a month
Less Often	Don't Know	

Q23.b.2 X (formerly Twitter)

More than once a day	Once a day	Once every 2/3 Days
Once a week	Once every 2/3 weeks	Once a month
Less Often	Don't Know	

Q23.b.3 LinkedIn

More than once a day	Once a day	Once every 2/3 Days
Once a week	Once every 2/3 weeks	Once a month
Less Often	Don't Know	

Q23.b.4 YouTube

More than once a day	Once a day	Once every 2/3 Days
Once a week	Once every 2/3 weeks	Once a month
Less Often	Don't Know	

Q23.b.5 Instagram

More than once a day	Once a day	Once every 2/3 Days
Once a week	Once every 2/3 weeks	Once a month
Less Often	Don't Know	

Q23.b.6 TikTok

More than once a day	Once a day	Once every 2/3 Days
Once a week	Once every 2/3 weeks	Once a month
Less Often	Don't Know	

Q23.b.7 WhatsApp

More than once a day	Once a day	Once every 2/3 Days
Once a week	Once every 2/3 weeks	Once a month
Less Often	Don't Know	

Q23.b.8 Snapchat

More than once a day	Once a day	Once every 2/3 Days
Once a week	Once every 2/3 weeks	Once a month
Less Often	Don't Know	

Q23.b.9 Bluesky

More than once a day	Once a day	Once every 2/3 Days
Once a week	Once every 2/3 weeks	Once a month
Less Often	Don't Know	

IF CODE 1-9 AT Q.23A, ASK:

Q23.c Do you or have you ever communicated through the Irish language on any of the social media platforms or social messaging services you mentioned previously?

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

Yes	No	Don't Know
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IF CODE 1 AT Q. 23C, ASK:

Q.23.d How often do you communicate through the Irish language on any of the social media platforms or social messaging services listed below?

SELECT ONE ANSWER PER ROW

Q23.d.1 Facebook

More than once a day	Once a day	Once every 2/3 Days
Once a week	Once every 2/3 weeks	Once a month
Less Often	Never	Don't Know

Q23.d.2 X (formerly Twitter)

More than once a day	Once a day	Once every 2/3 Days
Once a week	Once every 2/3 weeks	Once a month
Less Often	Never	Don't Know

Q23.d.3 LinkedIn

More than once a day	Once a day	Once every 2/3 Days
Once a week	Once every 2/3 weeks	Once a month
Less Often	Never	Don't Know

Q23.d.4 YouTube

More than once a day	Once a day	Once every 2/3 Days
Once a week	Once every 2/3 weeks	Once a month
Less Often	Never	Don't Know

Q23.d.5 Instagram

More than once a day	Once a day	Once every 2/3 Days
Once a week	Once every 2/3 weeks	Once a month
Less Often	Never	Don't Know

Q23.d.6 TikTok

More than once a day	Once a day	Once every 2/3 Days
Once a week	Once every 2/3 weeks	Once a month
Less Often	Never	Don't Know

Q23.d.7 WhatsApp

More than once a day	Once a day	Once every 2/3 Days
Once a week	Once every 2/3 weeks	Once a month
Less Often	Never	Don't Know

Q23.d.8 Snapchat

More than once a day	Once a day	Once every 2/3 Days
Once a week	Once every 2/3 weeks	Once a month
Less Often	Never	Don't Know

Q23.d.9 Bluesky

More than once a day	Once a day	Once every 2/3 Days
Once a week	Once every 2/3 weeks	Once a month
Less Often	Never	Don't Know

ASK ALL

Q24 Which of the following best describes the present government's position/the British Government and/or the Northern Ireland Executive's position on Irish? Are they doing too much, enough or too little?

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

Too much	Enough	Too little	Don't know
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ASK ALL

Q25. The following is a list of statements about policies by which the Irish Government/Northern Ireland Executive/British Government have tried to improve the position of the Irish language. How important or not do you think each of the following policies are?

PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER PER ROW

ASK ALL

Q25.1 Public services in Irish for Irish-speakers (e.g., forms, documents, Irish-speaking officials, websites)

Very Important	Fairly Important	Not that important	Not at all important	No Opinion
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ASK ALL

Q25.2 Irish well taught to all children

Very Important	Fairly Important	Not that important	Not at all important	No Opinion
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ASK ALL IN ROI ONLY

Q25.3 Maintenance of Irish in the Gaeltacht (Irish-speaking areas)

Very Important	Fairly Important	Not that important	Not at all important	No Opinion
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ASK ALL

Q25.4 Media in Irish (e.g., television/radio programmes/digital media/newspapers/magazines)

Very Important	Fairly Important	Not that important	Not at all important	No Opinion
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ASK ALL

Q25.5 Books in Irish

Very Important	Fairly Important	Not that important	Not at all important	No Opinion
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ASK ALL

Q25.6 Digital technologies in Irish (e.g., artificial intelligence, assistive technologies, speech synthesis, machine translation)

Very Important	Fairly Important	Not that important	Not at all important	No Opinion
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ASK ALL

Q26. I'd like your reactions to the following statements. Again, they are matters of opinion, and I'd like to know which opinions you agree and disagree with?

PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER PER ROW

Q26.1 Whether people speak Irish or English does not matter to me.

Agree Strongly	Agree Mildly	Disagree Mildly	Disagree Strongly	No Opinion
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Q26.2 To really understand traditional Irish culture, one must know the Irish language

Agree Strongly	Agree Mildly	Disagree Mildly	Disagree Strongly	No Opinion
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Q26.3 Most people just don't care one way or the other about the Irish language

Agree Strongly	Agree Mildly	Disagree Mildly	Disagree Strongly	No Opinion
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Q26.4 Without the Irish language, Ireland/Northern Ireland would certainly lose its identity as a separate culture

Agree Strongly	Agree Mildly	Disagree Mildly	Disagree Strongly	No Opinion
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Q26.5 Irish is a dead language

Agree Strongly	Agree Mildly	Disagree Mildly	Disagree Strongly	No Opinion
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Q26.6 Ireland/Northern Ireland would not really be Ireland/Northern Ireland without Irish-speaking people

Agree Strongly	Agree Mildly	Disagree Mildly	Disagree Strongly	No Opinion
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Q26.7 Promoting the Irish language should be the job of voluntary organisations, not the government

Agree Strongly	Agree Mildly	Disagree Mildly	Disagree Strongly	No Opinion
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Q26.8 Irish speakers have a right to expect that civil servants will be able to speak Irish with them

Agree Strongly	Agree Mildly	Disagree Mildly	Disagree Strongly	No Opinion
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Q26.9 The Irish Government/Northern Ireland Executive/British Government should not promote the Irish language at all

Agree Strongly	Agree Mildly	Disagree Mildly	Disagree Strongly	No Opinion
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ASK ALL

Q27 With regard to the future of the Irish language, which of the following would you like to see happen?

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

The Irish language should be discarded and forgotten
Irish should be preserved as an important historical cultural heritage in literature and music, but not as a spoken language
Irish should be preserved as a spoken language, but only in the Gaeltacht
Ireland/Northern Ireland should be bilingual, with English as the principal language
Ireland/Northern Ireland should be bilingual with Irish as the principal language
Irish should be the principal language (like English is now)
Don't care
Don't know

ASK ALL

Q28. And which term would be best to describe the way you usually think of yourself?

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

Northern Irish	Ulster	British
Irish	Sometimes British and sometimes Irish	Polish
Indian	Romanian	Lithuanian
Latvian	American	Ukrainian
Nigerian	Other(specify)	Enter comment here...
Don't know	Refused	

ASK ALL

Q29. On a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 is Not Important and 10 is Very Important, could you please tell me how important it is to you that you are 'the identity expressed in Q28'?

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

1 - Not Important	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 - Very Important	Don't know	Refused
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ASK ALL

Q30. Are you a citizen of Ireland?

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

Yes	No	Don't Know	Refused
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IF CODE 1 AT Q.30, ASK:

Q31. How proud are you to be an Irish citizen?

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

Very Proud	Quite Proud	Not Very Proud	Not at all Proud	Don't Know	Refused	Not Applicable
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ASK IN ROI ONLY

Q32. Some people say the following things are important for being truly Irish. Others say they are not important. How important do you think each of the following is?

SELECT ONE ANSWER PER STATEMENT

Q32.1 To have been born in Ireland

Very Important	Fairly Important	Not Very Important	Not at all Important	Can't Choose	Refused
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Q32.2 To have Irish Citizenship

Very Important	Fairly Important	Not Very Important	Not at all Important	Can't Choose	Refused
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Q32.3 To have lived in the country for most of one's life

Very Important	Fairly Important	Not Very Important	Not at all Important	Can't Choose	Refused
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Q32.4 To respect its political institutions and laws

Very Important	Fairly Important	Not Very Important	Not at all Important	Can't Choose	Refused
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Q32.5 To be able to speak Irish

Very Important	Fairly Important	Not Very Important	Not at all Important	Can't Choose	Refused
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Q32.6 To be Catholic

Very Important	Fairly Important	Not Very Important	Not at all Important	Can't Choose	Refused
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Q32.7 To feel Irish

Very Important	Fairly Important	Not Very Important	Not at all Important	Can't Choose	Refused
----------------	------------------	--------------------	----------------------	--------------	---------

Q33. Do you ever think of yourself as European?

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

Yes	No	Don't Know
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IF CODE 1 AT Q.33

Q34. On a scale of 1 to 10, 1 being Not Important and 10 being Very Important, how important is it to you that you are European?

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

1 - Not Important	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 - Very Important	Don't know	Refused
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ASK ALL

Q35. When you were young growing up what was the chief income earner's main occupation? (If chief income earner deceased, retired or unemployed, their last main occupation (exact title – labourer, foreman, director, supervisor, etc.)

Enter comment here...	Don't know
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ASK ALL

QC1. What is your age?

PLEASE RECORD EXACT AGE

Refused

ASK ALL

What is your age?

Under 20	20-24	25-29	30-34
35-39	40-44	45-49	50-54
55-59	60-64	65-69	70-74
75-79	80-84	85+	Refused

The next question is in relation to religion. If you would prefer not to answer this, please just say pass and I will move on to the next question. If you do answer I just want to reassure all answers to our surveys are reported in aggregate anonymous format.

ASK ALL

QC2. Do you regard yourself as belonging to any particular religion?

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

Yes	No	Don't Know/Refused
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IF CODE 1 AT QC2, ASK:

QC3. If yes, which?

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

No Religion	Catholic	Church of Ireland/ Anglican/Episcopal	Baptist
Methodist	Presbyterian	Free Presbyterian	Brethren
United Reform Church (URC)/Congregational	Pentecostal	Church of Scotland	Elim Pentecostal
Reformed Presbyterian	Non-Subscribing Presbyterian	Salvation Army	Church of Nazarene
Jehovah's Witness	Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Mormon)	Other Protestant (Please Specify)	Enter Comment here...
Other Christian (Please Specify)	Enter Comment here...	Hindu	Jewish
Islam	Sikh	Buddhist	Other (Please Specify)
Enter Comment here...	Don't Know	Refused	

IF CODE 2 AT QC2, ASK:

QC4. In what religion, if any, were you brought up?

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY. INT: PROBE IF NECESSARY: WHAT WAS YOUR FAMILY'S RELIGION?

No Religion	Catholic	Church of Ireland/Anglican/ Episcopal	Baptist
Methodist	Presbyterian	Free Presbyterian	Brethren
United Reform Church (URC)/Congregational	Pentecostal	Church of Scotland	Elim Pentecostal
Reformed Presbyterian	Non-Subscribing Presbyterian	Salvation Army	Church of Nazarene
Jehovah's Witness	Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (Mormon)	Other Protestant (Please Specify)	Enter Comment here...
Other Christian (Please Specify)	Enter Comment here...	Hindu	Jewish
Islam	Sikh	Buddhist	Other (Please Specify)
Enter Comment here...	Don't Know	Refused	

DO NOT ASK IF NO RELIGION CODE 2 AT Q. C2 OR REFUSED AT C2, C3, C4

QC5. Apart from special occasions such as weddings, funerals, baptisms and so on, how often, if at all, do you attend mass or church services?

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

More than once a week	Once a week	2-4 times a month	Once a month	Once every 2-6 months	Once every 7-12 months	Less often than once a year	Never Attend	Refused	Not Applicable
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ASK ALL

QC6. What is the highest level of education you have successfully completed?

THE RESPONDENT IS ASKED TO GIVE THE HIGHEST LEVEL OF EDUCATION THEY HAVE COMPLETED, NOT THE LAST DIPLOMA OBTAINED. SELECT THE ONE OPTION THAT APPLIES.

ES-ISCED I primary level education only
ES-ISCED II lower secondary (Inter or Junior Certificate/O Level/ GCSE)
ES-ISCED III upper secondary (Leaving Certificate/A Level/AS/A2)
ES-ISCED IV post-secondary, non-tertiary (PLC etc.)
ES-ISCED V lowest level tertiary (2-year duration, Diploma)
ES-ISCED VI, lower tertiary education, Bachelors level (Degree)
ES-ISCED VII, higher tertiary education, Postgraduate Certificate/Diploma
ES-ISCED VII, higher tertiary education, Masters level
ES-ISCED VIII, higher tertiary education, Doctorate level
Don't know
Other

ASK ALL

QC7. What is your Employment Status?

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

Self-employed
Working full-time
Working part-time
Seeking work for first time
Unemployed (having lost or given up job)
Home (domestic) duties
Unable to work due to permanent illness / disability
Not working (seeking work)
Not working (not seeking work)
On a Government training /education scheme
On a Government employment scheme(CE, Jobs-option etc.)
Retired
Student (Further or Higher Education)
Other (please specify)
Enter Comment here...

ASK IF CODE 01, 02, 03 AT QC7

QC8. Do you / did you work in (or for)

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

A Government Department (civil servant)
Another Government employment (e.g., Teacher, Army, Police)
A Local authority
A Public Body (not any above)
The Private Sector
Don't know

IF CODE 1,2 OR 3 AT QC7,ASK:

QC9. In your work at present, how often do you speak Irish

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY

Daily	Weekly	Less often	Never	Do not Work
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ASK ALL

QC10. Would you regard yourself as the chief income earner in your household?

INT NOTE : The chief income earner is the person with the largest income, whether from employment, pensions, state benefits, investment or other sources. SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY.

Yes	No	Don't Know/Refused
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ASK ALL

QC11. Please state the current occupation of chief income earner

Job Title:
Industry Worked In:
Qualifications/ Apprenticeships:
How many people responsible for in job:

ASK ALL

QC12. Please state details of the previous occupation of chief income earner:

RECORD ANSWER IN BOX BELOW

Enter Comment here...	No previous occupation	Don't know
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ASK ALL

QC13. What is your current marital status?

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY. INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTIONS: CO-HABITATION DOES NOT INCLUDE PERSONS WITHOUT A PARTNER LIVING IN A HOUSE SHARE.

Married or cohabiting with your partner	Civil Partnership	Single	Separated	Divorced	Widowed	Refused to answer
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FOR INTERVIEWER PURPOSES ONLY:

QC14. Social Grade Code: Occupation

Legislators, Senior Officials & Managers
Professionals
Technicians & Associate Professionals
Clerks
Service Workers and Shop & Market Sales Workers
Skilled Agriculture & Fishery Workers
Craft & Related Trades Workers
Plant & Machine Operators & Assemblers
Elementary Occupations
Armed Forces

QC15. Please specify title of job:

PLEASE PROVIDE AS MUCH DETAIL AS POSSIBLE FOR CODING PURPOSES.

ASK ALL

QC16. Gender of Respondent:

SELECT ONE ANSWER ONLY.

Female	Male	Another gender	Prefer not to say
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IARR AR CHÁCH

Q1_1 Suíomh faoi láthair

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Aontroim	Ard Mhacha	Ceatharlach
An Cabhán	An Clár	Corcaigh
Doire	Dún na nGall	An Dún
Baile Átha Cliath	Fear Manach	Gaillimh
Ciarraí	Cill Dara	Cill Chainnigh
Laois	Liatroim	Luimneach
An Longfort	Lú	Maigh Eo
An Mhí	Muineachán	Uíbh Fhailí
Ros Comáin	Sligeach	Tiobraid Árann
Tír Eoghain	Port Láirge	An Iarmhí
Loch Garman	Cill Mhantáin	

MÁS CÓID 6, 8, 12, 13, 21, 22, 29 AG QA, IARR

Q1b1 An ceantar Gaeltachta é seo?

Nóta don Agallóir: Is éard atá i gceist againn le Gaeltacht ná ceantar a aithnítear go hoifigiúil mar cheantar ina labhraítear an Ghaeilge.

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Is ea	Ní hea	Níl a fhios agam
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IARR AR CHÁCH

Q1.a Cár fhás tú aníos?

Is éard atá i gceist againn leis seo ná an áit inar chaith tú níos mó ama ná mar a chaith tú in aon áit eile idir 0 agus 18 mbliana d'aois.

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Aontroim	Ard Mhacha	Ceatharlach
An Cabhán	An Clár	Corcaigh
Doire	Dún na nGall	An Dún
Baile Átha Cliath	Fear Manach	Gaillimh
Ciarraí	Cill Dara	Cill Chainnigh
Laois	Liatroim	Luimneach
An Longfort	Lú	Maigh Eo
An Mhí	Muineachán	Uíbh Fhailí
Ros Comáin	Sligeach	Tiobraid Árann
Tír Eoghain	Port Láirge	An Iarmhí
Loch Garman	Cill Mhantáin	Taobh amuigh d'Éirinn (Poblacht na hÉireann/TÉ)

MÁS CÓID 33 (TAOBH AMUIGH D'ÉIRINN) AG Q1A, TÉIGH GO DTÍ Q1D**MÁS CÓID Q1-32 AG Q1A, IARR:**

Q1b An gcuirfeá síor ar do phríomháit bhreithe mar uirbeach nó faoin tuath?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Uirbeach	Faoin Tuath
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MÁS CÓID 6, 8, 12, 13, 21, 22, 29 AG Q1a, IARR:

Q1c An raibh an áit inar fhás tú aníos sa Ghaeltacht?

Nóta don Agallóir: Is éard atá i gceist againn le Gaeltacht ná ceantar ina labhraítear an Ghaeilge go hoifigiúil.

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Bhí	Ní raibh	Níl a fhios agam
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10. IARR MÁS CÓID 33 AG Q1a

Q1d Cén tír inar fhás tú aníos? Is éard atá i gceist againn leis seo ná an tír inar chaith tú níos mó ama ná in aon tír eile idir 0 agus 18 mbliana d'aois.

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN NÓ SCRÍOBH ISTEACH

Sasana	Albain	An Bhreatain Bheag
An Pholainn	An India	An Rómáin
An Liotuáin	An Laitvia	SAM
An Úcráin	An Nigéir	Áit eile san Eoraip (sonraigh)
Cuir nóta isteach anseo...	Lasmuigh den Eoraip (sonraigh)	Cuir nóta isteach anseo...

IARR AR CHÁCH

Q2 Sa bhaile nuair a bhí tú ag fás aníos, cé chomh minic is a labhair aon duine Gaeilge?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Go laethúil	Go seachtainiúil	Níos annaimhe	Níor labhraíodh riamh	Not Applicable
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IARR AR CHÁCH

Q3 Cé mhéad Gaeilge a rinne tú sa bhunscoil?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Gaeilge ar bith (ach fuair oideachas i bPoblacht na hÉireann/TÉ)
Gaeilge mar ábhar amháin
Cuid de na hábhair á múineadh trí Ghaeilge
Gach rud trí Ghaeilge
Níl a fhios agam/Ní cuimhin liom
Oideachas lasmuigh d'Éirinn (Poblacht na hÉireann/TÉ)
Ní bhaineann (sonraigh)
Cuir nóta isteach anseo...

IARR AR CHÁCH

Q4 Agus san iar-bhunscoil/sa mheánscoil?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Gaeilge ar bith (ach fuair oideachas i bPoblacht na hÉireann/TÉ)

Gaeilge mar ábhar amháin	Cuid de na hábhair á múineadh trí Ghaeilge	Gach rud trí Ghaeilge	Níl a fhios agam/Ní cuimhin liom	Oideachas lasmuigh d'Éirinn (Poblacht na hÉireann/TÉ)	Ní bhaineann (sonraigh)	Cuir nóta isteach anseo...
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IARR AR CHÁCH

Q5 Cad é an scrúdú poiblí ab airde a rinne tú sa Ghaeilge?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Ollscoil - leibhéal céime iomlán
Ollscoil - fo-ábhar
Coláiste Oiliúna Múinteoirí
A-Leibhéal/AS/A2
An Ardteistiméireacht, Ardleibhéal
An Ardteistiméireacht, Gnáthleibhéal
O-Leibhéal/TGM[i.e. 'GCSE']/Meánteastas/Teastas Sóisearach
Eile (sonraigh)
Cuir nóta isteach anseo...
Ceann ar bith
Ní cuimhin liom
Ní Bhaineann

An bhféadfainn anois cúpla ceist a chur ort faoi thuairimí do thuismitheora/thuismitheoirí nó do chaomhnóra/chaomhnóirí agus do thuairimí féin i leith na Gaeilge nuair a bhí tú ar scoil

NÓTA DON AGALLÓIR: BAINEANN NA CEISTEANNA SEO LE SCOLÁÍOCHT I GCOITINNE.

IARR AR CHÁCH

Q6a An raibh do thuismitheoir(í) nó do chaomhnóir(í) ag iarraidh go bhfoghlaimeofa Gaeilge ar scoil?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Bhí, bhí siad ag iarraidh go bhfoghlaimeoinn Gaeilge	Ní raibh, ní raibh siad ag iarraidh go bhfoghlaimeoinn Gaeilge	Ba chuma leo	Ní bhaineann – Ní bhfuair oideachas in Éireann/Tuaisceart Éireann
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MÁS CÓD 1 AG Q6c, IARR

Q6b Arbh é an phríomhchúis leis seo

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Déanamh go maith i scrúduithe	Post a fháil	An Ghaeilge a bheith agat ar a son féin	Eile (sonraigh)	Cuir nóta isteach anseo...
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11. MÁS CÓD 2/3 AG Q6a, IARR

Q6c An raibh tusa ag iarraidh Gaeilge a fhoghlaim ar scoil?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Bhí, bhí mé ag iarraidh Gaeilge a fhoghlaim	Ní raibh, ní raibh mé ag iarraidh Gaeilge a fhoghlaim	Ba chuma liom
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MÁS CÓD 1 AG Q6c, IARR

Q6d Arbh é an phríomhchúis leis seo

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Déanamh go maith i scrúduithe	Post a fháil	An Ghaeilge a bheith agat ar a son féin	Eile (sonraigh)	Cuir nóta isteach anseo...
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IARR AR CHÁCH

Q7 Dar leat, cad é an cur síos is fearr ar do mheon ginearálta i leith na Gaeilge anois?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Go mór i bhfách	Cineál i bhfách	Gan tuairim ar Leith	Cineál in éadan	Go mór in éadan
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Anois ba mhaith liom a fhiafraí díot faoi do chumas faoi láthair Gaeilge a labhairt. Agus, chomh maith, cumas labhartha Gaeilge do thuismitheora/thuismitheoirí nó chaomhnóra/chaomhnóirí nuair a bhí tú ag fás aníos.

IARR AR CHÁCH

Q8a1 An féidir leat inscne do chéad thuismitheora/chaomhnóra a dheimhniú le do thoil?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Baineann	Fireann	Inscne eile	B'fhearr liom gan a rá	Ní raibh thuismitheoir/caomhnóir agam
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IARR AR CHÁCH

Q8.a Anois cad é mar a chuirfeá síos ar chumas do chéad thuismitheora/chaomhnóra Gaeilge a labhairt nuair a bhí tú ag fás aníos?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Gan aon Ghaeilge	Corrfhocal	Roinnt abairtí simplí	Codanna de chomhráití	An chuid is mó de chomhráití	Cumas cainteora dúchais	Níl a fhios agam	Ní bhaineann
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IARR AR CHÁCH

Q8b1 Más ábhartha, an féidir leat inscne do dhara thuismitheoir/caomhnóir a dheimhniú le do thoil?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Baineann	Fireann	Inscne eile	B'fhearr liom gan a rá	Ní raibh an dara thuismitheoir/caomhnóir agam
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IARR AR CHÁCH

Q8b Cad é mar a chuirfeá síos ar chumas do dhara thuismitheoir/caomhnóir Gaeilge a labhairt nuair a bhí tú ag fás aníos?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Gan aon Ghaeilge	Corrfhocal	Roinnt abairtí simplí	Codanna de chomhráití	An chuid is mó de chomhráití	Cumas cainteora dúchais	Níl a fhios agam	Ní bhaineann
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IARR AR CHÁCH

Q8c Agus cad é mar a chuirfeá síos ar do chumas féin Gaeilge a labhairt faoi láthair?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Gan aon Gaeilge	Corrfhocal	Roinnt abairtí simplí	Codanna de chomhráití	An chuid is mó de chómhráití	Cumas cainteora dúchais	Níl a fhios agam	Ní bhaineann
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MÁS CÓID 2,3,4,5,6 AG Q.8C, IARR:

Q9 Agus tú ag labhairt Gaeilge an ndéarfá go bhfuil a lán deacrachta, méid áirithe deacrachta nó deacracht ar bith agat maidir le

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

A lán deacrachta	Méid áirithe deacrachta	Deacracht ar bith	Foghraíocht (/ fuaimeanna)	Graiméar ceart a úsáid	Tú féin a chur in iúl	An focal ceart a aimsiú le haghaidh ábhar speisialta
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12. MÁS CÓID 2,3,4,5,6 AG Q.8C

Q10 Cén cumas atá agat Gaeilge a léamh?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Ní féidir liom aon Gaeilge a léamh	Ní féidir liom ach roinnt focal a aithint	Is féidir liom léamh le mórán cúnaimh	Is féidir liom léamh le cúnamh	Is féidir liom léamh gan beagnach aon chúnamh	Is féidir liom léamh go neamhspleách agus go líofa	Níl a fhios agam
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IARR AR CHÁCH

Q11 Sa Daonáireamh (Census) a rinneadh in 2021/2022, cuireadh ceist faoin nGaeilge. An cuimhin leat an ndúirt tú, nó an ndúirt duine eile fút, go raibh Gaeilge agat?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Dúradh go raibh Gaeilge agam	Dúradh nach raibh Gaeilge agam	Ní raibh ag maireachtaint in Éirinn/i dTuaisceart Éireann ag an am	Ní cuimhin liom	Níl a fhios agam
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An bhféadainn anois cúpla ceist a chur ort faoi theangacha eile?

IARR AR CHÁCH

Q12a An féidir leat aon teanga eile seachas Gaeilge nó Béarla a thuiscint, fiú mura bhfuil ann ach corrfhocal?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Is féidir	Ní féidir
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IARR MÁŠ CÓD 1 AG Q12a

Q12b Cén teanga nó teangacha í/iad sin?

ROGHNAIGH GACH CEANN A BHAINNEANN LE HÁBHAR

Fraincis
Gearmáinis
Spáinnis
Polainnis
Rómáinis
Portaingéilis
Liotuáinis
Úcráinis
Rúisis
Eile (sonraigh)
Cuir nóta isteach anseo...

IARR DO GACH TEANGA A LUADH AG Q.12B

Q12c Agus cad é mar a chuirfeá síos ar do chumas an teanga/na teangacha seo a labhairt?

CÓD AMHÁIN LE HAGHAIDH GACH TEANGA

	Q12c_1	Q12c_2	Q12c_3	Q12c_4	Q12c_5	Q12c_6	Q12_7	Q12_8	Q12_9
	Fraincis	Gearmáinis	Spáinnis	Polainnis	Rómáinis	Portaingéilis	Liotuáinis	Úcráinis	Rúisis
Ní féidir í a labhairt in aon chor	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Corrfhocal	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Roinnt abairtí simplí	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
Codanna de chomhráití	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
An chuid is mó de chomhráití	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
Cumas cainteora dúchais	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6
Níl a fhios agam	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7

IARR AR CHÁCH

Q13 Seo roinnt ráiteas faoin nGaeilge i scoileanna. Léifidh mé duit iad. Inis dom cén tuairim ar an gcárta seo is cóngaraí do do thuairim féin.

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN I NGACH SRAITH

Q13_1 Ba chóir do gach páiste in Éirinn/i dTuaisceart Éireann Gaeilge a fhoghlaim mar ábhar

Aontaím go láidir	Aontaím go pointe áirithe	Easaontaím go pointe áirithe	Easaontaím go láidir	Níl aon tuairim agam
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Q13_2 Ba chóir don Rialtas/d'Fheidhmeanas Thuaisceart Éireann agus/nó Rialtas na Breataine scoileanna lán-Ghaeilge a chur ar fáil áit ar bith is mian leis an bpobal iad

Aontaím go láidir	Aontaím go pointe áirithe	Easaontaím go pointe áirithe	Easaontaím go láidir	Níl aon tuairim agam
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Q13_3 Tá sé níos tábhachtaí go bhfoghlaimíodh páiste Gaeilge ná teanga iasachta ar scoil

Aontaím go láidir	Aontaím go pointe áirithe	Easaontaím go pointe áirithe	Easaontaím go láidir	Níl aon tuairim agam
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Q13_4 Tá sé níos tábhachtaí go bhfoghlaimíodh páiste Gaeilge ná eolaíocht ar scoil

Aontaím go láidir	Aontaím go pointe áirithe	Easaontaím go pointe áirithe	Easaontaím go láidir	Níl aon tuairim agam
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IARR AR CHÁCH

Q14 As measc na gclár scoile seo a leanas, cén ceann a mheasann tú féin a bheith ar an gceann is oiriúnaí don chuid is mó de na páistí (a) i mbunscoileanna agus (b) in iar-bhunscoileanna/meánscoileanna inniu?

Q14_1 Bunscoileanna

Lán-Ghaeilge le Béarla mar ábhar amháin	Cuid de na hábhair á múineadh trí Ghaeilge	Lán-Bhéarla le Gaeilge mar ábhar amháin	Lán-Bhéarla (gan aon Ghaeilge á múineadh)	Níl a fhios agam/Níl tuairim agam
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Q14_2 Iar-bhunscoileanna/meánscoileanna

Lán-Ghaeilge le Béarla mar ábhar amháin	Cuid de na hábhair á múineadh trí Ghaeilge	Lán-Bhéarla le Gaeilge mar ábhar amháin	Lán-Bhéarla (gan aon Ghaeilge á múineadh)	Níl a fhios agam/Níl tuairim agam
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IARR AR CHÁCH

Q15 Ó d'fhág tú an scoil, an bhfuil aon cheann acu seo a leanas déanta agat: uair amháin, roinnt uaireanta, nó riamh

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN I NGACH SRAITH

Q15_1 Rinne mé iarracht Gaeilge a fhoghlaim (nó a fheabhsú) agus mé fásta

Uair amháin	Roinnt uaireanta	Ní dhearna riamh
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Q15_2 Rinne mé iarracht teanga eile a fhoghlaim nó a fheabhsú agus mé fásta

Uair amháin	Roinnt uaireanta	Ní dhearna riamh
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Q15_3 Ghlac mé páirt i ngníomhaíochtaí nó i gclubanna a d'úsáid Gaeilge

Uair amháin	Roinnt uaireanta	Ní dhearna riamh
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Q15_Oth Dúirt tú go ndearna tú iarracht teanga eile a fhoghlaim (nó a fheabhsú) agus tú fásta, cad a bhí ann?

Cuir nóta isteach anseo...
Níl a fhios agam

IARR AR CHÁCH

Q16 Faoi láthair, cé chomh minic a labhraíonn tú Gaeilge?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Go laethúil	Go seachtainiúil	Níos annaimhe	Ní labhraím riamh
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MÁS CÓID 1,2,3 AG Q.16A, IARR:

Q16b An cuimhin leat ar ghlac tú páirt i gcomhrá le seachtain anuas inar úsáid tú an Ghaeilge?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Ghlac	Níor ghlac	Ní cuimhin liom
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IARR AR CHÁCH

Q17 Cé acu de na ráitis seo leanas a bhaineann leatsa?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN I NGACH SRAITH

Q17_1 Baineann daoine de mo lucht aitheantais leas as an nGaeilge

Baineann sé liom	Ní bhaineann sé liom	Níl a fhios agam
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Q17_2 Ní maith liom é nuair a labhraíonn daoine Gaeilge nuair a bhíonn daoine eile i láthair nach bhfuil Gaeilge acu

Baineann sé liom	Ní bhaineann sé liom	Níl a fhios agam
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Q17.3 Ní maith liom comhrá Gaeilge a thosú

Baineann sé liom	Ní bhaineann sé liom	Níl a fhios agam
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IARR AR CHÁCH

Q18a An bhfuil aon chairde nó gaolta agat...

Q18a_1 ...atá ag tógáil a gclainne le Gaeilge sa bhaile nó a úsáideann a lán Gaeilge lena bpáistí?

Tá	Níl	Níl a fhios agam
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Q18a_2 ...a labhraíonn aon Ghaeilge taobh amuigh den bhaile?

Tá	Níl	Níl a fhios agam
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Q18b An bhfuil páistí agat?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Tá	Níl
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MÁS CÓD 1 AG Q.18B, IARR:

Q18c An bhfuil páistí agat ar scoil nó ag freastal ar réamhscoil?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Tá	Níl
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Q18d An bhfuil duine ar bith de do pháistí ag freastal ar naíonra, bunscoil nó iar-bhunscoil ina bhfuil cuid den teagasc, nó an t-iomlán, trí Ghaeilge?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN I NGACH SRAITH

MÁS CÓD 1 AG Q.18C, IARR

Q18d_1 Naíonra

Tá	Níl	Ní bhaineann, níl aon pháiste ag freastal
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Q18d_2 Bunscoil

Tá	Níl	Ní bhaineann, níl aon pháiste ag freastal
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Q18d_3 Iar-bhunscoil/meánscoil

Tá	Níl	Ní bhaineann, níl aon pháiste ag freastal
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MÁS CÓD 1 AT Q.18B, IARR:

Q19_1 Cé chomh tábhachtach atá sé (nó a bhí sé) duit go mbeadh eolas ag do pháistí ar an nGaeilge agus iad ag fás aníos?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

An-tábhachtach	Measartha tábhachtach	Níl sé tábhachtach	Ní bhaineann
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MÁS CÓD 1 AT Q.18B, IARR:

Q19_2 Cé chomh tábhachtach atá sé (nó a bhí sé) do do chéile/pháirtí go mbeadh eolas ag do pháistí ar an nGaeilge agus iad ag fás aníos?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

An-tábhachtach	Measartha tábhachtach	Níl sé tábhachtach	Ní bhaineann
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MÁS CÓD 1 AG Q.18B, IARR:

Q20_1 An gcuirfeá do pháistí (nó an mbeidís curtha agat) chuig bunscoil lán-Ghaeilge dá mbeadh sí cóngarach don bhaile?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Chuirfinn	Ní chuirfinn	Níl a fhios agam
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MÁS CÓD 1 AG Q.18B, IARR

Q20_2 An gcuirfeá do pháistí (nó an mbeidís curtha agat) chuig iar-bhunscoil lán-Ghaeilge dá mbeadh sí cóngarach don bhaile?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Chuirfinn	Ní chuirfinn	Níl a fhios agam
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IARR AR CHÁCH

Q21a Ar chónaigh tú riamh taobh amuigh d'Éirinn/de Thuaisceart Éireann?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Chónaigh	Níor chónaigh
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MÁS 'CHÓNAIGH AG Q.21B

Q21b Cé chomh fada a bhí tú thar lear?

Nóta don Agallóir: Is é seo an t-am carnach atá caite ag an bhfreagróir ag cónaí thar lear. e.g. 2 bhliain agus 6 mhí (ach ná athraigh blianta go míonna)

Blianta	Líon isteach líon na mblianta
Míonna	Líon isteach líon na míonna
Níl a fhios agam	

IARR AR CHÁCH

Q22 An ndéanann tú aon cheann de na rudaí seo go laethúil, go seachtainiúil, níos annaimhe nó riamh?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN I NGACH SRAITH

Q22_1 Féachaint ar chlár Gaeilge ar an teilifís/ábhar físe eile i nGaeilge

Go laethúil	Go seachtainiúil	Níos annaimhe	Riamh
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Q22_2 Éisteacht le clár Gaeilge ar an raidió/ábhar fuaime eile i nGaeilge

Go laethúil	Go seachtainiúil	Níos annaimhe	Riamh
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Q22_3 Gaeilge a labhairt sa bhaile

Go laethúil	Go seachtainiúil	Níos annaimhe	Riamh
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Q22_4 Gaeilge a labhairt san obair

Go laethúil	Go seachtainiúil	Níos annaimhe	Riamh
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Q22_5 Ábhar Gaeilge a léamh i soláthraithe nuachta Béarla

Go laethúil	Go seachtainiúil	Níos annaimhe	Riamh
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Q22_6 Nuachtáin/suímh nuachta nó irisí Gaeilge a léamh

Go laethúil	Go seachtainiúil	Níos annaimhe	Riamh
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Q22_7 Leabhair Ghaeilge a léamh

Go laethúil	Go seachtainiúil	Níos annaimhe	Riamh
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Q22_8 Freastal ar Aifreann nó ar sheirbhísí reiligiúnda trí Ghaeilge

Go laethúil	Go seachtainiúil	Níos annaimhe	Riamh
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IARR AR CHÁCH

Q23a An mbaineann tú úsáid as aon cheann de na hardáin mheán sóisialta nó seirbhísí teachtaireachtaí sóisialta se a leanas?

ROGHNAIGH GACH CEANN A BHAINEANN LE HÁBHAR

Facebook	X (Twitter roimhe seo)	LinkedIn
YouTube	Instagram	TikTok
WhatsApp	Snapchat	Bluesky
Ní thugaim cuairt ar aon cheann acusan		

MÁS CÓD 1-9 AG Q.23A, IARR:

Q23b Cé chomh minic is a úsáideann tú gach ceann de na hardáin mheán sóisialta nó seirbhísí teachtaireachtaí sóisialta seo?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN I NGACH SRAITH

Q23.b.1 Facebook

Níos minice ná uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin gach 2/3 lá
Uair amháin in aghaidh na seachtaine	Uair amháin gach 2/3 seachtaine	Uair amháin in aghaidh na míosa
Níos annaimhe	Níl a fhios agam (DNRO)	

Q23.b.2 X (Twitter roimhe seo)

Níos minice ná uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin gach 2/3 lá
Uair amháin in aghaidh na seachtaine	Uair amháin gach 2/3 seachtaine	Uair amháin in aghaidh na míosa
Níos annaimhe	Níl a fhios agam (DNRO)	

Q23.b.3 LinkedIn

Níos minice ná uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin gach 2/3 lá
Uair amháin in aghaidh na seachtaine	Uair amháin gach 2/3 seachtaine	Uair amháin in aghaidh na míosa
Níos annaimhe	Níl a fhios agam (DNRO)	

Q23.b.4 YouTube

Níos minice ná uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin gach 2/3 lá
Uair amháin in aghaidh na seachtaine	Uair amháin gach 2/3 seachtaine	Uair amháin in aghaidh na míosa
Níos annaimhe	Níl a fhios agam (DNRO)	

Q23.b.5 Instagram

Níos minice ná uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin gach 2/3 lá
Uair amháin in aghaidh na seachtaine	Uair amháin gach 2/3 seachtaine	Uair amháin in aghaidh na míosa
Níos annaimhe	Níl a fhios agam (DNRO)	

Q23.b.6 TikTok

Níos minice ná uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin gach 2/3 lá
Uair amháin in aghaidh na seachtaine	Uair amháin gach 2/3 seachtaine	Uair amháin in aghaidh na míosa
Níos annaimhe	Níl a fhios agam (DNRO)	

Q23.b.7 WhatsApp

Níos minice ná uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin gach 2/3 lá
Uair amháin in aghaidh na seachtaine	Uair amháin gach 2/3 seachtaine	Uair amháin in aghaidh na míosa
Níos annaimhe	Níl a fhios agam (DNRO)	

Q23.b.8 Snapchat

Níos minice ná uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin gach 2/3 lá
Uair amháin in aghaidh na seachtaine	Uair amháin gach 2/3 seachtaine	Uair amháin in aghaidh na míosa
Níos annaimhe	Níl a fhios agam (DNRO)	

Q23.b.9 Bluesky

Níos minice ná uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin gach 2/3 lá
Uair amháin in aghaidh na seachtaine	Uair amháin gach 2/3 seachtaine	Uair amháin in aghaidh na míosa
Níos annaimhe	Níl a fhios agam (DNRO)	

MÁS CÓD 1-9 AG Q.23A, IARR:

Q23c An ndéanann tú nó an ndearna tú riamh cumarsáid trí Ghaeilge ar aon cheann de na hardáin mheán sóisialta nó seirbhísí teachtaireachtaí sóisialta a luaigh tú cheana?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Rinne	Ní dhearna	Níl a fhios agam
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MÁS CÓD 1 AG Q. 23C, IARR:

Q23d Cé chomh minic is a dhéanann tú cumarsáid trí Ghaeilge ar aon cheann de na hardáin mheán sóisialta nó seirbhísí teachtaireachtaí sóisialta liostáilte thíos?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN I NGACH SRAITH

Q23.d.1 Facebook

Níos minice ná uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin gach 2/3 lá
Uair amháin in aghaidh na seachtaine	Uair amháin gach 2/3 seachtaine	Uair amháin in aghaidh na míosa
Níos annaimhe	Níl a fhios agam (DNRO)	

Q23.d.2 X (Twitter roimhe seo)

Níos minice ná uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin gach 2/3 lá
Uair amháin in aghaidh na seachtaine	Uair amháin gach 2/3 seachtaine	Uair amháin in aghaidh na míosa
Níos annaimhe	Níl a fhios agam (DNRO)	

Q23.d.3 LinkedIn

Níos minice ná uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin gach 2/3 lá
Uair amháin in aghaidh na seachtaine	Uair amháin gach 2/3 seachtaine	Uair amháin in aghaidh na míosa
Níos annaimhe	Níl a fhios agam (DNRO)	

Q23.d.4 YouTube

Níos minice ná uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin gach 2/3 lá
Uair amháin in aghaidh na seachtaine	Uair amháin gach 2/3 seachtaine	Uair amháin in aghaidh na míosa
Níos annaimhe	Níl a fhios agam (DNRO)	

Q23.d.5 Instagram

Níos minice ná uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin gach 2/3 lá
Uair amháin in aghaidh na seachtaine	Uair amháin gach 2/3 seachtaine	Uair amháin in aghaidh na míosa
Níos annaimhe	Níl a fhios agam (DNRO)	

Q23.d.6 TikTok

Níos minice ná uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin gach 2/3 lá
Uair amháin in aghaidh na seachtaine	Uair amháin gach 2/3 seachtaine	Uair amháin in aghaidh na míosa
Níos annaimhe	Níl a fhios agam (DNRO)	

Q23.d.7 WhatsApp

Níos minice ná uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin gach 2/3 lá
Uair amháin in aghaidh na seachtaine	Uair amháin gach 2/3 seachtaine	Uair amháin in aghaidh na míosa
Níos annaimhe	Níl a fhios agam (DNRO)	

Q23.d.8 Snapchat

Níos minice ná uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin gach 2/3 lá
Uair amháin in aghaidh na seachtaine	Uair amháin gach 2/3 seachtaine	Uair amháin in aghaidh na míosa
Níos annaimhe	Níl a fhios agam (DNRO)	

Q23.d.9 Bluesky

Níos minice ná uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin in aghaidh an lae	Uair amháin gach 2/3 lá
Uair amháin in aghaidh na seachtaine	Uair amháin gach 2/3 seachtaine	Uair amháin in aghaidh na míosa
Níos annaimhe	Níl a fhios agam (DNRO)	

IARR AR CHÁCH

Q24 Cé acu a leanas is fearr a chuireann síos ar sheasamh an rialtais reatha/Rialtas na Breataine agus/nó Fheidhmeanas Thuaisceart Éireann maidir leis an nGaeilge? An bhfuil siad ag déanamh an iomarca, go leor nó an ea nach bhfuil siad ag déanamh go leor?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

An iomarca	Go leor	Níl siad ag déanamh go leor	Níl a fhios agam
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IARR AR CHÁCH

Q25 Seo a leanas liosta ráiteas faoi pholasaithe trína ndearna an rialtas/Rialtas na Breataine agus/nó Feidhmeanas Thuaisceart Éireann iarracht stádas na Gaeilge a fheabhsú. Cé chomh tábhachtach nó gan a bheith tábhachtach atá gach ceann de na polasaithe seo a leanas, dar leat?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN I NGACH SRAITH LE DO THOIL

IARR AR CHÁCH

Q25_1 Seirbhísí poiblí i nGaeilge do chainteoirí Gaeilge (e.g. foirmeacha, doiciméid, oifigigh a bhfuil Gaeilge acu, suímh gréasáin)

An-tábhachtach	Réasúnta tábhachtach	Gan a bheith an-tábhachtach	Gan a bheith tábhachtach ar chor ar bith	Ní aon tuairim agam
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IARR AR CHÁCH

Q25_2 An Ghaeilge a mhúineadh go maith do gach páiste

An-tábhachtach	Réasúnta tábhachtach	Gan a bheith an-tábhachtach	Gan a bheith tábhachtach ar chor ar bith	Ní aon tuairim agam
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IARR AR CHÁCH I bPÉ AMHÁIN

Q25_3 An Ghaeilge a chaomhnú sa Ghaeltacht

An-tábhachtach	Réasúnta tábhachtach	Gan a bheith an-tábhachtach	Gan a bheith tábhachtach ar chor ar bith	Ní aon tuairim agam
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IARR AR CHÁCH

Q25_4 Meáin Ghaeilge (e.g. cláir theilifíse/raidió/meáin dhigiteacha/nuachtáin/irisí)

An-tábhachtach	Réasúnta tábhachtach	Gan a bheith an-tábhachtach	Gan a bheith tábhachtach ar chor ar bith	Ní aon tuairim agam
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IARR AR CHÁCH

Q25_5 Leabhair i nGaeilge

An-tábhachtach	Réasúnta tábhachtach	Gan a bheith an-tábhachtach	Gan a bheith tábhachtach ar chor ar bith	Níl aon tuairim agam
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IARR AR CHÁCH

Q25_6 Teicneolaíochtaí digiteacha i nGaeilge (e.g. intleacht shaorga, teicneolaíochtaí cúnta, sintéis urlabhra, meaisínáistriúchán)

An-tábhachtach	Réasúnta tábhachtach	Gan a bheith an-tábhachtach	Gan a bheith tábhachtach ar chor ar bith	Níl aon tuairim agam
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IARR AR CHÁCH

Q26 Ba mhaith liom do thuairimí i leith na ráiteas seo a leanas. Arís, tuairim atá i gceist, agus ba mhaith liom a fháil amach cad iad na tuairimí a n-aontaíonn tú agus nach n-aontaíonn tú leo

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN I NGACH SRAITH LE DO THOIL

Q26_1 Is cuma liom cé acu an labhraíonn daoine Gaeilge nó Béarla

Aontaím go láidir	Aontaím go pointe áirithe	Easaontaím go pointe áirithe	Easaontaím go láidir	Níl tuairim agam
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Q26_2 Le fíorthuisint a bheith agat ar chultúr traidisiúnta na hÉireann, ní mór Gaeilge a bheith agat

Aontaím go láidir	Aontaím go pointe áirithe	Easaontaím go pointe áirithe	Easaontaím go láidir	Níl tuairim agam
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Q26_3 Is cuma leis an gcuid is mó daoine bealach amháin nó eile faoin nGaeilge

Aontaím go láidir	Aontaím go pointe áirithe	Easaontaím go pointe áirithe	Easaontaím go láidir	Níl tuairim agam
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Q26_4 Gan Ghaeilge, chaillfeadh Éire/Tuaisceart Éireann a féiniúlacht mar chultúr ar leith go cinnte

Aontaím go láidir	Aontaím go pointe áirithe	Easaontaím go pointe áirithe	Easaontaím go láidir	Níl tuairim agam
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Q26_5 Teanga mharbh is ea an Ghaeilge

Aontaím go láidir	Aontaím go pointe áirithe	Easaontaím go pointe áirithe	Easaontaím go láidir	Níl tuairim agam
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Q26_6 Ní bheadh Éire/Tuaisceart Éireann ann mar atá sí gan daoine a bhfuil Gaeilge acu

Aontaím go láidir	Aontaím go pointe áirithe	Easaontaím go pointe áirithe	Easaontaím go láidir	Níl tuairim agam
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Q26_7 Ba cheart go mbeadh cur chun cinn na Gaeilge ina chúram d'eagraíochtaí deonacha, seachas an rialtas

Aontaím go láidir	Aontaím go pointe áirithe	Easaontaím go pointe áirithe	Easaontaím go láidir	Níl tuairim agam
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Q26_8 Tá cainteoirí Gaeilge i dteideal a bheith ag dréim leis go mbeidh státseirbhísigh in ann Gaeilge a labhairt leo

Aontaím go láidir	Aontaím go pointe áirithe	Easaontaím go pointe áirithe	Easaontaím go láidir	Níl tuairim agam
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Q26_9 Ní cóir do Rialtas na hÉireann/Feidhmeanas Thuaisceart Éireann/Rialtas na Breataine an Ghaeilge a chur chun cinn ar chor ar bith

Aontaím go láidir	Aontaím go pointe áirithe	Easaontaím go pointe áirithe	Easaontaím go láidir	Níl tuairim agam
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IARR AR CHÁCH

Q27 Maidir le todhchaí na Gaeilge, cén ceann dá leanas ar mhaith leat go dtarlódh sé?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Ba cheart fáil réidh leis an nGaeilge agus dearmad a dhéanamh di
Ba cheart an Ghaeilge a chaomhnú mar oidhreacht thábhachtach stairiúil chultúrtha sa litríocht agus sa cheol, ach ní mar theanga labhartha
Ba cheart an Ghaeilge a chaomhnú mar theanga labhartha, ach sa Ghaeltacht amháin
Ba cheart go mbeadh Éire/Tuaisceart Éireann dátheangach, le Béarla mar phríomhtheanga
Ba cheart go mbeadh Éire/Tuaisceart Éireann dátheangach, le Gaeilge mar phríomhtheanga
Ba cheart an Ghaeilge a bheith mar phríomhtheanga (mar atá an Béarla anois)
Is cuma liom
Níl a fhios agam

IARR AR CHÁCH

Q28 Agus cé acu de na téarmaí seo is fearr a chuireann síos ar an dóigh a smaoiníonn tú ort féin de ghnáth?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Éireannach	Tuaisceart-Éireannach	Ultach
Briotanach	Briotanach in amanna agus Éireannach in amanna	Polannach
Indiach	Rómánach	Liotuánach
Laitviach	Meiriceánach	Úcránach
Nigéarach	Eile (sonraigh)	Cuir nóta isteach anseo...
Níl a fhios agam	Dhiúltaigh	

IARR AR CHÁCH

Q29 Ar scála ó 1 go dtí 10, nuair is ionann 1 agus Níl Sé Tábhachtach agus is ionann 10 agus Tá Sé An-Tábhachtach, an inseoidh tú dom cé chomh tábhachtach is atá sé duit go bhfuil an fhéiniúlacht a roghnaigh tú in Q28 thuas agat?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

1 - Níl sé tábhachtach	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 - Tá sé an-tábhachtach	Níl a fhios agam	Dhiúltaigh
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IARR AR CHÁCH

Q30 An saoránach de chuid na hÉireann tú, i.e. an bhfuil pas Éireannach agat?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Is ea	Ní hea	Níl a fhios agam	Dhiúltaigh
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MÁS CÓD 1 AG Q.30, IARR:

Q31 Cé chomh bródúil is atá tú as bheith i do shaoránach Éireannach?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

An-bhródúil	Réasúnta bródúil	Gan a bheith an-bhródúil	Gan a bheith bródúil ar chor ar bith	Níl a fhios agam	Dhiúltaigh	Ní Bhaineann
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IARR I bPÉ AMHÁIN

Q32 Ceapann roinnt daoine go bhfuil na rudaí seo a leanas tábhachtach le bheith Éireannach i ndáiríre. Ceapann daoine eile nach bhfuil siad tábhachtach. Cé chomh tábhachtach is a cheapann tú atá gach ceann acu seo a leanas?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Q32_1 Gur rugadh in Éirinn thú

An-tábhachtach	Réasúnta tábhachtach	Gan a bheith an-tábhachtach	Gan a bheith tábhachtach ar chor ar bith	Ní féidir liom roghnú	Dhiúltaigh
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Q32_2 Saoránacht de chuid na hÉireann a bheith agat

An-tábhachtach	Réasúnta tábhachtach	Gan a bheith an-tábhachtach	Gan a bheith tábhachtach ar chor ar bith	Ní féidir liom roghnú	Dhiúltaigh
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Q32_3 Go raibh cónaí ort sa tír ar feadh fhormhór do shaoil

An-tábhachtach	Réasúnta tábhachtach	Gan a bheith an-tábhachtach	Gan a bheith tábhachtach ar chor ar bith	Ní féidir liom roghnú	Dhiúltaigh
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Q32_4 Meas a bheith ar institiúidí polaitiúla agus dlíthe na tíre

An-tábhachtach	Réasúnta tábhachtach	Gan a bheith an-tábhachtach	Gan a bheith tábhachtach ar chor ar bith	Ní féidir liom roghnú	Dhiúltaigh
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Q32_5 A bheith ábalta Gaeilge a labhairt

An-tábhachtach	Réasúnta tábhachtach	Gan a bheith an-tábhachtach	Gan a bheith tábhachtach ar chor ar bith	Ní féidir liom roghnú	Dhiúltaigh
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Q32_6 A bheith Caitliceach

An-tábhachtach	Réasúnta tábhachtach	Gan a bheith an-tábhachtach	Gan a bheith tábhachtach ar chor ar bith	Ní féidir liom roghnú	Dhiúltaigh
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Q32_7 Go mbraitheann tú Éireannach

An-tábhachtach	Réasúnta tábhachtach	Gan a bheith an-tábhachtach	Gan a bheith tábhachtach ar chor ar bith	Ní féidir liom roghnú	Dhiúltaigh
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Q33 An smaoiníonn tú riamh ort féin mar Eorpach?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Smaoiníonn	Ní smaoiníonn	Níl a fhios agam
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MÁS CÓD 1 AG Q.33

Q34 Ar scála 1 go 10, nuair is ionann 1 agus Níl Sé Tábhachtach agus is ionann 10 agus Tá Sé An-Tábhachtach, cé chomh tábhachtach is atá sé duit gur Eorpach thú?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

1 - Níl sé tábhachtach	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 - Tá sé an-tábhachtach	Níl a fhios agam	Dhiúltaigh
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IARR AR CHÁCH

Q35 Nuair a bhí tú ag fás aníos cén phríomhshlí bheatha a bhí ag an bpríomhshaothraí ioncaim? (Ma tá an príomhshaothraí ioncaim básaithe, éirithe as nó dífhostaithe, cén phríomhshlí bheatha dheireanach a bhí acu (teideal cruinn – oibrí, maor/saoiste, stiúrthóir, feitheoir/maoirseoir srl.)

BREAC SÍOS AN FREAGRA SA BHOSCA THÍOS

Cuir nóta isteach anseo...	Níl a fhios agam
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IARR AR CHÁCH

QC1 Cén aois thú?

SCRÍOBH ISTEACH AN AOIS BHEACHT LE DO THOIL

Aois bheacht	Scríobh isteach an aois anseo...
Dhiúltaigh	

IARR AR CHÁCH

Cén aois thú?

Cuir nóta isteach anseo...	Dhiúltaigh
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Faoi 20	20-24	25-29
30-34	35-39	40-44
45-49	50-54	55-59
60-64	65-69	70-74
75-79	80-84	85+
Dhiúltaigh		

Baineann an chéad cheist eile le reiligiún. Más fearr leat gan í a fhreagairt, ní gá ach bog ar aghaidh a rá agus bogfaidh mé ar aghaidh go dtí an chéad cheist eile. Má thugann tú freagra uirthi, ba mhaith liom a dhearbhu go ndéantar tuairisciú ar na freagraí go léir ar ár suirbhéanna i bhfoirm chomhiomlán anaithnid.

IARR AR CHÁCH

QC2 An mbraitheann tú go bhfuil reiligiún faoi leith agat?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Braithim	Ní bhraithim	Níl a fhios agam/Dhiúltaigh
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MÁS CÓD 1 AG QC2, IARR:

QC3 Má bhraitheann, cén ceann?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN.

Caitliceach	Eaglais na hÉireann/Anglacánach/ Easpagóideach	Baisteach	Meitidisteach
Preispitéireach	Saor-Phreispitéireach	Bráithre	An Eaglais Leasaithe Aontaithe/Pobalda
Cincíseach	Eaglais na hAlban	Cincíseach Elim	Preispitéireach Leasaithe
Preispitéireach Neamh-aontaithe	Arm an tSlánaithe	Eaglais an Nazairéanaigh	Finné láivé
Eaglais Íosa Críost agus Naomh na Laethanta Deireanacha (Mormannach)	Reiligiún Protastúnach eile (Sonraigh, le do thoil)	Cuir nóta isteach anseo...	Reiligiún Críostaí eile (Sonraigh, le do thoil)
Cuir nóta isteach anseo...	Hiondúch	Giúdach	Ioslam
Suíceach	Búdaíoch	Eile (Sonraigh, le do thoil)	Cuir nóta isteach anseo...
Níl a fhios agam	Dhiúltaigh		

MÁS CÓD 1 AG QC2, IARR:

QC4 Cén reiligiún lenár tógadh thú, má tógadh thú le reiligiún?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Gan aon reiligiún	Caitliceach	Eaglais na hÉireann/Anglacánach/ Easpagóideach	Baisteach
Meitidisteach	Preispitéireach	Saor-Phreispitéireach	Bráithre
Eaglais Aontaithe an Leasaithe/Pobalda	Cincíseach	Eaglais na hAlban	Cincíseach Elim
Preispitéireach Leasaithe	Preispitéireach Neamh-aontaithe	Arm an tSlánaithe	Eaglais an Nazairéanaigh
Finné láivé	Eaglais Íosa Críost agus Naomh na Laethanta Deireanacha (Mormannach)	Reiligiún Protastúnach eile (Sonraigh, le do thoil)	Cuir nóta isteach anseo...
Críostaí eile (Sonraigh, le do thoil)	Cuir nóta isteach anseo...	Hiondúch	Giúdach
Ioslam	Suíceach	Búdaíoch	Níor tógadh le haon reiligiún mé
Eile (Sonraigh, le do thoil)	Cuir nóta isteach anseo...	Níl a fhios agam	Dhiúltaigh

NÁ HIARR AN CHEIST SEO MÁŠ CÓD ‘GAN REILIGIÚN’ AG Q. C2 NÓ MÁ DIÚLTAÍODH AG C2, C3, C4

QC5 Seachas ócáidí speisialta mar bhainisí, sochraidí, baistí agus mar sin, cé chomh minic a fhreastalaíonn tú ar Aifreann nó ar sheirbhísí eaglais, má fhreastalaíonn?

ROGHNAIGH CEANN AMHÁIN

Níos minice ná uair sa tseachtain	Uair sa tseachtain	2-4 huaire sa mhí	Uair sa mhí	Uair gach 2-6 mhí	Uair gach 7-12 mhí	Níos lú ná uair sa bhliain	Ní fhreastalaím riamh	Dhiúltaigh	Ní bhaineann
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IARR AR CHÁCH

QC6 Cad é an leibhéal oideachais is airde atá bainte amach agat?

Iarrtar ar an bhfreagróir an leibhéal is airde oideachais atá bainte amach aige a chur in iúl, ní an dioplóma is deireanaí atá faighte aige. Ticeáil an bosca amháin a bhaineann.

ES-ISCED I oideachas bunscoile amháin
ES-ISCED II meánscoil shóisearach (Meánteistiméireacht nó Teastas Sóisearach/O Leibhéal/TGMO)
ES-ISCED III meánscoil shinsearach (Ardteistiméireacht/A-Leibhéal/AS/A2)
ES-ISCED IV iar-mheánoideachais, ach ní tríú leibhéal (PLC etc.)
ES-ISCED V an tríú leibhéal is ísle (2 bhliain, Dioplóma)
ES-ISCED V1, an tríú leibhéal íseal, leibhéal Baitsiléara (Céim)
ES-ISCED VII, an tríú leibhéal ard, Teastas/Dioplóma Iarchéime
ES-ISCED VII, an tríú leibhéal ard, leibhéal Máistreacht
ES-ISCED VIII, an tríú leibhéal ard, leibhéal Dochtúireacht
Níl a fhios agam
Eile

IARR AR CHÁCH

QC7 Cad é do stádas fostaíochta?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Féinfhostaithe
Ag obair go lánaimseartha
Ag obair go páirtaimseartha
Ag lorg oibre don chéad uair
Dífhostaithe (post caillte nó éirithe as)
Dualgais bhaile
Gan a bheith in ann obair a dhéanamh mar gheall ar bhreiteacht bhuan / míchumas
Gan a bheith ag obair (ag lorg oibre)
Gan a bheith ag obair (gan a bheith ag lorg oibre)
Ar scéim oiliúna/oideachais rialtais
Ar scéim fostaíochta rialtais (CE, Jobs-option etc.)
Ar scor
Mac léinn (breisoideachas nó ardoideachas)
Eile (sonraigh, le do thoil)
Cuir nóta isteach anseo...

IARR MÁŠ CÓD 01, 02, 03 AG QC7

QC8 An oibríonn tú faoi láthair i gceann/do cheann acu seo a leanas

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Roinn Rialtais (státseirbhíseach)
Fostaíocht rialtais eile (e.g. múinteoir, arm, garda)
Údarás áitiúil
Eagras poiblí (nach ceann ar bith dá bhfuil thuas)
An earnáil phríobháideach
Níl a fhios agam

IARR AR CHÁCH

QC8ii Ar oibrigh tú riamh i gceann/do cheann acu seo a leanas

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN I NGACH SRAITH

QC8ii_1 Roinn Rialtais (státseirbhíseach)

D'oibrigh	Níor oibrigh
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QC8ii_2 Fostaíocht rialtais eile (e.g. múinteoir, arm, garda)

D'oibrigh	Níor oibrigh
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QC8ii_3 Údarás áitiúil

D'oibrigh	Níor oibrigh
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QC8ii_4 Eagras poiblí (nach ceann ar bith dá bhfuil thuas)

D'oibrigh	Níor oibrigh
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QC8ii_5 An earnáil phríobháideach

D'oibrigh	Níor oibrigh
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MÁS CÓD 1,2 NÓ 3 AG QC7,IARR:

QC9 I do chuid oibre faoi láthair, cé chomh minic a labhraíonn tú Gaeilge

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Go laethúil	Go seachtainiúil	Níos annaimhe	Riamh	Ní oibrím
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IARR AR CHÁCH

QC10 An mbraitheann tú gur tú an príomhshaothraí i do theach?

Is é an príomhshaothraí an duine leis an ioncam is mó, bíodh sin ó fhostaíocht, pinsean, sochair stáit, infheistíocht nó foinsí eile.

Braithim	Ní Bhraithim	Níl a fhios agam/Dhiúltaigh
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IARR AR CHÁCH

QC11 Cad í gairm reatha an Phríomhshaothraí loncaim?

QC11_1 Teideal poist:
QC11_2 An tionscal ina bhfuil siad ag obair:
QC11_3 Cáilíochtaí/Printíseachtaí:
QC11_4 Cé mhéad duine a bhfuil siad freagrach as sa phost?

IARR AR CHÁCH

QC12 Cad í gairm dheireanach an Phríomhshaothraí loncaim?

BREAC SÍOS AN FREAGRA SA BHOSCA THÍOS

Cuir nóta isteach anseo...	Ní raibh gairm acu roimhe seo	Níl a fhios agam
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IARR AR CHÁCH

QC13 Cad é do stádas pósta reatha?

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN.

Pósta nó in aontíos le do pháirtí	Páirtnéireacht shibhialta	Singil	Scartha	Colscartha	Baintreach	Dhiúltaigh
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DON AGALLÓIR AMHÁIN

QC14 Cód na nGrád Sóisialta: Gairm

Lucht reachtaíochta, oifigigh shinsearacha & bainisteoirí
Daoine proifisiúnta
Teicneoirí & daoine gairmiúla ábhartha
Cléirigh
Oibrithe seirbhíse agus oibrithe siopa agus margaidh
Oibrithe oilte talmhaíochta & iascaigh
Oibrithe ceardaíochta agus ceirdeanna gaolmhara
Oibritheoirí agus lucht cóimeála gléasra agus innealra
Fostaíochtaí bunúsacha
Fórsaí armtha

QC15 Sonraigh teideal an phoist le do thoil

TABHAIR AN OIREAD SONRAÍ AGUS IS FÉIDIR AR MHAITHE LE CÓDÚ

IARR AR CHÁCH

QC16 Inscne an Fhreagróra:

ROGHNAIGH FREAGRA AMHÁIN

Baineann	Fireann	Inscne eile	B'fhearr liom gan a rá
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Coláiste na Tríonóide, Baile Átha Cliath
Trinity College Dublin
Ollscoil Átha Cliath | The University of Dublin

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