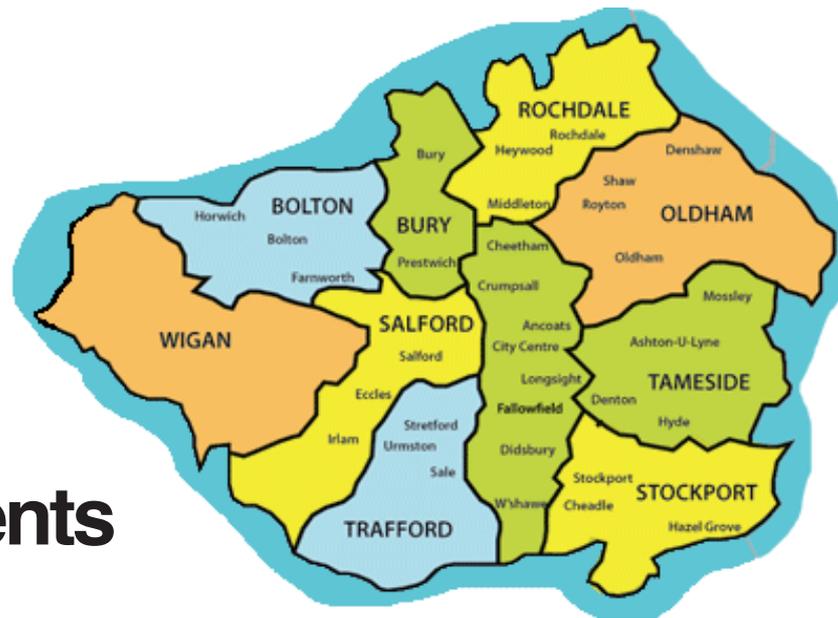


Multilingual Manchester: A Digest



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1. Manchester's language profile



1.1 Demographics and types of languages

Manchester is home to over 150 different languages. Its linguistic mosaic has come about through generations of immigrants who began to arrive in the city in the second half of the nineteenth century. Labour migrants, refugees, British Commonwealth citizens, professionals responding to staff recruitment campaigns, and EU citizens have all made the city their home. They are part of Manchester's residential, social and economic fabric, while holding on to many of their traditions and maintaining their linguistic identities. The city continues to attract people from different backgrounds with a variety of skills. Over the past decade, Manchester's population has grown by 19% – the highest growth rate of any city in the country save London – compared to a national growth rate of 7%, and a rate of 4% across the North West. The Pakistani community has had the highest growth rate of any single community in the city, followed by various African groups.

Immigrants to Manchester hail from a variety of different countries. Mandarin Chinese is generally spoken by younger and more recent immigrants from Mainland China, while Cantonese and Hakka Chinese are most commonly used by older Manchester residents, who often have links to Hong Kong. A recent rise in immigration from Fujian Province in China has introduced new dialects that are often unintelligible to speakers of other varieties of Chinese. Speakers of Romani have arrived from countries such as Hungary, Romania, Czech Republic, Poland, Latvia and Lithuania, who have joined the European Union over the past decade. Manchester's large community of Portuguese speakers are predominantly of Angolan origin, although some originate from Portugal itself. Each year around 1,500 children of school age are new arrivals in Manchester. The trends in immigration often mirror world events. In 1993/1994, the most requested language for face-to-face interpretation services at the City Council was Albanian, with Bosnian, Serbian and Croatian also listed in the top 10, due to immigration resulting from the Kosovo war.

Close to 20% of Manchester's adult population declared a language other than English to be their 'main language' in the 2011 census (compared to a national average of about 8%). It is likely that close to 50% of Manchester's adult population are in fact multilingual; around 40% of Manchester's youth are known to be multilingual. Manchester is home to a large number of languages originating from South and East Asia, West and East Africa, the Middle East and central and eastern Europe. Urdu, Arabic, Polish, Panjabi, Chinese, and Bengali are some of the largest community languages spoken in the city. There are also large communities that speak Somali, Yoruba, Persian, Pashto, Gujarati, French, Portuguese, Kurdish, Yiddish, Spanish and Greek. There is a noteworthy presence of language communities that are rather unique to Manchester and are rarely present elsewhere in the UK outside of London: The Yiddish-speaking community, found north of the city, is one of the ten largest in the world. The Persian-speaking community in Greater Manchester is the largest outside the capital. We see a strong presence of various African languages in Manchester, including Twi, Edo, Chichewa, Ndebele, Epira, Jola, Mandinka and Wolof. There is also significant usage of Bravanese, a dialect of Swahili spoken in Somalia.

Manchester's languages fall under several different categories. These include global languages, which have widespread international currency, such as French, Spanish, German, Portuguese, Mandarin Chinese and Arabic. In addition, we find national languages, which have official status in particular countries, including Urdu, Polish, Bengali, Persian, Hindi and Czech. Manchester is also home to numerous regional and minority languages, used in specific areas

or by minority groups. These include Yoruba, Hausa, Cantonese Chinese, Hakka Chinese, Panjabi, Shona and Mirpuri/Potwari. Non-territorial languages, whose speakers do not belong to a specific nation-state include Yiddish, Romani, and Western Armenian. Some of the languages found in Manchester have considerable dialectal variation, such as Arabic, Chinese, and Romani. Languages that are typically only spoken, rather than written, include Romani, Lingala, Mirpuri/Potwari, Jamaican Patwa and other Caribbean creoles, as well as Nigerian Pidgin English. Languages used for religious and liturgical purposes include Classical Arabic, Biblical and Talmudic Hebrew, and Sanskrit.

1.2 Spatial distribution of languages

Within Manchester, speakers of a particular language can be found in certain geographical areas, and it is possible to map the distribution of these clusters. Urdu is spoken across the city, although there are specific pockets of speakers in Levenshulme, Crumpsall, and Cheetham. Bengali speakers can be found in Longsight, Levenshulme, and Rusholme. Other languages that are often geographically concentrated include Panjabi, found in Crumpsall; Somali in Moss Side and Hulme; Arabic in Hulme; Kurdish in Moss Side and Fallowfield; Persian in Cheetham and Crumpsall; Pashto in Burnage, Cheetham and Gorton, and Albanian in Crumpsall. Polish is quite widely distributed but has a notable presence in Baguley, Gorton North and Woodhouse



Park. Cantonese, Mandarin and Hakka Chinese are all spoken in Chinatown, though Chinese languages are present across the city. Yoruba is found in Bradford, Harpurhey and Gorton North, while Lingala speakers often reside in Gorton North and Ancoats. Portuguese is spoken in Gorton North, and Romani is found in Gorton South and Longsight.

Close parallels exist between the distribution of regional and minority language communities and other, more prominent language communities with which there is some national or ethnic affiliation. Pahari/Mirpuri/Potwari is concentrated in Crumpsall, in reflection of the significant Panjabi community. Akan/Twi and Wolof-speaking clusters can be found in Bradford and Gorton North, where there is a large francophone community with similar ties to West Africa. The Igbo population closely tracks the larger Yoruba

community, with a presence in Bradford and Harpurhey. Correlation analysis tends to suggest that all African languages (West, East & South), except Somali and Swahili, form strong geographical clusters in Manchester. Somali and Swahili speakers tend to group instead with Arabic, Persian and Kurdish speakers. Note that the majority of Swahili speakers in Manchester use the Bravanese dialect of the language, and originate from southern Somalia. The grouping with Middle Eastern languages might represent a religious connection, as well as the fact that many Somalis speak Arabic, having lived in Arab countries such as Sudan, Saudi Arabia or Egypt prior to their immigration to Britain. Urdu, Panjabi and Bengali form a cluster with Pashto, Persian, Kurdish and Arabic. Typically, other South Asian languages are less closely linked with the Middle Eastern group. However, they show high correlation rates with each other, examples being Hindi, Gujarati, Tamil and Malayalam. Cantonese, Mandarin and other Chinese dialects all create strong clusters. The near perfect correlation between the presence of Mandarin and the presence of other Chinese might indicate that generations are switching to Mandarin, a language that offers wider training, career, and business opportunities. The strong presence of French and Portuguese in Gorton North, where it correlates with African languages such as Yoruba and Lingala, is noteworthy because of the suggestion that these languages are primarily used in this district by Africans who report the official (ex-colonial) language of their countries of origin on the census rather than their actual home language.

Of the languages represented in Manchester, some are primarily found within the city itself, such as Arabic, Somali, Chinese and Kurdish, while others are located in the Greater Manchester area. For example, the Bangladeshi community in Oldham is one of the oldest in Britain and represents half of the Bengali and Sylheti community in the whole of Greater Manchester. Polish and Yiddish are used in Salford, where there is also a Slovak Romani community. Panjabi is strongly represented in Oldham and Rochdale. Most of Manchester's Gujarati community lives in and around Bolton, as does a sizeable Lovari (Hungarian) Romani community. The sizable Potwari and Mirpuri-speaking community in Rochdale is the second largest in the country, after Birmingham.

2. Sources of data



Several available datasets on languages in Manchester have informed our research. The table on ‘Manchester languages: The top 20’ (below) draws on five datasets: Interpreter requests at Central Manchester University Hospitals in 2012; interpreter requests made to the M-four Interpreter Service in the period between April 2012 and March 2013; citywide library stock records for 2013 (for languages with over 100 available items); the School Census for 2013, which records pupil demographics in Manchester schools, including first (or home) languages; and Manchester data from the 2011 national Census.

Manchester languages: The top 20

Central Manchester Hospitals Interpreter requests 2012		M4 Interpreter requests 04/2012-03/2013		Citywide library stock 2013 > 100		School Pupils' First Language 2013 > 150		Census 2011	
Language	No.	Language	No.	Language	No.	Language	No.	Language	No.
Urdu	6,272	Urdu/Panjabi	2,245	Urdu	10,005	Urdu	6,497	Urdu	13,095
Arabic	3,183	Bengali	910	Chinese	6,168	Arabic	2,448	Arabic	7,037
Cantonese	2,667	Polish	904	Polish	1,023	Somali	2,095	Polish	6,447
Bengali	2,033	Arabic	870	Bengali	916	Panjabi	2,000	All other Chinese	5,878
Polish	1,965	Persian	753	Vietnamese	835	Bengali	1,374	Panjabi	4,719
Panjabi	1,805	Somali	648	Arabic	628	Polish	865	Bengali	3,114
Somali	1,669	Portuguese	429	Persian	593	French	706	Somali	2,958
Mandarin	1,597	Pashto	414	Somali	172	Yoruba	565	Persian	2,660
Romanian	1,272	Kurdish	405	Kurdish	114	Chinese	378	French	2,351
Persian	1,191	Romanian	404			Portuguese	369	Kurdish	1,886
Kurdish	960	Czech	387			Pashto	358	Spanish	1,869
Czech	838	Mandarin	359			Malayalam	313	Cantonese Chinese	1,739
French	452	Lithuanian	357			Kurdish	311	Greek	1,588
Russian	444	Russian	348			Czech	225	Portuguese	1,458
Portuguese	426	Cantonese	262			Spanish	215	Pashto	1,147
Gujarati	316	BSL	235			Persian	204	German	936
Pashto	296	French	218			German	179	Czech	933
Tigrinya	268	Tigrinya	197			Romanian	172	Mandarin Chinese	851
Latvian	242	Amharic	191			Shona	172	Malayalam	849
Vietnamese	209	Gujarati	158					Russian	844

The Central Manchester University Hospitals Trust maintains records of individual face-to-face interpretation requests according to hospital department, along with hours of interpretation provided. Interpretation services such as M-four similarly list hours of service provided. These internal datasets are used by services to assess and respond to language demand in Manchester, and can be considered accurate records of the approaches made to the respective sources, although they are unable to capture the complete picture of the overall demand for face-to-face interpretation even within the relevant institutions that employ these services, since many individuals rely on family members – often children – or friends for spontaneous interpreting and mediation. With reference to the citywide Library records, it must be considered that stock may be reflective of varying literacy levels among communities rather than simply the presence of a language in Manchester. In some languages, such as Romani, Twi, and Bravanese, very few written materials exist and those that do exist are often difficult to obtain.

Schools across Manchester provide information on individual pupil demographics; the collation of this information constitutes the School Census. According to the data collection criteria, a language is recorded for a student if it is used at all within their home, even if their first or primary language is English. However, there are some potential problems with the accuracy of data resulting from the School Census: The school itself is responsible for identifying languages. As the list provided to teachers contains over 200 languages, it is inconceivable that all respondents are able to specify the language of each of their pupils accurately. Even when children's families are consulted, they may not always be familiar with the English exonyms for their home language and may instead provide an endonym that the school cannot interpret properly. This effect is acknowledged and attested by local services such as One Education (a company owned by Manchester City Council, which acts as a private provider of education support services). In our own language surveys of schoolchildren, conducted in four Manchester schools in the first part of 2013, we have noted that languages are often under-reported. A lack of awareness on the part of teachers and the absence of easily accessible information on some regional and minority languages may lead to mislabelling of home languages, evident in the cases of Bravanese, Romani and Kurdish. Pupils themselves often identify their home language as, for example, "Muslim", "Pakistani" or "Nigerian". Through subsequent questioning, the languages can often be specified, but the phenomenon does indicate that school data may contain crucial inaccuracies. Moreover, the pre-set spreadsheet provided to schools allows only one language option to be recorded, so there is no consideration of multilingual households. In our study we have often found that children will use one language with parents, another with siblings, and perhaps even a third with grandparents.

The 2011 National Census for England and Wales collected written answers to the question "What is your main language?" from respondents who reported that their main language was not English. This resulted in the first available national dataset on languages other than English and Welsh. However, the ambiguity of the question means that much of the data on language use may not represent Manchester's true linguistic diversity: A multilingual respondent who uses several different languages on a daily basis may not know which language to select as their single 'main language'. Their answer may reflect their language of work, which they speak during most hours of the day, even if this is not their first or home language, or, indeed, the language in which they are most proficient. In addition, many speakers of African or South Asian languages consider English to be their main language, and speakers of some African languages will report French and Portuguese, since as the historical colonial languages these have gained the status of official national languages in the respective countries. Consequently, speakers of numerous African and South Asian languages may fail to report these languages as their 'main language', despite the significance of these languages in their lives. We are aware that the 2011 Census under-reports the presence of various languages in Manchester: From first-hand knowledge of communities speaking Romani, Yiddish and Caribbean Creole, we can confidently suggest that these groups are much larger than Census data would indicate. School Census data for Manchester reinforces this impression: In some cases, the total number of schoolchildren recorded as being speakers of a particular language in Manchester exceeds the city-wide total recorded in the 2011 Census for that entire community. This phenomenon was most prominent in the cases of Yoruba and Lingala, both of which seem to be subjected to under-reporting. On the other hand, responses such as Manx and Cornish suggest that people may understand the concept of 'main language' in very different ways: Both of these languages are currently undergoing revival efforts, but whilst there are small populations of competent speakers and children in immersion education, there are not, as yet, native speakers.

Aside from census data, information on language needs may also be held by local services in various forms. As indicated in the table 'Manchester Languages: The top 20', the city libraries record data on library stock and issues, detailing total stock available in various languages, requests made for new resources in community languages, and material issued

by the libraries in these languages. By interviewing representatives from a range of services, we have gained a broad overview of how language data is recorded in the city. Manchester Adult Education Service stores home language data when non-native speakers register for English lessons. Greater Manchester Police stores language information when a suspect is brought into custody and uses the Language Line interpretation service. One Education records all requests received for pupil support from schools. Greater Manchester Fire and Rescue Services do not currently record data on languages, but provide multilingual fire prevention support, particularly in South Asian languages. There has been a drive for recording ethnicity and language in NHS data, which stemmed from the turn of 21st century, when an investigation into low smear uptake revealed patterns in ethnic groups. At some GP practices, language data is recorded when a patient first registers with the practice. Patients are asked to state their main language and their ethnicity, as well as their English proficiency in reading and speaking, and they are also asked whether they require help with improving their English.

We have compared information from datasets made available to us, in conjunction with qualitative data from interviewing services, in the hope of gaining a clearer understanding of language use in Manchester. This information grants an insight into both demand for various languages and the corresponding provision within the city, which, to the best of our knowledge, has not been conducted on a similar scale before.



3. Community initiatives

Communities in Manchester operate in a variety of ways to preserve and promote their heritage languages. This includes the running of supplementary schools and community centres, as well as the use of media, such as DVDs, websites, or social networking tools like Twitter, in languages other than English. Other media, such as radio and cinema operated by providers external to the communities, may also be accessed in community languages. Supplementary schools are community-run institutions offering classes that are additional to mainstream education. Over 50 communities in Manchester operate supplementary schools. They teach the city's main community languages such as Chinese, Arabic, Urdu, Panjabi, Polish and Gujarati as well as Bosnian, Korean, Nepalese and Ukrainian, amongst others. Around 8,000 pupils attend supplementary schools in Manchester; around 5,000 of them reside in Manchester and the rest come from the surrounding area. As of 2013, supplementary schools flag the following community languages on their respective websites: Arabic, Somali, Gujarati, Hindi, Panjabi, Bosnian, Cantonese, French, Bengali, Urdu, Tigrinya, Igbo, Persian, Greek, Mandarin, Nepali, Polish, Korean, Ukrainian, Latvian, Armenian and Kurdish. Some also offer instruction in various languages for liturgical purposes, including Classical Arabic, Hebrew and Sanskrit. Many supplementary schools offer their pupils preparation for state-recognised GCSE language qualifications. The most popular GCSE languages at supplementary schools in Manchester are Arabic, Polish, Cantonese and Mandarin. Others include Hebrew, Portuguese, Persian, Panjabi and Turkish.

The first established supplementary school in Manchester offered Polish classes, to maintain the language and culture of Polish refugees who came to the city after the Second World War. There is now a plethora of supplementary schools in Manchester, some of which integrate religious teaching, like the Madrassahs linked to mosques and the Sikh Temple schools. The relative size of some smaller communities is reflected in the number of pupils attending supplementary schools: examples include a Malaysian school with around 20 pupils, and the Hellenic Brotherhood Greek School with 15-20 children (the latter also offers a language GCSE). Some larger schools, which are known to have up to 250 pupils, may offer language qualifications at A-Level standard.

There are many community centres in Manchester which make provisions for the use or study of heritage languages. The Wai Yin Chinese Women Society, in Chinatown, is an example of a thriving community centre that was originally established to cater to the female Chinese community. However, it has since expanded to develop employment, education and community services for both genders, and also in several other ethnic minority groups, including Somali, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Indian and other European nationalities. There are also centres that address the needs of several other communities, for example, Nigerian, Vietnamese, Bangladeshi and Persian.

Some Manchester businesses use community languages in advertising. Among the most frequently used are Chinese, Urdu and Arabic, but Polish, Kurdish, Turkish, Somali, Gujarati and Hindi are also present in this domain. There is demand for products and services that are inherently linked with a specific country or language, such as certain foods, dress, media and entertainment, religious services and travel to particular destinations. This, in turn, encourages marketing in particular languages. Services and shops advertising in community languages thus include travel agents, legal advice services and outlets that sell food, clothing, media products and telecommunications services. Advertising in community languages contributes to Manchester's multilingual landscape.

Manchester residents make use of available media in a variety of languages. Satellite dishes are sold in Manchester, specialising in access to particular networks, such as the Middle East and South Asia. BBC Radio Manchester provides dedicated programming in both Chinese and South Asian languages, including Urdu and Panjabi. In addition to the BBC Asian network, there is a dedicated private Asian radio network available in Urdu, Panjabi and Gujarati. There are a number of cinemas in Manchester that show films in foreign languages, such as Cornerhouse, Odeon at the Trafford centre and Cineworld in Bolton. Some local shops sell various media such as books and newspapers in several languages; these shops are typically found in high-density minority community areas, such as Rusholme, as well as areas populated by students. Twitter is used to communicate in community languages. A study conducted by students at the University of Manchester (facilitated through data collection by Ed Manley of University College London) showed that over 12,000 tweets in 51 different languages other than English were made by Manchester residents using mobile phones during a two-month period in late 2012. The most widespread languages were Arabic (3512), Malay/Indonesian (2050), French (1819), Spanish (1165), Turkish (581) and Korean (370). Tracking down the times and locations of their transmission, it was found that tweets in community languages often accompanied local cultural events, suggesting that residents of the city were engaging with such events in community languages. It was also possible to trace many non-English tweets – for example the majority of those in Malay/Indonesian – to student populations.



4. Language provisions in the public sector

Manchester-based services adopt a number of different strategies to respond to language needs and to ensure that services are accessible to all communities in the city.

4.1 Library resources

In 2012, some 20,000 books and other media items were available in a wide variety of languages other than English in the city's library system. Our table on 'Manchester Languages: The top 20' lists the largest collections available in community languages. In 2012-2013, over 70,000 books in languages other than English were borrowed from Manchester libraries. The most frequent issues were of books in Urdu (45,000 requests, vastly more than any others), Chinese (13,000), Bengali (2,950), Polish (2,505), Persian (1,006) and Arabic (930). These six languages together make up 93% of all material borrowed from Manchester libraries in that period. In 2012-2013, the library system added stock — which includes both books and other media such as film, CDs and periodicals— in Urdu (4,707), Chinese (883), Polish (249), Persian (180), Arabic (137), Somali (102), Kurdish (14), French (13), Panjabi (5) and Italian (1). Local neighbourhood libraries in Manchester cater to the specific needs of their surrounding communities. In Longsight Library and Learning Centre, resources are available in Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, Persian, French, Hindi, Kurdish, Polish, Panjabi, Somali, Turkish, Urdu and Vietnamese. Library catalogues and computer systems can be accessed in French and Urdu. In Chorlton Library, resources can be found in Bengali, Persian, Urdu, Arabic, Albanian, Vietnamese and Somali. A similar selection is found in Fallowfield Library. Bollywood DVD and music resources are available in a range of areas, including Cheetham, Crumpsall, Longsight and Rusholme. It is important to note, however, that the presence of material at an individual branch is not an indicator of accessibility, as resources can be circulated throughout the Manchester library system upon request. This is an example of a central, rather than local, provision for language needs.

There is a consideration of changing needs in the provision of multilingual library stock. For example, City Library, works closely with local communities to monitor demographic patterns and requests for new materials. Multilingual stock is ordered in response to requests from the public, reflecting demand and language needs at the time of request. As demographics and English proficiency within communities change over time, the collection of materials may constitute an historical indication of language needs, rather than a current profile, necessitating this monitoring process. As another method of accounting for demand, Manchester libraries compare their stock data with census results to highlight any discrepancies. In addition, information is stored on withdrawals and requests of all library materials, which is used to track whether consumption and issue patterns in a particular language have changed over time. Apparent trends include a decrease in demand for Vietnamese and other Asian languages, accompanied by an increase in demand for Arabic and Polish, plus a noteworthy increase in the use of libraries by the Somali community. The latter trend reflects Somali communities in Hulme, Moss Side and Longsight who have arrived over the past 15 years. The Somali community in Fallowfield was engaged

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in consultation in order to communicate refurbishment plans for Central Library.

Manchester libraries archive local history items detailing particular communities, and provide catalogues to such projects in languages other than English; in fact, basic lists are created in English with a higher level of detail available in the resource language itself. For example, both Chinese and Ukrainian archives were made possible by community volunteers who created multilingual catalogues.

4.2 Interpreting and translation

Manchester services make use of both internally-based and external interpreters, with overlap present between the two approaches. In Jobcentre Plus, The Big Word, a three-way telephone interpreting service, is used. However, jobseekers often use family members as informal interpreters. Our research team has received reports on regular demand for interpretation services in Jobcentre Plus offices in Longsight, Rusholme and even Didsbury. The M-four translations and interpretation unit of Manchester City Council offers both face-to-face interpretation and written translation. The service deals with over 8 times more spoken interpretation than written translations. Within these two domains, immigrants to the city tend to request the former whilst international students seek the latter. Between April 2012 and March 2013, M-four handled some 12,000 requests for face-to-face interpretation for altogether over 80 different languages. Services in Urdu and Panjabi are consistently in demand, and an increase in demand for eastern European languages has also been noticed. Services that use M-four most frequently include Housing and Social Services, while non-Manchester City Council clients include hospitals and solicitors.

Central Manchester University Hospitals Trust – comprising Manchester Royal Infirmary, Royal Manchester Children's Hospital, University Dental Hospital, Manchester Royal Eye Hospital, Saint Mary's Hospital and Trafford Hospitals – received interpreting requests for 81 different spoken languages, as well as for sign languages, in the period 2012-2013. In total, 31,264 requests were made, and these were processed by a three-tier interpretation system. There are 6 permanent staff who constitute an in-house service, employed and contracted by the Trust. This team handled requests in Arabic, Bengali, Cantonese, Hindi, Kurdish, Mandarin, Polish, Panjabi, Somali



and Urdu for this period; 5,271 requests were made, totalling 4,369 hours of interpretation. There is also a bank of staff who closely support this in-house team, but who are not contracted to fixed hours; this 10-strong group is, however, treated very much as a core part of the interpreting team and is often favoured over external interpretation because of extensive experience in the hospitals, ranging up to 20 years. This interpreter bank handled requests in Bengali, Cantonese, Persian/Dari, Hindi, Mandarin, Mirpuri, Panjabi, Somali, Sylheti, Urdu and Vietnamese; 4,314 requests were made, requiring 6,749.5 hours. Finally, interpreters may be externally sourced; 21,679 requests were made to external agencies during the relevant period, totalling 27,220 hours. Requests in any languages not listed were handled exclusively by such agencies, and some requests in the languages previously listed were also outsourced if in high volume. Together, the permanent employees and the bank of supporting interpreters manage approximately 35% of requests across these hospitals, while around 65% of requests are outsourced. Efforts are being made to expand the interpreter bank through actively recruiting new members, as it is more cost-effective in comparison to agency interpreters.

Of the 12 most frequently requested languages at Central Manchester University Hospitals in 2012 (namely, those with over 500 requests), 10 are also among the top 20 spoken in the city according to the 2011 Census: Urdu, Arabic, Polish, Panjabi, Bengali, Somali, Persian, Cantonese, Mandarin and Czech. In general, we expect that interpreter requests reflect some combination of an older population and a significant percentage of recent arrivals, both groups being typically less

proficient in English as an additional language. The interpretation demand for two languages – Romanian and Kurdish – exceeds their declared proportion in the Census. This is likely to be due to over-representation in the catchment area but also suggests both lower English proficiency and under-reporting of these languages in census data. The relatively low number of requests for some languages that are among the top 20 in Manchester, including French, Spanish, Greek and German, indicates high levels of English proficiency as well as potentially smaller families and a younger population.

An examination of interpreter requests by hospital department reveals correlations between language needs and specific health services. Languages commonly requested for paediatric services are Latvian (constituting 70% of all 250 Latvian requests within the hospitals), Arabic, and Polish. There were low level of requests within paediatric services for Cantonese, Panjabi, Somali, and moderate for Kurdish, Persian, Romanian, Bengali, Mandarin and Czech. Within maternity and women's health services, languages for which there was a high demand include Pashto, French, Amharic, Lithuanian, Kurdish and Romanian. Despite the fact that Latvian was frequently requested within paediatrics, there were only two requests for interpretation related to maternity and women's health services. In the cataract unit, high levels of requests for Panjabi and Gujarati are evident, with moderate demand for Urdu, Cantonese and Bengali, and a relatively low number of requests for Polish, Mandarin, Somali, Arabic, Kurdish, Romanian and Persian.

Certain hospital departments can be generally indicative of patient age range, and their interpretation requests can reflect the demographic of a language community. Hakka Chinese, for example, had no requests within either paediatrics or maternity and women's services. This is noteworthy as Manchester Chinatown was historically Hakka-speaking, indicating that the language is being phased out in younger generations, and/or that English proficiency is increasing. In this vein, Central Manchester University Hospitals' sexual health services, which we can expect to exclude either very young or very elderly populations, received low levels of interpretation requests for Bengali, Cantonese, Panjabi and Gujarati, but saw relatively high demand for Kurdish and Arabic.

Greater Manchester Police rely on external interpreters, who are used especially in contexts requiring neutrality, such as suspect interviews. Language Line, an external telephone interpreting service that can be accessed on police officers' personal phones, is used in other situations, including in public places or on first arrival at a police station. Language data is stored when a suspect is brought into custody and uses this service. Interpreting services are similarly vital to Manchester GP Practices, many of which use Language Line. This instant telephone service facilitates a three-way conversation between patient, doctor and interpreter. The Manchester Deaf Centre provides British Sign Language interpreters for hospital visits, doctor and dentist appointments, teacher-parent meetings and job interviews. The centre also operates a 24-hour emergency service outside of usual office hours. In addition, courses in British Sign Language are offered at the Manchester Deaf Centre. Jobcentre Plus uses The Big Word interpreter service via video link for British Sign Language as well as for finger-spelling, lip-speaking and sign supported English. At several Manchester schools, Makaton – a language of symbols and signs – is taught to the class as a whole in order to support communication among deaf students and their hearing peers. Manchester City Council operates an online sign video translation service on its Manchester Sensory Support website, which is available to answer questions on council services.

In addition to spoken interpretation, services in Manchester also provide and require written translations. M-four offer written translations for Manchester City Council departments, but written translation constitutes a relatively low proportion of the overall demand: 1,589 assignments were managed in a variety of languages during 2012, and the service reports a decline in demand. The highest demand for written translation is in relation to official documents such as marriage, death and birth certificates, as well as academic documentation and educational awards. Among these written translation requests, the following languages were most common: Chinese (223), Arabic (213), Portuguese (144), French (138), Urdu (104), Persian (102), Spanish (79), Polish (79), Italian (52) and German (40). Other services, such as the NHS, take the general approach of providing written translations on request, but avoid the costly process of printing translated material on a mass scale.

The need for translation and interpretation services is due in part to increasing immigration of young people who may lack full proficiency in English. Among these arrivals to Manchester, we find refugees, people of minority backgrounds in their country of origin and populations who have experienced limited access to education in their home countries: Afghan, Chinese, Ethiopian, Kurdish, Romani from central and southeastern Europe, Somali, South Asian, and West African. In addition, the ageing of the city's established immigrant population may increase the need for support services, particularly in the health sector; and thus increase demand for interpretation. As levels of professional and student arrivals rise, and trade and

business communications expand on a global scale, the need for document translation becomes more pronounced, though this need is visible primarily in the private and education sector and so it is not recorded among the demand for written translation within City Council departments. The changing profile of immigrant communities in response to political and legal situations – for example, EU enlargement or crises that trigger refugee movement – as well as targeted staff recruitment campaigns, seen in the NHS, create volatile patterns of demand for languages. In response, agencies hesitate to dedicate in-house, permanent resources for interpretation and translation of most languages, and opt instead to rely on outsourcing as an effective way of ensuring that resources are flexible to changing needs. This approach, in turn, pushes demand for commercial interpreting and translation services. The presence in Manchester of a growing young population of second and third generation immigrants who are proficient in English, having been through the local education system, but who continue to maintain community language skills, offers private interpreter and translation companies a high local recruitment potential. As a result, there is both significant demand for, and local supply of, part-time workers in the interpretation and translation field, with some Manchester-based companies obtaining large-scale contracts for government agencies at both local and national levels.

4.3 Multilingual information materials

The strategy of publishing leaflets in languages other than English varies across services in Manchester, with consideration of cost and specific selection of languages. Jobcentre Plus print some leaflets with instructions in various different languages, however; face-to-face interactions are preferred over the production of leaflets in another language because of budget restrictions. In a similarly cost-effective approach, Manchester City Council regularly inserts a paragraph in its range of leaflets, alerting the public that information can be obtained in their language by telephone, rather than in printed form. This paragraph contains the following languages: Arabic, Bengali, Bosnian, Chinese, Gujarati, Panjabi, Somali, Urdu and Vietnamese. Notably, languages such as Polish and Kurdish are missing from this list despite their significant presence in Manchester, suggesting that this selection of languages is somewhat outdated. Nevertheless, the flexible approach to leaflets ensures resources are effectively allocated and caters to some multilingual needs.



Greater Manchester Police makes some leaflets, such as security packs, available in different languages. In Chinatown, for example, Crimestoppers have recently provided a range of printed, translated material which is proving cost-effective to the police service whilst also guaranteeing the wider circulation of the Crimestoppers contact information. Greater Manchester Fire and Rescue Services have distributed fire prevention leaflets to small businesses, translated into various South Asian languages by the M-four translation service. Other translated leaflets can be viewed on a central website, focused on the Fire Kills campaign, where 18 languages are represented in addition to English. Greater Manchester Fire and Rescue Services also print multilingual banners when conducting community engagement events. GP surgeries report a fairly low demand for translated leaflets, although these are often still made available in the interest of serving the whole community. Local pharmacies are able to order leaflets in community languages from a central, national NHS distributor. We have found that such leaflets are in common distribution in Cheetham Hill, Rusholme, Longsight and even Chorlton. There seems to be demand especially for multilingual leaflets the content of which targets particular religious and ethnic minorities, such as instructions on how to take medication during the Ramadan fasting period. Multilingual electronic appointment registration machines are an additional, valuable resource available in numerous hospitals and GP Practices in Manchester.

Internet-based and multimedia resources are sometimes offered by services in Manchester in an attempt to target a broader spectrum of users. Jobcentre Plus information can be accessed online, throughout the country, in Arabic, Bengali,

Gujarati, Polish, Panjabi, Somali, Urdu and Vietnamese. The NHS has also made information accessible to multilingual users on its ChooseWell website, the mechanism of which is powered by Google Translate. Greater Manchester Fire and Rescue Service deliver workshops based around a multilingual DVD. With a list of seven key languages in Manchester, provided by M-four, they have produced this resource to address the fire safety issues of overcrowded houses, loose clothing and cooking hazards. The accompanying workshops are conducted in community centres, with the help of volunteers, and can be delivered entirely in a language other than English; most often, this includes Bengali, Panjabi and Urdu.

4.4 Multilingual staff

Multilingual staff members can prove a valuable resource within any service. As well as being easily accessible, they bring an understanding of the specific service field, which external interpreters may not possess, and they may even have specific local knowledge. However, due to the range of languages spoken in Manchester, organisations and departments that depend on multilingual staff must adopt a level of flexibility and match resources to demand. At M-four, for example, Vietnamese is not in high demand and Vietnamese interpreters and translators are not employed full-time. When demand does arise due to emerging communities, the service must respond by recruiting or training new staff. Similar flexibility is found in the education sector in Manchester. The City Council has a team of around 6 permanent, multilingual teaching assistants, who can



deliver support to children in around 9 different languages. However, additional multilingual assistance is available through One Education and the voluntary sector, and over the course of a year, typically support services for around 40-50 different languages are commissioned. The selection is determined by the individual needs of pupils and schools. One Education itself focuses on providing classroom support in around 35 different languages, and employs 40 staff to cover these needs. Recruitment of staff members is largely based on the profile of requests received from schools. Currently, the most common language cited by One Education is Arabic, while Cantonese, Mandarin, Panjabi and Urdu also feature highly.

Lesser-represented languages often require more thorough consideration and attention, due to the sparser availability of classroom-based interpreters. Over the past decade, Manchester City Council recruited several members of the Somali community, training and supporting them to fulfil roles within schools, including teaching assistants, mentors and liaison positions. A similar initiative was taken for the Romani community. In partnership between Manchester City Council, the Romani Project at the University of Manchester, and the Big Life Company's Sure Start initiative, a training programme was launched in 2010 for young members of the Romani community, and around a dozen are currently engaged on a part-time basis to support schools with Romani pupils as well as other services.

The role of some services is, at least formally, less dependent on multilingual staff. However, we find that language skills still form a key consideration in staff recruitment. Within Greater Manchester Police, there are many multilingual staff members working across all departments, especially at Bootle Street Station. Multilingual applicants are not targeted specifically, but languages are seen as a bonus during the recruitment process. The language skills of existing staff are used on a casual basis, and announcements are made in the station calling for any officers who can provide an immediate interpreting service. Emails are also circulated in advance of large events, seeking officers who speak particular languages. Jobcentre Plus in Rusholme takes a similar approach: Although they do not recruit multilingual staff specifically, linguistic diversity is valued and the service maintains a database of staff languages to ensure that this advantage is maximised. The service also offer staff awareness training in order to improve the way they communicate with jobseekers whose first language is not English. Greater Manchester Fire and Rescue Services employ Community Safety Advisors. These are non-uniformed staff who are recruited to engage with the public in individual wards in Manchester, for example by carrying out home visits.

4.5 Volunteer support

Alongside contracted staff, services in Manchester make use of a far-reaching network of community volunteers. Greater Manchester Police rely on volunteers to assist community engagement in a number of ways. Quarterly neighbourhood

surveys are conducted around Manchester; however, these are only available in English. As such, members of individual communities often assist with the interpretation or translation of the survey's questions. Language can also pose a barrier during door-to-door calls, and volunteers are a cost-effective solution in comparison to the expensive option of hiring interpreters to accompany lengthy neighbourhood sessions. In these circumstances, family members may also be used to

4.6 Proficiency in English

In addition to providing multilingual support, Manchester services offer assistance with improving English proficiency. Jobcentre Plus focuses on supporting jobseekers to develop their English so that they can communicate in the workplace. Classes are offered in some Jobcentre Plus offices, and learners are also referred to Manchester Adult Education Service. The latter has 600 enrolled learners who take classes in English as an additional language. Among those, the service identifies around 70-80 different home languages. Manchester Adult Education Service reports a rising but later levelling proportion of clients who report eastern European home languages such as Polish, Czech and Slovak in recent years. According to this service, the highest levels of English support are required by speakers of South East Asian and African languages such as Bengali, Somali and Urdu because of issues with access to education in their home countries, including barriers based on gender.

According to the 2011 Census, only 3% of respondents in Manchester who report that English is not their main language declare that they are unable to speak any English, while 80% state that they speak English "very well" or "well". This indicates a high level of functional multilingualism in the population of people with English as an additional language. The age group from 25-40 have the highest rates of reporting main languages other than English, but they also report high proficiency in English, which is very consistent with employment-based immigration and the accompanying need for English proficiency. Above this age range, most people claim to be English-speaking. The proportion of people over 70 years old among those who declared that they "cannot speak any English" was, however, remarkably high. This indicates that the elderly population is most likely to have little or no English proficiency. By contrast, the age category 15-24 generally reported high English proficiency even if English is not their main language, which is consistent with Manchester's large student population.

5. Language skills as a community resource

Manchester's linguistic diversity is an extremely valuable asset. Languages are a precious community resource, which has a significant value in both education and business communication at a local and international scale. We are informed by the City Council's Regeneration Team that the presence of an educated, young population with diverse language skills serves as a key factor – alongside Manchester's overall size, transport and communication networks,



and local training and research facilities -- in attracting major multinational companies to invest in the city. Research carried out by University of Manchester students in 2013 found that Human Resources managers generally value language skills. International companies such as Americana Ltd. and AMEC specifically expressed a preference for multilingual employees. Such attitudes are confirmed by staff recruitment adverts for Manchester-based companies. In the first part of 2013, Manchester adverts posted on the Universal Jobmatch showed a high demand for language skills, especially German and

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Languages: English, French, German **Location:** United Kingdom, North West, Manchester, Manchester City Centre

French, in a variety of sectors including Customer Service (36%), Sales/Marketing (20%), Management Roles (17%) and Teaching (14%).

The website Top Language Jobs, consulted over a two-week period in early 2013, advertised 33 jobs in the Manchester area that required skills in Arabic, Czech, Cantonese, Danish, Dutch, French, German, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Lithuanian, Malay, Mandarin, Nepali, Norwegian, Polish, Portuguese, Panjabi, Swedish and Thai. Alongside translation and interpretation jobs, they included positions in sales and international sales, business development, travel consultancy and editing, with an annual salary range between £16,000-£35,000.

Some 3,000 pupils at Manchester state schools sat GCSE examinations in foreign languages in 2012. The most common languages were French, German and Spanish. GCSE qualifications in community languages are less common in state schools. Nevertheless, data for 2012 show that 163 qualifications were awarded in Urdu, mainly at Abraham Moss, Levenshulme, Burnage, and Parris Wood High Schools; 70 GCSEs in Arabic, mainly at Whalley Range High School and Manchester Academy, while 35 were awarded in Polish at various schools, including St Paul's and St Peter's Catholic High Schools. 29 Chinese GCSEs were attained across a number of schools, and 23 were achieved in Modern Hebrew at King David High School. The majority of GCSE qualifications, however, are awarded via supplementary schools, and precise data are unavailable since they are not captured by the local education authority.

To further encourage multilingual achievement in 2014, Manchester Central Library is planning to expand its provision of educational materials and accompanying support resources in the following languages: Arabic (Egyptian and Gulf), Bengali, Chinese (Mandarin and Cantonese), English and English as an additional language, Persian, French, German, Greek, Italian, Japanese, Latin, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish, Thai, Turkish and Urdu.

Additional language learning provisions, not including support materials, are planned to cover Albanian, Bengali, Bulgarian, Croatian, Czech, Danish, Finnish, Gaelic, Gujarati, Hebrew, Hindi, Hungarian, Irish, Korean, Kurdish, Latvian, Lithuanian, Nepali, Panjabi, Polish, Serbian, Slovenian, Somali, Swahili, Swedish, Tamil, Vietnamese, Indonesian and Welsh.



6. Assessment and outlook



Allowing minority communities access to services in their own language is an integral part of the mission statement of all key service providers in Manchester. All major agencies in the city make some provisions to communicate with population sectors in their community languages. Some, most notably libraries, make an effort to help promote and maintain community languages by stocking resources, while the education sector recognises qualifications obtained in community languages through supplementary schools. By far the most common provision in the public sector is face to face interpreting (and where relevant, document translation). Agencies usually provide interpreting services directly in response to specific requests by clients, but the availability of the service is often advertised through leaflets and websites and agency staff are instructed to show sensitivity toward interpreting needs and to respond to such needs as a matter of routine. In this respect, Manchester's key community language strategy in the public sector is responsive rather than pro-active; it relies on demand rather than on the principle of promoting specific languages in the public sector (as is the case, by contrast, for regional languages such as Welsh, Scottish Gaelic or even Manx). Consequently, resource allocation is **pragmatic**: In-house interpreting services are offered only by some agencies and institutions, and only for those languages that are constantly in high demand, while the supply of interpreter services for other languages is outsourced to the private sector; which in turn often relies on part-time and free-lance staff. Nonetheless, agencies allocate regular budgets for interpreting provisions, and although language provisions are not directly regulated by legal requirements or governed by any official status regulation of the individual community languages, they are without a doubt part of the institutional policy of local service providers. Needs are assessed primarily through monitoring of demand, which is normally carried out separately within each and every agency. Responding to needs is thus in most cases **de-centralised**. As far as we have been able to ascertain, the city has no overarching language policy framework. While key services of Manchester City Council draw on a shared pool of resources and staff (namely M-four) for interpreter services, we have found no indication that different institutions and agencies within the city's public sector attempt to coordinate language provisions or even to share datasets on demand for language services.

Local agencies are clearly interested in better understanding language needs, and in being able to anticipate changing demands, as well as in the spatial distribution of languages across wards and districts. Decisions on language provisions and resource allocation are not, however, made on the basis of any formal status regulation of individual community languages within recognised boundaries. This is understandable in light of the considerable dispersion of most language communities, and the presence of only partial spatial concentrations. Since supply of both interpreter provisions and library resources is sensitive to client demand, it is generally flexible and dynamic. In some cases, however, institutions take initiative to reach out to minority language communities. GP surgeries, local libraries, and in some cases leisure centres and police stations, may display information leaflets and signage in community languages, and information on Council services and public consultations usually contains an advice note directing clients to a telephone helpline through which interpretation or translation can be obtained. The choice of languages displayed on printed information material usually reflects ad hoc, local decisions. For

example, in July 2013 the Manchester Sports and Leisure Trust released a Health Suite instruction leaflet with translations into Urdu, Panjabi, and Arabic, while a Council leaflet promoting a public consultation on planned traffic changes on Oxford Road carried a generic reference to interpreter services which included notices in Bosnian and Vietnamese, neither of which are currently in high demand in the city, but did not have Kurdish, Persian, or Polish, which are much more widespread.

Language maintenance relies largely on family and community initiative and draws on community resources for funding, overall strategy, and staff skills. Provisions made by public sector agencies play a peripheral role in promoting or maintaining community languages. Public institutions support some languages through broadcasting, by offering qualifications in some community languages in some state schools, as well as by recognising supplementary schools and the qualifications that they facilitate. The public **visibility** of community languages relies almost entirely on private initiative, led mainly by small and local outlets in the commercial sector and in part by religious or other community centres. Only some public sector agencies display signs in community languages, and here too choices are made at a local level and are not governed either by a general policy or by spatial boundaries. The promotion of English language skills is facilitated by a range of provisions, most notably support for schoolchildren who have English as an additional language as well as adult education classes. But Manchester's institutions do not in any way intervene to discourage the use of heritage or community languages either in the home, in public places, the commercial sector, media, or public signage. The promotion of community languages in Manchester is thus a bottom-up, community-based initiative.

How does Manchester compare with other multilingual cities? Some larger cities with an English-speaking majority and a large minority or immigrant population have explicitly formulated language policies. San Francisco's public services and utilities have official documents on Language Access Policy and Procedures that regulate provisions for Chinese, Spanish, and Russian, in addition to English, and New York City's public institutions recognise the nine most common languages other than English (Arabic, Bengali, Chinese, French, Haitian Creole, Russian, Spanish, Urdu and Korean). Melbourne had a policy that guaranteed local broadcasting in community languages and government support for community-led after-hour schools, as well as a 24-hour telephone interpreter service, and which promoted instruction at state schools of community languages such as German, Italian and Greek. While some of these provisions remain in place, priorities have been adjusted to reflect more recent immigration trends, with Melbourne's libraries, for example, now promoting resources in Chinese, Hindi, Indonesian, Vietnamese, Japanese and Korean, and schools giving more attention to Chinese, Japanese and Indonesian. Manchester's commitment to support multilingual access to local services, alongside its reliance on private, community initiative to promote and maintain heritage languages, is very similar to the approach found in other cities in the UK such as Southampton, Nottingham, Sheffield, as well as London. However, in terms of its population size and the extent of its language diversity – the local authority is directly responsible for some 480,000 residents within its municipal boundaries, around half of whom are probably multilingual – Manchester is an exceptional and noteworthy case. The city's demographics show an exceptional recent growth rate among its young population, and a high percentage of multilingualism among its youth. The city tolerates and accepts the visibility of community languages in its public spaces, and communities and the private sector take initiative to support the vitality of community languages. All this suggests to us that Manchester's language diversity is here to stay.



Multilingual Manchester: A Digest



Authors

Deepthi Gopal
Yaron Matras
Laura Percival
Alex Robertson
Marie Wright

Sources consulted included interviews with representatives of Manchester agencies and service providers, carried out in 2013 by the authors with support from Sara Khan and Samia Yasmin, and reports authored by University of Manchester students in 2013, which can be accessed under 'Reports' on the Multilingual Manchester online archive (<http://mlm.humanities.manchester.ac.uk>), where a keyword search is also available. The authors gratefully acknowledge financial support from the Faculty of Humanities Strategic Investment Reserve Fund (SIRF) and from Cities@manchester, and technical and logistic support from Hazel Gardner and Ruth Hill.

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mlm@manchester.ac.uk
<http://mlm.humanities.manchester.ac.uk>

**Multilingual Manchester is based at the
School of Arts, Languages and Cultures
University of Manchester
Oxford Road, Manchester M13 9PL,
UK
phone (0044) (0)161 275 5999**

