

**A comparative ethnographic study of students'
experiences and perceptions of language ideologies in
bilingual Welsh/English education:
Inclusive policy and exclusionary practice**

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**This thesis is submitted to the University of Cardiff for the degree
of
Doctor of Philosophy**

October 2012

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Previous Publications

Garrett, P., C. Selleck, et al. (2011). English in England and Wales: Multiple ideologies. Standard Languages and Language Standards in a Changing Europe. T. Kristiansen and N. Coupland. Oslo, Novus Press.

Selleck, C (2011). "Review of Susanna Pertot, Tom M. S. Priestly and Colin H. Williams (eds) 2009 Rights, Promotion and Integration: Issues for Minority Languages in Europe. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan." Journal of Sociolinguistics **15** (4): 537-543

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Summary

A comparative ethnographic study of students' experiences and perceptions of language ideologies in bilingual Welsh/English education: Inclusive policy and exclusionary practice

Charlotte L R Selleck

This study investigates the interplay of linguistic practices, linguistic representations, language ideologies and social inclusion between students in three related research sites in south-west Wales; a designated English-medium school, a designated Bilingual school and a Youth Club, as a point of contact between students from both schools. It identifies how students experience and interpret the language-ideological content of their education. The following questions underpin the current research:

1. How are the institutional arrangements within this community (or locality) understood by the students? Do school students see themselves operating within language ideological structures? Do students resist or affirm school-based ideologies and school-based practice?
2. How do students understand, interpret and live out what language policy and planning documents in Wales refer to as 'true bilingualism'? Is 'choice' experienced as such at institutional, individual and community levels?
3. Is the Welsh language accounted to be an obstacle to social integration for young people within the 'community' and into the school environment, or a positive resource?

Ethnographic research has been carried out in both schools and at the Youth Club, with three principle methods characterising this research; ethnographic observational fieldwork, ethnographic chats, and audio recordings of spontaneous interaction.

This study sets out to investigate how the young people at two contrasting (and ideologically polarised) secondary schools in an 'community' traditionally thought of as a heartland area understand and orient to the language ideological content of their education. In the school-based data language choice results in boundaries being put up around language and language users, both inter-school and intra-school, with students forming language hierarchies, positioning themselves and others as more or less Welsh, English or bilingual, 'better' or 'worse' at speaking Welsh and/or English, and more or less authentically Welsh. Schools serve to reinforce and reproduce social divisions, leading to issues of social exclusion. Contrastingly, the Youth Club data highlights that, when freed from the ideological constraints of the school, the young people reflect, sometimes critically, on their school-based practice and school-based ideologies.

This study adds to our knowledge about Welsh-medium/bilingual education in Wales; it helps us better understand 'multilingual' Wales.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

This introductory chapter will outline an overview of this research study, and the structure that this thesis will follow.

This comparative ethnographic study will investigate the interplay of linguistic practices, linguistic representations, language ideologies and social inclusion between secondary school students in three related research sites. These sites are all within an area of south-west Wales largely considered, although not entirely without contestation to be a heartland for the Welsh language. The sites will include a designated English-medium school, a designated Bilingual school and a Youth Club. The Youth Club will act as a point of contact between students from both schools. This study sets out to investigate how the young people at two contrasting (and ideologically polarised) secondary schools understand and orient to the language ideological content of their education.

The political and historical context of the Welsh language revival will be discussed in Chapter 2 of this thesis. Subsequently a more detailed overview will follow of the planned role of language in education. Chapter 2 will culminate in a discussion of heartland areas and the effects of social class on language use.

To get behind the standard demographic account of revitalisation, it is important not to over-rely on objective facts, which provide only a superficial understanding of the Welsh language context. Chapter 3 will cast a critical-ideological eye over the Welsh language policy and planning initiatives. The unwritten assumptions behind key policy documents will be discussed. In order to do this, I need first to outline theoretical aspects of the concept of language ideology, both in a relatively abstract way and then as it applies to the field of education and educational research.

At the end of Chapter 3 I introduce the following three research questions:

1. How are the institutional arrangements within this community (or locality) understood by the students? Do school students see themselves operating within language ideological structures? Do students resist or affirm school-based ideologies and school-based practice?
2. How do students understand, interpret and live out what language policy and planning documents in Wales refer to as 'true bilingualism'? Is 'choice' experienced as such at institutional, individual and community levels?
3. Is the Welsh language accounted to be an obstacle to social integration for young people within the 'community' and into the school environment, or a positive resource?

To answer these research questions I will draw on three complementary ethnographic methods: ethnographic observational fieldwork, ethnographic chats, and audio recordings of spontaneous interaction, which will be set out and discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

The following three chapters will present empirical data collected from the three research sites between September 2008 and January 2011. The data from the English school will be presented in chapter 5, data from the Welsh school in Chapter 6, and the Youth Club data will be presented in Chapter 7. In the school-based data, it will be argued that language choice results in boundaries being put up around language and language users, both inter-school and intra-school, with students forming language hierarchies, positioning themselves and others as more or less Welsh, English or bilingual, 'better' or 'worse' at speaking Welsh and/or English, and more or less authentically Welsh. It will be shown that schools serve to reinforce and reproduce social divisions, leading to issues of social exclusion. Contrastingly, the Youth Club data will highlight that, when freed from the ideological constraints of the school, the young people reflect, sometimes critically, on their school-based practice and school-based ideologies.

In Chapter 8 the research methods will be critically appraised and following that, the research questions will be re-addressed in light of the analyses presented. Two principle themes will be discussed; language choice and issues relating to social inclusion and social exclusion. The research concludes with a discussion of the future of bilingual education and bilingualism in Wales.

This study adds to the knowledge about Welsh-medium/bilingual education in Wales and enables a better understanding of 'multilingual' Wales.

Chapter 2

Language Revitalisation in Wales: the Political and Historical Context

2.1 Introduction

This study is a comparative ethnographic study of two contrasting secondary schools in an area of Wales largely considered, although not entirely without contestation, to be a heartland for the Welsh language. To provide the contextual background for this study an overview of the political and historical context of Wales, as it relates to language, will be outlined in this chapter.

Firstly, the decline and the revitalisation of the language will be discussed. Whilst the Welsh language is often cited as a successful example of language revitalisation there is a long and contested history of decline and revitalisation within Wales, with different effects in different places. These macro forces can be seen to leave their imprint on specific groups of people and this study seeks to provide a snapshot of one such community. Secondly, a more detailed overview will follow of the planned role of language in education. Finally a discussion of heartland areas and the effects of social class on language use will be undertaken.

2.2 A History of Language Decline and the Process of Language Revitalisation

As a result of the 1536 Act of Union Wales, and the related Act of 1542, Wales became firmly situated within the political, legal and administrative jurisdiction of the British Crown and Parliament. As a result of these Acts, the Welsh language was proscribed from the courts, and from other official domains, in favour of English, while virtually all separate Welsh speaking institutions were eliminated. This situation continued for over three hundred years, with the political and social organisation of Wales remaining largely indistinguishable from England's (Davies 2007). By the start of the 20th Century, English had become the dominant language in Wales, and 'the language with the greatest power and authority' (Jones and Martin Jones 2004: 44). The influence of English was most notable in relation to

education. Jones and Martin Jones (2004) report that a series of government documents associated the Welsh language with backwardness, and with rioting in the 1830's and 1840's. The now infamous 'Blue Books/*Llyfrau Gleision*', reporting on the state of education in Wales, published in 1847 reported that 'the Welsh language is a vast drawback to Wales, and a manifold barrier to the moral progress and commercial prosperity of the people' (reported in Robert 1998: 204).

This long-standing institutional proscription and derogation of the Welsh language culminated over the course of the twentieth century in rapid language loss. In 1911 it was reported that 43.5% of the population spoke Welsh. Despite a slight increase in a sense of nationalism as far back as the 19th Century, the number of Welsh language speakers was recorded at its lowest, 18.7%, in the 1991 census (H. Jones 2008). Concerted efforts to revitalise the language only started in the middle of the 20th Century, most notably by S. Lewis in (1962). In his pivotal radio lecture, *Tynged yr Iaith* (The fate of the language), delivered in Welsh, Lewis galvanised Welsh speakers, urging them to show 'determination, will power, struggle, sacrifice and endeavour', in order to stop the 'respectful and peaceful death and burial without mourning for the Welsh language'. This, he claimed, would require 'nothing less than a revolution to restore the Welsh language in Wales' (Lewis 1962).

This effort to revitalise the Welsh language continued with the establishment of the Welsh Office in 1964 which led to the introduction of a range of legislative measures specific to Wales, and in particular, to the Welsh Language. Of the acts that were passed the most significant included the 1967 Welsh Language Act, offering 'equal validity' for English and Welsh in Wales, later extended by the Welsh Language Act of 1993 and the 1988 Education Reform Act (discussed in greater detail in section 2.3). The 1993 Welsh Language Act provided the basis for a series of planning documents. Principally the act placed Welsh on an equal footing with the English language in Wales with regards to the public sector, stating that 'in the conduct of public business and the administration of justice in Wales, so far as is both appropriate in the circumstances and reasonably

practicable, the Welsh and English language are to be treated on the basis of equality' (Welsh Language Act 1993).

This gradual shift in power to Wales was expedited by the emergence of *Cymdeithas yr Iaith* (the Welsh Language Society) in 1960, a group advocating non-violent direct action in support of the extension of Welsh language rights. The activities of the Welsh Language Society led in part to the establishment of Welsh-language media (most notably S4C), the Welsh Language Board (now superseded by a Welsh Language Commissioner) and increasing demand for Welsh language services. The progress towards greater institutional differentiation from England culminated in 1997 when Wales voted to become politically devolved from the UK government, establishing the National Assembly for Wales/*Cynulliad Cenedlaethol Cymru* (although the first National Assembly for Wales was not elected until May 1999). This major political change opened up new opportunities for language policy development, which will be discussed below.

The initial efforts at language revitalisation have resulted in a 2% rise on the 1991 figure, in that the 2001 census reported that 28.4 % of the population (that is of the 2,805,701 people in Wales aged 3 and over on the 29th April 2001) have some knowledge of the Welsh language¹. At this stage it's important to have a discussion of the methodological limitations regarding census data collection. The 2001 census saw the inclusion of new administrative boundaries in Wales as well as amended conventions in counting the student population. These changes complicate a comparison with the 1991 data. Significantly, Aitchison and Carter also indicate that the 2001 census elaborated the formerly used question 'Can you speak, read or write Welsh?' by adding the 'understanding' dimension, allowing respondents to indicate their knowledge for each dimension (Aitchison and Carter 2004). So as Coupland (2006a) points out, whilst more data exists on Welsh as a result of the 2001 census it cannot be 'unambiguously set alongside previous results' (Coupland 2006a: 450). In light of the above caveats, there is a consensus

¹ Although note that this figure is based on the assumption that the two census enumerations are directly comparable, which is not necessarily the case. Nevertheless, the figure of 2% is broadly indicative of a prevailing trend

of opinion that the number of self-declaring speakers of Welsh has stabilised since 1991².

The major political changes mentioned above resulted in a series of policy documents, the most significant of which will be outlined below (and the documents will be further discussed from an ideological perspective in Chapter 3). A significant event was the publishing of a 'national action plan for a bilingual Wales' entitled *Iaith Pawb/Everyone's Language* (Welsh Assembly Government 2003). In the foreword of this comprehensive document, the First Minister and the Minister for Culture, Sport and the Welsh Language expressed the aspirations of the Welsh Assembly Government as follows:

Our vision is a bold one [...] a truly bilingual Wales, by which we mean a country where people can choose to live their lives through the medium of either or both Welsh or English and where the presence of the two languages is a source of pride and strength to us all (Welsh Assembly Government 2003: 1)

Iaith Pawb goes on to refer to the Wales it has in prospect, as a 'truly bilingual nation' (Welsh Assembly Government 2003: 15). Yet, the question of whether 'bilingualism' can result from choosing to live your life only through the medium of one language, Welsh or English, relates to long-running sociolinguistic discussions of the relationship between societal and individual bilingualism – 'a country may be officially bilingual or multilingual and yet most of its citizens may have only a single language competence' (Edwards 1994: 55). Even so, *Iaith Pawb's* overriding ideology is one of choice and equality of access: equality between languages and choice as to which language to use, with an apparent desire to normalise bilingualism on these terms. A fuller discussion of choice will be deferred until Chapter 3 and Chapter 8 of this thesis. That said, Coupland (2010), argues that "choice" between languages is in any case a sociolinguistically compromised concept' (Coupland 2010: 33), largely because members of speech communities are always constrained by norms that predispose linguistic practice, but also

² The 2011 census data had not been released at the time of writing.

because there are circumstances of choosing (such as choosing a school-type defined by its medium of instruction) that can't be avoided. That is, there is often a normative structure around choice. In other words, liberal attempts to define bilingualism on these terms are conditional on 'choice' being experienced as such at institutional, individual and community levels.

Nevertheless, the document sets out, in clear terms, the government's strategy and commitment to the Welsh language, and as mentioned, the document became the cornerstone of subsequent language policies. Success was measured on a series of five objective numerical categories; increasing the proportion of Welsh speakers, arrest the decline in the number of communities where Welsh is spoken by over 70% of the population, increase the percentage of children receiving Welsh pre-school education, increase the percentage of families where Welsh is the principal language of communication and increase the availability of Welsh language services in public, private and voluntary bodies in Wales.

Whilst issues relating to language competency are not the primary focus of this study, it is interesting to note that competence features strongly in language policy and planning, as a main touchstone for what planning and policy developments are intended to bring about (i.e. revitalisation). The prime language-planning agency to achieve these aims was the Welsh Language Board (established as a statutory body under the Welsh Language Act 1993). The board, until recently (when it was superseded by a Welsh Language Commissioner) had two simultaneous roles, regulatory (agreeing and monitoring public bodies' Welsh language schemes) and championing, promoting and facilitating the use of Welsh.

A further significant development was the passing of the Welsh Language Measure (2011), which further expands on existing legal frameworks governed by the Welsh Language Act of 1993. The measure seeks to establish Welsh as an official language as well as extending the use of Welsh to some private companies. The equality agenda remains in the measure, albeit with a technical shift from treating Welsh and English on the basis of equality to Welsh being 'treated no less favourably than the English language' (Welsh Language Measure 2011). Notably

the measure also established the role of a Welsh Language Commissioner, who takes over the role of promoting and facilitating the use of Welsh. Significantly, however, the commissioner has greater enforcement powers, principally in relation to accessing services in Welsh. In 2012, a further five-year strategy was published, *Iaith Fyw: Iaith Byw/A Living Language: A Language for Living* (Welsh Assembly Government 2012). The strategy has as both its title and central tenet the need for ‘a living language, a language for living’, one that is used in ‘daily lives at home, socially, or professionally’ (*ibid*: 16) and thus reflects the Assembly’s vision that the Welsh language remains an integral part of Welsh culture and society.

2.3 The Planned Role of Education in Wales

The first independent primary *Ysgol Gymraeg* (Welsh school) was founded in 1939 by a group of parents in Aberystwyth (Jones and Martin Jones 2004: 49). In 1947, as a result of the 1944 Act of Education the first of the state run primary schools opened in Llanelli, Carmarthenshire. Whilst the inception of Welsh primary education was driven by parental demand, secondary education was initiated through the actions of particular Local Education Authorities (Bellin 1984). The first bilingual secondary school opened in 1956 and marked ‘the beginning of institutional change in Welsh secondary education’ (Baker 1993: 81). The history of the development of Welsh-medium education is further documented by Elwyn Jones 1994, Lewis 2008, Jones and Martin Jones 2004.

Education has long been argued to be the primary agency for changing the language situation in Wales (Farell et al. 1997); see also Jones and Martin-Jones 2004; Lewis 2008; Musk 2010 and Redknap 2006. It has an explicit role in the intended revitalisation of Welsh, namely that of capacity building, developing people who can function in Welsh beyond the confines of education, in other settings (business, industry, etc.) and who might therefore enable Wales to function as a ‘truly bilingual nation’ (in the sense of *Iaith Pawb*). Education within a wider context of language revitalisation is all encompassing, seeking both to generate new learners and to maintain the use of the language in existing speakers.

Since the establishment of the first state-funded Welsh-medium primary school in 1947, the sector has grown rapidly across Wales, led primarily by parental demand. Data from the most recent school census in Wales (2011/2012) suggests that approximately 30% of primary schools in Wales are Welsh-medium (with 67% of primary schools being English-medium and 3% being dual stream). The same data indicates that 17% of secondary schools in Wales are Welsh-medium³ schools (with 75% of secondary schools being English medium and 8% being dual stream). The number of students in Welsh-medium and English-medium education has remained constant between 2009 and 2011 at around 14% of students in Welsh-medium and 85% in English-medium education (StatsWales 2011/2012).

Welsh-medium or bilingual provision has traditionally varied from one Local Education Authority to another, with schools adopting different policies and practices (Lewis 2008). The Welsh Language Board also highlighted the ad-hoc way in which the education sector has developed, without any apparent central planning or co-ordination by the State (The Welsh Language Board 2002). In 2007, in an attempt to clarify the categorization of school types in Wales the Welsh Assembly Government published a document entitled 'Defining schools according to Welsh medium provision' (Welsh Assembly Government 2007). The document sets out definitions and categories of schools in Wales according to the language which is used as the medium of instruction and in the normal running of the school. In basic terms there are four categories of secondary schools, with the 'Bilingual' category comprising four sub-groups (with these sub-divisions being made according to the provision for Welsh-medium education). See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of the two schools involved in this study.

Parliamentary devolution has created circumstances in which educational policies have become increasingly distinct from those in other parts of the UK. The discussion of the distinctiveness of the curriculum in schools in Wales has centred around the place of the Welsh language and the extent to which other aspects of the Welsh experience should be reflected in pupils' education. The 1988 Education

³ By this I mean Welsh-medium secondary schools and Bilingual schools (category A).

Reform Act incorporated a specifically Welsh (and Welsh-language) dimension into the newly established National Curriculum for England and Wales. It enshrined into law a curriculum, in which certain subjects were stipulated as compulsory and in which curricular content was prescribed. Welsh, in Wales, has since been a core subject alongside English in Welsh-medium and bilingual schools, and a foundation subject (Welsh as a second language) in all other schools. Welsh is therefore a compulsory part of the National Curriculum for all students in Wales until the age of 16. This institutional support paved the way for the introduction of Welsh-medium public examinations, and by 2009 it was possible to sit in excess of four hundred qualifications through the medium of Welsh.

In recent years there has been an increasing emphasis placed on the Welsh language and Welsh cultural dimension of the curriculum in Wales. The seminal policy in this regard is *Y Cwricwlwm Cymreig*/Curriculum Cymreig (ACCAC Qualifications Curriculum and Assessment Authority for Wales 2003), which is intended to encapsulate the ‘Welshness’ of the curriculum in Welsh schools. The document argues that all pupils in Wales are entitled to a ‘Welsh curriculum’, which they define as conveying a sense of place and heritage, a sense of belonging, a knowledge of the contribution which the Welsh language and Welsh literature has made to life in Wales, an understanding of the importance of the creative arts, and an awareness of the influence of religious beliefs and practices on Welsh life. *Y Cwricwlwm Cymreig* outlines ways in which Welsh schools can help ‘pupils to understand and celebrate the distinctive quality of living and learning in Wales in the twenty-first century, to identify their own sense of Welshness and to feel a heightened sense of belonging to their local community and country’ (ACCAC Qualifications Curriculum and Assessment Authority for Wales 2003: 2). The curriculum forms the basis of educational inspection, with Estyn, the educational inspectorate for Wales, placing an emphasis on a Welsh ‘ethos that promotes the Welsh language and culture and positive attitudes towards them’ (Estyn 2010a: 5). Inspectors judge the extent to which the provider promotes the development of the pupils’ knowledge and understanding of the cultural, environmental, historical

and linguistic characteristics of Wales⁴. Statements of this sort clearly indicate a complex of ideological values and aspirations, which will be discussed and analysed both in Chapter 3 and in the main body of this thesis.

2.4 Heartland Communities

The community under investigation straddles Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion, an area largely considered, although not entirely without contestation, to be part of the traditional Welsh-speaking heartland community. Approximately 62% of those aged 3 and over, within the area under investigation, report to have some knowledge of the Welsh language (National Statistics Publication 2004).

It has long been considered that traditional Welsh-speaking enclaves are recognisable as areas where more than 60% of the population report to have some knowledge of the Welsh language (Aitchison and Carter 2004: 36)⁵. Note, however, that unlike the Gaeltacht in Ireland, these areas are not officially recognised within Wales⁶. Baker suggests that the notion of a 'heartland area' seems to have two origins, one academic and one popularist (Baker 1985: 14). Academically, Bowen (1959) made the distinction between 'traditional' and 'modern' Wales and between 'inner' and 'outer' Wales (also termed *Cymru Gymraeg* and *Cymru ddi-Gymraeg*, translated as 'Welsh Wales' and 'Wales without Welsh') (Bowen 1959). Saunders Lewis then popularised the notion of a heartland area in his radio lecture, *Tynged yr Iaith/The Fate of the Language* (1962), arguing for the primacy of Welsh in various administrative areas in Wales. Note that although he didn't specifically argue for the idea of a *Fro Gymraeg*, he is regarded as inspiring

⁴ The common Inspection Framework (2010b) identifies three areas in which the Welsh dimension (*Y Cwrriculwm Cymreig*) is assessed. Section 1.1.5, the standard of Welsh language, Section 2.1.1 'meeting the needs of learners, employers and community' and Section 2.1.3, 'Welsh language provision and the Welsh dimension' (Estyn 2010b Common Inspection Framework)

⁵ Although it should be acknowledged that the definition has altered over the years. Aitchison and Carter in their 1991 study posited the notion that a heartland area was one where 70%-80% of the population report an ability to speak Welsh

⁶ Note however, the Welsh Spatial Plan (2008), published by the Welsh Assembly Government, partitions Wales into a number of distinct regions or areas – arguing that 'traditional heartlands of the Welsh Language' exist (Welsh Assembly Government 2008)

consciousness of the idea (Baker 1985: 15). More recently Balsom's three-Wales model (1985) distinguished *Y Fro Gymraeg* from 'Welsh Wales' (non-Welsh speaking but Welsh identifying) and 'British Wales' (British identifying and non-Welsh speaking) (Balsom 1985).

In their analysis of the 2001 Census data, Aitchison and Carter posit the following map (Figure 2.1) to report that four areas (Gwynedd, Ynys Môn, Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion) continue to be distinguishable as heartland areas (Aitchison and Carter 2004: 36).

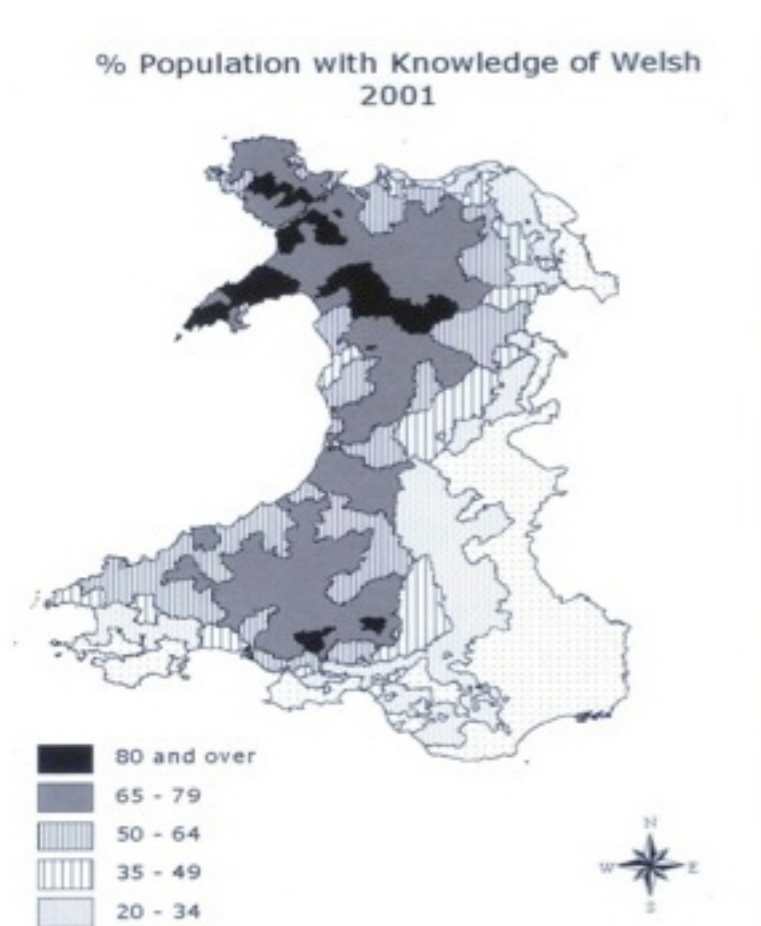


Figure 2.1 Map to show percentage of population with knowledge of Welsh 2001 (Aitchison and Carter 2004: 52).

However, Aitchison and Carter warn that 'the linguistic centre of gravity in Wales is shifting' (Aitchison and Carter 2004: 65), with data indicating that whilst four areas continue to be distinguishable as a 'heartland' areas, these areas also show a

significant decline in the number of Welsh speakers since 1991. These decreases are made up for by significant percentage increases in reported Welsh language ability in historically anglicized areas of South-East Wales. The following map (Figure 2.2) depicts the distribution of Welsh-speakers, indicating that, in absolute numbers there are more people who report to have some knowledge of the Welsh language in South Wales (with Cardiff, the capital of Wales, reporting a gain of nearly 77% (Aitchison and Carter 2004:75), indicating that Welsh has become as much an urban as a rural practice.

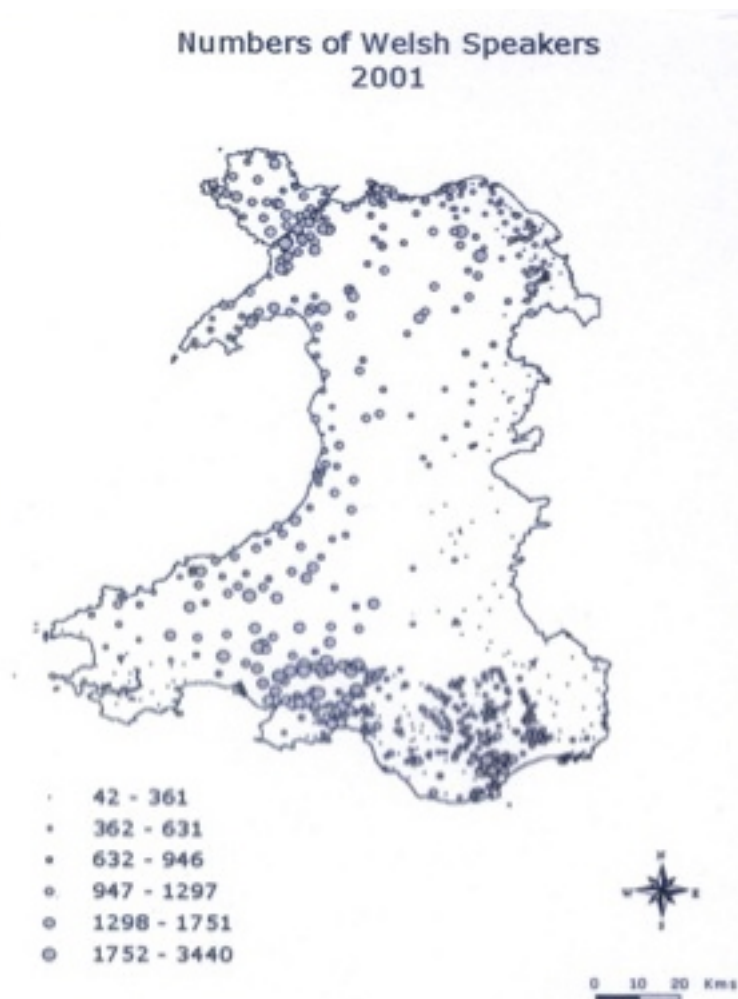


Figure 2.2 Map to show the discrete number of Welsh speakers (Aitchison and Carter 2004: 7)

2.5 Social Class

Data from the most recent school census in Wales (2011/2012) suggests that Welsh-medium⁷ schools account for only 16.7% of secondary schools in Wales, with 71.2% of secondary schools being English-medium (StatsWales 2012). With Welsh-medium education accounting for only a small percentage of the secondary schools in Wales it has arguably become associated with an exclusive group of people. Aitchison and Carter (1997) claim that a 'new bourgeoisie Welsh speaking elite' (Aitchison and Carter 1997:357) exists, with this elite being defined as 'members of a Welsh speaking status group made up of middle-class families' (Fevre et al. 1997: 561). Aitchison and Carter argue that it is now an 'economic advantage to be able to speak Welsh' (Aitchison and Carter 1997: 357). They suggest that it is this empowerment that has 'enabled a Welsh-speaking elite to exert substantial impact upon public affairs' (*ibid*: 30). They go on to associate this elite group with Welsh-medium education, arguing that it is this group of Welsh-speaking elite that 'ensured a system of Welsh-medium education' was established and sustained (*ibid*: 361). Gorard confirms this, arguing that Welsh-medium schools have been perceived by some as 'perpetuating the old grammar schools' (Gorard 1997: 19), schools to serve the 'ethnically conscious intelligentsia' (Webster 1990: 183) and schools that are perceived by others as providing a superior education. Similarly, Mann's (2011) short account of stakeholder data for the Wales institute of Social & Economic Research, Data & Methods (WISERD) reported that perceptions of Welsh being a middle class, elite-ist phenomenon were high (Mann 2011: 10).

Studies have identified that the social position of parents impacts on the choice of medium of instruction, with parents lower in social position often 'making do' with the local school regardless of its medium of instruction (Ball 1993; Gewirtz, et al. 1995). The implication is that the choice of medium of instruction is effectively removed from this group of parents and thus language choice becomes a privilege and a class interest. In this study there is a higher level of deprivation at the

⁷ By this I mean Welsh-medium secondary schools and Bilingual schools (category A).

English school, with 18.5% of students receiving free school meals, in comparison to only 6% at the bilingual school⁸. This may impact on choice of medium of instruction.

The area under scrutiny in this research is primarily a rural and agricultural one. Gorard (1997) argues that 'families from rural areas face a choice from limited options of little diversity' (Gorard 1997: 19). As in the present study, those living in rural parts of Wales have only a limited number of schools to choose between. He goes on to argue that the introduction of Welsh-medium education into rural areas can, for some, serve only to further decrease the available options (Gorard 1997), leaving parents to choose between one 'English' school and another 'Welsh' school.

2.6 Summary

It was stated at the start of this chapter that Wales is often cited as a successful example of language planning. A picture of Wales has been presented here as a series of unproblematic and objective facts. The apparent success, in terms of revitalisation of Welsh, is based on first-level markers of success. In other words a quantitative framing of revitalisation has been presented – i.e. numbers of speakers, numbers of students attending Welsh-medium education, and availability of Welsh-language services. So whilst Wales and Welsh appear to be 'doing well' according to traditional conceptions of language revitalisation, there is a need to question how these language policies fare 'on the ground' (Hornberger and Hult 2008: 285).

In other words there is a need to get behind the standard demographic account of revitalisation. It is important not to over-rely on objective facts, which provide only a superficial understanding of the Welsh language context, in that they obscure personal, interpersonal and group-based processes. What would we find if we cast a critical-ideological eye over the Welsh language policy and planning initiatives? What are the unwritten assumptions and implications behind the key

⁸ Free school meal data is widely used as an indicator of poverty and social and educational disadvantage.

policy documents, in other words what are 'real' language policies (Shohamy 2006)?

Chapter 3

Language Ideologies and Language Planning in Wales

3.1 Introduction

This study adopts a critical approach to researching bilingualism focussing on the study of language within its social, political and historical context, with a primary concern for inequality, linguistic discrimination, and social inclusion/exclusion. Thus, the aim of this research is not to remain descriptive and neutral, instead the intention is to unpack dominant discourses and ‘common sense’ and ‘self-evident’ ideas, whilst also revealing links between local discourse practices and the wider social, ideological and discursive order, between little ‘d’ and big ‘D’ discourses. Analytic questions therefore need to include: What is left unsaid? What is implied? What are the unintended consequences?

This approach, it is hoped, will allow for often-neglected aspects of Welsh language policy and planning documents (such as *Iaith Pawb/Everyone’s Language*, *Cymru’u Un/One Wales*, and *Iaith Fyw: Iaith Byw/A Living Language: A Language for Living*) to become visible (these documents will be discussed in greater detail below), as well as the lived experience of functioning as a school student in Wales under the influence of language planning and related regimes. Ricento (2000) warns, however, that whilst a critical approach has theoretically enriched the field of language policy and planning, research has still not fully accounted for how micro-level interaction relates to the macro of social organisations. This study seeks to go some way towards addressing this within the Welsh context. Thus, the purpose of this study is twofold: firstly to expose some of the unwritten assumptions and implications behind the key policy documents in Wales, and secondly to highlight and critique the dichotomy between an inclusive policy that drives current language policy in Wales and the reality ‘on-the-ground’. In order to do this, I need first to outline theoretical aspects of the concept of language ideology, both in a relatively abstract way and then as it applies to the field of education and educational research.

3.2 Language Ideology

Although scholarship on language ideologies has been extremely productive in recent decades, Kroskrity suggests that ‘there is no particular unity in this immense body of research, no single core literature, and a range of definitions’ (Kroskrity 2004: 296). Most broadly, language ideologies have been defined as ‘shared bodies of common-sense notions about the nature of language in the world’ (Rumsey 1990: 346). Problematically, this definition promotes a homogenised view of language ideologies and fails to address the multiple interests that are invoked, as well as social divisions within sociocultural groups. Language ideologies have also been defined as ‘sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use’ (Silverstein 1979: 193). The definition offered by Silverstein indicates the duality between a system of ‘beliefs’ (conceptual or ideational understanding) and a conscious awareness and reflective process that can be articulated by language users. That said, when you turn to the topic of language planning (as I will do in subsequent sections of this review), it becomes obvious that ideology is not only a matter for language ‘users’. Unlike Rumsey (1990), Silverstein points towards ideologies as multiple and therefore contestable (a concept that will be discussed in greater detail towards the end of this section).

Heath (1977) places a greater emphasis on the social, defining a language ideology as ‘self-evident ideas and objectives a group holds concerning roles of language in the social experiences of members as they contribute to the expression of the group’ (Heath 1977: 53). Irvine (1989) also emphasises the social, arguing that ideologies are ‘the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships together with their loading of moral and political interests’ (Irvine 1989: 255). This definition is particularly useful for this study as it indicates that beliefs people have about language are inseparable from other elements of their lives, their social experiences and, in the context of this study, their education, and more specifically the medium of instruction. In other words, Irvine’s view of ideologies is that they are not developed in a vacuum and are instead subject to complex influences and embedded and situated in experiences of culture and politics. Blackledge similarly argues that ‘ideologies of language are therefore not about language alone, but are

always socially situated and tied to questions of identity and power in societies' (Blackledge 2000: 27). Suggesting that ideologies are linked to power implies dimensions of inequality, something that Heller more explicitly picks up on in her definition of ideology. Heller posits that language ideologies are 'discourses in which processes of attribution of value to linguistic forms and practices are inscribed, along with the processes of construction of social difference and social inequality within which they are associated' (Heller 2007: 15). The socially positioned and contestable nature of language ideologies means that they contribute to inequality and social hierarchisation, and they are thus about asserting the relationship between language and power and social structure. The notion of inequality and social difference is salient to this research in that it is focussed on how young people construct and frame their understanding of linguistic varieties and the difference amongst them. Is the Welsh language accounted to be an obstacle to social integration for young people within the 'community' and into the school environment, or a positive resource? My research questions will be formalised at the end of this chapter.

Blommaert helpfully talks of ideological debates (once again suggesting that ideologies are multiple and contestable), defining them as moments when 'language is central as a topic, a motif, a target, and in which language ideologies are being articulated, formed, amended and enforced' (Blommaert 1999a:1). The concept of ideological debate is particularly useful for this study. It is, as mentioned in Chapter 1, a comparative study, seeking to understand how young people, at two ideologically opposing secondary schools, orientate to and understand the language ideological content of their education. In other words, this study seeks to capture how ideologies are articulated by students, formed by their experiences of 'bilingual' education within this community, amended and enforced by the control and intervention that is made possible by the institutional arrangements within this community. In sum, this study seeks to capture the language ideological debate within the community in question.

3.3 Language Ideologies in Education

Wortham (2008) argues that 'any adequate account of language use must include language ideologies and describe how they become salient in practice' (Wortham 2008: 43). It is for this reason that language ideology has been an important topic of research in educational sites. Rampton (1995) argues that ideologies, 'are not like rarefied, disembodied voices, and are instead given material force in the practice of institutions' (Rampton 1995: 309), in that schools, as social institutions, 'hinge on the ideologization of language use' (Woolard and Schieffelin 1994: 56). Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) described the educational process as one in which a new relation to language and culture is transmitted, in an apparently autonomous institutional setting that nonetheless constantly contributes to the reproduction and legitimisation of the established social order. Anthropologists and sociolinguists working in classroom settings have frequently found the use of language in the classroom to be a powerful orienting social practice (Gee 1985, Heath 1983, Mehan 1979, Philips 1972). Hiding behind the content and apparent priorities of any lesson are deeper messages about how the world operates, about what kind of knowledge is socially valued, and about who may speak and in what manner - a cultural worldview that is quietly conveyed through classroom discourse.

Bokhort-Heng (1999) highlights the explicit role that education can be given in the revitalisation of a language. She looks at macro-level beliefs about language (language policy) and the uptake and impact of these at the local level. By focussing on the 'Speak Mandarin Campaign', which saw the production and reproduction of language ideologies within Singapore and sought to establish one standardised language variety, Mandarin Chinese, she highlights that, as in Wales (where schools have an explicit role in the intended revitalisation of Welsh), schools were integral to the ideological vision of the government - in her research context, in establishing a multilingual Singapore with three homogenous cultural and linguistic groups (Bokhort-Heng 1999). Blommaert (1999b) also found, in his work on Tanzanian language policy, that the Tanzanian government used language planning for nation building, trying to make a common nation out of a multilingual society by establishing Swahili as the primary language of government and of

education. He takes the argument one step further, suggesting that the government both deliberately and inadvertently created 'symbolic hierarchies', making some kinds of speakers sound more authoritative than others (Blommaert 1999b) and thus there are consequences (unintended or otherwise) inherent with policy and planning measures.

It is however, the work of Jaffe (1999a, 2003a, 2009) and Heller (1996, 1999a, 2006) that is most similar to the research presented here. Jaffe in her work in Corsica has, through various means, looked at how language ideologies get translated into practice in key socialising institutions such as the school. One such example would be her recent ethnographic research in a bilingual primary school, where she explores how students' 'sociolinguistic practices reveal their understanding of the relative statuses of Corsican and French' (Jaffe 2009: 5). Corsica, as a sociolinguistic context shares many of the characteristics of the Welsh language context, for example in that it is grounded in the principle that there is a need to reverse the process of language shift from Corsican (a minority language) to French (a dominant language). Jaffe used the concept of language ideology to trace the policies and practices involved in the revitalisation of Corsican. In general terms she identified that a contrast is to be made between 'ideological production', with bilingual schools functioning as social institutions that necessarily ideologise language use, and 'ideological reproduction', referring to 'how students experience and interpret the language ideological content of their education' (Jaffe 2009: 395). My own research principally treats the second of these concerns. She also identified conflicting ideologies (in Blommaert's terms an ideological debate emerges): the essentialist ideology that values French (as the language of logic and civilisation) and another that values Corsican (as the language of nationalism and ethnic pride), as well as the less essentialist polyomic ideology of language that values the use of multiple languages and multiple identities, where all languages are equally tolerated, a language ideology that is inclusive and non-hierarchical in nature (Jaffe 2003b).

Relatedly, Jaffe identified that over the last twenty years discourses regarding the sociolinguistic character of Corsica have shifted from an ideology that sees

language as clearly bounded and mutually exclusive to an assertion that Corsican is a 'polynomic language', characterised by intertolerance between users of different varieties. (This distinction, in some ways, resembles the comparison made within this study between separate and flexible bilingualism – see Chapter 5 for further discussion.) Nevertheless, both ideologies are, she suggests, implicated in the revitalisation of Corsican. She argues, however, that they differ in how they frame 'Corsican linguistic variation in relation to cultural identity and have different implications for Corsican language policy and advocacy' (Jaffe 2003b: 516). Primarily, a diglossic arrangement emphasises the dominance of the French language and highlights the imbalance of power between Corsican and French. Jaffe suggests that, within this framework, 'reversing this shift had to be about upending the language hierarchies' (Jaffe 2009: 517). Corsican needed to replace French as the dominant language, resulting in new hierarchies as well as new divisions – the 'internal reproduction of dominant language hierarchies divided rather than unified' (Jaffe 2003b: 516). Furthermore, Jaffe suggests that the presence of new forms of Corsican is perceived as a threat to the revitalisation of Corsican, and thus there seems to be a reliance and preference for an idealised version of the language. As mentioned, the now favoured polynomic ideology emphasises inclusiveness and the absence of hierarchy.

In sum, Jaffe identified that schools were central to the struggle around ideologies, with some social actors trying to maintain the centrality of French, whilst others favoured Corsican. Similarities can be drawn with the current research context. As indicated in Chapter 1, it will be suggested that the two schools in my study adopt ideologically opposing positions towards bilingualism, and that the prevailing organisational structure within this research site is one that entails languages being seen as separate parallel options, differentiating communities of practice with corresponding norms. It will also be argued that there is likely to be an impact on issues of identity at individual and group levels, and on language use itself. In other words, language ideologies intersect with and regiment linguistic practice within these educational settings.

Jaffe's focus was not explicitly centred on the resulting social consequences of language policy. If however, we turn our attention, briefly, to the work of others, we note that language ideologies also play a role in this sense. Bucholtz (2001, 2011) used the concept of language ideology to explore relations and ethnic stereotypes among white Americans. She identified ideologies that associate types of language use with types of people, for example, aspects of Black English Vernacular (BEV) came to be associated with being 'cool', and thus 'nerds' were seen to reject this coolness (Bucholtz 2001). Baquedano-Lopez (1997) also highlighted how individuals draw on schooled language ideologies to identify others and value them. Other researchers have explored how educational institutions create social relations as they employ and transform language ideologies (McGroarty 2008) and have shown how schools differentially value students from certain groups (Warriner 2004).

My own study is able to contribute to this broad orientation to sociolinguistic research, seeking to move between more macro issues of policy and planning and more micro issues of language use and reflexive commentary. I aim to shed light on whether the would-be inclusive ideology, articulated in Welsh language policy documents such as *Iaith Pawb* leads, in reality, to social inclusiveness at the level of usage and practice. In other words this study will question whether the positive effects of Welsh Language provision (primarily in terms of language revitalisation, but also in terms of confidence amongst speakers, and economic viability of Welsh language communities), outweigh any emergent negative effects, tensions that would not have arisen in the absence of top-down planning initiatives, and that can be reliably located as occurring because of the conditions produced by the Welsh language revival.

If we turn our attention to the work of Heller (2006) we see that she explored how a French-language high-school in Anglophone Ontario manages the tensions between standard and vernacular French and between French and English (Heller 2006). She conducted research into francophone identities (what it means to be a 'francophone' and to speak French (Heller 2006: 17) as seen through the life of a French language minority high school in Toronto, Ontario (the 'lens of schooling'

(Heller 2006: 18). Whilst her focus was not overtly on language ideologies, the nature of French minority education in Ontario, as in Wales, is explicitly ideological in nature. Her study researched how schools construct and implement linguistic norms; linguistic norms that are understood as part of the school's political and nationalist mission, embedded within a minority struggle for power (with clear similarities to the Welsh school in this study in that they too are heavily invested in the revitalisation effort, emphasising the political ideology that the Welsh language is 'dying' see Chapter 6, Extract 6.3). As with my research, Heller studied the instances of wide ranging ideologies to French in Canada, and how they are 'locally instantiated in a minority school in Ontario' (Heller 2006: 17). Therefore, whilst the aim of my research is to understand how students within the Welsh education system experience and interpret the language ideological context of their education, this can equally be put in terms of how the Welsh students 'locally instantiate' the wider language ideologies of Wales.

Heller devotes considerable attention to the difficulties in the French minority school of balancing a bilingual ideology with a monolingual ideology. She argues that 'the school...must create within its walls, a monolingual zone, in order to produce bilinguals' (Heller 2006: 17). Fundamentally, Heller argues that students at the Ontarian high school are required to be 'double monolinguals' (Heller 2006: 17). Thus, students are required to act as monolingual francophones as well as monolingual anglophones. Heller posits the dichotomy between 'fictive monolingualism' and 'real bilingualism' (Heller 2006: 17), fictive in the sense that the idealised institutional arrangement that favours monolingualism is unrealistic as the community within which the school is located is bilingual. In other words, the heterogeneity of real life challenges the fictive homogeneity that is constructed within this framework, and which underlies and legitimises the school as a minority language institution. Furthermore, Heller suggests that this fictive monolingualism is open to contestation by others, and for this reasons she argues that it's important to understand and capture how things work out for different social actors; are there winners and losers within such an arrangement?

In light of this Heller, distinguishes between 'fictive equality' and 'real inequality' (Heller 1999b: 167). She suggests that governments legitimise themselves as representative of all people (whether they speak the minority language or not), by promoting linguistic pluralism (and as we'll see in relation to *Iaith Pawb*, the concept of choice). At the same time the governments use language as a potentially unifying symbol - in the case of Wales, arguing that 'the Welsh language belongs to everyone in Wales as part of our common national heritage, identity and public good' (National Assembly for Wales 2007: 34). Heller argues that efforts by the government would best be served by engaging with 'real social inequalities' that exist between ethnolinguistic groups; instead what they favour is a discursive construction of 'fictive equality' (Heller 1999b)

Whilst the focus of Heller's research was largely from the perspective of the school as an institution 'heavily ideologically invested in a certain image of French Canada' (Heller 2006: 23), her second year of ethnographic research focussed on the perspective of a selected cross-section of students. Heller observed tensions between the monolingual ideology of the school and the language use and ideologies of at least some of its students, identifying that some resisted the linguistic ideology of the school. The potential for re-negotiation/contestation of school-based ideologies will be one of the foci of the current research, both within schools and outside of schools in recreational spaces.

3.4 Language Planning as a Sociolinguistic and Ideological Discipline

Over the past two decades, as the previous section's review shows, the notion of language ideology has gained considerable momentum in different strands of sociolinguistic and applied linguistic scholarship that aim to shed light on the workings of language in the context of social processes, and language planning is no exception. In basic terms, language policy and planning (LPP) is a thoroughly ideological set of processes, even though planners don't generally acknowledge this. Many of the aforementioned educational tensions arise in the context of successive waves of overt language education policy.

Language planning is most clearly related to the field of sociolinguistics. Both language planning and sociolinguistics are responsive to real-world situations. Ricento (2000) takes this one step further, arguing that language planning is in fact a subfield of sociolinguistics (Ricento 2000: 208). Traditionally, language planning has been seen as the deliberate, systematic change of language code, use and/or speaking, most visibly undertaken by governments, in some specific national community. Language planning is directed by, or leads to, the promulgation of a language policy by a government or some other authoritative body or person. Language policies are bodies of ideas - laws, regulations, rules and practices intended to achieve some planned language change.

Reviewing the intellectual history of language planning, Ricento (2000) suggested three phases of post-war language planning. The first phase was an initial technocratic and confident period, focussed on typologies and approaches to language planning (influential work included Haugen's 1966 language planning model and Kloss' 1966 typology of multilingualism), followed by criticism and re-appraisal. In the second phase, concepts such as 'native speaker' and 'mother tongue' were called into question (Fasold 1992) and linguists became increasingly aware of social and linguistic inequalities in relation to planning processes. Consequently, the focus shifted to social, economic, and political effects of language contact. The third phase, Ricento argued, was more sensitive to geographical and political changes (mass migration, re-emergence of national ethnic identities, for example), and involved greater concern for issues such as linguistic imperialism and language loss.

By the late 1970's it became apparent that language policy efforts were in many cases failing to achieve their aims (Spolsky 2009). Ricento (2000) suggested that LPP research had still not fully accounted for how micro-level interaction relates to macro-levels of social organisation. This was taken up in the work of Pennycook (2002) and Canagarajah (2005), who both highlight the potentially agentive role of local educators as they interpret and implement policies - micro level language planning. In light of this, and in relation to the Welsh context, Musk argued that ideologies are commonly 'recontextualised and also re-negotiated' (Musk 2010:

59), giving rise to local interpretations of language policy. It was established in section 3.2 of this review that ideologies are 'profitably conceived as multiple' (Kroskrity 2006: 503), in that they are grounded in social experience, which is never uniformly distributed. It was also argued in section 3.2 that viewing ideologies as multiple allows for an understanding of the potential conflict, contestation and re-negotiation that can develop. In the same way recent work in LPP has addressed how individuals interpret and engage with language policies, and how they position themselves relative to those policies and to language politics more generally across a variety of contexts and settings (Canagarajah 2005; Warriner 2007; Johnson 2009). Ricento and Hornberger (1996), for example, speak of language policy and planning in terms of comprising of various layers; national, institutional and interpersonal layers – layers which they characterize as the metaphorical LPP onion. In subsequent research, Hornberger and Johnson (2007) use this metaphor to show how ethnographic approaches to LPP can illuminate local interpretation and implementation (Hornberger and Johnson 2007). They focus primarily on how policies are implemented, interpreted, and resisted at a local level. Similarly, Sutton and Levinson (2001) call for more ethnographic research, which provides a 'locally informed...ethnographically rich account of how people make, interpret, and otherwise engage with the policy process' (Sutton and Levinson 2001: 4). In this sense then my research is seeking to metaphorically speaking slice through the layers of the LPP onion to reveal local interpretations.

More recent work by King and De Fina (2010) takes this call for micro scale ethnographic research in LPP further by suggesting that top-down planning is often unsuccessful and can have unintended consequences, often reproducing social and economic inequality. Such a shift, they argue, takes us beyond an analysis of language policy and official documents as technocratic solutions, and instead places an emphasis on an analysis of reported language practices and the discursive understanding of these practices, as well as analysis of naturally occurring speech, to fully understand how individuals experience and interpret the language-ideological content of their education, in other words how are they shaped by language policy and the broader political climate.

As an attempt to capture elements of this recent shift towards micro-level concerns, Figure 3.1 provides a visual representation of the current research context, emphasising how values and priorities relating to language are mediated by various groups and institutions¹.

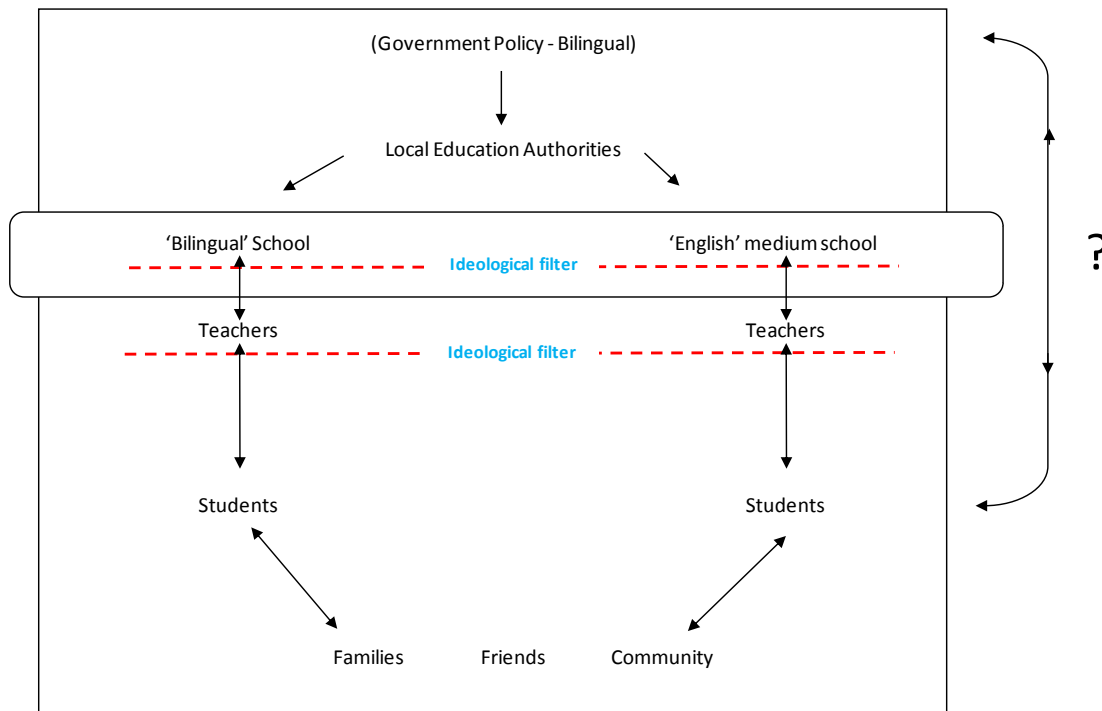


Figure 3.1: A schematic representation of language-ideological processes operating within the data context

At the level of theory, therefore, we might argue that there is an inevitable gulf between LPP ideologies and local sociolinguistic realities in communities impacted by LPP. Thus, the research presented here aims to highlight and critique the dichotomy between a policy that will be shown to be inclusive in nature, and the reality ‘on-the-ground’, as it is articulated by school students. Coupland and Aldridge (2009) call for a greater integration between macro and micro approaches to sociolinguistic research and language policy in Wales. The Figure 3.1 model consists of six main categories, attempting to show the relationship

¹ This figure represents the specific research context within which I am working. Note that the choices available with regards to school type across Wales are far broader than the model implies, and that the picture is in many ways more complex than a simple schematic account suggests.

between macro and micro processes within the Welsh education system (i.e. national and local processes) as it applies to my data context. Whilst the focus of my study is on students and their interpretations of the ideological content/context of their education, it is important to acknowledge that their experiences are embedded in much more extensive ideological frameworks. In line with this, the question mark to the right of the model's main elements highlights the need to continually question the evolving relationships between policy and practice.

The model is necessarily over-generalising, but it attempts to show a sequential development with different points at which 'choices' are offered and executed. However, what appears to be a choice (a choice between English-medium or bilingual education, where these concepts, as we shall see, are less than fully transparent) may not be experienced as such in reality. The prevailing organisational structure entails languages being seen as separate parallel options, differentiating communities of practice with corresponding norms. The arrows in Figure 3.1 are bi-directional in order to highlight the exchange of ideas, expectations, norms and values (ideologies). Even so, the principal flow through the Figure is from top to bottom, implying that 'choices' offered and made higher-up tend to constrain those featuring lower down. Relatedly, Jaffe refers to 'ideological filters', in language education systems, arguing that 'experiences of school as an institution act as an ideological filter for their understanding of the nature and status of languages in the bilingual program' (Jaffe 2009: 402). At each of the filter stages there is room for discourses to be 'recontextualised and also re-negotiated' (Musk 2010: 59), giving rise to more local interpretations of language policy. The position that is adopted at the level of the institution (school) itself has clear consequences for individual 'choices' that are made at the community level – i.e. among school students and their families. We can say that LPP institutions and schools transform the assumptions underlying specific 'choices' made more locally, either conditioning those 'choices' or establishing norms against which they can be made.

3.5 Language Ideologies in Language Policy and Planning in Wales

Having briefly overviewed the theoretical construct of language ideology, what emerges when we cast a critical ideological eye over Welsh language policy and planning? As alluded to, policy initiatives contain both explicit ideological statements (clear attempts to modify or influence practice) as well as implied 'common-sense' and 'self-evident' ideas (Heath 1977). It will be argued that Welsh language policy, at least in one of its most influential recent formulations, is characterised by an inclusive ideology, one of choice and equality of access. That said, a subtle shift towards coercion and persuasion, in ideological positioning in the most recent policy moves will be highlighted.

In the 'national action plan for a bilingual Wales' entitled *Iaith Pawb/Everyone's Language* the aspirations of the Welsh Assembly Government are as follows

Iaith Pawb: Foreword

Our vision is a bold one [...] a truly bilingual Wales, by which we mean a country where people can choose to live their lives through the medium of either or both Welsh or English and where the presence of the two languages is a source of pride and strength to us all. (Welsh Assembly Government 2001: 1)

Iaith Pawb: Section 2.15

But we want to look beyond mere numbers of people who can speak Welsh. We want Wales to be a truly bilingual nation, by which we mean a country where people can choose to live their lives through the medium of either Welsh or English and where the presence of the two languages is a visible and audible source of pride and strength to us all. (Welsh Assembly Government 2001: 11)

Iaith Pawb: Section 4.2

Iaith Pawb is the strategic framework, which the Assembly Government will be implementing with local government, the Welsh Language Board and others. It focuses on:

- Encouraging individuals to learn and use the Welsh language;

- Extending access to Welsh medium education with initial emphasis on early years and post-16 sectors;
- Empowering individuals to make a genuine choice as to the language, or languages, through which they wish to live their lives;
- An entitlement for all young people to a range of support services in the language of their choice;
- Actively promoting the benefits of bilingualism. (Welsh Assembly Government 2001: 37)

It emerges very clearly that the Wales in prospect in these texts is a bilingual community where Welsh and English are co-present and co-available – a ‘truly bilingual Wales’, where this is repeatedly defined in relation to ‘choice’ (indeed a ‘genuine choice’) between Welsh or English. In Chapter 2 I highlighted some fundamental inadequacies in defining bilingualism in terms of a full and free choice; does ‘bilingualism’ result from choosing to live your life only through the medium of one language, Welsh or English? Nevertheless, it was argued in Chapter 2 that *Iaith Pawb*’s overriding ideology is one of choice and equality of access: equality between languages and choice as to which language to use, with an apparent desire to normalise bilingualism on these terms. However, the concept of choice warrants closer examination (and it will become an important theme in my analyses, to follow). At a basic level, the term ‘choice’ implies tolerance, openness, freedom and opportunities – the ability and free will to choose between two or more possibilities. By framing the discussion of bilingualism in terms of choice, *Iaith Pawb* has sought to empower individuals (in this sense choice is used as a political strategy for mobilisation, to encourage language revitalisation), whilst ensuring that people (in the case of Wales, particularly English speakers) are not left feeling alienated. Heller (1999b) suggests that governments legitimise themselves as representative of all people (whether or not they speak the minority language) by promoting linguistic pluralism, and in the case of Wales, choice (as suggested in section 3.3 of this review). Coupland however, argues that “‘choice’ between languages is in any case a sociolinguistically compromised concept’ (Coupland 2010: 33), largely because members of speech communities are always constrained by norms that predispose linguistic practice, but also because there

are circumstances of choosing (such as choosing a school-type defined by its medium of instruction) that can't be avoided. That is, there is often a normative structure around choice.

Iaith Pawb is based on the presumption that bilingualism should be premised on choice and on the inclusive principle that the option to learn and use Welsh (and English) is open to all, regardless of linguistic background. In Williams' terms, '*Iaith Pawb* seeks to deliver us from the old prejudice that the Welsh language belongs by birth right to a shrinking minority alone' (Williams 2005: 24).

Nevertheless, liberal attempts to define bilingualism on these terms are conditional on 'choice' being experienced as such at institutional, individual and community levels. In terms of the Figure 3.1 model, how and to what extent does choice filter down from the levels of government-led language planning, through school institutions and the prescriptions of teachers, and into the experiences of young people? Are school students' choices free and unrestricted, or subject to normative pressures of various sorts?

In May 2007 a coalition government was formed between the Labour and the Plaid Cymru political parties and in June 2007 they jointly published a further document, *Cymru'n Un/One Wales*, outlining their joint aspirations for the Assembly term, where the document title itself expresses an inclusive ideology. The document also refers to a 'rich and diverse culture', arguing that 'the Welsh language belongs to everyone in Wales as part of our common national heritage, identity and public good' (National Assembly for Wales 2007: 34). There is a commitment to opening up the Welsh language to 'new speakers' and 'new communities'. Both *Iaith Pawb* and *Cymru'u Un* reflect the notion that you can have 'unity in diversity' (the European Union motto) – promoting cultural unity whilst preserving linguistic diversity. My aim here is not so much to debate the viability of these claims of inclusivity articulated in policy documents, but to ask whether a would-be inclusive ideology of this sort can and does in fact lead to social inclusiveness at the level of usage and practice. Might it alternatively be the case that an articulated inclusiveness smoothes over deep-seated and persisting ideological conflicts in Wales? In this connection Baker argues that 'language

planning aims can sometimes be good intentions, wishes and hopes that do not relate to grounded activity' (Baker 2003: 103).

Before commenting critically on issues pertaining to inclusion and exclusion (as will be the aim of this research), we need to be aware of the potential advantages of speaking Welsh in Wales, which some might see as a justification for policies that are in other respects divisive or exclusionary. Williams (2005) highlights research from the Language Economy Discussion Group 2003 that suggests that Welsh speakers are at a notable advantage in terms of employment prospects (Williams 2005: 3-4). The research indicates that not only are Welsh speakers more likely to be in employment but that they also earn a premium that cannot wholly be explained by their relatively favourable skill profile. May (2000) found that amongst a group of Welsh teacher trainees it was felt that the increased job opportunities for Welsh speakers amounted to a deliberate policy of exclusion, with trainees suggesting that the system failed to recognise individual merit and was ultimately divisive. Sayers (2011) expands on this by highlighting that the now obsolete² Welsh Language Board explicitly acknowledge the aforementioned disadvantage but justify it in terms of public bodies needing to meet statutory commitments under their Welsh Language Scheme. They (the Welsh Language Board) argued that this position is justifiable, and that any positive discrimination in favour of Welsh speakers, in most cases, wouldn't amount to a contravention of the Race Relations Act (Welsh Language Board 2009). Mann (2007) discussed issues of exclusion in his research with adult learners of Welsh, highlighting that some Welsh language learners felt like outsiders, with their perceived inability to speak Welsh resulting in exclusionary practice. Robert (2009) also identified exclusionary attitudes of first-language Welsh speakers to learners of Welsh and their apparently inauthentic Welsh (Robert 2009).

If we return now to looking at policy documents, we note that the most recent strategy document, *Iaith Fyw: Iaith Byw/A Living Language: A Language for Living* (2012), sees a shift away from an apparent 'choice' between Welsh and/or English

² Note that the same people still work for the Welsh Assembly Government under the title of the Office of the Language Commissioner.

to an emphasis on the Welsh language alone – ‘our vision is to see the Welsh language thriving in Wales’ (Welsh Assembly Government 2012: 14). It has as its central tenet the need for ‘a living language, a language for living’ (Welsh Assembly Government 2012), one that is used in ‘daily lives at home, socially, or professionally’ (*ibid*: 16). The document goes on to outline two core elements, firstly ‘to enable and encourage children and other people to acquire the language’ (*ibid*: 14) and secondly, to enable and encourage people to use the language on a daily basis’ (*ibid*: 14). There is a notable shift from capacity building (increasing the number of Welsh speakers) to increasing the number who want (or choose) to use Welsh. However, the simple phrase ‘encouraging and enabling’ implies two very different and opposing ideological and practical stances with ‘encouragement’ not entirely consistent with a free and unrestricted choice. Furthermore, in *Iaith Fyw: Iaith Byw* we see a marked shift towards a language ideology of persuasion with talk of the need to ‘convince’ young people of the value of the Welsh language and ‘influence’ them (Welsh Assembly Government 2012: 29). The document is noticeably more exclusionary at the level of policy than *Iaith Pawb*. Despite the criticisms that can be, and have been, levelled at *Iaith Pawb*, particularly its lack of clarity over the concepts of ‘language choice’ and of ‘true bilingualism’ there remains a sense of openness and tolerance in that text that is noticeably absent from the newer strategy document.

Furthermore, in *Iaith Fyw: Iaith Byw* greater emphasis is placed on the use of Welsh in the wider community, with a particular focus on young people.

Iaith Fyw: Iaith Byw: Strategic area 2: Children and young people

Much work has been done to provide children and young people with opportunities to enjoy activities through the medium of Welsh. This has been achieved by a whole host of organisations: some of which, like the Urdd and the *Mentrau Iaith* are entirely focused on increasing the use of Welsh; others, such as Young Farmers’ Clubs, sports clubs, drama groups, and so forth, have a broader remit. These organisations need to remain innovative and creative, working with the Government and other partners to ensure, as far as possible,

that their activities lead to an increase in the use of Welsh
(Welsh Assembly Government 2012: 30).

It emerges clearly that there are increasing attempts to control and intervene in the free time of young people, with an emphasis placed on promoting and 'ensuring' that recreational activities lead to an increased use of Welsh. It's noteworthy that the given examples of outside-school contexts for Welsh are culturally distinctive, the *Urdd* (*Urdd Gobaith Cymru*, the Welsh League of Youth established in 1922 to give children and young people the chance to learn and socialize through the medium of Welsh), and *Mentrau Iaith* (an umbrella term for the *Menter Iaith* which are community based language initiative organisations that work to raise the profile of the Welsh Language) - culturally distinctive in that they are unique to Wales and promote and encourage the use of Welsh. Furthermore, the use of English and/or bilingual practices are apparently of little concern. Thus the concept of 'choice' seems to come and go from Welsh language policy discourse. It's significant to note that the contradictory and problematic relationship between the free and relatively un-restricted recreational spaces that young people choose to attend and the apparent desire to influence and in many ways restrict the language choices and practices of young people in these recreational spaces. The policy shift in *Iaith Fyw: Iaith Byw* assumes that recreational spaces are subject to language-ideological influence. By ethnographically investigating one such space (the youth club setting, see Chapter 7), the feasibility of *Iaith Fyw: Iaith Byw's* new priorities will be assessed. Furthermore, a 'living' language implies spontaneity and lack of constraint (and thus choice). There is a clear conflict between the aspirations for a 'living' language and the increased institutionalization of language choice in young people's 'free time'. Arguably, in *Iaith Fyw: Iaith Byw* we see a subtle ideological shift from promoting choice to a policy that is, at least to some extent, based on coercion, pressure and influence. That said, we need to question the impact of such policies on the 'reality on the ground', what exactly is the reach of language policy and planning measures?

As mentioned in Chapter 2, education has long been argued to be the primary agency for changing the language situation in Wales (Farrell et al. 1997; see also Jones and Martin-Jones 2004; Lewis 2008; Musk 2010 and Redknap 2006) and has an explicit role in the intended revitalisation of Welsh, namely that of capacity building, developing people who can function in Welsh beyond the confines of education, in other settings (business, industry, etc.) and who might therefore enable Wales to function as a 'truly bilingual nation' (in the sense of *Iaith Pawb*).

A key concept within Welsh language policy and planning is the categorisation of schools by medium of instruction. As briefly mentioned in Chapter 2, there are four categories of secondary schools within Wales, with the 'Bilingual' category comprising of four sub-groups (with these sub-divisions being made according to the provision for Welsh-medium education). The 2010 Welsh-medium education strategy states that a key focus of the strategy is on 'supporting learners to achieve fluency in Welsh and English through Welsh-medium education' (Welsh Assembly Government 2010: 8). The document argues that 'bilingual settings should aim to provide as much provision through the medium of Welsh as is necessary for learners to achieve fluency in two languages' (*ibid*: 9). Musk argues that within Wales a 'call for a commitment to Welsh...lies at the heart of the linguistic diversity discourse and by default to bilingualism' (Musk 2010: 49). That is, there is a desire to promote linguistic diversity in order to protect the Welsh language.

Consequently, discussions of bilingual education are framed within a discussion of Welsh-medium education and Welsh language competency, indicative of an investment in revitalisation efforts and of a protectionist ideology. Competence features strongly in LPP ideology, as a main touchstone for what planning and policy developments are intended to bring about (i.e. revitalisation). Whilst issues of language competency are not my central focus within this research, the study is concerned with ideological links between competence and identity.

Whilst the 'choice' of medium of instruction (and the meaning of 'choice' will become a central consideration in the thesis) rests on the founding principles of *Iaith Pawb* and its ideology of choice, it needs to be acknowledged that this categorisation of school by language type is in itself far from inclusive. I shall argue

that it tends to create a compartmentalised approach towards language, with the choice between opting for a majority or minority language constructed as oppositional, even mutually exclusive. Scourfield et al. (2008) similarly sound a note of caution with regards to Welsh language policy. They argue that the act of balancing the rights of the Welsh, English and other language speakers in Wales is a delicate one, and suggest that Welsh language provision is sometimes associated with segregation (Scourfield et al. 2008) – see the earlier discussion of social exclusion for further detail (Chapter 2).

Furthermore, the categorisation of school type in Wales does not reflect the complexity of the situation on the ground (something it is hoped the ethnographic research presented here will shed light on). Political moves, such as these, attempt to ‘keep things tidy’, to create clearly bounded categories: Welsh-speaking people here and English speaking people there. A combination of bureaucratic oversimplification and ideological preferences has led to a lack of acknowledgement of the complex and localised fuzzy nature of these categories, as well as the heterogeneity of language characteristics of school intakes in Wales, emergent ideological struggles are also not confronted. In light of this, the current research is seeking to establish how young people experience and interpret the language ideological content of their education, it is important to recognise how they understand and orientate to the notion of Welsh-medium and bilingual education. I will suggest that there is a lack of clarity, as well as a considerable amount of local renegotiation, amongst the students in this study, over the meaning of such terms as ‘Welsh-medium’ and ‘bilingual’.

Schools have long been the main site of distribution of Welsh and of a Welsh identity. As mentioned, schools serve as social institutions which successfully mobilise ideological assumptions through the knowledge and practices they produce and reproduce via the implementation of their curricula. I will argue that education is a site of struggle over who gets to count as Welsh and what gets to count as speaking Welsh, with students positioning themselves and others with respect to these category labels. In recent years there has been an increasing emphasis placed on the Welsh language and Welsh cultural dimension of the

curriculum in Wales, marking a considerable effort by the government to use school systems to establish visions of national language and identity. The seminal policy in this regard is *Y Cwricwlwm Cymreig*/Curriculum Cymreig (ACCAC Qualifications Curriculum and Assessment Authority for Wales 2003). *Y Cwricwlwm Cymreig* is intended to encapsulate the 'Welshness' in Welsh schools. Note that in Wales a distinction is to be made between the adjectives 'Cymreig', pertaining to Wales (as used here) and 'Cymraeg', pertaining to the Welsh language, and thus within the title of the curriculum there appears to be some glimmer of recognition (in the -eig/ -aeg distinction) that being Welsh might mean more than speaking Welsh.

Despite this, the document claims that 'the Welsh language is...a crucial part of the Curriculum Cymreig' (ACCAC Qualifications Curriculum and Assessment Authority for Wales 2003: 8) and thus ultimately an inseparable feature of Welshness: it is assumed to be a 'crucial' part of helping students identify their own sense of Welshness and a real sense of belonging. The curriculum is thus presenting an image of Wales and of Welsh identity as mediated through Welsh as opposed to through English and/or bilingually (and thus appears to contradict the concept of 'true bilingualism' as outlined in *Iaith Pawb*). That said, under its 'linguistic' heading, *Y Cwricwlwm Cymreig* outlines the aspiration for an inclusive approach towards the Welsh language, 'Welsh with access for all'. It acknowledges that 'there are many different levels of fluency in Welsh' and that 'there can be no single view of what it is to be Welsh' (ACCAC Qualifications Curriculum and Assessment Authority for Wales 2003: 5). So we are again presented with a 'unity in diversity' agenda that appears at some level to contradict the aforementioned typology of schools, which arguably puts social and linguistic boundaries around the Welsh and English languages as well as language users. In addition to suggesting that a sense of Welshness is intrinsically linked to the Welsh language, *Y Cwricwlwm Cymreig* relies on established discourse and stereotypes to produce representative experiences of Welshness for students³. Iconic Welsh images/figures (authors,

³ Despite arguing that schools should 'be wary of promoting a stereotypical view of Welshness' (ACCAC Qualifications Curriculum and Assessment Authority for Wales 2003: 6),

artists, composers, and places - Llangranog and Glan-llyn, both in traditional 'heartland' areas), as well as traditional cultural activities (*Urdd* and *Eisteddfodau* - a Welsh festival of literature, music and performance- note also the earlier discussion of the *Urdd* as a cultural distinctive activity) are held up, with varying degrees, as reliable representations of Welshness in schools. This reliance on portrayals of traditional 'heartland' institutions and practice, Smith argues, leaves 'little room for young people to recognise their own sense of Welshness' (Smith 2010: 110). Furthermore, it is these 'authentic' Welsh experiences that are perceived as enabling strong claims on Welshness and authenticity. It will thus be argued that the restrictive sense of Welshness that is presented through documents such as *Y Cwricwlwm Cymreig*, and adopted within the community in question, results in students feeling less Welsh, a perception that they fail to meet purist criteria, and consequently they position themselves and others as being more or less Welsh, resulting in a strong sense of sociolinguistic hierarchies.

The position adopted within *Y Cwricwlwm Cymreig*, I suggest, reflects a protectionist ideology, one that is arguably embedded in a pre-shift view of Wales and of Welshness. This potentially poses difficulties for young people in the age of the global spread of new media in that it fails to reflect the view that the 'Welsh language is a creative, powerful, adaptive and modern medium' (Welsh Assembly Government 2012: 5). Furthermore, there is a sense that *Y Cwricwlwm Cymreig* emphasises an 'education to stay' in Wales, rather than advocating that education enables young people to discover and experience the world outside of Wales, yet further evidence of a form of protectionism.

3.6 Research Questions

It was established in section 3.4 of this review that there is not enough critical assessment of the social consequences and implications of language policy and planning initiatives. It was argued that there is a need to 'get behind' the standard demographic account of revitalisation. In Hornberger and Hult's (2008: 285) terms, there is a need to address questions such as 'how do language policies relate to sociolinguistic circumstances "on the ground"'? How are the initiatives lived out

on the ground, by the individuals and groups whose sociolinguistic experiences they are designed to affect? It is for this reason that the first of three research questions will be addressed. In Section 3.2 of this review, in discussion of language ideologies, it was established that ideologies are multiple and contestable.

Blommaert's concept of ideological debates was posited, with the notion that ideologies are 'articulated, formed, amended and enforced' (Blommaert 1999a:1). The second part of the research question seeks to capture the ideological debate around language, within this community and as articulated by young people.

1. How are the institutional arrangements within this community (or locality) understood by the students? Do school students see themselves operating within language ideological structures? Do students resist or affirm school-based ideologies and school-based practice? Do students resist or affirm the school-based ideologies and school-based practice?

This question will be principally dealt with in relation to three analytic questions (Chapter 5, Chapter 6, and Chapter 7 of this thesis).

In Chapter 2 and in section 3.5 of this review, it was ascertained that significant moves had been made within Welsh language policy towards creating a 'truly bilingual' Wales, one where people can choose to live their lives through the medium of either or both Welsh or English, and where the presence of the two languages is a source of pride and strength (Welsh Assembly Government 2003:1). It was suggested that *Iaith Pawb's* overriding ideology was one of choice and equality of access: equality between languages and choice as to which language to use, with an apparent desire to normalise bilingualism on these terms. It is for this reason that the second research question will be addressed.

2. How do students understand, interpret and live out what language policy and planning documents in Wales refer to as 'true bilingualism'? Is 'choice' experienced as such at institutional, individual and community levels?

This question will be primarily be addressed in Chapter 8 of this thesis.

Finally, it has been suggested throughout this review that Welsh language policy is seeking to position itself as inclusive, open and tolerant, with key phrases such as '*One Wales*' and '*Everyone's Language*' emerging from the documents. Furthermore, the aforementioned concept of 'true bilingualism' is based on the presumption that bilingualism should be premised on choice and on the inclusive principle that the option to learn and use Welsh (and English) is open to all, regardless of linguistic background. That said, the potentially exclusionary nature of Welsh language policy was alluded to and previous literature, in which issues relating to social exclusion in Wales were addressed, was put forward. In light of this, this study (by addressing the third research question) seeks to ascertain whether a would-be inclusive ideology of this sort can and does in fact lead to social inclusiveness at the level of usage and practice.

3. Is the Welsh language accounted to be an obstacle to social integration for young people within the 'community' and into the school environment, or a positive resource?

Once again, this final research question will be addressed in relation to all three analytic chapters.

Chapter 4

Methods and Data

4.1 Introduction

The data for this study came primarily from periods of fieldwork carried out between September 2008 and January 2011. The project is a comparative ethnographic study of two contrasting secondary schools and a Youth Club in an area of South-West Wales largely considered (although not entirely without contestation) to be a heartland for the Welsh language, one in which the Welsh language is traditionally used by a significant proportion of the population in everyday communication (see Chapter 2 for further discussion of heartland communities in Wales). I will start by providing an overview of the research sites, before discussing methodological and ethical considerations.

4.2 Research Sites

As mentioned, the project was conceived as a comparative ethnographic study. Consequently, three interrelated sites, two contrasting secondary schools (a bilingual school and an English-medium school) and a third, a Youth Club, selected as a point of convergence for the two groups of school students, were chosen as research sites. Before looking at the research sites in greater detail it is important to recognise that the two schools serve the same local and bilingual community. Note that whilst these schools are within different educational authorities, there are long-standing arrangements in place to ensure that students within this locality receive an education in the language of their choice. The comparison that is being made, for the purpose of this research, is thus not one that is being imposed, but rather one that is already in place within the community.

It was established in Chapter 3 that the characterisation of school by medium of instruction is complex and subject to local interpretation. In official terms the two schools in question are, as we'll see, classified as a category 2A bilingual school and as an English-medium school. It was argued however, in Chapter 2 that these

official categorisations do not reflect the complexity of the situation on the ground (something it is intended the ethnographic research presented here will shed light on). Scourfield and Davies (2005) develop a view on ‘collapsing language and nation’ in Wales, noting that Welsh-medium schools are commonly described as ‘Welsh schools’ and English-medium as ‘English schools’. This collapsing can occur in both English-and-Welsh-medium education (Scourfield and Davies 2005: 93), a process confirmed in my own data (see Chapters 5 and 6). For this reason I shall mainly refer to the two schools in my study as ‘the Welsh school’ and ‘the English school’, as the students themselves do, even though these designations conflict with the authorised perspectives.

Ysgol Arnant¹, the so-called ‘bilingual’ school is housed in a traditional red brick building and stands on the site of the previous grammar school. It is located on a hill overlooking a small rural town with approximately 70% of people aged three and over reporting to have some knowledge of the Welsh language (Office for National Statistics 2004: 40-63); this increases to 92% if we look only at the school-aged population (3-15 years old). The school is classified by the local education authority as a category 2A ‘bilingual school’ (see Chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion of school categorisation in Wales) with 80% of the curriculum delivered through the medium of Welsh². However, the school functions largely monolingually, with around 83% of students coming from homes where Welsh is the main language (with the remaining 17% coming from homes where English is the main language). Furthermore, 91% of the students (with approximately 527 students on the school roll) are reported by Estyn, the educational inspectorate for Wales, to speak Welsh as their first language or to a corresponding standard. In Heller’s terms it is a monolingual zone established in order to produce bilinguals (Heller 2006: 17). It will become clear in Chapter 6 that whilst there is an acceptance that the students will, in their wider social lives, function as bilinguals, within the confines of the school there is constant re-affirmation of the monolingual ideal (e.g. Welsh-only signage, Welsh-only assemblies and

¹ Note that the names of schools have been anonymised

² Note that English, Physics and Biology are taught through the medium of English.

announcements, Welsh-only policy within the school, in classrooms and in 'free'/recreational spaces).

Ysgol Ardwyn, the 'English' school, was founded and built in the 1980's, upon re-organisation of education in the local area. It is located on a hill, overlooking another small market town (the schools are approximately 8 miles apart), with approximately 77% of people aged 3 and over reporting to have some knowledge of the Welsh language (Office for National Statistics 2004: 40-63). Again this increases to 89% if we consider only the school-aged population (3 -15 years old). The English school is designated as an English-medium school (EM) by the local education authority³, with only 12% of students reported to speak Welsh as a first language or to a corresponding standard (with approximately 639 students on the school roll). That said, the majority of students were taught primarily through the medium of Welsh in partner primary schools (Estyn report that all students who now attend Ysgol Ardwyn were assessed in Welsh first-language at the end of Key Stage 2). The social make-up of Ysgol Ardwyn differs from that at Ysgol Arnant in that 18.5% of students are in receipt of free school meals (in comparison to only 6% of students at Ysgol Arnant)⁴. There is a Welsh stream, amounting to around 30 students (one form-group) in each year-group. These students study five subjects through the medium of Welsh for the duration of Key Stage 3 (aged 11-14)⁵. The school, whilst English-dominant, also functions bilingually through bilingual signage, bilingual correspondence to parents/students, bilingual assemblies and announcements, and, as the students confirm, there is institutional tolerance of both English and Welsh as well as of code-mixing.

The Youth Club is housed over two floors in a converted chapel in the same town as the Welsh school involved in this study. Approximately fifty young people (aged between 11-18) regularly attend, coming from both the English and the Welsh

³ Note that the categorization is again based on the Welsh Assembly Government categories – as outlined in the 2007 document – 'Defining schools according to Welsh-medium provision'

⁴ Free school meal data is widely used as an indicator of poverty and social and educational disadvantage.

⁵ Religious Education, Design Technology, Art, History and Music are studied through the medium of Welsh.

schools⁶. The Youth Club is one of many out of school activities that are available to young people, although it is one of only a handful that are not run by the schools. There are two Youth Club leaders (John and Sally) in addition to five additional volunteer youth-workers. With the exception of John, all youth-workers are non-Welsh speaking. During the school term the club is open twice a week between 4.30pm and 8pm⁷. The Youth Club is laid out over two floors, with a variety of different recreational spaces available for the young people. At street level there is a small reception area, manned by a youth-worker at all times during the evening. It is here that the students are asked to sign in (listing their name and age) and pay the fifty pence entrance fee (young people frequently check the register to see if their friends have arrived at Youth Club). There is also a large hall on this floor equipped with drums, guitars and microphones. On the second floor there is another large recreational space, containing a pool table, sofas and a mixing deck. In one corner of this room there are three computers, used for educational and recreational purposes. At one side of the room is the small kitchen/tuck shop, selling a range of sweets and crisps as well as more substantial meals (noodles, pizza and nachos). There is a further smaller room to one side of the kitchen. In addition to the spaces within the building the young people are allowed to leave the Youth Club and 'hang out' at the local park and visit the local convenience stores. I draw on the Youth Club as a site that captures a component of young people's leisure time and leisure space, in order to explore the informal contexts and processes whereby young people can shape and manage their identities. It is in such a space, away from parents and teachers, that 'significant aspects of young people's personal and social identities are affirmed, contested, rehearsed and re-worked' (Hall et al. 1999: 506). That said, due to the rural nature of the community young people regularly attend Youth Club in their school uniform (a feature I will argue, in Chapter 7, is salient to the discourse that emerges).

⁶ The Youth Club is a recreational space and therefore not regulated by the local authority. Consequently, statistical data is not available.

⁷ The Youth Club also arranges summer holiday activities

4.3 An Ethnographic Perspective

Hammersley (2006) suggests that like many other methodological terms used by social scientists, the term 'ethnography' does not form 'part of a clear and systematic taxonomy' (2006: 3). Consequently, the term is used in different ways and to describe different research methodologies. That said, ethnographic traditions share many common features. Principally ethnography refers to 'a form of social and educational research that is committed to 'the first hand experience and exploration of a particular social or cultural setting' (Atkinson et al: 2007: 4). The nature of ethnographic research means that 'no homogeneous units or specific characteristics of culture are defined a priori, but rather those groups and processes recognised by native participants are discovered and studied in their terms during the research' (Gregory 1983: 366). Malinowski talks of 'foreshadowed problems' (Malinowski 1922: 8-9), rather than fixed research questions, and his anthropological linguistic research was foundational for ethnography. Instead of going into the field with fixed ideas, ethnography is concerned with producing descriptions and explanations of particular phenomena, with the process and inquiry becoming progressively more focussed. More than any other research method, ethnography requires the researcher to follow themes wherever they lead; it is a generative process, requiring flexible adaptation (see the discussion of multi-sited ethnography below for further detail).

The term ethnography refers primarily to a 'particular method or set of methods' (Hammersley and Atkinson 1993: 1). In its most characteristic form ethnography involves the researcher participating, overtly or covertly, in people's daily lives, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions (through informal or formal interviews), and collecting whatever data is available to shed light on the issues that are the focus of the research. In other words, ethnography, as a method of social research, seeks to capture and understand the meanings and dynamics in particular cultural settings using a range of systematic data-collection techniques to record what goes on (the methods used within this research will be outlined towards the end of this review).

Participant-observation is perhaps the defining method that distinguishes ethnography from other qualitative research designs. The notion of participant-observation is however, commonly assumed to be unproblematic and consequently often remains un-defined. That said, the dichotomy between fully participatory and fully observational is reflected in the typologies put forward by Junker (1960) and Spradley (1980). Both typologies problematise the strict dualism between an 'insider' and an 'outsider', and question this over-simplistic distinction. Can you ever be fully participatory? Or a complete insider? If possible, is this desirable? Furthermore, the participation/observation dichotomy relates to issues of insider and outsider status, with these roles or positions once again being discussed dualistically. In many respects, the role of a researcher is a paradoxical one; apparently needing to be an 'insider' in order to gain depth and breadth of understanding whilst simultaneously needing to remain subjective and analytical (and in this sense be an outsider). Mullings (1999) took this debate further, questioning the fixed and static positioning given to researchers in the field, arguing that researchers can be 'insiders, outsiders, both and neither' (Mullings 1999). McCorkel and Myers (2003) also critique and in many ways challenge the insider/outsider dichotomy, arguing for a dialectical approach, one that allows for, and acknowledges, the complexity of the role of researcher. My positioning as a researcher in this research context will now be examined.

I have extended family that live in the area under scrutiny in this research and visit them two or three times a year. As such, many of the community members knew of me or my family connection. Owing to my partial insider status I was accepted much more readily by the community in question – the partial insider status afforded access to groups which may otherwise have been more difficult to secure (see section 4.6 for further detail). I was, however, simultaneously considered an outsider. This partial outsider status resulted in participants feeling the need to fully explain and justify their experiences, views, and ideologies (as opposed to implying and assuming knowledge on my part). Furthermore, this outsider status afforded me analytic distance on the research and emergent data. Additionally, my outsider status meant I was under no pressure to produce findings that conformed to institutional, cultural or social expectations.

That said, the subtleties of the insider/outsider debate and the feelings, attitudes and stances adopted towards me as a researcher varied across the three sites, with the most problematic relationship being with the Welsh school. My position as a non-Welsh speaking researcher was made relevant by the Headteacher at the Welsh-medium school. He suggested that because I didn't speak Welsh, I 'wouldn't understand how they do things' (Chapter 6, Extract 6.4). The view held by the Headteacher resembles and reflects that put forward by Martin et al (1997), in which language competency was explicitly mentioned as a marker of 'insiderness'. Whilst this was not an unreasonable point of view, there were many aspects of school life that I wanted to observe and learn about, where my limited competence in Welsh would not have been so restrictive. Heller argues that the impact of the researcher is in fact potentially useful in understanding 'indexes of the norms, frames of reference, ideologies, positionings, and interests that are such important dimensions of sociolinguistic research' (Heller 2011: 45). In other words, whilst social relationships in the research field needed to be smoothed out and negotiated as access to data depended on these relationships, rich data was also acquired through being reflective when resistance was encountered.

Rampton argues that 'the researcher's presence in the field defies standardisation' (Rampton et al. 2004: 4). Thus, the issue of whether I speak Welsh or not is just a particular case of a wider, recurrent problem in ethnography. Furthermore, whilst Welsh language competence was, for the Headteacher at the Welsh school, integral to insider status (both for me as a researcher and, as we'll see, for the students who attend), sharing a language doesn't (as we'll also see in the data emerging from both the English and Welsh schools) fully guarantee any sort of insiderness in itself. The situation was partially resolved by working with a confederate to ensure that I was able to offer the participants a choice as to which language(s) to use during the research process. My confederate was a twenty-one year old undergraduate student who had herself attended a Welsh-medium school in close proximity to the sites involved in this project. She was therefore familiar with the west Wales educational context and able, where necessary, to provide additional commentary. That said her role in this project was primarily limited to providing

both literal and non-literal translations (where necessary) and at no stage was she responsible for design or any other aspects of the implementation or interpretation of this research.

Despite my limited competence in Welsh I came to be an insider in several respects. I was conscious that an adult within a school is more likely to be 'understood as some kind of teacher-figure than as a student' (Heller 2006: 19), and that this is liable to constrain the kinds of relationships one can have with students. To overcome this (at least to some extent), I was careful to avoid association with teachers or their activities or spaces (such as the staff room), choosing instead to spend lunch and break times in student-centric spaces (the canteen, the playground, and the library). My attempt to distance myself from a 'teacher identity' was also made easier by the schools' willingness for me to dress casually, in clothing that more closely resembled that of young people. My identity, in the school-based research, was one that required constant work and monitoring. On the other hand, my role at the Youth Club was considerably easier to manage. The Youth Club as a recreational space was geared to a relaxed and informal relationship between adults and young people. Additionally, I only entered the Youth Club, as a research site, in the later stages of the research, by which point I was well known to many of the students.

As mentioned above, participant observation allows for first-hand experience of language use. In Chapter 3 (section 3.4) it was suggested that there was growing interest in the gulf between language planning and policy (LPP) and the reality 'on the ground'. Ricento (2000), for example, highlighted that LPP research had not fully accounted for how micro-level interaction relates to macro-levels of social organisation. In light of this, Sutton and Levinson (2001) call for more ethnographic research, which provides a 'locally informed...ethnographically rich account of how people make, interpret, and otherwise engage with the policy process' (Sutton and Levinson 2001: 4). Ethnography, Blommaert (2005) suggests, allows for such an analysis in that small phenomena (details of linguistic practice) can be set against big phenomena (macro-level concerns and aspirations). Blackledge and Creese (2010) concur, arguing that ethnographic work is able to

'look locally' as well as to access 'broader relations of power and ideology' (Blackledge and Creese 2010: 67). Heller also suggests that doing ethnographic research allows us to discover how language works as situated social practice, and how it is tied to social organisation' (Heller 2011: 10).

The combining of linguistic analysis with ethnography, in order to probe the interrelationship between language and social life in more depth, is salient to the research presented here in that it is focused on real-world problems and a concern with social inequality. The model presented in Chapter 3, Figure 3.1 consists of six main categories, attempting to show the relationship between macro and micro processes within the Welsh education system (i.e. national and local processes) as it applies to my data context. As mentioned in Chapter 3, whilst the focus of my study is on students and their interpretations of the ideological content/context of their education, it is important to acknowledge that their experiences are embedded in much more extensive ideological frameworks.

It is for this reason, that this study broadly follows the Linguistic Ethnography tradition, as outlined by Rampton et al (2004), Rampton (2007), Creese (2008) and Blackledge and Creese (2010). Linguistic ethnography is based on, and in many ways aligned with, established ethnographic traditions, such as linguistic anthropology (North America) and ethnography of communication (Hymes, 1968, 1972). Additionally, it defines itself in relation to the 'new intellectual climate of late modernity and post-structuralism' (Creese 2008: 229). Creese (2008) goes on to suggest that by conjoining the two terms 'linguistic' and 'ethnography', linguistic ethnography 'aligns itself with a particular epistemological view of language in social context' (Creese 2008: 229). In other words it views language and social life as 'mutually shaping' (Rampton et al. 2004: 2). Linguistic ethnography is a commitment to ethnography, working from 'language, literacy and discourse outwards' (Rampton et al. 2004: 6). Thus, linguistic ethnography seeks to understand the role language plays in social life. This study is interested both in language as a topic (opinions about Welsh and English, for example) and in the discourse through which ideologies get expressed and accounted.

Rampton (2007) argues that linguistics (linguistically fine-tuned discourse analysis) ties ethnography down (Rampton 2007: 596), but that ethnography also opens up linguistics. Relatedly, Creese (2008) suggests that 'ethnography provides linguistics with a close reading of context' (Creese 2008: 232), something she argues is not necessarily represented in other kinds of interactional analysis. But what exactly is the context? Conventionally, in educational/school-based ethnography, the context has been limited to the school as a stand-alone institution, a 'microcosm of society' (Eisenhart 2001: 23). In light of this, Eisenhart (2001) argues that schools should not be viewed as 'separate or coherent entities' to be 'compared to home or community' (*ibid*: 23). Rather, a broader and more nuanced view of context should be adopted, one that sees the school in relation to other institutions (be that government, communities, families, or youth clubs). Figure 3.1 (Chapter 3) clearly reflects the complex systems and influences that are at play within the community involved in this study; the school is positioned as intersecting with multiple networks that mutually shape one another. In other words, this study seeks to shed light on how the school-based ideologies and school-based practice are tangled up with the community and the home. Relatedly, anthropologists have argued for the importance of empirically following the 'trajectories of resources and actors and finding the links among discursive spaces' (Heller 2011: 10), allowing for an understanding of the sociolinguistic complexities (Coupland et al. 2006), and enabling research narratives that show divisions, struggles or inconsistencies in the data (Eisenhart 2001). This approach requires working in terms other than the traditional 'field site' and where appropriate, carrying out multi-sited ethnographic research. Adopting a multi-sited approach allows for different sites to be brought into the same frame of analysis and thus enables a 'thick description' (Geertz 1973). A more nuanced understanding of the context, avoiding the 'them-us' polarised distinction of conventional comparative ethnography, is then possible. By choosing three complementary research sites, this research seeks to capture and take account of different dimensions of secondary-school students' lives both inside and outside of the classroom.

4.4 Research Methods

This research is characterised by the use of three principal methods: ethnographic observational fieldwork, ethnographic chats, and audio recordings.

Eisenhart (2001) suggests that conventional ethnography, rather than engaging with divisions and struggles between groups, focuses instead on searching out patterned and typical interactions. Contrastingly, this study seeks to capture the complexity of the situation, whether ideologies are resisted or affirmed. Ideology as a theoretical construct was discussed in Chapter 3. It was suggested that the term has been characterised in a variety of different ways. One such debate relates to different sitings of ideology. Billig et al. (1988) made the distinction between 'lived' and 'intellectual' ideology, and the distinction is useful because it reflects the dichotomy between people's systems of belief (their intellectual ideology) and people's everyday practice (lived ideology). In defining ideology, Woolard argues that 'representations, whether explicit or implicit, that construe the intersection of language and human beings in a social world are what we mean by "language ideologies"' (Woolard 1998: 3). She goes onto argue that ideology can be discovered in linguistic practice, which includes in explicit talk about language, that is in metapragmatic discourse and in 'implicit metapragmatics', 'linguistic signalling that is part of the stream of language use in process and that simultaneously indicates how to interpret that language in use' (Woolard 1998: 9). Thus, there is a duality between ideologies that are unconscious, seen as implicit in speech practices, and ideologies as seen in conscious explanations to outsiders. This study, in a similar way to Spitulnik (1998), aims to simultaneously examine ideology on more than one level. Multiple methods are, therefore, used to allow for, and to understand ideology at different levels; multiple methods provide different lenses through which to see language in context. Furthermore, Irvine insists and carefully demonstrates that linguistic ideology must be treated as distinct from and not just implicit in linguistic structure and practice (Irvine 1998). Thus she emphasises the need to consider both the implicit and the explicit realisations of language ideologies. Briggs goes further by arguing that an over-reliance on implicit ideologies in fact, privileges the analyst's perspective (Briggs 1998).

In light of this, it is hoped that the combination of more structured question-based ethnographic methods with the recordings of 'live' and unconstrained social interaction will further the research presented here. Primarily, it is hoped that it will allow for differing perspectives on the same topic, and in many cases the same young people. The question-based ethnographic chats were deployed to elicit evaluative discourse and key ideological stances as well as an analysis of reported language practices.

On the other hand, the naturally occurring speech (characterised by free interaction) will evidence 'ideologies in action' (Jaffe 1999a) – what young people actually do. The combination of methods, it is hoped will allow for a richer and more nuanced understanding of the research context as well as allowing for a deeper understanding of the complex cultural and ideological pressures on young people's engagement with the Welsh language. Both the 'ethnographic chats' and the 'naturally occurring' youth club data are examples of contextualised discourse. The data emerging from the ethnographic chats is characterised by a recycling of and/or an extension of metalinguistic and metacultural stances that the young people adopt in their school-based networks. The Youth Club data differs in that there are less metalinguistic and metacultural elements. However, the young people continue to negotiate normativity and ideological positions.

Participant observation and field notes

As mentioned, the data for this study came primarily from periods of fieldwork carried out between September 2008 and January 2011. During this period I made a series of visits to the schools, to the Youth Club, and to the wider community (observing and participating in events such as local fêtes and cultural festivals). Approximately forty visits of varying length were made to the community in question. My time at the schools was spent observing, where possible, classrooms, assemblies, break times, lunchtimes, school shows, sporting fixtures, and parent's evenings. Observations produced 27 sets of field notes⁸ representing

⁸ 8 sets of field notes from the English school, 6 sets of field notes from the Welsh school, 7 sets of field notes from the Youth Club and 6 sets of field notes from the wider community

approximately 110 hours of fieldwork (in all three research sites⁹). Visits were made to the community on different days and at different times in order to capture a reasonably representative range of activities to sample from. Observations were also made in a range of different classroom settings (Welsh-medium, English-medium, top-set and bottom-set). In addition to this, documents including school prospectuses, correspondence home (letters), and classroom work-sheets were also collected.

My observations were recorded in field note entries. Within these I made a record of, and commented interpretively on, events, activities and dialogue. The field notes are representations and selective reproductions of my time in the field. The nature of ethnography is such that it is not always possible or practical to wear personal recording devices. Having spent an extended period of time within the community I was, as mentioned, known by many and recognised by others. Consequently, I was often stopped in passing when 'not researching', in coffee shops, supermarkets, restaurants etc. Several of these passing and fleeting conversations were captured in field notes. Creese and Blackledge argue that field notes are 'primary data sets' (Blackledge and Creese 2010) rather than merely 'aides memoir', as Emerson et al. (1995: 23) argue. I therefore treat my field notes as 'evidentiary', and consider that they 'can be used equally alongside other data' (Blackledge and Creese 2010: 79), and as a result, the extracts I bring forward have been numbered in analytic chapters, in parallel with data extracts of other sorts.

Participant Selection

On the basis of initial observations (as recorded in field notes), approximately twenty students were chosen as principal informants (key informants) in each school. The rationale behind participant selection will now be provided, with examples of field note entries to contextualise the process and to acknowledge my role as a researcher.

⁹ 60 hours at the English school, 30hours at the Welsh school, 20 hours at the Youth Club

Firstly, selecting key informants should not be thought of as a sampling procedure based on empiricist principles of representativeness. One reason for this is that the key students are needed to help gain access to other students and to data, it could not be clear in advance what precisely they might be representing. That said, careful consideration was given to ensure, where practically possible, that a broad spectrum of experiences were reflected in the research, and in light of this a range of language abilities, language preferences, medium of instruction, ages, and genders were taken into consideration (see below for an overview of the eventual pool of participants).

Key informants were chosen on the basis of initial observations within the community under investigation and were selected in three ways. Firstly, some were felt to be involved in key groups (Year 7, sixth form, prefects etc.). The following field note entry exemplifies one such case.

Extract 4.1

1 I've just come out of a Year 7 assembly. The Head Teacher
2 introduced the students to the school rules and
3 expectations. Along with the standard sort of rules, no
4 mobile phones on in class, no make up, be smart, be
5 courteous, work hard etc., there were a series of language-
6 based rules and expectations. One such rule was articulated
7 in the following way, 'You may find our approach to
8 language very different to your primary school. As you
9 know, we are a bilingual school and you will therefore be
10 exposed to both languages, we expect you to respect both
11 and use the appropriate language for the classroom you are
12 in'.

13 After assembly we returned to our form rooms. I chose to go
14 with the Welsh form. On returning to the classroom their
15 teacher continued with the rules and expectations -
16 starting once again with generic rules '*dim nail-varnish,*

17 *dim stilettos'*. He then went on to say (in English), 'you
18 have chosen or been selected to be in the T form because
19 you have an interest and a passion for the Welsh language;
20 make the most of the opportunities given to you and work
21 hard at all times. He went on to say that 'more and more
22 students are choosing to come into the Welsh form and we
23 expect you to set a good example to other students in the
24 school'.

The above extract clearly shows how Year 7 students are initiated and acculturated into school norms and expectations. Expectations regarding language choice and language use, amongst other things, were made explicit to them at the start of their secondary education. I therefore felt that Year 7 would be a fruitful site for observations. More generally, Year 7 students were able to reflect on the differences between their primary and secondary education and were more likely to maintain close friendships with students at the other secondary school (thereby providing access to a comparison between the two schools).

A further example of initial observations providing insight and help in the selection of participants comes in the following extract. Here, sixth formers from the Welsh school discuss the perception that students in Year 7, 8 and 9 are most likely to contest and question school-based ideologies.

Extract 4.2 – Sixth-form, John, Iola and Gitoll

1 John: I think a lot of them tend to do it [*speak English*] to be
2 awkward (.) like you've got people that just like to be
3 awkward and they know that's the one way to go to drive the
4 teachers nuts (.) is to speak English
5 Iola: yes
6 John: especially in Welsh lessons
7 Gitoll: mmm (.) not at A-level though
8 Iola: oh no
9 John: year 7 8 9 are the main culprit's
10 Iola: yeah

11 Gitoll: they're trying to (.) uhh (.) fight against (.) umm
12 (.) the system (.) but they're sort of destroying something
13 more than they (.) might want to (.) or something more than
14 (.) they should
15 Iola: yeah they're destroying themselves by destroying the
16 language

Given the perception that students in the first three years of secondary education were the most likely 'culprits' who were perceived as 'fighting against the system' I felt they warranted closer observation. Furthermore, on the basis of the above extract, I also felt that sixth form students, and in particular prefects, had a privileged role in the school hierarchy and were presented as both agents of change and as role models, expected to positively promote the Welsh language to younger students (see Extract 6.5 for further discussion). In addition, it became clear that sixth formers had the greatest experience of the systems in place at the two schools, and the language norms and expectations. They showed an ability to be reflexive and to articulate different arguments and ideological positions with greater ease than other year groups.

Some students were chosen as key informants on the basis of a particular moment or episode recorded in field notes. In the following field note I record my first contact with a student at the Welsh school, Harri.

Extract 4.3

1 I was sitting in the school reception waiting to speak to
2 the Head Teacher about an upcoming visit to the school.
3 After a while he emerged with a parent and a child. It
4 quickly became clear that the parent had been called in to
5 discuss their child's behaviour. The Head Teacher
6 apologised for being held up and asked if he could have a
7 few minutes to make an urgent telephone call. Whilst
8 waiting I overheard a conversation between the parents and
9 the reception staff. The parent appeared to be a fairly
10 close friend of the secretary. The parent explained

11 (complained) to the secretary that Harri had been in
12 trouble again for refusing to speak Welsh in school. Harri
13 nonchalantly said 'well it serves them right for having
14 such stupid rules at this dump'. At this stage the
15 secretary became aware of me (a visitor) and the
16 conversation came to an end.

On the basis of this brief encounter Harri became involved in the research. Research Question 1 explicitly asks whether students resist or affirm school-based ideologies and school-based practice. In light of this, and in line with the arguments put forward by Sjoberg and Nett (1968), I identified two types of informants – those that generally conform to social and linguistic norms and expectations (as in the case of the prefects) and those that demonstrate more extreme attitudes and views. In this case Harri resembled the latter, being explicitly critical of school-based norms and expectations. Participants whose experiences were clearly divergent from or in stark contrast to the norm proved to be excellent sources of rich data, although I was, as mentioned, careful to counter-balance norm-averse students with norm-compliant ones, as far as possible. Furthermore, the exposure to diversity (as seen between the views held by the prefects and the views held by Harri) shows how various stakeholders experience and orientate to the language-ideological norms in differing ways.

Lastly, key informants became involved in the project through a snowball effect. Principally this was seen in the recruiting of friendship groups for the ethnographic chats. The following extract taken from an ethnographic chat at the English school highlights this further.

Extract 4.4 – Year 7, ‘English form’, Emma and Phoebe

- 1 Emma: Molly is in I which is like the English (.)
2 Englishest form (.) and she’s in the first-language Welsh
3 class
4 Phoebe: well she is first-language
5 Emma: *mamiaith*
6 Phoebe: she got taught (.) she got learnt it (.) uhh she
7 got taught it in primary school didn’t she?
8 Emma: yeah but she’s like a *mamiaith*
9 Phoebe: so why did she end up in the English form?
10 Emma: don’t know

Here, a group of Year 7 students from the Welsh form, in a discussion of what it means to be a first-language Welsh speaker, discuss a friend called Molly. The girls highlight and question the contradictory situation, with Molly being in the *mamiaith* (‘mother tongue’) class as well as the ‘Englishist’ form (see Section 5.5 for a more detailed discussion of the categorisation of form-groups at the English school). On the basis of this moment I carried out further follow up observations and Molly subsequently became involved in the project as a key informant. The nature of ethnographic research means that no homogenous units or specific characteristics of culture are defined *a priori*, but rather those groups and processes recognised by native participants are discovered and studied in their terms during the research (Gregory 1983: 366). The recruiting of students through a snowball effect is characteristic of such a process; the selection process is reactive and emergent rather than pre-determined, in that it allows for leads to be followed up.

In sum, the eventual pool of students was comparable across the two schools with approximately 20 key informants from each school being drawn from the following year groups; sixth form, year 9, year 8 and year 7. In addition, prefects were involved from both schools. At the English school, key informants were drawn from both the English and Welsh form groups. Both girls and boys were

equally represented in the final cohort of students. In addition to the students, both Head Teachers were involved in the research process.

Ethnographic chats

I developed ethnographic protocols to access students' orientations to the consequences of language education policies. As mentioned, approximately twenty students served as principal informants in each school. The school-based research is characterised by 'ethnographic chats' (see below for further detail)¹⁰.

During my visits to the two schools I observed a range of activities, both inside and outside of the classroom, but I also interacted in more focussed ways with groups of students, and many of my key analytic insights come from this more controlled source. The ethnographic chats¹¹ involved groups of 4-5 students (established friendship groups) coming together to discuss a series of written prompts (see Appendix 1). These prompts were put together as a direct result of my wider observations as documented in my field notes. An analysis of my initial field notes was undertaken and two principal themes emerged: ideological conflict within and between the schools, and ideological and linguistic control within school spaces. These two themes then formed the basis of Research Questions 1 and 3. It should be acknowledged that Research Question 2, to an extent, emerged from language-ideological debates that circulated in the community and in the responses to language planning initiatives. It is perhaps idealistic to expect research questions to emerge fully formed from the observational data. That said, once the general research questions were formulated, open-ended prompts were written to be used as the basis for the ethnographic chats.

The chats were conducted in a relaxed, informal environment with students eating their lunch and listening to music. The format of the sessions was consistent throughout: one student would volunteer to lead the 'chat' and would read the

¹⁰ Note that other sorts of ethnographic participation-observation and subsequent field notes also inform my analysis.

¹¹ The concept of a 'chat' is not without its difficulties and will be problematized in relation to an interview in subsequent sections of this review.

prompt, and a discussion would follow. The text containing the prompts was given to the students in both Welsh and English (see Appendix 1), and as I had limited involvement in these chats, students were given the choice as to which language to talk in (it was also explicitly stated that they could use both)¹². The ethnographic chats were recorded and transcribed.

Ethnographic interviews (Spradley 1979) would be the conventional methods in a context like the present one, but the chats employed here are characterised by specific procedural and interactional characteristics of frame and genre, which differentiates them from the ethnographic interview in three principle ways.

Firstly, there was much less control encoded into the written prompts than there would have been with interview questions. Prompts were pragmatically realised as open-ended 'topics' rather than specific questions - Prompt 5, for example, asked students to 'discuss and describe' whether there were Welsh or English students or staff at Ysgol Arnant/Ysgol Ardywn, The open-ended nature of the prompts allowed and encouraged students to have open and apparently frank conversations. Whilst the students generally proved to have a shared understanding of everyday experiences, some disagreement did emerge. A multiplicity of views was garnered but with consensual stances predominating.

A second point of departure from the ethnographic interview was the level of involvement from the researcher. The ethnographic chats were characterised by much less control. The basis of all interviews (whether ethnographic or otherwise) remains largely the same. The interviewer produces the questions and the respondent answers them, with respondents tending to adhere to topics set and elaborated only by the interviewer. I felt that the traditional researcher-led, formalised, approach to interviewing was not consistent with the ethnographic priority, and thus once prompts had been given to the students I had little or no involvement in the 'chat'¹³ with many of the follow up questions being initiated by

¹² Surprisingly, none of the students chose to use Welsh in either of the two schools.

¹³ During the chats I either sat away from the students or went to another room.

the students themselves. In this sense the ethnographic chats resembled a conversation in that students were free to bring in new topics, and to signal a change of topic. In other words, as with conversations, the central organisational feature of the ethnographic chat was such that who talks and about what was controlled by the participants themselves. In addition, participants were free to explore the topic in whatever depth they chose, without continuous checking and clarifying from me. Thus the chats resemble both the purposeful questions of ethnographic interviews and emergent questions of a conversation.

The third difference between an interview and an ethnographic chat relates to turn taking. Turn-taking happens in both interviews and chats, but is based on different sequencing rules in each genre. Spradley (1979) argued that in interviews turn-taking is less balanced than in a chat or conversation, with an asymmetrical relationship between the ethnographer and the respondent being the basis of the interaction. Contrastingly, in the ethnographic chats, participants, as mentioned, were able to build alignments and disalignments with each other relative to the topic of the prompt. In this sense the ethnographic chat allowed for more multi-party cumulativity. In sum, the greater distance between myself, as the researcher, and the informants gave them more autonomy and freedom to speak, and de-emphasised my role as an orchestrator of issues.

Audio recording

In the above discussion of multi-sited ethnography, the importance of following the trajectories of students and finding links among discursive spaces was put forward. My research at the Youth Club allowed me, in some instances, to follow the within-school participants in their recreational and free time. The Youth Club data is extremely important to the wider aim of studying the impact of top-down ideological forces. It is by looking at conversational interaction, among students of secondary-school age that we can develop a deeper understanding of the complex cultural and ideological pressures on young people's engagement with the Welsh language. In other words, it's only by looking at relatively uncontrolled social

speech (as will be done here) that we can make an assessment of whether and how school-based ideologies of language either do or do not remain in force.

My time at the Youth Club was characterised by two principal methods: ethnographic participant-observational fieldwork (resulting in further field notes) and audio recordings of spontaneous interaction. I chose to use personal recording devices, in the form of lapel microphones (in a similar way to Blackledge and Creese 2010). The primary reason for choosing to record the 'natural' conversational interaction of these young people was to capture aspects of implicit ideologies, 'ideologies in action' (Jaffe 1999a). However, having familiarised myself with the nature of the Youth Club, a secondary reason became apparent. As also mentioned, the young people at the Youth Club were free to move around the building as well as within the local town. If I relied solely on my observational data (as captured in my field notes), I would have failed to capture a full picture of their everyday lives and routines, as lived out by the young people at the Youth Club. The young people opted into wearing the lapel microphones and in this sense they were self-selected (as mentioned, in some instances they had also been involved in the school-based research). The task quickly became popular, with young people asking when I was hoping to return and could they be 'put on the waiting list'. Informants wore the microphones for 3-4 hours each evening. Rampton argues that it is 'hard to know how far the wearing of radio-microphones affects the naturalness of interaction' (Rampton 1995: 351). That said, it doesn't seem to have been an issue for the students here. Students were given the personal recording devices for an evening (3-4 hours) and some wore them on more than one occasion, therefore the novelty of wearing the devices quickly wore off¹⁴. Furthermore, the young people had full control over the devices and were able to turn them off and keep them recording at their discretion.

¹⁴ On the three evenings that recordings were carried out at the Youth Club I generated approximately 36 hours of naturally occurring data.

4.5 Data and Transcription

As mentioned in relation to the ethnographic chats, data collection was, in general terms, set within an open, exploratory framework and data analysis was grounded in and emergent from the data. Heller argues that her role as an ethnographer is that of a 'noticer of important and interesting things' (Heller 2011: 11), arguing that she produces an account of her participants' daily lives. Ethnography is thus, necessarily interpretive and can't result in a fully definitive account. So despite the mass of data collected, I am aware of the limitations with regards to describing and capturing the complex worlds of my participants. Whilst the ethnography presented here draws on all of the aforementioned data sources I have had to make choices about what data to present and how best to present the data I choose to present.

The examples provided as data extracts in the following chapters are illuminating moments, highlighting key elements of the unfolding story. Most significantly, they show ideological values that are salient to participants, and hence to the research aims. These values emerged from several single experiences of observations (in the sense that they are found through repeated analysis of information sources, where I was looking for stable patterns and themes) and are crystallised in particular utterances or narratives. So the data presented here has validity in this regard, even if it is also subjective and interpretive.

In Ochs's (1979) critical account of how interactional data is presented for analysis, it is argued that transcription is a 'selective process reflecting theoretical goals and definitions' (Ochs 1979: 44). Duranti goes further by arguing that transcription is, in itself, an interpretive process (Duranti 2007). Thus, transcription is selective and interpretive in that only certain features of talk and interactions are transcribed, while others are ignored or partially represented. As the basis of my interpretations I carry out a form of discourse analysis, but one where, for the most part, details of pausing, sequencing, overlap, etc. (as picked up in CA type transcription conventions) have relatively little bearing on my analysis.

It is for this reason that a fairly broad transcription is suitable. Furthermore, this study is also focused on the contextualisation of the data, not just on the 'content'.

In light of this, the following transcription conventions are used:

(.)	An untimed, short pause
(3.0)	A timed pause, in seconds
Speech	Transcribed speech
[text]	Clarification
(text)	Commentary
"speech"	Voiced speech
'speech'	Direct speech quoted in field notes
<i>Cymraeg</i>	Text in Welsh
('English')	Translation of Welsh text

4.6 Ethical Considerations and Access

Negotiating access has long been considered a hurdle to be overcome in ethnographic research and it is increasingly difficult to gain access to educational institutions (Troman 1996). Initial contacts for this research, were made with the schools via the Headteachers. It was felt that, as well as acting as gate keepers, they would have an overview of the research setting and an awareness of practical constraints. I was fortunate to be introduced to some key stakeholders through a close family member. As mentioned, at both the English school and at the Youth Club, being known to members of the wider community eased the potential problems of access (access to the Youth Club was secured through my key informants). I was introduced firstly as a relative/friend and secondly as someone doing research on language. Thus, my position as an 'outsider' (see earlier discussion of this) was in many ways attenuated. Access was, however, more problematic at the Welsh school (see the earlier discussion for further detail).

This project was designed and implemented with the full co-operation and endorsement of the Cardiff University departmental Research Ethics Officer and

subjected to the departmental Ethics Committee process (see Appendix 2). In addition to this, the ethical guidelines provided by both the British Association for Applied Linguistics and the Economic and Social Research Council were fully consulted during both the design and implementation process. Accordingly, the key principles of ethical research, outlined in these documents, were met.

Prior to consent being given, all three-research sites were provided with detailed information, in written form, allowing for the participants to fully consider their involvement (see Appendix 3. All participants (the schools, the teachers, the parents, the students, and the youth workers) were therefore fully informed of the purpose, methods and intended uses of the research. This information was displayed in the school staff room both before and during the research. All teaching and support staff were aware of the research and given time to ask questions and raise concerns. Additionally, all participants were given my contact details and encouraged to contact me should they have any concerns before, during or after the data collection (including during the 'write-up' period).

Once key informants had been selected, through initial observation, permission was sought from both the parents/guardians and from the students (note that permission was continuously sought throughout the research process). Parents and students were also asked to sign to indicate their consent. In addition to this, all participants were informed of their right to withdraw from the research at any stage. Finally, assurances were given about the use of data and all relevant parties were fully informed about the potential for publications and conference presentations.

All names and locations have been anonymised by using culturally appropriate pseudonyms. In line with the Data Protection Act, all data was stored and dealt with in a secure manner; electronic copies of the data were held within password-protected files and all data was fully anonymised prior to sharing it with either my project supervisor or my confederate.

Chapter 5

The English School and 'Flexible Bilingualism'

5.1 Introduction

An in-depth discussion of the two schools is provided in Chapter 4 of this thesis. However, to summarise the Ysgol Ardwyn situation, the school is designated as an English-medium school (EM) by the local education authority, with only 12% of students reported to speak Welsh as a first-language or to a corresponding standard. In Chapter 4 Scourfield and Davies' (2005) view on 'collapsing language and nation' in Wales, was put forward. It was noted that Welsh-medium schools are commonly described as 'Welsh schools' and English-medium as 'English schools', a process confirmed in my own data. That said, there is a Welsh stream, amounting to around 30 students (one form-group) in each year-group. These students study five subjects through the medium of Welsh for the duration of Key Stage 3 (aged 11-14)¹. The school functions bilingually (e.g. bilingual signage, bilingual correspondence to parents/students, bilingual assemblies and announcements), and as the students confirm, there is institutional tolerance of their use of both English and Welsh as well as of code-mixing, but it is nevertheless very much an English-dominant environment.

The following research questions will be addressed in this chapter:

1. How are the institutional arrangements within this community (or locality) understood by the students? Do school students see themselves operating within language ideological structures? Do students resist or affirm school-based ideologies and school-based practice?
2. How do students understand, interpret and live out what language policy and planning documents in Wales refer to as 'true bilingualism'? Is 'choice' experienced as such at institutional, individual and community levels?

¹ Religious Education, Design Technology, Art, History and Music are studied through the medium of Welsh.

3. Is the Welsh language accounted to be an obstacle to social integration for young people within the 'community' and into the school environment, or a positive resource?

In order to address these questions the following themes will be discussed: 'flexible bilingualism', 'Wenglish', the relationship between language and national identity as well as the inherent complications and contradictions that these concepts give rise to. The analysis draws on data from the school-based ethnographic chats as well as field notes (see Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of the ethnographic approach adopted within this study). The extracts used here are intended to be representative of the larger data set and are drawn from six ethnographic chats, representing each of the year-groups and the Welsh and English stream within these year-groups.

5.2 'Flexible Bilingualism'

At the level of general policy, the schools in the study don't differ in the belief that it is important for students to learn both Welsh and English; where they differ is in how to manage the bilingual repertoire of their students via the curriculum and via the less structured ideologies of language that govern practice². My aim, therefore, is to identify the 'multiplicity of ideologies that routinely collide within and across communities during acts of language renewal' (Kroskrity 2009: 73). Blackledge and Creese have argued that a comparison can be made between 'flexible bilingualism', the idea that a school can encourage the use of two languages through the importance they place on bilingualism and bilingual practice, and 'separate bilingualism', the traditional notion of keeping languages separate and exercising a choice between them (Blackledge and Creese 2010). Defining flexible bilingualism, they have argued that there is a need to move beyond emphasising languages as different codes, and to problematise the construct of a bounded language, arguing instead for an approach which recognises the fluid movement of various sorts between language codes. The constructs of 'flexible' and 'separate'

² Estyn's annual reports on second language Welsh indicate that the picture for Wales as a whole is far from ideal, with standards often being lower in Welsh as a second language and students being given insufficient opportunities to develop and use their Welsh language skills.

bilingualism are clearly ideological, and indeed in themselves they constitute different 'ideologies of bilingualism' (Blackledge and Creese 2010: 111). One empirical question for my research is whether school students see themselves operating within ideological structures of one or other of these two kinds.

'Flexible bilingualism,' and other related concepts such as translanguaging (Garcia 2009) and heteroglossia (Bailey 2007), all point to 'an approach to bilingualism that is centred, not on languages as has often been the case, but on the practices of bilinguals' (Garcia 2009a: 140), where these practices are presumed to include fluid movements of various sorts between language codes. These concepts raise many important points for the analyses presented here, but at the same time are broad and in many ways extreme. What these terms have in common, however, is that they go beyond (but also include) what has been termed code-switching/mixing (defined by Muysken (2000) as all cases where lexical items and grammatical features from two languages appear in one sentence (Muysken 2000), in other words the use of two or more languages in the same conversation or utterance, based on the principle of there being a matrix language). The current research focuses not on the intricacies of code-mixing/switching (the form) but rather on the situated use of language (the practice), the ideological bases of practice, and emergent sociolinguistic consequences.

In light of this, heteroglossia, as defined by Bailey (2007), is the use of 'socially meaningful forms in both bilingual and monolingual talk' (Bailey 2007: 267). That is, rather than confining analyses to the documentation of the presence of different languages, as would be typical of an account of code-mixing, heteroglossia engages with both monolingual and multilingual forms at the same time. Bailey also argues convincingly that a heteroglossic perspective connects the linguistic with the social and historical (*ibid*: 269). For the purpose of my own research, there is a need to tap into the dialogic relationship between multiple and sometimes conflicting codes and the larger socio-political and socio-historical meanings that are negotiated through those linguistic forms, allowing for a more nuanced understanding of the reasons and consequences of 'flexible bilingualism' (and or

Wenglish – for further discussion see section 5.3) and one that reflects the macro/micro distinction of Figure 3.1).

Translanguaging, once again reflective of an ideological shift away from emphasising separate language use to encouraging, celebrating and approving flexibility in language use, is defined as the ‘act performed by bilinguals of accessing different linguistic features or various modes of what are described as autonomous languages’ (Garcia 2009a: 140). There is clearly considerable overlap here with the concept of code-switching/mixing. Baker (2011) expands on the notion of translanguaging, emphasising the pedagogical aspect and arguing that it ‘is the process of making meaning, shaping experience, gaining understanding and knowledge through the use of two languages’ (Baker 2011: 288). In other words, attempts are made to draw on all the linguistic resources of a child to maximise understanding and achievement. As will be seen in both Extract 5.3 and Extract 5.4 the students in my data suggest that it is indeed something like translanguaging, the functionally integrated and dynamic use of both Welsh and English, that they use to create more successful learning opportunities.

Wei (2011) suggests that translanguaging, more than any of the other terms, ‘embraces the concepts of creativity and criticality’ (Wei 2011: 1223). In other words, a translanguaging space is not simply a space where languages co-exist, but instead a space in which they come together to generate, contest and challenge existing identity positions, values and practices. The students at the English school, as we’ll see, show an ability to choose between following and flouting the rules and norms of language use. It will be shown that students at the English school contest the association between speaking Welsh and being Welsh, whilst on the other hand they conform to ideological precepts in that they give a nod towards the ideal of separate languages, issues of authenticity etc.

The concepts of flexible and separate bilingualism raise many important points for the analyses presented here, but at the same time are broad and in many ways extreme, principally in relation to how they problematise language as a bounded construct. Whilst ideologically, the differentiation between separate and flexible

bilingualism is clear, resting on a distinction between whether languages are seen as separate and pure entities or whether there can be a fluid movement between language codes, in practice they co-exist and overlap. In this sense the constructs are not clearly differentiated at the level of practice.

The terms flexible and separate bilingualism might initially be best thought of as ways of characterising particular schools' ideological self-positioning. In light of this, I view the ideological position adopted by the school, the 'flexible bilingualism', for example (an approach which, as we'll see, allows languages to co-exist in a fluid relationship with each other and in which languages are not arranged as having separate functions or domains), as distinct from what the young people do at the level of linguistic practice. By this I mean that whilst it will emerge that the students at the English school, which in a general sense promotes and sustains an ideological stance of flexible bilingualism, perceive that there is an ideologically open and tolerant approach towards language at the school (both English and Welsh are allowed and encouraged), they continue, in practice (e.g. on the basis of Extract 5.8), to view English and Welsh as separate parallel options (lines 2-7). In other words, flexibility, as an ideology, does not entail that, in terms of practice there will be no detectable boundaries between languages at the level of use, only that this boundary is less firmly policed and respected. Ideology and practice do not sit in a simple one-to-one relationship, and flexible and separate bilingualism are clearly idealising concepts in any case.

In sum, what the terms flexible bilingualism, translanguaging and heteroglossia (amongst others) offer this study is an ability to capture an ideological understanding of language in use that a study of code-switching/mixing alone would not allow for. However, as mentioned, it becomes clear in my data that the 'flexible'/'separate' distinction is not without its difficulties – the concepts in practice overlap, with each school adopting different approaches for different purposes. Furthermore, schools can only assert their guiding ideology in restricted ways, and local contingencies arise in bilingual discourse that have their own impact on how English and Welsh are used in local circumstances. In addition, an ideology of flexible bilingualism is unlikely, for example, to dictate every aspect of

language normativity and language use, or 'all points of the continua that make up a bilingual repertoire' (Garcia 2009: 378). The precise implications of the concepts 'flexible' and 'separate' need to be critically examined in relation to specific local and national contexts.

In the context of Wales, the distinction between flexible and separate bilingualism is problematic. Whilst linguistic varieties (Welsh and English) are necessarily positioned as distinctive (an ideology of separate bilingualism) in policy and planning, with the establishment of boundaries around language codes an imperative in the foundation of nation-states, these priorities seem to be the basis of an institutional ideology rather than a principle of linguistic practice. A host of practical considerations dictate that separation of languages cannot be maintained in any overall way. For example, the history of Welsh and English in Wales is syncretic and people who refer to themselves as bilinguals have very different repertoires, reflecting the circumstances under which they have learned Welsh and use it.

This study accepts that flexible and separate bilingualism are meaningful categories that help to provide an initial characterisation of the two schools, but argues that the students' engagement with these ideological categories is much more complex, showing that issues of social background, social network grouping, topics of talk, relational priorities etc also impinge strongly. Whilst the study does not set out to describe bilingual practice, it does show that the ideological underpinnings of bilingual practice in the two schools cannot be fully accounted for in dualistic terms.

There are some very clear indications in my data that something close to an ideology of flexible bilingualism is overly recognised to be in place in one of the two schools (namely the English school). In a conversation I had with the Headteacher of the English school, my field notes record his account of how the English school orients to bilingualism, as follows:

Extract 5.1

1 During break time the Headteacher and I are talking about
2 the schools approach towards language. He is explaining
3 that he believes his own school has a distinctive approach
4 towards language. He says the school has a relaxed attitude
5 towards language, not wanting to make language 'an issue'.
6 He refers to the Welsh school as having an 'evangelical
7 approach' towards language, saying that they turn a lot of
8 children off Welsh because they are a little too pushy. The
9 Headteacher goes on to explain to me that he doesn't speak
10 Welsh but that he has bilingual teaching and administrative
11 staff at the school.

This account highlights that, within this community and for its schools, language has the potential to be 'an issue' both for the students and for the staff. The school, through the Headteacher, recognises the role it has to play in this – i.e. in Jaffe's terms it recognises the impact it can have on ideological reproduction (Jaffe 1999a: 9). The Headteacher identifies that, in order to overcome the potential 'issue' of language, the school has adopted a relaxed approach towards language, allowing and encouraging both languages within the school, a policy of 'flexible bilingualism', in Blackledge and Creese's terms. It is clear that the Headteacher does not want the school to adopt an 'evangelical' stance of the sort found at the Welsh school, a stance which he views as contrasting with the approach adopted within his school. The Headteacher perceives the approach adopted at the Welsh school as over zealous, 'a little too pushy' (line 8) and recognises, as Jaffe does, that a heavy-handed imposition of strict linguistic standards could 'risk a reflex of rejection by the student' (Jaffe 1999a: 209). The Headteacher implies that the English school encourages students to engage with the Welsh language if they choose, but that they are under no obligation. He feels the need to point out that he has bilingual teaching and administrative staff, but that he himself is unable to speak Welsh (lines 9-11). These comments were made at a time when local newspapers were carrying a story about the schools shortcomings with regards to

Welsh teaching (March 2010 – see Appendix 4). In the article entitled ‘Schools under fire for Welsh shortcomings’ a local councillor claims that the school fails to reflect the areas in which it is geographically located and that a lack of Welsh speaking staff at the school, combined with limited Welsh language resources leads to Welsh teaching being ineffective.

In response to ethnographic chat prompt 4 regarding the ‘perfect student’ (Appendix 1) three sixth-form students (David, Alice, and Will) from the English school (aged 17-18, in their final year of education prior to university) give an account of language policy and practice at their school that is consistent with the Headteacher’s summary.

Extract 5.2 – Sixth-form, ‘English form’, David, Will and Alice

- 1 David: you can speak whatever you want
- 2 Will: yeah
- 3 David: sometimes you can speak to a teacher and you won’t
- 4 understand (.) can say that I don’t know what you mean (.)
- 5 but
- 6 Alice: they won’t
- 7 Will: they won’t tell you off
- 8 David: won’t tell you off or anything
- 9 Researcher: very laid back
- 10 Alice: yeah
- 11 David: just because this is a bilingual school they have to
- 12 promote both languages
- 13 Alice: yeah it’s up to you

Immediately the students show a willingness to comment on their school at the level of language policy, and they seem to have a clear conception of what it means to be at a ‘bilingual school’. The students clearly identify that there is an institutional openness and tolerance towards language at the English school. They don’t expect any punitive control: they won’t, in their terms, ‘get told off’. It is clear

that the students perceive that there is individual autonomy over language choice. David identifies that there is a commitment to 'promoting both languages' at school, so for these students bilingualism involves the promotion and the hearing of two languages, but not under strong institutional constraints. The students recognise that the school is ideologically committed to encouraging a form of community bilingualism but that this is not imposed on the individual. As a result of the way in which languages are ideologically positioned and presented within the school (which we might summarise as flexible bilingualism), the students perceive that their school is 'bilingual' (line 11), a distinction that contradicts the official categorisation of the school as well as the perception of those in the wider community.

In a continuation and in the way of expansion of Extract 5.2 (the text below is continuous with the previous one), Alice and David represent the view that language use is locally contextualised.

Extract 5.3 – Sixth-form, 'English form', Alice and David

- 1 Alice: but it's not such a big deal because it's this
2 school anyway
- 3 David: cos they don't mind in the school cos they tend to
4 speak to you in English anyway (.) or even if it's a Welsh
5 teacher (.) like my maths teacher his first-language is
6 Welsh (.) but he teaches us in English cos most of us are
7 English (.) cos Chloe (.) who's in the class (.) her first-
8 language is Welsh (.) he'll talk to her in Welsh (.) just
9 have conversations but he teaches the whole class in
10 English
- 11 David: he sort of mixes
- 12 Alice: yeah bit of everything
- 13 David: yeah he'll sort of use Welsh terms to help us learn
14 something (.) like if there's a Welsh phrase which sort of
15 sounds quite good he'll sort of drop it in

16 Alice: sometimes he'll explain something in Welsh (.) like
17 bits of Welsh but then we'll obviously answer the questions
18 in English

Here the students talk about a particular mathematics teacher who they report uses both Welsh and English during the course of the lesson. In Jaffe's terms, the students are reporting that there is a situation of 'functional parity' (Jaffe 2003a: 42) at their school, with both languages being used in teaching. The languages are therefore brought together in an unproblematic way (in 'flexible and non conflictual co-existence' - Blackledge and Creese 2010: 33).

If choice is the key mechanism, then one might reasonably ask to what extent do Welsh speakers have the right and opportunity to use Welsh at the English school? Whilst students are referring to a language ideology where 'choice' is presupposed, they have in mind choices of particular sorts. These students have chosen to attend the English school, so there is already some level of acceptance that English will be the dominant language. Students at the English school acknowledge that Welsh can be used to create more successful learning opportunities (in this sense code-mixing is not random, it is a resource for understanding educational content). The students talk about a friend (Chloe) whose first-language is Welsh. They report that the teacher will sometimes communicate with her in Welsh, a clear example of normative practice and of convergence, an L1 Welsh-speaking teacher using Welsh to an L1 Welsh-speaking student. It is clear from both Extract 5.2 and Extract 5.3 that students perceive that they are able to combine their different language experiences, through flexible bilingualism.

Further evidence of a flexible approach towards language is seen in the following extract, where, in response to a question regarding the schools approach towards language (prompt 3), three boys from the Welsh form (Lewis, Tom and Josh) indicate that code-mixing is both tolerated and encouraged by staff at the school.

Extract 5.4 – Year 8, ‘Welsh form’, Lewis, Tom and Josh

- 1 Lewis: yeah but in here you can speak Welsh and English
2 Tom: any languages
3 Josh: yeah you can speak Welsh (.) English or like bits of
4 both
5 Lewis: like in cricket practice today Mr Jonesey says like
6 “*un dai tri stop* (‘one two three stop’)” (.) “*un bounce*
7 *before the stump* boys(‘one bounce before the stump
8 boys’)” (.)
9 Tom: “*easy game Yn Aberaeron heddi*(.) *well done boys* (‘easy
10 game in Aberaeron today(.)well done boys’)”
11 Josh: yeah and in design tec like “take the *feis llaw* (.)
12 (‘the manual vice’) off the shelf like”

Here the boys recount moments when teachers are reported to have used both Welsh and English during the course of the lesson, with some teachers apparently attempting to utilise and strengthen both languages concurrently (lines 4-8), whilst others introduce and teach subject specific terminology in the target language (Welsh) (lines 9-10). In many respects, the tolerance that is shown at the English school towards Wenglish (again see section 5.3 for further detail) highlights attempts, on behalf of the school, to undermine the black and white judgements that the separate bilingualism of the Welsh school seems to favour.

Further evidence of the perception that there is a laid-back attitude towards languages at the English school, comes from a group of Year 7 girls (Kate, Molly and Zoe), in response to prompt 3 (regarding the school’s approach towards language).

Extract 5.5 - Year 7, 'English form', Kate and Molly

- 1 Kate: it's not really that tight on Welsh
2 Molly: no its (1.0)
3 Reasearcher: what do you mean by that (.) not strict?
4 Kate: yeah
5 Molly: and it's not tight on language (.) we only do like
6 one other language (.) well (.) without Welsh (.) so if you
7 included Welsh as like a normal language (.) then two
8 Kate: yeah (.) you know English and then you learn foreign
9 languages(.)Welsh and French

Here the girls once again highlight the relaxed, open and tolerant attitude towards language adopted by the English school, explaining that the school is 'not that tight on Welsh' (line 1), the implication once again being that they won't get told off for choosing to use either Welsh or English. However, the girls take this notion of leniency one-step further, suggesting that the school is 'not tight on language' in a more general sense (line 5), indicating that they only do 'one other language' (lines 5-6) or 'foreign language' (lines 8-9). In lines 6-7 Molly suggests that if you were, hypothetically, to include Welsh as a 'normal' language (where normality seems to relate to a foreign language, a language that you don't know), then they would study two 'other' languages. For these girls the question of whether or not to include Welsh as a 'foreign' language seems to stem from whether you know or are learning the language (with Kate suggesting that she knows English but learns Welsh and French). It will be shown in extract 5.6 that Molly is in the *mamiath* class (the mother tongue class) for Welsh.

It seems remarkable that these students, despite living in what is often deemed to be a heartland community, consider Welsh to be a 'foreign language', a subject like any other that carries little in the way of personal or national significance. Nevertheless, the girls indicate that they are learners of Welsh, as opposed to 'knowing' Welsh, with issues of authenticity coming to the fore.

The conversation continues, with the girls briefly discussing how they would like the school to approach language.

Extract 5.6 - Year 7, 'English form', Molly, Kate and Zoe

- 1 Molly: I don't know (.) it's hard (.) I think they're (the
2 Welsh and English languages) all pretty equal (.) but they
3 should do more languages
4 Kate: yeah (.) more opportunities
5 Zoe: like Chinese Spanish German Russian
6 Molly: you could be quadrilingual (.) not just Welsh and
7 English

It emerges in the above extract that the flexible conceptualisation of language seems to give rise to an aspiration to learn more languages (not just English, Welsh and French), with the girls suggesting that they have an apparent desire to be multilingual, not just bilingual. In their own way, these girls seem to be questioning the emphasis on the Welsh language, seeing it as limiting their opportunities. The girls suggest that their school should adopt a *more* 'flexible' approach towards language, moving beyond the limits of a narrow construction of bilingualism in Wales, instead adopting a position that is reflective of 'modern' international concerns and changing global sociolinguistic needs.

That said, given the emphasis on flexible bilingualism, students at the English school, when describing the 'perfect student' (prompt 4), suggest that bilingualism has high status within the school. Contrastingly, at the Welsh school students perceive that speaking only Welsh enables you to be a perfect student, Chapter 6, Extract 6.8.

In the following extract the four students refer to 'the perfect student as being bilingual, good at both languages (line 4), with greater emphasis on spoken ability.

Extract 5.7 - Year 9, 'English form', Jordan, Felicity, Katrin and Connor

- 1 Jordan: swot
- 2 (laughter) (*laughter*)
- 3 Felicity: hard working
- 4 Katrin: speaks well in both languages
- 5 Researcher: what do you mean?
- 6 Katrin: Welsh and English
- 7 Connor: they're in most of the top sets (.) for nearly
- 8 everything

So whilst the 'flexible bilingualism' at the English school gives you an apparent free choice as to whether to speak Welsh and/or English, in reality the perception is that only those who master *both* are given status within the school. Not only is this option primarily limited to only the Welsh form (with the potential for social exclusion for those who don't meet the required criteria) it seems to contradict the categorisation of the school as an English school.

5.3 Wenglish

For students at the English school, flexible bilingualism has given rise to what they call Wenglish. Wenglish is a highly ambiguous folklinguistic concept that one encounters in Wales, often relating to the use of culturally Welsh-English expressions, and/or the use of lexical loans from Welsh in English discourse. In the following extract (following on from a discussion on whether you'd get told off for using Welsh and or English at the English school – prompt 8), it emerges that Wenglish, for these students, is a specific form of bilingual practice that the students recognise to be quite widespread in their own usage.

Extract 5.8 – Year 7, 'Welsh form', Jamie, Matthew and Nick

- 1 Researcher: what's Wenglish then?
- 2 Jamie: yeah you click on one language and click on another
- 3 Matthew: bla bla bla where do you come from?

4 Jamie: yeah
5 Nick: sometimes Wenglish is when you don't actually speak
6 proper Welsh you speak
7 Jamie: it's like bits of English put in Welsh
8 Matthew: it's like neither Welsh or English it's both
9 Nick: yeah like a new version everyone can speak
10 Researcher: OK is that a good thing then Wenglish?
11 Jamie: it's nice
12 Nick: not really
13 Matthew: not really cos if you learn that then you're gonna
14 grow up
15 Jamie: and you won't be able to know all the proper words
16 Nick: and other people will look at you (.) like idiots and
17 stuff

The students have an evaluatively shifting conception of Wenglish, suggesting that it is both a learnable and perhaps in that sense a 'nice' (line 11) linguistic resource that involves 'clicking from one language to another' (line 2), using 'bits' of Welsh in otherwise English discourse (line 3 - 'bla bla bla' is the students' representation of the Welsh), as well as 'bits of English put in Welsh' (line 7). At the same time, Wenglish is 'neither Welsh or English'; instead it is a 'new version' (line 9). Wenglish therefore bears close resemblance to concepts such as translanguaging (as outlined in section 5.2 above). On the basis of the definition given in Extract 5.8, the Wenglish spoken about here would also be consistent with the concept of intrasentential code-mixing.

As its most important social function, however, Wenglish appears to allow for the varied nature of the linguistic intake in secondary schooling in south-west Wales, allowing for a greater sense of social and linguistic inclusion at the English school (line 9). Furthermore, schools do not exist in a social vacuum; they are not fully autonomous institutions, and, as Figure 3.1 implied, they sit within a specific social fabric of language practices and ideologies. Therefore, the approach adopted by the

English school goes some way to reflecting and acknowledging the social experiences of the student body.

As seen in Extract 5.8, the students explain that their bilingualism is complex, perhaps for reasons of competence, and that they can't/don't keep to the 'separate language' ideal. But at the same time (and as I come on to argue below), their negative comments about Wenglish suggest that they are still influenced by an ideology of separate bilingualism. In line 14, the appropriateness of using Wenglish is called into question, with students showing an awareness of the stigmatised nature of the language variety. Due to the political salience of language contact within this context (note that it is this very practice of mixing languages that is considered by some to be the reason for the decline of Welsh), the mixing of Welsh and English is not considered to be 'proper Welsh' (line 13), with the students acknowledging and seemingly endorsing purist ideologies towards Welsh. The implication here is that a 'proper' variety of Welsh exists that involves keeping languages separate (and as we'll see in Extract 5.13, the students perceive that those who attend the Welsh school speak 'proper' Welsh in this sense, and are therefore 'fully' Welsh).

In the following extract we see further doubts being expressed about the appropriateness of using Wenglish when at school.

Extract 5.9 - Year 7, 'English form' Molly, Katrin and Zoe

- 1 Researcher: so is Wenglish a good thing or a bad thing?
- 2 Molly: it's a bad thing
- 3 Katrin: actually it's a bad thing
- 4 Molly: if you're speaking to your Welsh teacher
- 5 Zoe: it could get you bilingual though (.) if you don't
- 6 know that much Welsh
- 7 Katrin: other teachers can speak it though

It is clear in both Extract 5.8 and Extract 5.9 that the students don't perceive that it is necessary to have equal competence in both languages, although there is once again a nod towards the ideal of separate language use in Extract 5.8 and towards the end of Extract 5.9. Whilst the school is, on the whole, encouraging of Wenglish (as seen in Extract 5.3 and Extract 5.4), the students are aware of a language-ideological norm that discredits code-switching, with the use of Wenglish discouraged when talking to a Welsh teacher (here they are talking about a Welsh subject teacher as opposed to a teacher who speaks Welsh) and are therefore aware of established rules and expectations. Thus, the Welsh department is perceived to fall under a protectionist ideology, somewhat closer to the separate bilingualism of the Welsh school, and in this sense the English school doesn't fully support flexible bilingualism. This would seem to complicate any simplistic two-fold ideological distinction (between 'separate' and 'flexible' bilingualism and between the two schools in the study).

In practical terms, however, the students talk about Wenglish as being useful in achieving a version of bilingualism (line 5), relating to the idea that Wenglish is learnable (as I argued in relation to Extract 5.8). Thus, as Garcia found, the use of Wenglish could be argued to 'point towards the possibility of a viable future of bilingualism' (Garcia 2009a). However, Swain, in her study of secondary schools in Hong Kong, found that 'the mixing of languages... serves neither the goal of academic achievement nor second language learning to maximum effectiveness' (Swain 1986: 6). Whilst bilingual practices may not lead to 'effective' outcomes, 'effectiveness' and 'competence' are concepts within a specific language policy and planning (LPP) ideology, which fails to address many social aspects of language. This discussion highlights the on-going challenge of managing both the linguistic and ideological concerns in the context of education policy. Nevertheless, the students feel that being required to learn Welsh provides them with the opportunity to become bilingual, and partly through engaging in their version of Wenglish. However, they equally advocate for individual choice (as noted earlier) as a means of justifying their language choices.

5.4 Language and National Identity

Although it seems that Wenglish allows for a greater sense of social and linguistic inclusion, it emerges that students at the English school, who are ostensibly part of the same Welsh 'heartland' as those at the Welsh school, come to refer to themselves (and others) through strong, apparently ethnic and national categories, and that, for some students at the English school, this appears to strip away ethnic and national legitimacy.

In Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 the connection between language and national identity was discussed and in Chapter 4 the notion of 'collapsing language and nation' (Scourfield and Davies 2005) was presented, noting that Welsh-medium schools are commonly described as 'Welsh schools' and English-medium as 'English schools', terminology that I have adopted in this study. As a result of these boundaries around languages and language users, and despite an awareness of an ideology of flexible bilingualism, students at the English school also establish a connection between the language that is spoken (Welsh or English) and the terms 'Welsh' and 'English', as apparent ethnic category labels.

The following two extracts are both taken from prompt 4, 'describe the perfect student'.

Extract 5.10 –Sixth-Form, 'English form' Betsan

1 Betsan: I don't think they mind if you're Welsh or English
2 as long as you do the work it doesn't matter if you can
3 speak either one (.) as long as you do the work

Extract 5.11 –Year 8, 'Welsh form' Tom

1 Tom: I'm more English than Welsh because I speak English at
2 home a lot

In both of these extracts it is clear that there are conventionalised ways of constructing ethnicity in the students' talk - there is an intimate presumed relationship between language choice and ethnicity, speaking English and being English and speaking Welsh and being Welsh. In Extract 5.10 the sixth-form student clearly makes the link between being 'Welsh' or 'English' and in her words 'either one'. Yet what emerges very clearly in both of the above extracts is a perception that you can't be 'Welsh' if you choose to speak English. Whilst 'flexible bilingualism' appears to allow for the use of both Welsh and English it doesn't extend to identity construction. In other words, students don't perceive that multiple varieties and complex linguistic ownerships can exist and the school seems to perpetuate a sense of Welshness that is language-based (it will be argued that the categorisation of form-groups exacerbates this issue). In this sense, whilst a notion of flexible language use exists, identity management is in-flexible and arguably out of touch with the hybrid identities of the young people who attend the English school.

As we've seen, the Welsh language is commonly positioned 'as a defining dimension of Welsh identity for both Welsh speaking and non Welsh speaking Welsh people alike' (Livingstone et al 2009: 298). In the following extract it emerges that a consequence for non-Welsh speakers (or those with a preference to use English) is that it makes them feel 'less Welsh', a form of social exclusion, and in this sense a sociolinguistic hierarchy emerges.

Extract 5.12 –Year 7, 'Welsh form' Jamie and Matthew

- 1 Jamie: it depends(.)cos Miss Jones(.)she's(.)she's full(.)
- 2 she's really full Welsh
- 3 Matthew: all Welsh (.) she's meant to be (.) she is like
- 4 Jamie: I'd expect her to be the set one teacher (.) really
- 5 Matthew: ha ha
- 6 Jamie: cos she's
- 7 Matthew: she teaches Welsh
- 8 Jamie: for the Welsh

Here the students discuss how the head of Welsh at their school is 'fully Welsh'. They indicate that she should teach the top set, which in this school is called the *mamiath* class (the mother tongue class – I offer a detailed discussion of the categorisation of form-groups is had in section 5.5 of this chapter). Once again, the students perceive that not only do you need to speak Welsh to be considered 'fully Welsh' but that you also need to be 'top set' material, a mother tongue speaker of Welsh (with obvious issues relating to authenticity and legitimacy). We see further evidence of this perceived hierarchy in the following extract.

Extract 5.13 – Year 7, 'Welsh form' Jamie, Matthew and Nick

- 1 Jamie: I would say it's a lot more Welsh in Ysgol Arnant
- 2 Matthew: you've got to speak Welsh (.) proper Welsh
- 3 Nick: they speak Welsh in English classes
- 4 Matthew: I mean it's fine if you're (.) if you're (.) if
- 5 you're um Welsh (.) like fully Welsh (.) I think that's the
- 6 place that you'll go
- 7 Jamie: yeah
- 8 Matthew: cos your mum and dad speak Welsh (.) told you to
- 9 go there
- 10 Jamie: yeah

Once again, these English school students position themselves as not 'fully' or 'properly' Welsh, raising an issue of authentic Welshness which potentially relates to L1 vs. L2 language usage (as in Extract 5.3) to 'traditional' vs. 'new' speakers of Welsh, and generally to levels of competency in Welsh. This is interesting at the level of ideology because it buys into a purist assumption about the integrity of Welsh in a situation where, for many historical reasons, people who have some Welsh 'fail' to meet purist criteria. Non-Welsh speakers (or those who perceive they have a lower competence level, or those with a preference for speaking English) are required to negotiate a position within or in relation to the notional category of being 'Welsh'. Note that the same students also re-affirm the notion

that to be considered 'fully' Welsh you need to speak Welsh all the time, even 'in English classes' but once again they advocate for individual language choice.

5.5 Complications, Contradictions and Contestation

Up to this point I've largely highlighted the ways in which the policy and practice at the English school conforms to the notion of flexible bilingualism. It was suggested at the start of this chapter that an ideology of flexible bilingualism is unlikely to dictate every aspect of language normativity and language use, or 'all points of the continua that make up a bilingual repertoire' (Garcia 2009a: 378). It was argued in relation to Extracts 5.8 and 5.9 of this chapter that the complexities inherent in the grounded realities are such that a simplistic two-fold distinction is not always tenable. Despite the perceived openness and tolerance towards language (flexible bilingualism) there is a problematic contradiction in how the school presents language and language choice and how they classify and categorise the students by proficiency in Welsh. In this sense the way in which language learning groups are set up is 'contextually defined based on ideological stances' (Hruska 2006: 345), ideological stances that appear to have their roots in separate bilingualism.

In Chapter 4 an overview of the English school was provided. To recap, each year-group has a four-form entry, with one of these forms classified as the 'Welsh' form, allowing approximately 30 students to do certain curriculum subjects through the medium of Welsh. In addition to this the students are set into five ability groups for Welsh (as a curriculum subject), with the 'top set' referred to as the '*mamiath* class' (the mother tongue class), and with the remainder of the sets referred to as the 'learner groups', with 4 differentiated levels within this category. The boundaries that continue to be put up around languages and language users in this way call, into question the apparently 'flexible' approach towards bilingualism at the English school.

In the following extract we see a group of students discussing the form-groups on the basis of how Welsh or English they are considered to be.

Extract 5.14 – Year 8, ‘English form’ Sophie, Anna and Claire

- 1 Sophie: well some of them (.) it depends which form they
2 are in (.) cos if they’re in E then they’re quite Welsh
3 Anna: it’s T
4 Sophie: oh yeah T (.) that’s crazy
5 Anna: that’s all they do
6 Sophie: running around and speaking in Welsh (.)G doesn’t
7 do much (.) we do it all in English
8 Anna: we’re just English in I
9 Sophie: T is the most Welsh
10 Researcher: then what?
11 All: E
12 Sophie: then G (.) then I
13 Anna: no I’d say I then G
14 Claire: we’re like the English ones the Englishest (.) in I
15 Anna: I and G
16 Sophie: are the most English forms

I argued in relation to Extract 5.13 that students at the English school perceived those at the Welsh school to be ‘fully’ or ‘proper’ Welsh, and thus a hierarchy emerged with students positioning themselves as less Welsh than those at the Welsh school. The way in which class/form-groups are positioned alongside language groups and language choices at the English school results in *within-school* hierarchies emerging, with both ‘Welshness’ and ‘Englishness’ being carefully negotiated, and with clear social consequences. That said, it is clear that the flexible bilingualism adopted at the English school as a general policy gives legitimacy to both a ‘Welsh’ and an ‘English’ identity (however they are defined), allowing students to negotiate and adopt either one. Contrastingly, at the Welsh school, as we’ll see, students report that only a ‘Welsh’ identity is given legitimacy.

For some students at the English school the idea of speaking Welsh is considered ‘crazy’ (line 4), with the perception that students in the Welsh form ‘run around speaking in Welsh’ (contrastingly, my time at the school suggested that, in reality,

little Welsh was used by any of the students). Whilst students perceive that both Welsh and English can be used at the English school, it is clear from these students' accounts that it is speaking Welsh that is considered strange rather than not speaking Welsh (as it would be at the Welsh school), resulting in clear divisions between 'Welsh' and 'English' groups. In reality, however, this apparently simple categorisation (being in the most Welsh or most English form) is in reality far more complex, as the Headteacher explains in the following field note.

Extract 5.15

1 It's my first day of data collection at the school. I am
2 shown to the Headteacher's office to discuss the plan for
3 the week. Over a cup of tea we decide which form-groups I
4 will observe during the week and the Head fills in a
5 timetable for me. During the meeting he re-iterates that
6 the Welsh stream consists mainly of the higher ability
7 students, it is apparently 'tantamount to the top set' and
8 consists mainly of 'good language learners' rather than the
9 first-language Welsh speakers (which he says generally come
10 from agricultural backgrounds and are therefore often less
11 able and consequently placed in the lower or 'learner'
12 sets).

The Headteacher's comments immediately call into question the authenticity and legitimacy of the Welsh language form. There is an obvious contradiction between a space that caters for 'good language learners' but to the disadvantage of the 'first-language Welsh speakers', who are effectively marginalized and excluded from the Welsh language within the school, with these students apparently stripped of any claim to authenticity and legitimacy. Furthermore, it institutionally endorses a view of Welsh as a commodified, acquirable skill that is desired by certain members of the school community and sets this against the perception that rural, agricultural 'Welsh' families are often less able and therefore placed in lower, or learner sets.

In the following extract a group of students from the Welsh form question and re-negotiate these boundaries and what it means to be a first-language Welsh speaker.

Extract 5.16 - Year 7, 'Welsh form' Emma and Phoebe

- 1 Emma: Molly is in I which is like the English (.)
- 2 Englishest form (.) and she's in the first-language Welsh
- 3 class
- 4 Phoebe: well she is first-language
- 5 Emma: *mamiath*
- 6 Phoebe: she got taught (.) she got learnt it (.) uhh she
- 7 got taught it in primary school didn't she?
- 8 Emma: yeah but she's like a *mamiath*
- 9 Phoebe: so why did she end up in the English form?
- 10 Emma: don't know

In the above extract we see, once again, that not only is Welshness gradable, so is Englishness, with the girls questioning and highlighting the contradictory situation, with Molly being in the *mamiath* class as well as the 'Englishest' form.

This is an example of 'flexible bilingualism' in terms of the students' conceptualisation of what it means to be Welsh; in their eyes you can be a *mamiath* (a mother tongue/first-language speaker) of Welsh who has learnt Welsh, so they are not bounded by the strict view that you need to 'know' Welsh to be considered 'fully' or 'proper' Welsh (as we'll see at the Welsh school). For these students 'Welsh first-language' seems to relate to competency in the language; do you speak it like an authentic Welsh speaker (line 8), rather than claims of authenticity in the traditional application of the term (and this is hardly surprising given that it is also used to refer to the top set). They thus define legitimacy and authenticity in much more complex ways at the English than at the Welsh school, with what counts as ethnolinguistic legitimacy varying by school.

The young people at the English school clearly have difficulties locating themselves within the 'Welsh' category label, with the students having to decide whether and to what extent they fit in with the local perceptions of what it means to be Welsh. In the following extract we see some evidence of the young people negotiating and managing their identity in just these ways.

Extract 5.17 – Year 7, 'Welsh form' Jamie, Nick and Matthew

- 1 Jamie: they [students at the Welsh school] just call us *saeses*
- 2 Nick: *saesons*
- 3 Matthew: and we're not really like (.) English (.) we can
- 4 speak Welsh too
- 5 Jamie: and Wenglish
- 6 Nick: yeah it's so stupid cos we weren't actually born in
- 7 England and we can speak Welsh (.) just not all the time
- 8 Matthew: we're just not hammie

Throughout my time in the field it emerged that there are two dominant cultural stereotypes – *hambone* (to refer to a Welsh farmer) and *saeson* (to refer to an English speaking and/or non-Welsh speaker), both of which are used as derogatory terms (see chapter 6 for further discussion of the use of these terms). Here a group of students discuss the use of term *saes* by students at the Welsh school (note that they place this in opposition to *hambone* (line 8). What has emerged so far, and is particularly explicit here in the above extract, is that students at the English school perceive that there is a need to reconsider and re-negotiate the basis of their Welsh identities (they call us *saeses*, but we can speak Welsh too). Whilst the students are aware that language competence should not be a criterion for ethnicity, they continue to adopt this way of ethnic referencing. What this example highlights is, that whilst speaking Welsh continues to be a cultural indicator, an ethnicity marker (McWhorter 2001: 279) for students at both schools, for the students at the English school the language acts as a 'pre-eminent but not exclusive badge of ethnicity' (Crystal 2000: 122). By this I mean that they

acknowledge that if you speak Welsh and go to the Welsh school you are, in their words 'really Welsh', but they do this in the ideological framework that you can also be Welsh and *not* speak Welsh (and in this sense they have a much more obviously flexible conception of identity than students at the Welsh school – see Chapter 6 for greater detail). At the English school there is at least some room for negotiation of the language/ethnicity relationship (as also seen in the discussion of Wenglish in section 5.3).

These girls, who don't view themselves as 'fully' or 'proper' Welsh, seem to emphasise the ways in which they do conform to a 'Welsh' identity (they can speak Welsh and they weren't born in England, for example), more than students at the Welsh school, where a Welsh identity has a taken-for-granted quality. In line 5, of the above, Jamie explicitly mentions 'Wenglish' (a version of flexible bilingualism) as a means of identity performance. For these students, Wenglish appears to allow for, and reflect the students' hybrid social identities - they apparently sit somewhere between being a *saes* and being a *hambone* – and is in itself a gesture towards a Welsh identity. So having competence in Welsh, for these students is sufficient to enable a claim over Welshness – it may not be necessary to actually choose to speak the language providing you have the skill should you need it.

I mentioned earlier, in my discussion of 'Wenglish' that the students appeared proud of their 'flexible' bilingual practices. Further evidence for this claim can be seen in Extract 5.18.

Extract 5.18 – Sixth-Form, 'English form', Alice, Betsan, Will and David

1 Alice: the fact that it's the opposite [to the Welsh school]
2 we'll do second (.) Welsh as a second language or something
3 here [at the English school] (.) they'll [students at the Welsh school] do
4 that for the English there as well (.) it doesn't matter
5 though cos you can still get a job with some Welsh.

6 Betsan: yeah but I knew somebody who couldn't really speak
7 English (.) properly (.) they had trouble with it because
8 they were so Welsh
9 Alice: yeah
10 Will: mmm
11 Betsan: they haven't got the full English
12 Alice: I know some people like that as well
13 David: yeah cos they do all their lessons in Welsh (.) sort
14 of maths sciences all in Welsh
15 Betsan: then they go home and speak Welsh (.) they've got
16 no English
17 Researcher: is this a good thing bad thing?
18 David: nowadays is not so good thing cos people move around
19 more
20 Betsan: like Alice said the army thing (.) you're missing
21 out opportunities
22 Alice: they're limited to being in Wales and it's not a bad
23 thing (.) wouldn't they want to know(.)go outside and
24 experience different things (.) get better jobs
25 David: if you want to stay in the area it's fine (.) but if
26 you want to spread your wings and move away a bit then (.)
27 you're stuffed (*laughter*) if you can't speak it
28 Alice: but I think if they go to [the Welsh school] they'll be
29 fine (.) think they're more comfortable anyway with the
30 language and staying around here anyway (.) so it's not
31 such a big deal

The students clearly perceive that they are in some ways more bilingual than people at the 'Welsh' school because unlike some students at the Welsh school they have the 'full English' (line 11) (note that on this occasion they don't use the term bilingual). For these students, having English as your first or dominant language, in this context, seems to yield positive returns. The minority language speaker that they start discussing at line 6 is judged to be marginalised (seen as a marked case) with a lack of ability in Welsh more explainable for these students than lack of

ability in English. Not having the necessary or sufficient skills in English is what, in their view here, limits opportunities, rather than not having sufficient competency in Welsh. In lines 20-28 it emerges that they view English as a form of linguistic capital, a means of escape from parochialism and a demonstration of having embraced the 'modern' way of life. Consequently, English is seen as the language of advancement, allowing you to move away and experience new things. So whilst they identify Welsh as having some importance in terms of identity performance, for these students Welsh continues to be compared with English as a modernising force. They perceive that in some ways people are enclosed, through the Welsh language, in West Wales (line 28 -31), indicative of an ideology of separation. Furthermore, the students ideologise Welsh as a language of (on the whole undesirable) social exclusion, even if it is a form of exclusion that they think some will be 'comfortable' with (line 29).

In their view, going to a 'Welsh' school doesn't equip you with the necessary skills to function outside of the immediate locality. Thus, although there is agreement about the 'advantages' of individual bilingualism (lines 4-5) (primarily for increased employment prospects), there are questions about the different 'advantages' or 'disadvantages' stemming from the different routes to bilingualism. In sum, within this data a tension emerges between language being commodified as a form of capital linked to social mobility and language as an expression of national identity, with the students here questioning 'what counts as competency, who gets to define what counts as competence, who is interested in acquiring that competence, and what is considered the best way to acquire it' (Heller 2002: 47).

5.6 Summary

Flexible bilingualism has been discussed in relation to its ideological underpinnings and corresponding institutional arrangements. Students at the English school perceived that there is an open and tolerance towards language at the English school and identify that, in their terms, they are able to speak 'whatever you want'. In this sense language is not perceived to be a particularly pressing issue; language is generally not problematised. However, despite an apparent reliance on flexible bilingualism, boundaries continue to be put up

around languages and language users resulting in clear divisions between the 'English' and 'Welsh' students. Furthermore, the apparently 'Welsh' students at the English school struggle to position themselves in terms of the national category of being Welsh and the students perceive that a language hierarchy exists, with students at the Welsh school being considered 'proper' or 'fully' Welsh. That said, students at the English school could easily construe a Welsh identity without the need for Welsh, with their use of Wenglish viewed as one way in which they could negotiate and position themselves within the national category of being Welsh, a kind of coping mechanism.

At the start of this chapter it was argued that a comparison could be made between flexible bilingualism, the idea that a school can encourage the use of two languages through the importance they place on bilingualism and bilingual practice, and 'separate bilingualism', the traditional notion of keeping languages separate and exercising a choice between them (Blackledge and Creese 2010). It has emerged throughout this chapter that students at the English school compare and contrast their school with the Welsh school. Thus, as mentioned, the comparison that is being made is not one that has been imposed for the purpose of this research, but rather one that is made naturally within the community. It is now timely to turn our attention to the Welsh school to see whether and to what extent the findings differ.

Chapter 6

The Welsh School and 'Separate Bilingualism'

6.1 Introduction

This project was set up as a comparative ethnographic project, for this reason the same research questions will be addressed in relation to the Welsh school as were addressed in Chapter 5, in relation to the English school. This will allow for the contrastive element of the study. Furthermore, much of the data presented in Chapter 5 involved students making and drawing upon comparisons with the Welsh school; positioning themselves as more or less Welsh, more or less bilingual etc. It is therefore timely to turn our attention to the Welsh school. An in-depth discussion of the two school contexts was provided in Chapter 4. However, to summarise, Ysgol Arnant, the so-called Welsh school, is a category 2A 'bilingual school' with 80% of the curriculum delivered through the medium of Welsh. In Chapter 4 Scourfield and Davies' (2005) view on 'collapsing language and nation' in Wales, was put forward. It was noted that Welsh-medium schools are commonly described as 'Welsh schools' and English-medium as 'English schools', a process confirmed in my own data. The school functions largely monolingually with around 83% of students coming from homes where Welsh is the main language. 91% of students who attend the school are reported to speak Welsh as their first-language or to a corresponding standard. In Heller's terms it is a monolingual zone established in order to produce bilinguals (Heller 2006: 17).

In Chapter 5 it was suggested that the schools in the study don't differ in the belief that it is important for students to learn both Welsh and English. Instead it was argued that the schools differ in how they choose to manage the bilingual repertoire of their students via the curriculum and via the less structured ideologies of language that govern practice. In Chapter 5 the concept of flexible bilingualism was used to refer to the approach adopted at the English school, with students identifying an openness and tolerance towards language. It remains my intention to highlight and understand how the young people orientate to and experience the language ideological content on their education (RQ1). Relatedly, with both flexible and separate bilingualism being understood as ideological, and

as constituting different 'ideologies of bilingualism' (Blackledge and Creese 2010: 111), questions will be raised as to how students conceptualise the notion of bilingualism at the Welsh school? (RQ2)

It will be suggested that the Welsh school is more suitably characterised as adopting an ideology of 'separate bilingualism', the traditional notion of keeping languages separate and exercising a choice between them (Blackledge and Creese 2010). In light of the aforementioned tensions and divisions that emerge when boundaries are put up around languages and language users it is of interest to determine whether the Welsh language is accounted to be an obstacle to social integration for young people within the community and in the school environment, or a positive resource? (RQ3)

The subsequent analysis is based on the school-based ethnographic chats and field notes - see Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of the ethnographic approach adopted within this study. The analysis starts with a discussion of 'separate bilingualism'.

6.2 'Separate Bilingualism'

In Blackledge and Creese's (2010) conception 'separate bilingualism' is an ideology of language based on the assumption of systemic integrity. In Lemke's terms, it is when schools 'bow to the dominant political and ideological pressures to keep "languages" pure and separate' (Lemke 2002: 85). This notion of separation has been described in various ways, as 'two solitudes' (Cummins 2005: 588), 'parallel monolingualisms' (Heller 2006) and 'two monolinguals in one body' (Gravelle 1996: 11). It strikes me that there are at least two different ways in which one might react critically to 'keeping the languages apart', which is of course commonly positioned as proper and natural. Firstly, we might reasonably expect that a bilingual setting (such as Ysgol Arnant) would use both languages (albeit as bounded and discrete linguistic systems), at least under specific conditions. Secondly, languages/codes can be kept separate through the avoidance of code-switching/mixing (keeping languages pure and separate). It is timely now to

briefly outline how the concept of separate bilingualism is relevant to Wales, and in particular to language policy and planning.

Welsh policy and planning tends to reject a diglossic view of the separate uses for the two languages favouring instead the concept of 'true bilingualism' – 'where people can choose to live their lives through the medium of either or both Welsh or English and where the presence of the two languages is a source of pride and strength to us all' (Welsh Assembly Government 2003: 1). This is best reflected in the concept of flexible bilingualism in that 'true bilingualism' is repeatedly defined in relation to 'choice' of Welsh or English. Coupland (2010) argues that choice is a keyword because, 'ideologically, it appears to redress the interventionist and authoritarian dimensions of policies shaping the bilingual sphere' (Coupland 2010: 15). It will be argued that the Welsh school is reliant on control and intervention in order to maintain the Welsh monolingual environment. Furthermore, it will be suggested that the concept of choice is apparently inoperative at the level of practice in school.

In other words whilst choice appears to open up a decision between two parallel options - using Welsh or using English in free distribution, one in which languages and language choices are not problematised, it will be argued (in light of the data that will be presented in this chapter) that true bilingualism is in fact an aspirational political ideology in that the reality on the ground differs substantially.

It is now timely to turn our attention to how the ideology of separate bilingual functions at the level of the school. In a conversation I had with the Headteacher of the English school, my field notes record his account of how the Welsh school orients to bilingualism, as follows:

Extract 6.1

1 Having had a few difficulties arranging access at Ysgol
2 Arnant I arranged a meeting to discuss any unforeseen
3 issues and mis-communications etc. I meet the Headteacher
4 and am taken to his office. I start by asking whether there
5 is any particular reason as to why I have so far been
6 unable to spend time at the school. The Headteacher says
7 'well we are a Welsh school and there is an obvious problem
8 in that you aren't Welsh, you wouldn't understand how we do
9 things here'. He goes on to say that 'although our students
10 are all fluent in both languages, they are all bilingual,
11 we don't allow them to use English within school and as you
12 don't speak Welsh this would put us in a very difficult
13 position'.

This account highlights that the school, through the Headteacher, encourages a form of bilingualism that involves putting up clear boundaries around languages (the languages are seen as separate and parallel options), with English apparently not permitted within the school (line 11). In this sense the schools' approach towards language reflects the aforementioned concept of separate bilingualism. It constructs and maintains a strict Welsh monolingual environment in contrast to the bilingual practice (line 10) of the students who attend. In Heller's terms we see fictive monolingualism vs. real bilingualism (Heller 2006:17), with code-mixing/switching (and other forms of bilingual practice) conspicuous by their absence. Whilst there is an acceptance that the students will, in their wider social lives, function as bilinguals (lines 9-11) within the confines of the school there is constant re-affirmation of the monolingual ideal (e.g. Welsh-only signage, Welsh-

only assemblies/announcements, Welsh-only policy within the school which is applicable to both classrooms and 'free'/recreational spaces). The Headteacher indicates that the construction of this monolingual Welsh only enclave requires a considerable amount of management, control and intervention (line 11-13). We'll see, throughout the extracts presented here, that control and intervention, in various forms, appear to go hand in hand with separate bilingualism.

The Headteacher indicates that, as a result of this separate bilingualism, the school is perceived as a 'Welsh school', contradicting the official categorisation as bilingual¹ and resulting, and in some-ways justifying, the problematising of the use of English (by both the students and by myself). This contrasts with the English school where in Extract 5.1 it emerged very clearly that the school adopts a relaxed attitude towards language, allowing and encouraging both Welsh and English (flexible bilingualism).

It is clear in this extract that the separate bilingualism (the requirement to speak and use only Welsh) has the potential to cause social divisions and to result in exclusionary practice. Here, as the researcher, I am positioned not only as an outsider; 'we', (Welsh speaking) vs. 'you' (English speaking) lines 7-8, but as unable to understand how they 'do things', their approach and ideology. Their initial unwillingness to grant me (as an outsider) access to classrooms is indicative of a protectionist ideology towards the Welsh language.

In the following extract a group of students from Year 10, Megan, Harri and Ffion, give an account of language policy and practice at the school that is consistent with the Headteacher's summary. In other words the students identify that the Welsh school (in their sense of that term) encourages a version of 'separate bilingualism'.

¹ Note that the school itself also refers to the school as bilingual in all official publications

Extract 6.2 - Year 10, Megan, Harri and Ffion

1 Megan: Well Ysgol Arnant is a Welsh school and if you speak
2 English they'll (the teachers) be like "speak Welsh" (.)
3 "*siarad Cymreig*" ('speak Welsh')
4 Harri: yeah we're not supposed to speak English at all (.)
5 we speak more Welsh than English.
6 Ffion: "speak Welsh"
7 Harri: yeah but we can speak it outside of class (.) well I
8 do

The girls identify that strict boundaries are put up around language at the Welsh school; they are 'not supposed to speak English' (line 4). If this expectation is flouted, as it seems to be (line 5 and lines 6-7) they report that they are subject to pressure, through repeated requests, to 'speak Welsh' (line 2, line 3 and line 6). Thus, the girls are aware that the schools investment in a monolingual ideal requires management and control on the part of the school. In this sense the use of Welsh becomes a symbol of ideological acquiescence and, conversely, the use of English becomes a way of contesting the authority of the school. That said, the girls report that they can 'get away with' using English during breaks and lunchtimes and outside of the school building (e.g. in the playground), allowing the students some semblance of choice and freedom, allowing them to carve out 'an autonomous space for themselves in the temporal organisation of the school day' (Heller 1996:146).

Once again, the strict separation and boundaries that are put up around language result in the perception that the school is Welsh (rather than bilingual), reflecting the concept of collapsing language and nation (Scourfield and Davies 2005).

Further evidence of the strict separation of languages is seen in the following extract from a group of Year 7 boys (Aaron, Brandon, Gwilym and Carwen). When asked about the schools approach towards language (prompt number 3) the boys once again highlight the strict separation that is encouraged by the Welsh school.

Extract 6.3 - Year 7, Aaron, Brandon, Gwilym and Carwen

- 1 Aaron: they [the teachers] all (.) want you to be like really
2 Welsh
3 Brandon: yeah
4 Gwilym: yeah
5 Brandon: they don't want you to speak English at all in
6 lessons
7 Aaron: even though it's a bilingual school (.) and we
8 should speak both (.) they want you to always talk Welsh
9 (.) and if you don't talk Welsh then they'll always like
10 Brandon: have a row
11 Gwilym: they say there's an English school down the road
12 (.) you can go there
13 Aaron: they always say the language is dying and stuff like
14 that
15 Researcher: so what's their attitude towards English?
16 Carwen: they say there's an English school down the road
17 Researcher: do they say that in a good or bad way?
18 Carwen: oh in a bad way
19 Aaron: I think in a bad kind of negative way

Once again, the use of English is, in the students' accounts here, not allowed in the classroom, thus the use of English is perceived to be devalued at the level of practice (even though there is a perception that 'you should speak both' – lines 7-8). For these students bilingualism appears to be problematised. The student's question why, when they attend a 'bilingual school', they always have to speak Welsh (and it is important to note that the students in Extract 6.3 are from homes where English is the main language²). The choice on the part of the school to promote Welsh and largely exclude English appears to cause them particular

² Note this is particular to this friendship group and cannot necessarily be generalised out to the wider student body.

difficulties and arguably fails to acknowledge the distinctive linguistic background of the student body, nor does it reflect the wider 'community' bilingualism.

Therefore, within this environment, language is problematised but, more specifically, English is problematised. This suggests a protectionist ideology, creating an enclave for the Welsh language, which appears to exclude and to build ideological barriers. The normative sanction, as reported by these students, is that they will 'get a row'; they will get told off, for speaking English at school. This implies that there is no freedom of language choice and that language use is managed normatively; the ideology of choice is apparently inoperative at the level of practice in school. This is particularly salient given the apparent threat that, if students don't want to buy into the school's ideology of language, then they can always go to the English school as the ultimate realisation of social separation, them and us. At line 13 of Extract 6.3, Aaron voices an overtly nationalist discourse, the 'language is dying', suggesting that the school is heavily invested in the revitalisation effort. The political ideology is very clear to the students, but note that they attribute it to the teachers, not to themselves. The school constructs and implements its linguistic norms, which are understood as part of the school's political and nationalist mission, embedded within a minority struggle for power.

As mentioned previously, the ideology of separation is largely reliant on the idea of creating a monolingual Welsh environment in order to ensure that the students are, in a wider sense, bilingual in Welsh and English. This corresponds to the idea that knowledge of English can be assumed to be universal in Wales. *Iaith Pawb* explicitly states that 'English as the dominant majority language does not need such institutional support' (Welsh Assembly Government 2003: 9). Conversely, the Welsh language, perceived to be under threat, and therefore in need of support, is 'managed' at a school level.

In the following extract, taken from an ethnographic chat (prompt number 10) with a group of year 7 girls, it emerges that the aforementioned management involves limiting and controlling who is allowed access to the school and to the Welsh ethos.

Extract 6.4 - Year 7, Anwen, Seren and Marli

- 1 Anwen: I think that Ysgol Arnant is really Welsh and Ysgol
2 Ardwyn is a lot more English
3 Seren: yeah but this is a Welsh school and you have to be
4 able to speak Welsh to come here and the majority in Ardwyn
5 speak English
6 Marli: the majority of people who speak Welsh and
7 understand Welsh (.) who know Welsh come to Ysgol Arnant
8 because they are Welsh

Once again the notion of collapsing language and nation (Scourfield and Davies 2005) comes to the fore with students clearly associating speaking Welsh with being Welsh (lines 6-8), and speaking English with being English. In this sense there is consistency with data from the English school (see Chapter 5 for further discussion). There is further evidence of a perceived hierarchy of Welshness (as also seen at the English school), in that they identify that they are 'really Welsh' (line 1) and set this in opposition to the English school students who they perceive as being 'a lot more English' (line 2). That said the phrase 'a lot more English' suggests that students at the English school are not entirely English. Thus, being 'Welsh' at the Welsh school is seen as a much stronger normative arrangement than being English at the English school.

As a result of the separate bilingualism at the Welsh school the students perceive that knowledge of Welsh is a prerequisite for admission to the Welsh school (lines 3-4), rather than a learning objective for education at the school. The school prospectus confirms this, stating that 'admission to this bilingual school is only open to fluent first-language Welsh speakers and to 'good' learners' – with 'good learners' defined as those who have a 'proven fair grasp, both written and orally, of the Welsh language' (note that the Headteacher also confirms this in Extract 6.1, stating that all students are fluent in both languages, they are all bilingual'). Consequently, 'first-language Welsh speakers' are placed in opposition to 'good

learners', with the later being held in higher regard. Seren goes on to argue that the majority of students who attend Ysgol Ardwyn speak English (lines 4-5), the implication being that they would therefore be unable to attend the Welsh school and thus the position adopted by the Welsh school seems to be remarkably exclusionary. As mentioned, the creation of a monolingual Welsh only environment requires management of various sorts. By allowing only Welsh speakers to attend a school you preserve and manage the monolingual environment. Furthermore, you ensure that the valued and prized linguistic resource of Welsh is kept to only a small, select few, confirmed in Extract 6.10 where sixth-form students state that 'Welsh is special to our school'. That said, closing the Welsh school off to non-Welsh speakers is presented here as a logical, legitimate, and un-marked action.

Within this extract importance is placed on being an authentic Welsh speaker. The students talk not of learning a language but of knowing a language (line 7), and in this sense they are not 'linguistic apprentices' in Jaffe's terms. (Jaffe 1999: 9) – the notion of an authentic Welsh identity will be discussed in greater detail in relation to Extract 6.9. In light of this the students identify that you need to have a full range of competencies in Welsh, being able to speak and understand Welsh (lines 6-7). The implication is that unless you have this full range of Welsh you cannot be considered to be 'fully Welsh'.

In the following extract, the notion of language management comes to the fore.

Extract 6.5 - Sixth-form, Iola John and Gitoll

- 1 Iola: we were given a lecture about Welsh like five minutes
- 2 ago
- 3 John: this morning
- 4 Researcher: really, saying what then?
- 5 John: being prefects everyone in the year is expected to
- 6 promote the Welsh language
- 7 Researcher: OK so what's your job then (.) to kind of pick
- 8 up the little ones if they don't speak it?

9 John: well (.) yeah (.) and not so much to point out that
10 they're not speaking the Welsh but try to get them to speak
11 Welsh
12 Iola: in a positive way
13 John: yes
14 Gitoll: positive way
15 Researcher: OK so how do you think you're going to do that
16 then?
17 John: well (.) it's difficult
18 Gitoll: they tell us (.) just talk to them in Welsh (.)
19 they'll just umm (.)
20 John: yeah (.) change
21 Gitoll: just change without them knowing

In Extract 6.5, the students discuss how their school positions language. They are aware that, as prefects and therefore as role models, they are expected to positively promote the Welsh language to younger students, in this sense they are positioned as agents of change. *Iaith Fyw: Iaith Byw, A living language: A language for living, a strategy for the Welsh language* (Welsh Assembly Government 2012), explicitly states that 'an essential element is getting older pupils to encourage younger ones to reflect on the language' (Welsh Assembly Government 2012: 14). This requirement is not something that emerged at the English school. The prefects at the Welsh school report that they are required to subtly persuade the younger students to use Welsh by speaking Welsh with them; they are expected to encourage normative language convergence. Note that in lines 9-11, the students highlight that they (as students) don't feel they should explicitly ask them to speak Welsh. Thus, language is managed both officially (as seen in Extract 6.1) as well as through unofficial channels; the school asks young people to manage the situation themselves. This provides further evidence of Welsh being used as a symbol of ideological acquiescence and, conversely, the use of English to contest the authority of the school. Heller, in her research in the Canadian context, talks of a 'legitimate language', arguing that 'specific language practices are legitimised', others are not; she argues that, by legitimising some language practices over

others, institutions 'advance or marginalise the interests of different groups' (Heller 1996: 141). Thus, language politics become entangled with how the students are seen and positioned within school hierarchies (further evidence of this will be seen in Extract 6.6. This explicit management of language responds to the potential loss of a community language and reflects attempts to create a monolingual school and a language environment that might support the revitalisation of Welsh. Yet it draws students into ideological stances and obligations that, on the evidence here (line 17), they are not always comfortable with.

6.3 The Unintended Consequences of Separate Bilingualism

The language-ideological priorities at the Welsh school (as outlined above) have unintended consequences in other dimensions of school activities. In the following extract Megan, Harri and Ffion (Year 10) discuss how language choice (and in particular the choice to use English) at the Welsh school is a potent reminder of difference.

Extract 6.6 – Year 10, Megan, Harri and Ffion

1 Megan: it annoys me that when like letters are sent home
2 and stuff they [the school] know whether you want it in
3 English or in Welsh (.) they kind of judge you (.) they
4 shouldn't make you feel like obvious about it (.) different
5 Harri: yeah like mine go home in English cos we speak
6 English at home but when they give them out in class (.)
7 they're like who wants the English one (.) who wants the
8 Welsh one (.) which is stupid cos apparently it's on the
9 register anyway
10 Ffion: yeah and like when they call home (.) they [the
11 teachers] always start in Welsh even if they know you come
12 from an English home (.) not my fault my parents don't
13 speak Welsh is it?

The students report that when letters are sent home, they are done so in either Welsh or English, not bilingually (further evidence of the strict boundaries that are put up around languages at the Welsh school). This approach forces young people and their parents to divulge their language preferences and results in obvious stigmatisation (line 4). The choice to take a letter home in English appears, for these girls, to symbolise something more than a simple language preference; instead it seems to say something about their commitment to the school-based norms and expectations, subtle yet influential messages are sent to the girls regarding the appropriateness of using English outside of school. The school prospectus calls for a 'full commitment from parents in encouraging your son/daughter in their use of Welsh'. The suggestion that you should be speaking and using Welsh outside of school as well (a theme that as we'll see also emerges at the Youth Club). In lines 10-13 it appears that even parents' linguistic choices and preferences are being judged, in this sense control and intervention appears to extend beyond the confines of the school. That said, their preferences (for using English) appear to have ramifications for the young people when they return to school (Lines 12-13). As we'll see in Extract 6.8 the speaking of Welsh at home is held up as 'perfect student' behaviour – once again, the use of Welsh becomes a symbol of ideological acquiescence and, conversely, the use of English allows young people to contest the authority of the school.

In the following extract it emerges once more that the divisions between first-language Welsh students and first-language English (or 'good learners in the school's understanding) students are made salient by both the school and the young people. Here, a group of sixth-form students, in response to prompt number 12, highlight further social consequences of an ideology of separate bilingualism, namely a strong sense of 'them and us'.

Extract 6.7 - Sixth-form, Iola, John and Gitoll

- 1 Iola: within a year there are groups
2 John: yeah
3 Iola: we're the kind of Welsh group so we speak Welsh all
4 the time and other groups speak English and were not really
5 as close to them
6 Researcher: right so in the year-group then there's (.)
7 John: you've got the first-language English and the first
8 Welsh language people
9 Iola: yeah
10 Researcher: right and they don't really (.) mix or
11 John: like we make more of an effort now because we've been
12 told to speak Welsh to them
13 Gitoll: but ever since coming to the sixth-form
14 John: they've improved
15 Gitoll: the English group have sort of grown to be more
16 Welsh
17 John: mixed yeah (.) I think they realised it would be much
18 more (.) pleasurable experience sixth-form if they were in
19 the Welsh (.) bit of it
20 Iola: mmm
21 Researcher: so what's the difference then?
22 John: there are more of us
23 Iola: yeah

Here the students identify that, as a result of the compartmentalised nature of languages, with languages and language users being seen as separate and discrete groups, there are two distinct, polarised groups within the sixth-form at the Welsh school – there is a strong sense of ‘them and us’, evidence of social separation between students at the same school.

The within-school division, they argue, is based on whether you are a ‘first-language English’ or a ‘first-language Welsh’ speaker. The resulting sense of

exclusion is managed at a school level by asking students to 'speak Welsh to them' (the less proficient group), proving another example of institutional efforts to involve the students in imposing and respecting ideological norms. The students are encouraged not only to buy into the school ideology and speak Welsh, but also to become agents of that policy, in order to 'have a more pleasurable experience in the sixth-form' (line 18). The positive dimension of this policy is based in viewing language as a unifying force, reducing diversity in order to increase the interpersonal similarities and relationships. But in the students' own accounts there is no evidence that they support and take ownership of the policy.

6.4 Defining and Negotiating Authenticity

Having considered how the young people understand and orientate to the ideological position of the Welsh school it is now timely to look at ways in which notions of identity and authenticity are defined and negotiated. In the following extract (in response to what it means to be a 'perfect' student), not only do we see further evidence of inter-school divisions (as also seen in Extract 6.7) we also see further of what it means to be 'authentically' Welsh.

Extract 6.8 - Year 10, Abi, Harri and Megan

- 1 Abi: think they can do everything
- 2 Harri: they are Welsh
- 3 Abi: Welsh
- 4 Harri: like really really Welsh (.) people
- 5 Researcher: so what's a really really Welsh person then?
- 6 Harri: a person who can like speak like *really* good Welsh
- 7 and they go into a Welsh lesson and they'd be able to
- 8 understand like everything and they've always got like
- 9 really good grades (.) and they speak Welsh at home as well
- 10 Megan: and they speak English funnily (.) they stutter
- 11 Harri: oh yeah
- 12 Abi: it's weird
- 13 Harri: I just don't get how people can't talk English
- 14 properly cos it's like a really common language (.) there's

15 a lot more English than Welsh around in today's world
16 really (.) how would you get a job and stuff?
17 Megan: ha can you imagine having to go to the improve your
18 English club (.) you'd feel like a right loser (.)
19 sometimes I feel so lucky to speak English at home

For these girls, the strict separation of languages and the emphasis placed on Welsh, results in the perception that only Welsh has any value within the Welsh school. Consequently, a student's level of Welshness is an attribute that is gradeable within the grounded classification system that many students themselves recognise and use in the reflexive accounts. These 'authentic' Welsh speakers are broadly defined as first-language Welsh speakers (Extract 6.7), those who can speak 'really good Welsh' (line 6, Extract 6.8), and those who speak Welsh at home (lines 9-10, Extract 6.8). Thus, within this school, authenticity, honour and prestige appear to be distributed differently; there is a sense that some have more legitimacy over a Welsh identity than others, yet further evidence of language leading to social exclusion. That said, these grade attributes seem to directly challenge the assumption (as discussed in Extract 6.4) that students at the Welsh school are uniformly 'good' at Welsh and that this is a requirement for entrance. Instead, what emerges in Extract 6.8 is an awareness from the students that a variety of Welsh exists that carries more prestige; in line 6 the students talk openly about 'really good Welsh'. Whilst it is unclear exactly what the characteristics of this version are, it seems at the very least to incorporate being able to 'understand everything' (line 8). Furthermore, being able to speak 'good Welsh' seems to go hand in hand with being academically able, in that these students are also reported to get 'good grades' (line 9).

For these students competency in Welsh seems to have negative connotations. There is a perception that being 'really really Welsh' results in you speaking 'funny' English (line 10) – as also seen in Extract 5.18 in relation to the English school. The students, in effect, question the status that these 'really really Welsh' students have within the school and whether in reality these students can function as fully or truly bilingual. Once again it is not having the required competency in English that

is considered unusual and 'weird' rather than lacking the required competency in Welsh (also seen in Extract 5.18 at the English school). Thus, attendance at the 'improve your English club' (lines 17-18) is frowned upon by these girls. The 'improve your English club' warrants further comment. The club is listed in the school prospectus alongside other more conventional school clubs – football, rugby, drama, and music. The offering of an 'improve your English club' highlights an institutional awareness that for some students the separate bilingualism at the Welsh school doesn't fully equip them with the necessary skills to function as fully bilingual individuals and calls into question the Headteacher's claim that all students are 'fluent in both languages' (Extract 6.1). The fact that some students are perceived as having insufficiently developed English language skills raises issues with regards to their future employment prospects (line 16) as well as potentially having other socially exclusionary consequences.

It is widely accepted that there is considerable heterogeneity in terms of Welsh language competency in school intakes in Wales with students having access to different forms of Welsh and English. Consequently, the students attach different values to the languages, and competing authenticities emerge. In line 19 Megan identifies that she is 'English' (in the collapsing language and nation sense - she speaks English at home). She suggests that her 'authentic' knowledge of English (authentic in the sense that she speaks it home) can, at times, work to her advantage (recall that an authentic Welsh identity is associated with those who speak Welsh at home – Extract 6.8). In their own way the girls are questioning who and what counts as a legitimate speaker of Welsh. It should be acknowledged that schools have a difficult job in defining and forming a consensus over what kinds of bilingualism and what kinds of Welsh to favour. Here the girls appear to want a version of bilingualism that better prepares them for the global, modern and bilingual Wales (lines 15-16). Furthermore, for these students, there is a clear conflict between the way the school positions Welsh and 'authentic' Welsh speakers and the view that these young people appear to hold, that being bilingual is advantageous (in that you need to speak Welsh and English 'properly'). In other words the notion that the school is a 'monolingual zone in order to produce bilinguals' (Heller 2006: 17) is called into question by these students. In this sense

the Welsh school is a site of struggle over what counts and who has access to the legitimate version.

In the following extract we see further evidence of what it means to be an 'authentic' speaker of Welsh, but here in relation to the English school.

Extract 6.9 – Sixth-form, Iola, John and Gitoll

- 1 Iola: what do you think about Ardwyn (.) in terms of
2 language?
3 John: it's just English
4 Iola: English
5 Gitoll: English yeah
6 John: it's titled as an English school
7 L: I'm not sure
8 John: Ysgol Arnant is titled bilingual but not sure about
9 Ardwyn
10 Gitoll: I think Ardwyn is English but (.) as we know people
11 that are from Ardwyn and (.) they can talk a little bit of
12 Welsh
13 Iola: it's not an everyday language though (.) really
14 Gitoll: no
15 Iola: it's subject Welsh
16 Gitoll: yeah
17 Iola: because they took they took Welsh up as a GCSE second
18 language (.) so they have studied it to an academic degree
19 but never to an oral
20 John: a friend (.) a couple stayed in the first stream till
21 GCSE but then she took it up for second language at A-level
22 (.) which I don't get
23 Gitoll: it's because of the grades
24 Iola: yeah
25 John: they'll get A in second-language Welsh and it looks
26 really good (.) better than C in first-language Welsh

Once again the students identify that speaking just a 'little bit of Welsh' (lines 11-12) is not sufficient to be considered as fully Welsh (which relates to the discussion of Wenglish at the English school; code mixing is not considered 'good' Welsh – see Chapter 5 for further discussion). The students problematise the concept of an 'authentic Welsh identity', positing the notion that not speaking Welsh as an 'everyday language'; instead choosing to learn 'subject Welsh' results in you being considered as English. Clear power differentials are implied here between those considered as 'novices' and those considered 'masters' of the language (note that in Extract 6.4 Marli also suggests that students at the Welsh school 'know Welsh', line 7). Research on learners of Welsh has highlighted the processes of inclusion and exclusion that are at work between Welsh learners and first-language Welsh speakers, see Bowie 1993; Trossett 1986; Trossett 1993 and Mann 2007. Within this discourse we see evidence of an exclusionary attitude of first-language Welsh speakers to Welsh language learners' 'in-authentic' Welsh speech (Robert 2009). So whilst they acknowledge that some of the students at the English school are able to speak Welsh (albeit a decontextualised subject Welsh) they are still 'more English' and fail to meet purist criteria.

Towards the end of the extract it emerges that there is a perception that, for students at the English school, the Welsh language is a commodified resource (a measurable skill like any other) in that they are able to move between the first-and second-language examinations in order to achieve higher grades, and in this sense they are considered less authentic by students at the Welsh school. These students are obviously opposed to this orientation to examinations in terms of grade outcomes and as we'll see in the following extract make their position clearer, arguing that Welsh is integral for identity purposes and this therefore reflects Heller's dichotomy between 'language as a skill' and 'language-as-identity' (Heller 2010: 103).

Extract 6.10 – Sixth-form, Iola, John and Gitoll

- 1 Iola: Welsh is special to this school (.) it's special to
2 us here at this school
- 3 John: yeah if you don't speak Welsh you're missing one of
4 the main attributes of being Welsh in the first place
- 5 Iola: yeah
- 6 Gitoll: you are Welsh not *Cymro* ('Welshman')
- 7 John: yeah (.) you're Welsh not a Welsh person sort of
8 thing
- 9 Iola: yeah

When asked what their school thinks about language (prompt 3), Iola, John and Gitoll make strong claims for Welsh as a marker of their own identity, emphasising their personal attachment to the language, something that is fundamental to who they are. What we see clearly in this discourse is issues of value, legitimacy, and authenticity being made explicit by the young people. The students perceive that you are not truly Welsh if you don't speak Welsh (you are Welsh not *Cymro* (Welshman), line 6). The word *Cymro* is lifted from the phrase '*Cymro di Gymraeg*' (literally 'Welshman without the Welsh language'). Phrases like this re-open long running discussions of language and national identity. These students largely bypass the possibility of articulating Welsh identities through English (although English is the first or only language of about 80% of Welsh people) or through various syncretic or hybrid uses of Welsh and English. By comparison the students at the English school engaged much more openly with a Welsh identity without the need for Welsh – their use of 'Wenglish' was also viewed as one way in which they could negotiate a position themselves within the national category of being Welsh.

6.5 Inter-school Rivalry

Having considered the in-school rivalry and issues pertaining to social divisions, hierarchies and social exclusion that result from the way language is positioned and managed at the Welsh school, it is now timely to look at the occurrence of social divisions *between* the two schools. Schools are always liable to exasperate

this comparative and contrastive impulse, as we saw in Extract 6.3 with students reporting an apparent threat that students at the Welsh school 'can always go to the English school down the road'. In the following extract we see Megan, Harri and Ffion, the three year 10 girls at the Welsh School discussing not only the use of cultural stereotypes but also the social consequences of these.

Extract 6.11 - Year 10, Megan, Harri and Ffion

- 1 Megan: well they call us *hambones*
- 2 Harri: yeah
- 3 Megan: Welsh and everything
- 4 Researcher: what's a *hambone*?
- 5 Megan: really Welsh (.) like a farmer
- 6 Harri: yeah (.) really Welsh
- 7 Researcher: OK what do you call them?
- 8 Megan: druggies
- 9 Harri: chavs
- 10 Ffion: could just beat them up
- 11 Researcher: so do you ever call them *saesons*?
- 12 Megan: heard of that
- 13 Harri: yeah
- 14 Megan: basically it means English person (.) so it's not
- 15 really an insult
- 16 Researcher: so is *hambone* an insult?
- 17 Megan: well it's their opinion
- 18 Harri: some people take it the wrong way though
- 19 Megan: yeah they do
- 20 Researcher: who would take it the wrong way?
- 21 Megan: the people who live on farms (.) and they take it
- 22 really personally because a *hambone* basically means a Welsh
- 23 farmer

Once again the cultural stereotypes of *hambone* and *saeson* prevail (as was the case at the English school). It emerges in this extract that the word *hambone* implicates

being Welsh speaking, but only in conjunction with a country, rural life, and farming (line 5 and line 23). This association of speaking Welsh with conservative, rural, heritage-type activities will be explored in greater detail in Chapter 7, in relation to the Youth Club data. Nevertheless, it emerged in the English school data that Welsh was perceived as holding people back and limiting job prospects (Extract 5.18). It is possible therefore, that the word *hambone* also connotes ideas of a rural and antiquated community in which the Welsh language is perceived as being old fashioned. Whilst students at the Welsh school perceive that others stereotype them as unsophisticated *hambones* (with the attribute of a lack of sophistication, suggested as applying, stereotypically, to urban as well as rural people), they in turn stereotype others as unsophisticated chavs (and in this sense it is a lose-lose situation for both sets of students). The notion that English speakers might be considered 'chavs' or 'druggies' (lines 8-9) draws on the perception that they are of a lower social class and is indicative of an elitist attitude towards the Welsh language and from within the Welsh school. It relates to long running discussions of Welsh and its middle class associations (see Chapter 2 for further detail).

In the following extract Daisy and Ieuan, two students at the Welsh school give further indication of the social consequences of inter-school rivalry.

Extract 6.12 - Year 9, Ieuan and Daisy

- 1 Researcher: do you ever hang out with Ardwyn students?
- 2 Ieuan: no
- 3 Daisy: yes I do (.) we'd speak English
- 4 Ieuan: Welsh to them (.) cos they don't understand you
- 5 innit
- 6 Daisy and Ieuan: *(laughing)*
- 7 Ieuan: just to wind them up

In line 3 Daisy highlights that, for her, English is the language of inclusion, she chooses to converge towards her friends at the English school. On the other hand,

Ieuan suggests that Welsh can be used to alienate others and to thus maintain group boundaries, proposing that Welsh can be used as a deliberate weapon of exclusion (line 4). In this sense, using Welsh in inter-school communication is seen as a direct and overt expression of social differentiation.

6.6 Discussion of the Similarities/Differences between the Two Schools

Before moving on to consider the third and final research site, it is timely to provide a brief summary and overview of the preceding chapters.

'Flexible' and 'separate' bilingualism have been discussed in relation to their different ideological underpinnings and corresponding institutional arrangements within two contrasting secondary schools³. It becomes clear in my data that the 'flexible'/'separate' distinction is not without its difficulties – the concepts intersect, with each school adopting different approaches for different purposes. An ideology of flexible bilingualism is unlikely, for example, to dictate every aspect of language normativity and language use, or 'all points of the continua that make up a bilingual repertoire' (Garcia 2009a: 378). Also, the precise implications of the concepts 'flexible' and 'separate' need to be critically examined in relation to specific contexts. All the same, there are some very clear indications in my data that something close to an ideology of flexible bilingualism is overly recognised to be in place at the English school. Despite the idealised and over-simplified nature of the two ideological sets (see Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of this), the concepts capture profound differences between the schools in this study, which the students themselves identify and in turn problematise and re-negotiate. Whilst the schools share the end goal of 'bilingualism' (with the definition of this term being contested by the students at both schools), it has been shown that they differ in their strategic approach, both ideologically and in terms of language management.

³ Note that observations and data gathered within this study are primarily relevant to the two schools and their communities in South-west Wales, although parallels may be drawn. It should be noted that sociolinguistic patterns vary significantly across Wales and therefore care should be exercised when placing them within a national context.

Furthermore, educational sites have long been the main-site of distribution of Welsh and of a Welsh identity (and continue to be such, through policies like *Y Cwrricwlwm Cymreig*). That said, it has been argued that both schools are sites of struggle over who gets to count as Welsh and English and what gets to count as speaking Welsh and speaking English (in a sense this comes down to what it means to be 'truly bilingual'). We saw, in both schools how linguistic resources were distributed and how students were positioned (and positioned themselves) with respect to them. The result is that students negotiate and position themselves and others in a hierarchical fashion (both within schools and between schools). However, as we've seen a distinction should be made between those that are legitimised by institutions such as the schools in question and what counts as legitimacy in peer-group interactions.

It has been argued that the schools in question, through various means, serve to reinforce and reproduce social and linguistic divisions. As a result students highlight difference (Welsh vs. English etc.), difference that is always marked by language. However, the axes of differentiation are constantly shifting, with school characterised by one set of axes, and the Youth Club, as we'll see, by another.

Moreover, tensions emerge around new vs. old forms of legitimacy. The separate bilingualism at the Welsh schools favours an 'authentic identity...anchored in the pre-shift society' (Jaffe 2007a: 53) and a preference for an 'idealized version of the heritage culture' (Blackledge and Creese 2010: 122) – a theme that will be picked up in relation to the Youth Club data. Contrastingly, 'flexible bilingualism' appears to give value to new and different ways of doing things, the relationship between language and identity is partly re-defined which produces new forms of competition and social selection. In some sense a process of re-legitimation is evident; we may have different skills, different ways of doing things, but we are still Welsh. The students at both schools can be seen, to some extent, to question which version of Welshness is more valuable, in Heller's terms 'the removed and authentic' (as seen at the Welsh school) or the 'new and hybrid' (as seen at the

English school) (Heller 2003: 475)⁴? In other words, is language revitalisation about restoration (returning to the original, pre-shift type Welsh), or about transformation (giving new life to the Welsh language, making it a language for modern day Wales)? The Youth Club data that is to follow will allow for a more nuanced understanding of this local vs. global interface.

⁴ Although it's important to note that no single definition of an 'authentic Welsh' identity could ever exist – but it forms the basis for tensions within this setting.

Chapter 7

Re-negotiating Ideologies of Bilingualism on the Margins of Education

7.1 Introduction

This chapter will look at how school-based ideologies are negotiated on the margins of education and for this, will rely on data gathered at the Youth Club. A detailed overview of the Youth Club was provided in Chapter 4 but to summarise, the Youth Club meets twice a week in a converted chapel and draws students from both the Welsh school and the English school. In this sense the Youth Club acts as a point of convergence between the two schools. It was therefore important to understand whether the school-based ideologies were carried over to the Youth Club. In Rampton's words, do the young people 'resist or affirm' the school-based ideologies (Rampton 1995: 20)? However, before addressing this it is timely to consider the reach of language policy and planning measures. By this I mean, how are the language policy and planning initiatives picked up by the Youth Club at a local level?

In Chapter 3 it was established that within language policy and planning (LPP) ideologies in Wales, Welsh as a minority language is perceived to be under threat, and needs preserving and maintaining, and not just within the confines of school. Thus, it emerged that current language strategy *Iaith Fyw: Iaith Byw/A Living Language: A Language for Living* (Welsh Assembly Government 2010), places an increased emphasis on the use of Welsh by young people in the wider community with increasing efforts towards controlling and intervening in the free time of young people. It was argued in Chapter 3 that the emphasis on 'promoting and ensuring' that recreational activities led to an increase in the use of Welsh, largely ignored the use of English and or bilingual practices. I noted the problematic relationship between free and relatively un-restricted recreational spaces that young people choose to frequent, and the apparent desire to influence and, in many ways, restrict the language choices and practices of young people.

7.2 Local Interpretation of Policy

In the following field note entry, where I noted down the Youth Club leader John's comment to me, we see that in terms of his local management of language choice, young people are provided with an apparent free choice as to which language they use whilst at Youth Club.

Extract 7.1 – The Youth Club leader

1 The young people are free to speak Welsh at Youth Club but
2 I will not force it on them, if they choose to speak Welsh
3 to me I will reply in Welsh, but if they choose to use
4 English I will use English.

Perhaps unknowingly, John is re-iterating the policy of *Iaith Pawb/Everyone's Language* (Welsh Assembly Government 2001) and the ideology of choice, and adopting a position somewhat closer to that of the flexible bilingualism that characterised the English school (see Chapter 5 for further detail). That said, the recent policy shifts have started to impact on the activities and language provision at the Youth Club, and the Youth Club is increasingly under pressure to promote the Welsh language and the bilingual skills of the young people who attend. In the following field note entry John gives me his reaction to some training he has received from the *Menter Iaith*. As described in Chapter 3, a *Menter Iaith* is a regional community-based language initiative organisation which supports the community to increase and develop its use of Welsh.

Extract 7.2 – The Youth Club leader

1 The training was a bit of a joke (.) it consisted of an
2 hour long lecture on the injustices the Welsh people had
3 been subjected to by the English over the last three
4 centuries. I really had hoped we had buried that hatchet
5 and moved on, but obviously not in some people's books! How
6 that helps to promote the Welsh language is beyond me. We

7 did get a small grant of £200 for attending which was to be
8 spent on delivery of activities in Welsh - so not all bad.

In this extract John clearly positions himself against this form of Welsh language training. He raises some interesting issues; the historical antagonisms between English and Welsh, which, according to John clearly remain, and the financial incentive for using Welsh (which *Iaith Fyw: Iaith Byw* confirms as one of its implementation mechanisms (Welsh Assembly Government 2010: 30). Youth services such as this, continually struggle to secure funding and the financial incentive to offer an activity through the medium of Welsh is a considerable one, but one that questions the concept of choice as well as the concept of spontaneity associated with a 'living' language. The question remains, however, to what extent can one inculcate (or teach) language ideologies through professional training of this sort? Further evidence of the tensions that exist around languages within this community, emerges in the following field note entry.

Extract 7.3

1 Our conversation was cut short because a parent came in to
2 speak to John, she was concerned that her child had been
3 told at school [the Welsh school] that 'every effort should be
4 made to ensure that they continued to speak Welsh over the
5 summer' and that they should 'increase their involvement in
6 Welsh-speaking clubs and activities and avoid going to the
7 'saes clubs'.

In this account a parent of a child from the Welsh school reports the perception that they are being put under pressure to ensure that their children 'choose' to attend 'Welsh-speaking clubs' rather than 'English' clubs. The Youth Club is commonly referred to by others in the community as the *Saes Club*¹ (the English Club) and this will be discussed in greater detail in relation to Extract 7.4 and 7.5. That said, the reported intervention in Extract 7.3 from the school, reflects the

¹ Interesting to note that they use the English word order - *Saes Club* as opposed to *Chwb Saes*

perceived threat to the Welsh language, a minority language under threat that, within language policy and planning (LPP) ideologies in Wales, needs preserving and maintaining, and not just within the confines of the school (as also mentioned in the discussion of policy documents in Chapter 3). Furthermore, this intervention shows an awareness on the part of the school that Welsh is not the language of choice for many of their students once they leave the school gates, and that whilst it may be possible to create a Welsh-only enclave within the confines of the school, outside in the 'real' world the Welsh language is threatened on a daily basis.

Extract 7.3 highlights the ambiguous position of young people. They are positioned both as saviours of the language (recall that they are given an explicit role in the intended revitalisation of Welsh - see Chapter 2), and blamed for the continuing decline of Welsh, in such that the school shows an awareness that when outside of the monolingual Welsh school, the young people choose to use English

In the following two extracts we see some awareness amongst young people of the *Saes Club* label:

Extract 7.4 - Abi

1 Abi: If he says something write back and then you can log
2 me out (.) you can say to Jack that I'll speak to him in a
3 bit and if he writes that he is coming to *Saes Club* (.)
4 have to tell me OK (.) and then just log me out and go on
5 your one if you want

Extract 7.5 - Anna and Harri

1 Anna: oh my mum's coming to get me tonight from Youth Club
2 (.) is Ffion coming tonight?
3 Harri: Nah she's not allowed to *Saes Club* remember
4 Anna: OK (.) I'll have to walk up at half eight

Whilst they are clearly aware of the label, and use it, their continued attendance at the Youth Club suggests that they are, in their own way, contesting the authority of the school. Nevertheless, the attempt by the Welsh school to influence the young people's choices puts pressure on the students to make the 'right' choices and to buy into the school ideology.

Nevertheless, the overriding ideology at the Youth Club is one of choice. In the following extract Autumn, who is waiting for her friend Bethan to arrive at the Youth Club, is joined by Harri, another student from the Welsh school. In this extract the girls show that they are aware of the open and tolerant approach towards language at the Youth Club which in many respects resembles the flexible bilingualism that characterises the English school (see Chapter 5 for further discussion).

Extract 7.6 – Autumn and Harri

- 1 Autumn: You just got here?
- 2 Harri: yeah (.) had stuff to do
- 3 Autumn: I came straight here (3.0) I so love coming to
- 4 Youth Club (.) don't you?
- 5 Harri: God yeah
- 6 Autumn: You won't get a row for speaking the wrong language
- 7 Harri: what you waiting for?
- 8 Autumn: Bethan

7.3 Re-negotiating/Contesting School-based Ideologies

As mentioned the primary focus of this chapter is to consider whether the school-based ideologies are carried over to the Youth Club. Broadly speaking I view contestation as more explicit and openly confrontational whilst re-negotiation is instead characterised by compromise. Re-negotiation is often implied and embedded within discourse. By focussing on contestation and re-negotiation within the Youth Club setting, it is not my intention to imply that students whilst at

school accept without questioning the school-based language ideologies and school-based practice. Instead, the contestation at the Youth Club differs in that it is more marked (more explicit), conducted in a different setting (outside of school), and draws on students from both schools (See the discussion of Extract 7.8 for further detail).

A clear and explicit example of a student contesting the school-based ideologies and school-based practice is seen in the following field note (Extract 7.7). Here Autumn, a student from the Welsh school, is talking about her recent temporary exclusion from school.

Extract 7.7

1 I was helping out in the kitchen, preparing noodles and
2 keeping an eye on the tuck shop. Autumn came in to see me
3 to explain that she had been temporarily excluded from
4 school for having her mobile phone with her, which she said
5 was 'obviously against the school rules'. Autumn explains
6 that as this wasn't the first time she had been caught with
7 her phone she was sent home for a few days. She reports
8 that whilst off school she received a telephone call from
9 the Headteacher, whom she reports is 'such a gog'. She
10 explains that the Headteacher was trying to talk with her
11 about her behaviour in an attempt to get her back to
12 school. Autumn then says 'oh God he was like constantly
13 speaking Welsh at me, I was just like answering in English,
14 can't be arsed with that, I was just like yeah, no, yeah,
15 no, to be honest I couldn't even understand his gogness'.

The school's insistence on Welsh makes English available for any kind of resistance, and here Autumn explicitly contests the school ideology and the investment in monolingualism. On two occasions (line 10 and line 16) she refers to the Headteacher as a 'gog' (a colloquial and derogatory term for a person from/or

who sounds as if they are from North-Wales; it is derived from the Welsh word *gogledd*, meaning 'north'). By referring to him as a gog she is clearly positioning herself against the school norms and expectations. It seems remarkable that she is subject to normative pressure of this sort to use Welsh and that she is clearly resistant to it. Put differently, Autumn seems to be resisting others' attempts at positioning her as a monolingual Welsh-speaking student and consequently a 'good' student (the association between a 'perfect' student and speaking Welsh was established in Chapter 6). Blackledge (2001) argues that where a school has such a dominant ideology of monolingualism, you immediately encounter questions such as 'who's in?' and 'who's out?' Autumn is evidently not engaging with the school rules and expectations, not only by speaking English but also by having her phone with her at school, and as a result she has been physically excluded from the school; in Blackledge's terms she 'is out'.

In the following example we see a clear contrast to the direct challenge to the school-based ideologies (as seen in Extract 7.7), with the girls choosing instead to re-negotiate in a more covert way. Furthermore, in the 30+ hours of naturally occurring data that was collected at the Youth Club very little Welsh surfaces. For this reason it is interesting to track particular extracts where some elements of Welsh do appear. The following extract is part of a lengthier dialogue between a group of girls (Abi, Gina, Kayleigh and Bethan), all of whom attend the Welsh school.

Extract 7.8 – Abi, Gina, Kayleigh and Bethan

(Walking back from a local shop)

- 1 Abi: *mae tecstiliau 'n really galed a ni wedi gwneud poced*
- 2 *hefyd (.) oedd e'n galed(.) can't do it (.)mae tecstilliau*
- 3 *y really galed. ('Textiles is really difficult and we've*
- 4 *made a pocket too (.) it was really difficult (.) can't do*
- 5 *it (.) my textiles is really hard.')*

(Back at the Youth Club)

- 6 Gina: what happened today
- 7 Abi: oh no it's just (.) Amy Davies, she's just being nasty

8 (.)
9 Gina: is that all?
10 Abi: well yeah (.) and it's kind of hurt my feelings (.)
11 Gina how would you like it OK if you chose French as an
12 option then you moved to (.) you moved to *gwnio* ('sewing')
13 and everyone understands (.) knows what to do and how to
14 use the machines and stuff except for you(.)cos I haven't
15 machined since year eight Gina and now I'm in year
16 ten(.)and I do know how to use them like but not properly,
17 so I was like yeah (3.0)what was I saying (.) and then
18 um(.)oh yeah I accidently went on Cara's one(.)and then
19 Rhiannon looked at her and said she's in your seat she's
20 touching your seat she's using your machine and Cara was
21 like laughing and then um Amy Davies I didn't know what to
22 so I was just standing there and was like oh shit
23 Kayleigh: anyway continue
24 Abi: I'm just talking about the thing (.) and then she was
25 just like (.) yeah (.) and then Amy Davies whispered to
26 Rhiannon (.) and I was just like oh my God I don't know
27 what to do (.) they just laughed at me
28 Gina: weren't you sitting by her at dinner though?
29 Abi: yeah I know(.)she was loner so she came to sit by me
30 Bethan: Another girl says I would have said fuck her
31 Gina: you should've said you've been unkind to me why you
32 sitting by me
33 Abi: no cos that was before (.) *cinio* ('lunch') then
34 *textilia* ('textiles')

At the start of the extract the girls are outside of the Youth Club, walking back from a local shop. They are all wearing their school uniform, a feature that is arguably salient to the emerging discourse. At the start of the extract the matrix language is Welsh. The ideology of the school (and the investment in monolingualism) would have these girls using Welsh in all interactions on school grounds as well as beyond the school grounds (as seen in Extract 7.3). A student's school uniform is a

visible sign of school identity, and by wearing the uniform outside of school they potentially carry their school-based identity and plausibly, their school-based ideologies, with them². Thus, 'out on the street...visibly uniformed it is about being recognised, about being hailed both as a 'student' and as a student of this or that school' (Whelen 2008: 304). Arguably, what we see here is evidence of these girls playing what Heller (2006: 114) refers to as 'the game'. The girls appear to keep the public image or face of the school as Welsh, and relegate their seemingly contradictory use of English (contradictory to that of the monolingual ideology of the school) to the backstage activities and domains (in this case the Youth Club). In other words when outside of school, visibly uniformed the girls conform to ideological precepts.

As mentioned, it is not my intention to suggest that contestation or re-negotiation of school-based norms and expectations are not also a feature of school-based discourse. It was established in relation to both the English and the Welsh school that groups of students contest and re-negotiate school-based ideologies (most clearly seen in relation to Extract 5.9, 5.16, 6.2, 6.5, 6.6 and 6.8). However, the contestation within the safety of the confines of school appears to be less threatening to the public image of the school and what they stand for in relation to the revitalisation of Welsh. Outside in the public arena, whilst visibly uniformed, there appears to be a greater need, presumably based in a sense of responsibility, to preserve and positively promote the school and what it stands for³.

However, once the girls return to the Youth Club, they very quickly return to using English with only occasional lexical code-switching within this. It was established in Chapter 6 that at school, the girls are urged to keep their languages separate (separate bilingualism). By mixing and blending different aspects of their linguistic resources they are challenging and contesting the ideology that seeks to keep their

² Note that the uniform at the Welsh school carries Welsh icons and text and is therefore particularly salient.

³ It was established in the school-based data that there is a lot of pressure inside school discourse for students to behave as representatives, with some explicit pressure on what wearing the school uniform means. Future research could focus on naturally occurring data from within schools to allow for further discussion of the role uniform plays in the contestation/re-negotiation process.

linguistic resources discrete and thus it can be argued that language choice is used strategically by these girls. In other words the girls seem less likely to endorse the compartmentalisation of their different sets of linguistic resources. It is generally considered 'cool' to rebel against school rules, expectations and norms. Thus, the mixing of different aspects of their linguistic resources in peer talk arguably highlights an attempt to present themselves as 'cool' and trendy. Furthermore, in the within-school data Abi suggests that she speaks English properly (Chapter 6, Extract 6.8). These girls therefore favour bilingualism, perceiving it as a desirable and valuable skill and the choice to use both Welsh and English further reflects this position. Nevertheless, the relatively infrequent free choice of Welsh for these girls marks a significant re-negotiation and re-alignment with school-based ideologies and school-based practice. Within Extract 7.8, school lexis tends to be in Welsh. For these girls the topic domain of school seems to naturalise the use of Welsh, and so in this sense perhaps it isn't entirely a free choice to use Welsh. Furthermore, in Extract 6.8 (Chapter 6) Abi concurs with Harri who suggests that 'really really Welsh' students 'understand like everything'. Here, in Extract 7.8, Abi comments on how 'hard' a school subject is. The implication is that other students in the class fully understand the Welsh and are therefore more easily able to complete the practical sewing task.

Once again it emerges very clearly within this extract that the girls perceive that they are under no obligation to use Welsh whilst at the Youth Club and identify that they are free to choose which language they want to use and when. In some senses it seems that the girls are keeping their languages largely separate in terms of social domains (school vs. the Youth Club), with Welsh largely limited to school and recreational spaces equating to the use of English. In other words the students do not stay within the ideological precepts of the Welsh school's policy, except in their mentioning of school subjects. Moreover, this is perhaps a further example of the unintended consequences of the education system and the separation and boundaries that are put up around language at the Welsh school.

In the following extract we see another example of a more explicit contestation of school-based ideologies. Here however, the extract involves a mixed group of girls

(Anna and Claire, who attend the English school and Harri, who attends the Welsh school). The girls all attended the same primary school and are part of an established friendship group.

Extract 7.9 - Anna, Harri and Claire

- 1 Shop Assistant (SA): no school today?
- 2 Anna: no I was in work experience
- 3 SA: oh good
- 4 Harri: and I couldn't be arsed
- 5 SA: you can't be arsed,
- 6 Harri: no (.) I'm moving back to Ysgol Ardwyn though, I've
- 7 had enough of Ysgol Arnant
- 8 SA: ah you're moving back to
- 9 Harri: Ysgol Ardwyn
- 10 Claire: yeah cos Arnant is shit
- 11 SA: yeah?
- 12 Harri: if I get sent to Ardwyn that's fine

As in Extract 7.8 the girls are outside of the Youth Club in a local shop buying sweets. I argued in relation to Extract 7.8 that, when outside of Youth Club and visibly uniformed, the girls appeared to conform to ideological precepts of the Welsh school (by using Welsh). The girls in this extract are not wearing their uniform and thus appear to be under less obligation to preserve and maintain the public image of the school and to uphold the school-based ideologies⁴. In this extract, Harri openly criticises the Welsh school and what they stand for, making it clear that she wants to move to the English school, arguing that she's 'had enough' of the Welsh school and its norms and expectations. It appears that Harri is choosing not to conform to the norms of the Welsh school (it also emerged in Chapter 6, Extract 6.2 that Harri flouts the rules and expectations of the school by speaking English).

⁴ As mentioned in Chapter 4, the uniforms are visually distinctive (with the Welsh students wearing a distinctive red and black combination and the English school wearing blue and grey).

That said, towards the end of the extract she implies that any decision to move may not be entirely her own, with the word 'sent' indicating her perception of a key ideological stance apparently inherent within the Welsh school. In the within-school data it emerged very clearly that students at the Welsh school were aware of an apparent threat that if they chose not to use Welsh and would prefer not to conform to the ideological and linguistic expectations of the school, they could 'always go to the English down the road' (Chapter 6, Extract 6.3). The implication is that the school would carry out this threat in order to preserve the monolingual ideal of the school.

For the first time we see an explicit mention of the rivalry between the two schools, with Claire stating that the Welsh school is 'shit'. Note however, that there is still no direct mention of the school's language policy being the issue of the reasoning behind this stance. There is a nod towards this in the following extract taken from the within-school data from the English school.

Extract 7.10 – Anna and Claire

- 1 Anna: have you seen Harri?
2 Claire: she only went there [to the Welsh school]
3 Anna: so big headed(.)she only went there because her
4 friends are there and she'll walk round (.) and if you look
5 her (.) "what you looking at" in a Welsh accent and stuff
6 (.) she used to be quite nice if you know what I mean and
7 now she's gone really (.)
8 Claire: yeah cos I've seen her when I went to football (.)
9 with this school and she was with Arnant and she was like
10 [in accent] "hi Claire" but in Welsh (.) I was like "yeah OK"
11 (.) ignore her

It emerges very clearly that, whilst Anna, Claire and Harri get on at Youth Club, a space largely outside of the school's control (as seen in Extract 7.9), when representing their schools' the girls indicate that the situation is less amicable.

Arguably, this extract marks a further example of what Heller (2006: 114) calls 'playing the game', with Harri adjusting her behaviour (her performance) to expected identities; whilst representing the school Harri appears to conform to social expectations, that she won't be friendly with students from the English school, and instead will diverge away from them by speaking Welsh (or English with a markedly Welsh accent). Interestingly, Harri indicated in Extract 7.9 that she had 'had enough' of the Welsh school and their norms and expectations. What we see, then, is an individual contradiction – on one hand wanting to conform to school expectations and on the other hand wanting to be cool and socially acceptable (see the discussion of Extract 7.8 for further detail on the association between being 'cool' and rebelling against school norms and expectations). In other words, students must negotiate a world in which they need specific kinds of language to succeed in different contexts. To maintain and build on peer-group relationships the students, whilst at school may need specific kinds of Welsh (with a clear separation from English); however whilst outside of school they need types of English and/or bilingual practices.

Up to this point we've seen that the young people who attend the Youth Club contest and re-negotiate the school-based ideologies, primarily by questioning the monolingual ideal, but also by 'playing the game' (Heller 2006: 114), adjusting their language choices strategically to present and portray the image and identity that they feel is more desirable within a particular context. In Extracts 7.11 and 7.12 we see the students continuing to re-negotiate and contest the school-based ideologies and school-based practice, but we see that they also start to draw conclusions regarding the perceived value of Welsh, and of a Welsh identity in the 'modern' globalised world (one that they position as opposed to and contrasting with the school-based ideology). In Extract 7.11 we see a further example of mobile phones being the basis for school exclusion (as first seen in Extract 7.7). Here a group of students (Abi, Dylan and Kayleigh) from the Welsh school are discussing the rural and traditional pastime of fishing.

Extract 7.11 – Abi, Dylan and Kayleigh

- 1 Dylan: this is the most expensive rod I've got
- 2 Abi: how much is it?
- 3 Dylan: one hundred and sixty
- 4 Abi: did you pay one hundred and sixty for a rod?
- 5 Dylan: it's about the salmon though innit(.)the tip in the
- 6 rod
- 7 Kayleigh: well at least you'll actually use it
- 8 Abi: I wouldn't use it if it cost one hundred and sixty
- 9 quid (.) I wouldn't buy it for one hundred and sixty quid
- 10 (.) your mum actually paid for that?(2.0)smurf(.)that's his
- 11 nickname
- 12 Dylan: and I might be getting another one(.)it's the salmon
- 13 (.) and you should see(.)how big the salmon
- 14 Abi: *Tri chwarter awr cyn bod fi'n gorffen(.)Wednesday*
- 15 (*'three quarters of an hour before I finish(.)Wednesday'*)
- (girls start singing)*
- 16 Dylan: they could(.)fifty pound salmon in the river(.)the
- 17 biggest salmon that's been caught in the river Teifi is
- 18 sixty pounds
- (girls start singing)*
- 19 Kayleigh: wow (.) is that a lot?
- 20 Dylan: yeah
- (girls continue singing)*
- 21 Abi: I remember fishing(.)bring bring bring bring(.)bring
- 22 bring(.)hello(.)I got chucked out of that school club
- 23 Dylan: oh yeah(.)remember when I(.)first time she came I
- 24 was going to fucking leave
- (girls continue singing)*
- 25 Dylan: Do you know the first thing a salmon
- (girls start singing)*
- 26 Dylan: salmon going backwards
- 27 Kayleigh: Oliver made two cakes

28 Dylan: like that
29 Kayleigh: Abi(.)Oliver made two cakes(.)one flakey and one
30 birthday cake for
31 Abi: why didn't he be a chef?
32 Dylan: the salmon
(girls continue singing)
33 Dylan: You coming down to river?
34 Abi: No bye (3.0) boring
(girls continue singing)

In this extract we can see a tension between the 'old' rural, heritage culture and the 'new' media. The tension is most apparent in the short exchange in lines 21-24, about the school-based fishing club (which as a club based at the Welsh school would fall under the school ideology as a monolingual Welsh only environment). Abi has taken her mobile phone with her to the school club. She starts by re-enacting the telephone ringing, she then answers the telephone (in English), before indicating that she was thrown out of the club. So it is clear that the 'new' technology of the mobile phone is apparently not permitted at the club. Notwithstanding the obvious issues of having a phone ringing at a fishing club (an activity associated with peace and tranquillity), the extract highlights the tension between what Coupland (2003) has referred to as 'old local', heritage type activities and the 'new global' mobile phone. Mobile phones are regularly banned in British secondary schools and so in this sense the Welsh school is no exception. However it seems to take on a further dimension. The school is, as previously mentioned in Chapter 6, attempting to create an enclave for the Welsh language. It is therefore possible that the mobile phone is seen as a symbol of outside influence, in this case the English language. Note that Abi indicates that she answers the telephone in English. In both Extract 7.7 and Extract 7.11 the mobile phone is the justification for being excluded from school and school-based activities. The perceived threat of the new media combined with an emphasis on an 'authentic identity...anchored in the pre-shift society' (Jaffe 2007a: 53) and a preference for an 'idealized version of the heritage culture' (Blackledge and Creese 2010: 122), results in an association between using Welsh and participating in cultural

heritage-type activities (again re-iterated in the policy documents that connect Welsh with the *Urdd Gobaith Cymru* and Young Farmers clubs, as mentioned in Chapter 3). Within this community, being Welsh speaking (or at least a first-language Welsh speaker) appears to have two different social and indexical associations; one is rurality and 'folk' (as seen here) and the other is 'middle class' as in Extract 7.10. In that extract the girls perceive that the Welsh school turns a friend who uses a Welsh accent (or Welsh) as a marker of superiority into someone 'snooty'. That is not to say that there aren't any middle class English-dominant families, but these characteristics are not made salient by the young people in either the within-school or Youth Club data.

What is the language dimension of local vs. non-local or global? And how does young people's talk articulate local vs. non-local concerns, aspirations and values? The girls make it clear, both implicitly and explicitly, that they are not interested in the rural pastime of fishing. Within this extract, singing functions pragmatically as an attempt to change the subject. They are, by singing, evaluating the discourse of fishing as dull. The girls clearly enjoy singing (throughout my time working with the girls they regularly sang the latest chart music and discussed their latest album downloads and purchases). The activity of singing (in English) is thus positioned in this dialogue as more interesting than fishing. Language-ideologically then, we have singing in English vs. fishing through the medium of Welsh, with the girls clearly choosing to engage with singing and to disengage from fishing. In sum, the girls attempt to distance themselves from institutionally imposed pupil and learner identities and instead they choose to highlight aspects of their youth identity associated with popular urban culture.

Another way that the disinterest in fishing is seen within this extract, is Abi's use of Welsh (line 14). The implication is that Dylan is taking too long telling his story about salmon. Arguably, the use of Welsh shows a further association between boredom and participating in heritage/cultural-type activities. It is, however, not until line 34 that the girls explicitly state that going to the river to fish is 'boring'. What we see in this example is that these girls find different ways of aligning themselves against traditional, cultural, purist ideologies and activities, that might

more easily embed the use of Welsh and which they clearly associate with their school.

Further evidence of the tension between 'old local' and 'new global' is seen in the following extract.

Extract 7.12 – Abi and Bethan

- 1 Abi: what's occurring (.) what's occurring
- 2 Bethan: Mrs Jones
- 3 Abi: she's cool
- 4 Bethan: she does actually look like Nessa (.) and she
- 5 actually speaks like Nessa
- 6 Abi: English like (.) weird
- 7 Bethan: oh what's occurring (.) Sugar Tits
- 8 Abi: oohh (.) not in school (.) but she's a teacher (.)
- 9 weird

Here Abi and Bethan associate catch phrases from *Gavin and Stacey* (a popular and award winning sitcom based in Wales and Essex) with their teacher, Mrs Jones, suggesting that she resembles Nessa both visually and linguistically. Nessa is a strong, earthy, blunt and vulgar female character in the sitcom with a rough South-Walian and Cardiffness about her. In the sitcom she uses heavily accented English to portray the Welshness of her character and consequently Jewell has argued that 'Nessa's Welshness is overt and tangible' (Jewell 2009: 4).

The apparent assertion that Mrs Jones is cool (line 3) seems to relate to the fact that she sounds like Nessa, by speaking English. The girls identify that this is 'weird' and runs contrary to their perception of the Welsh school as a Welsh monolingual environment (See Chapter 6 for further discussion of the separate bilingualism that characterises the Welsh school). Thus, Nessa with her strong and brash Cardiff accented English has a very different Welshness to the heartland Welshness that the Welsh school aspires to create. Furthermore, as in Extract 7.11 the girls appear to be contesting the legitimacy of the school's ideology which they

consider to be an out-dated 'idealized version of the heritage culture' (Blackledge and Creese 2010: 122), preferring instead to align themselves with 'modern' media, and its' use of English.

By associating a 'Welsh' identity with popular media, the girls are suggesting that being Welsh and sounding Welsh can be 'cool'. This reflects *Cool Cymru*, a term coined in the 1990s to reflect, and promote, an increase in Welsh cultural talent as a reflection of a new and vibrant Wales. Whilst there is an association between sounding Welsh and being cool the 'Welsh' identity here is mediated through English rather than through Welsh, culminating in an obvious tension between an interest in Wales and Welshness and speaking English. In this sense the girls seem to establish and create alternative identity positions that move beyond their institutionally salient identities of pupils and learners and institutionally imposed heritage identities - the girls assert that you can be 'Welsh' and speak only English (line 6). They are thus, seeking a version of Welshness that acknowledges heterogeneity. In sum, in the above extract we see evidence of how popular culture, through the medium of English, not only becomes a wide-ranging resource for young people's social talk but offers resources for re-defining ethnolinguistic identity priorities. Furthermore, there are different ideologies, frames and imaginings at play, with the students having their own priorities in this regard.

7.4 Summary

It has emerged that Youth Club is perceived by the students as a relatively free ideological space, but it is also a space that allows some elements of language ideologies to be reassessed, challenged and re-worked. When freed from the ideological constraints of the school, the young people who attend the Welsh school use the 'free' space to reflect, sometimes critically, on their school-based identities and, in some instances at least, rebel against them. Furthermore, the data allows for a more nuanced understanding of the global-local interface, which informs the construction of youth identities. The Youth Club simultaneously encourages the 'students' to engage with a wider and potentially global popular culture (consequently, English is encountered on a daily basis through audio-visual mass media and various other forms of popular culture), but without wholly losing

touch with their local identities and connections. Within the complex bilingual context, the negotiation between global and local is inflected by language choice. Thus, the 'students' have to negotiate their relationships with the nationalist ideologies that often characterise Welsh-medium schooling, but also with more global ideologies, mainly mediated by English. In sum the Youth Club is a zone in which the axis of differentiation has shifted, from being Welsh vs. English, authentic vs. in-authentic, 'good' vs. 'bad' language users, exciting vs. boring, to being cool vs. uncool.

Chapter 8

Discussion

8.1 Research Questions

This study was conceived as a comparative ethnographic study, seeking to investigate the interplay of linguistic practices, linguistic representations, language ideologies and social inclusion between students in three related research sites in south-west Wales; a designated English-medium school, a designated Bilingual school and a Youth Club, as a point of contact between students from both schools. This study sought to investigate both language as a topic (opinions about Welsh and English) and discourse through which ideologies are expressed and accounted.

Ethnographic methods were chosen as they allowed for a simultaneous analysis of both the 'small phenomena' (linguistic practice) and the 'big phenomena' (macro level concerns and aspirations) (Blommaert 2005), and captured and took account of the different dimensions of secondary-school students lives both inside and outside of the classroom. Figure 3.1 (Chapter 3) highlighted the complex systems and influences that are at play within the community involved in this study; the school was positioned as intersecting with multiple networks that mutually shaped one another. In other words this study sought to shed light on how the school-based ideologies and school-based practice are tangled up with the community and the home.

It was established in Chapter 3 (section 3.4) that there was not enough critical assessment of the social consequences and implications of language policy and planning (LPP) initiatives. It was argued that there was a need to 'get behind' the standard demographic account of revitalisation. In Hornberger and Hult's (2008: 285) terms, there was a need to address questions such as 'how do language policies relate to sociolinguistic circumstances "on the ground"?' How are the initiatives lived out on the ground, by the individuals and groups whose sociolinguistic experiences they are designed to affect? It was for this reason that this study sought to understand how the institutional arrangements within this

community (or locality) were understood by the students: did they see themselves operating within language ideological structures (Research question 1)?

Furthermore, it was also established in Chapter 3 (section 3.2) that ideologies are multiple and contestable. Blommaert's (1999a) concept of ideological debates was posited, with the notion that ideologies are 'articulated, formed, amended and enforced' (Blommaert 1999a: 1). In light of this, the question was posed as to whether students resisted or affirmed school-based ideologies and school-based practice. Research question 1 has principally been addressed across the three analytic chapters (Chapters 5, 6, and 7) and will be discussed in greater detail in both section 8.3 and in relation to choice in section 8.4 of this final chapter.

In Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 it was ascertained that significant moves had been made within Welsh language policy towards creating a 'truly bilingual' Wales, one where people can choose to live their lives through the medium of either or both Welsh or English, and where the presence of the two languages is a source of pride and strength (Welsh Assembly Government 2003: 1). It was suggested that *Iaith Pawb's* overriding ideology was one of choice and equality of access: equality between languages and choice as to which language to use, with an apparent desire to normalise bilingualism on these terms. The second research question sought to understand how students interpreted and lived out what language policy and planning documents in Wales refer to as 'true bilingualism' and questioned whether 'choice' was experienced as such at institutional, individual and community levels. This will be examined in section 8.4 of this chapter.

Finally, it was argued that Welsh language policy was seeking to position itself as inclusive, open and tolerant, with key phrases such as '*One Wales*' and '*Everyone's Language*' emerging from the documents. Furthermore, the aforementioned concept of 'true bilingualism' it was argued, is based on the presumption that bilingualism should be premised on choice and on the inclusive principle that the option to learn and use Welsh (and English) is open to all, regardless of linguistic background. That said, the potentially exclusionary nature of Welsh language policy was alluded to and previous literature was presented, in which issues relating to social exclusion in Wales were addressed. In light of this, this study (by

addressing the third research question) sought to ascertain whether a would-be inclusive ideology of this sort can, and in fact does, lead to social inclusiveness at the level of usage and practice. Conclusions will be drawn in section 8.5 of this chapter.

8.2 Methodological Alternatives

The research questions could only be answered by drawing on different methodological approaches, which were ultimately found to be complementary. It was outlined in Chapter 4 that the research presented here was collected using three principal methods: ethnographic observational fieldwork, ethnographic chats, and audio recordings – the merits of using these methods will be discussed in turn.

In general terms, however, the combining of more structured question-based ethnographic methods with the recordings of ‘live’ and unconstrained social interaction has furthered the research presented here. Firstly, it has allowed for differing perspectives on the same topic and in many cases the same young people. The question-based ethnographic chats, for example, allowed for an analysis of reported language practices and the discursive understanding of these practices whereas the naturally occurring speech (the Youth Club data) evidenced ‘ideologies in action’ (Jaffe 1999) – what young people actually do, conversationally, in ways that sometimes allow ideological values to ‘leak through’. Furthermore, the combination of methods allowed for a richer and more nuanced understanding of the research context as well as allowing for a deeper understanding of the complex cultural and ideological pressures on young people’s engagement with the Welsh language. Put another way, the multi-method approach allowed for a fuller understanding of how individuals experience and interpret the language-ideological content of their education and how their actions and accounts are shaped by language policy and the broader political climate. Moreover, it was suggested in Chapter 4 that both the ethnographic chats and the naturally occurring Youth Club data are examples of contextualised discourse. The data emerging from the ethnographic chats has been characterised by a recycling

of and/or an extension of metalinguistic and metacultural stances that the young people adopt in their school-based networks. The Youth Club data differs in that there are fewer overt metalinguistic and metacultural elements. However, the young people, as seen in Chapter 7, continue to negotiate normativity and ideological positions in that context.

Participant Observation and Field Notes

It was suggested in Chapter 4 that participant-observation is the defining method that distinguishes ethnography from other qualitative research designs. As mentioned (in Chapter 4), the data for this study came primarily from periods of fieldwork carried out between September 2008 and January 2011. During this period I made a series of visits to the schools, to the Youth Club, and to the wider community (observing and participating in events such as local fêtes and cultural festivals). Approximately forty visits, of varying length were made to the communities in question. Effort was taken to ensure that a representative range of events were observed, and for this reason a variety of different classroom settings (Welsh-medium, English-medium, top-set and bottom-set) were observed as well as, where possible assemblies, break times, lunchtimes, school shows, sporting fixtures, and parent's evenings. These events were captured in 27 sets of field notes¹ representing approximately 110 hours of fieldwork (in all three research sites²).

Rampton argues that 'the researcher's presence in the field defies standardisation' (Rampton et al. 2004: 4). Erickson (2004) clarifies this position, arguing that all sorts of personal idiosyncrasies enter into the ethnographic research process that should be acknowledged. In other words as the researcher I have to be written into the account given here.

Bakhtin (1981) argued that the authorial voice (the researcher) 'ventriloquates those that they talk about' (Bakhtin 1981: 299). Bauman and Briggs expand on this

¹ 8 sets of field notes from the English school, 6 sets of field notes from the Welsh school, 7 sets of field notes from the youth club and 6 sets of field notes from the wider community

² 60 hours at the English school, 30 hours at the Welsh school, 20 hours at the Youth Club

arguing that this ventriloquation reflects a position of power; the power that the researcher exerts over the researched and their voices and opinions. They put this power and control down to the process of decontextualisation and recontextualisation of others discourse (Bauman and Briggs 1990: 78). Emerson et al (1995) clarify the process of writing field notes, suggesting that the process is both 'intuitive' and 'empathetic'. Intuitive in that you choose what to write down based on a changing sense of what might be made interesting or important and empathetic in an attempt to reflect what is interesting and important for those that you are researching. In other words by choosing what to include and what to leave out in field notes and in the final write-up, and deciding on how the stories are recounted and reported is in effect exercising control and power over those whose story it is. As representations they are inevitably selective and in this sense, this ethnography, like any other, is partial and restricted and therefore not presented as comprehensive. This work gives an account of a group of students, at a particular moment in time, who attend two particular schools in a specific area of Wales, as seen and captured by me, the lone researcher. Blackledge and Creese (2010) have discussed at length the advantages of conducting team ethnography in that it allows for 'plural gazes' (Erickson and Stull 1998) and this method could be considered in future research.

That said, the centrality of the researcher is fundamental to the ethnography and whilst 'personal idiosyncrasies' (Erickson 2004) undoubtedly enter into the research, this is the very strength of an ethnographic method. It is the very role of 'being there' (Geertz 1988), the 'first hand experience' (Atkinson et al: 2007: 4) that enables the rich accounts that have been presented here. It is only by taking part and being involved in the field that you are able to learn and to capture and reveal the terms in which people interpret and orientate to, in this case the language ideological content of their education. By continued close involvement with those in the field I was able to capture the implicit, underlying assumptions that are often not readily available through interviews alone.

Finally, it is important to acknowledge that there is never one 'best' or 'right' version of the field notes, they are, as mentioned, reproductions (in that choices

are made, certain things are written down and others are not) of events and a perception and interpretation of such events. It is quite possible that different perceptions of the same situation and event would be possible. That said, written in close proximity to the field and more or less contemporaneously with the events, experiences, and interactions they describe and recount, field notes play a pivotal role in capturing events when other means of recording are either not available or not desirable. Having spent an extended period of time within the community I was, as mentioned in Chapter 4, known by many and recognised by others. Consequently, I was often stopped in passing when 'not researching', in coffee shops, supermarkets, restaurants etc. Several of these passing and fleeting conversations were recorded and captured in field notes rather than with other recording devices. These field note entries provided rich data and it was for this reason that I chose to treat field notes as primary data sources (as outlined in Chapter 4).

Ethnographic Chats

As mentioned in Chapter 4, the school-based research was characterised by 'ethnographic chats'³, sometimes referred to as 'ethnographic interviews' (Spradley 1979) and 'ethnographic conversations', referring to naturally occurring conversations, which contain elements that will prove useful to the researcher (Roberts et al. 2001). That said, the chats employed within this study are characterised by specific procedural and interactional frame/genre, which differentiates the chats from classic interviews. As also mentioned in Chapter 4, I developed ethnographic protocols in order to access students' orientations to the consequences of language education policies and approximately twenty students served as principal informants in each school.

The ethnographic chats were designed and used, as it was felt that interviews in the traditional format of initiation/response sequences were not consistent with the ethnographic priority that 'no homogeneous units or specific characteristics of

³ Note that other sorts of ethnographic participation-observation and subsequent field notes also inform my analysis.

culture are defined a priori, but rather those groups and processes recognised by native participants are discovered and studied in their terms during the research' (Gregory 1983: 366). Primarily, the question-based ethnographic chats were deployed to elicit evaluative discourse and key ideological stances as well as an analysis of reported language practices. The chat data was therefore not treated as a potential proxy for direct observation.

The ethnographic chats involved groups of 4-5 students coming together to discuss a series of written prompts. The format of the sessions was consistent throughout: one student would volunteer to lead the 'chat' and would read the prompt, and a discussion would follow. Friendship groups were used and as a result the group members were comfortable in each other's presence, resulting in relaxed and reasonably natural data. This group approach led to the students having open and frank conversations enabling a wider bank of knowledge to emerge. Furthermore, the group dynamics allowed for a snowballing effect, with one observation initiating a chain of additional comments. A further advantage of bringing groups together for the ethnographic chats was in the spontaneity that it encouraged. It wasn't necessary for all students to respond to every question. Not having to answer every question made the given answers more spontaneous and perhaps more genuine. In sum, whilst the students had a shared understanding of everyday experiences, some disagreement did emerge and consequently the ethnographic chats allowed for a multiplicity of views to be garnered but with consensual stances predominating.

Ultimately, the ethnographic chats allowed for an element of structure without compromising the respondents freedom to elaborate on topics of interest to him/her. Likewise, my occasional interjection allowed me, as the researcher to seek clarification as well as greater detail. Whilst discussion topics were organised and loosely structured (through the prompts), discussions flowed and developed. Thus the chats resemble both the purposeful questions of ethnographic interviews and emergent questions of ethnographic conversations.

As with any question-based research method, it is always possible to suggest that questions are leading. Whilst questions were used, the questions were devised from extensive participation and observation to ensure (as far as is ever possible) a reasonable level of validity.

Audio Data

The Youth Club data was extremely important to the wider aim of studying the impact of top-down ideological forces. It was by looking at conversational interaction, among students of secondary-school age that I was able to develop a deeper understanding of the complex cultural and ideological pressures on young people's engagement with the Welsh language. In other words, it's only by looking at relatively uncontrolled social speech (as was done here) that you can see whether and how school-based ideologies of language either do or do not remain in force. Furthermore, had I relied solely on my observational data (as recorded in my field notes) I would have failed to capture a full picture of their everyday lives and routines.

That said, the absence of control caused some methodological problems. One difficulty was caused by the fleeting and fast moving pace of the interaction at the Youth Club. It was not always possible for me, as the researcher, to be confident who the individual speakers are, or to add detail through field note observations. In other words, the 'naturally occurring' nature of this data and therefore the complexity of the action and interaction, meant it was at times difficult to explicate details. Whilst I ensured that I moved around the Youth Club, observing a range of activities and focussing on particular young people, I could only be in one place at a time. It was therefore, critical that I undertook other forms of fieldwork (as outlined both above and in Chapter 4 of this thesis), in order to familiarise myself with the setting, the sorts of activities that were engaged in, as well as the individual students and groups of students. Without such a knowledge it would be difficult, if not impossible, to understand and even identify the range of potentially relevant activities that feature in the recordings. In such, without a detailed understanding of the Youth Club setting the analyses would be limited at best.

To further overcome these analytic challenges, I worked closely with the young people to map out their evening on each occasion, in order to determine whom they had spoken with. These exchanges were intended, not so much to provide analytic resources but help clarify understanding of particular moments. In addition to this having spent an extensive period of time at the Youth Club, prior to recording (note that some of them were also known to me from the within-school research), I was familiar with many of the young people as well as their friendship groups. Finally, by combining this with the contextual information divulged in the data it was possible to piece together, understandings of specific discursive sequences involving students with whom I had a reasonably good level of familiarity. The analytic challenge in analysing the Youth Club data is similar to that presented by much of Rampton's (1995 and 2006) data (e.g. mutterings and 'by-play' at the back of school classrooms) but it remains a site where some of the richest data in terms of young people's negotiated identities and relationships is available

A further challenge was posed when deciding how and what to include in the transcription. Initial listening allowed for an understanding of key moments, (what was said and done by whom), allowing for potential relations between aspects of the interaction to emerge. Once potentially salient moments had been identified, more detailed analysis (and translation, where necessary) could take place. In spite of these methodological issues, the data was, as mentioned, critical in terms of the overall research aims in that it produced some of the richest data in terms of young people's negotiated identities and relationships.

8.3 Flexible and Separate Bilingualism – Research Question 1

I will now examine each of the research questions in turn. However, in the process of this study there has been considerable overlap particularly in relation to research question 1 and research question 2. Throughout this final chapter, in response to research question 1 I will point to the range of language-ideological issues and positions that the students show an awareness of, and highlight that they participate in various forms of ideological positioning and repositioning

around Welsh and English. Much of the data presented reveals group-level positioning, in the Youth Club, School-type, and nicknaming.

In Chapter 3 I suggested that this research was intended to contribute to a growing number of studies seeking to examine the local effects of language policies and initiatives. This research sought to address whether there was a gulf between the language planning and policy, on the one hand, and the local politics of language on the other. By addressing the local effects of language policies and initiatives, and in seeking to investigate how young people understand and orientate to the language ideological content of their education, this study has given a voice to young people in language-ideological debates, in contrast to top-down language planning, as shown in Figure 3. 1. Furthermore, by focussing on the views and experiences of young people this study has highlighted and captured the ambiguous position of young people. They are positioned as both the potential saviors of the language (recall that they are given an explicit role in the intended revitalisation of Welsh - see Chapter 2) and to some extent seem aware of this role. Students at the Welsh school voice an overtly nationalist discourse, the 'language is dying' suggesting that the school is heavily invested in the revitalisation effort (Chapter 6, Extract 6.3). Furthermore, prefects at the Welsh school are, as role models, expected to positively 'promote the Welsh language' to younger students, and are therefore positioned as agents of change (Chapter 6, Extract 6.5). That said, the young people might also be blamed for the continuing decline of Welsh, in such that the school shows an awareness that when outside of the monolingual Welsh school, the young people choose to use English (as seen in Chapter 7, Extract 7.3).

Primarily, flexible and separate bilingualism have been discussed in relation to their different ideological underpinnings and corresponding institutional arrangements within two contrasting secondary schools. It becomes clear in my data that the flexible/separate distinction is not without its difficulties – the concepts intersect, with each school adopting different approaches for different purposes. All the same, there are some very clear indications in my data that something close to an ideology of flexible bilingualism is overly recognised to be in place in the English school.

Despite the idealised and over-simplified nature of the two ideological sets (see Chapters 5 and 6 for a more detailed discussion of this), the concepts capture profound differences between the schools in this study, which the students themselves identify and in turn problematise and re-negotiate.

The second part of research question 1 sought to address whether students resisted or affirmed school-based ideologies and school-based practice. It emerged that at the Welsh school (and to a much lesser extent at the English school), that young people contested and re-negotiated the prevailing ideological norms and expectations. In Chapter 6 Extract 6.2, for example, students acknowledged that they flout norms and expectations by choosing to speak English at the Welsh school. Students at the Welsh school also question why when they attend a bilingual school they are being put under pressure to 'always talk Welsh (Chapter 6, Extract 6.3). In both of these extracts, it was argued that the use of Welsh became a symbol of ideological acquiescence and conversely English was seen to be used to contest the authority of the school. Additionally, it was suggested in Chapter 6 that both schools are sites of struggle over who gets to count as Welsh and English and what gets to count as speaking Welsh and speaking English.

The Youth Club, acting as a point of convergence between students at the two schools, was more explicitly focussed on shedding light on whether the school-based ideologies were carried over to the Youth Club. Questions were asked as to whether the young people resisted or affirmed school-based ideologies and school-based practice. As suggested in Chapter 7, the focus on contestation and re-negotiation within the Youth Club setting was not intended to imply that students, whilst at school, accepted without questioning the school-based language ideologies and school-based practice (as seen above). Instead the contestation at the Youth Club differs in that it is more marked (more explicit), conducted in a different setting (outside of the school) and draws on students from both schools.

The discussion in Chapter 7 of Extract 7.8 highlighted, once again, that for some students the use of English was a way of contesting the school-ideology and the investment in monolingualism. In Extract 7.9, the students, by mixing and blending

different aspects of their linguistic resources, were seen to challenge and contest the ideology that sought to keep their linguistic resources discrete (the separate bilingualism of the Welsh school). In both Extracts 7.12 and 7.13, it was argued that the students, when attending the Youth Club, distanced themselves from the traditional, cultural, purist ideologies and activities, that might more easily embed the use of Welsh and which they associate with the Welsh school. It was concluded that the young people who attend the Welsh school use the relatively 'free' space of the Youth Club, to reflect, sometimes critically, on their school-based identities and, in some instances at least, rebel against them. Whilst contestation did occur at the English school (as seen in Chapter 5, Extract 5.6) it was largely restricted to the dominant monolingualizing tendencies of the Welsh school. It would seem that the strict separation and boundaries that are put up around language at the Welsh school and the perception of limited language choice resulted in students questioning and deliberately opposing the school norms and expectations. Blackledge (2001) argues that where a school has such a dominant ideology of monolingualism, you immediately encounter questions such as 'who's in?' and 'who's out? In other words who's on board and going to conform to ideological precepts and equally who is going to contest and re-negotiate these ideologies? There is a sense that some will be included and some will be excluded. In other words the rhetoric of choice hides the fact that there are winners and losers in competitive markets (Fairclough 2006: 60), and that there are likely to be unforeseen inequalities (Tollefson 1991).

8.4 Choice and Constraint in Minority Language Education – Research Question 2

The students' reflexive experiences of bilingualism (research question 2) are organised in relation to complex issues of choice between languages. Welsh language planning and policy documents have invoked choice to different extents. It was established in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 that significant moves had been made within Welsh language policy towards creating a 'truly bilingual' Wales, one where people can choose to live their lives through the medium of either or both Welsh or English, and where the presence of the two languages is a source of pride and strength (Welsh Assembly Government 2003: 1). Consequently, *Iaith Pawb's*

overriding ideology is one of choice and equality of access: equality between languages and choice as to which language to use, with an apparent desire to normalise bilingualism on these terms. Whilst planners have engaged with the concept of choice, it is one that they seem to prevaricate about, largely because it tends to run counter to the prescriptive aspect of planning (something that I'll come on to discuss in greater detail).

At a basic level (and before looking in detail at the way choice has manifested itself within this research), the term 'choice' implies tolerance, openness, freedom and opportunities – the ability and free will to choose between two or more possibilities. By framing the discussion of bilingualism in terms of choice, *Iaith Pawb* has sought to empower individuals, whilst ensuring that people (in the case of Wales, particularly English speakers) are not left feeling alienated. Heller (1999b) argues that governments legitimise themselves as representative of all people (whether they speak the minority language or not), by promoting linguistic pluralism (and the concept of choice). At the same time the governments use language as a potentially unifying symbol - in the case of Wales, arguing that 'the Welsh language belongs to everyone in Wales as part of our common national heritage, identity and public good' (National Assembly for Wales 2007: 34).

Coupland however, argues that "choice" between languages is in any case a sociolinguistically compromised concept' (Coupland 2010: 33), largely because members of speech communities are always constrained by norms that predispose linguistic practice, but also because there are circumstances of choosing (such as choosing a school-type defined by its medium of instruction) that can't be avoided. That is, there is often a normative structure around choice, and there is clear evidence in my data of students being aware of schools as norm-imbued communities of practice, institutions that include the use of one language over another (particularly salient in relation to the Welsh school), and where, in many respects, there is actually very little room for some sorts of choice.

In sum, *Iaith Pawb* is based on the presumption that bilingualism should be premised on choice and on the inclusive principle that the option to learn and use

Welsh (and English) is open to all, regardless of linguistic background. In Williams' terms, '*Iaith Pawb* seeks to deliver us from the old prejudice that the Welsh language belongs by birth right to a shrinking minority alone' (Williams 2005: 24). Nevertheless, liberal attempts to define bilingualism on these terms are conditional on 'choice' being experienced as such at institutional, individual and community levels. In terms of the Figure 3.1 model, how and to what extent does choice filter down from the levels of government-led language planning, through school institutions and the prescriptions of teachers, and into the experiences of young people? Are school students' choices free and unrestricted, or subject to normative pressures of various sorts? On the evidence of the ethnographic research I have conducted can we say that there are unintended consequences of language planning?

Turning our attention to the data presented within this thesis, the concept of choice manifests itself in multiple ways: choice of school-type, of language to use in a given setting, and whether to resist or affirm school-based ideologies and school-based practice. Whilst choice is salient in relation to all of these issues, each of them is loaded with ideological significance, for different parties. The ideological frameworks involved are ones that students get exposed to, by a mixture of means, more and less explicit, when 'choices' are offered and sometimes made for them, beyond their control.

Figure 3.1 suggests there is a sequential series of choices made by students, their parents and their teachers. However, some choices carry more significance than others. For students in communities like the one under investigation, choosing which school to attend, and the medium of instruction selected have ripple effects on other, less obviously consequential choices and outcomes. The choice of whether the child will attend an 'English' or a 'Welsh' school, in the 'collapsing language and nation' manner of this terminology, is the first choice to be made within the sequence, and ethnographic field work suggests that it is divisive from the outset. The following extract exemplifies the dilemma that 'choice' at this point in the system occasions for students.

Extract 8.1 –Year 7, English school, Emma

1 Emma: my best friend (.) we like got separated cos their
2 mum wanted them Welsh and my mum wanted me English (.) so
3 um my best friend she went to Ysgol Arnant and then um when
4 we talk on the phone she starts talking in Welsh and she's
5 like "oh sorry"

Extract 8.1 highlights the 'choice', or more accurately the ideological manipulation, that is made possible by the institutional arrangements within this community (these institutional arrangements have been discussed in both Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 and will be discussed in relation to choice in subsequent sections of this final chapter). Given the age of the students, the choice appears to be made by the parent/guardian rather than the young person herself, raising the further issue of choice for whom, and choice by whom. Nevertheless choice remains an active process, someone has to make the choice. That said, choice appears to be inoperative in certain situations. It emerged that you had 'to be able to speak Welsh' (Chapter 6, Extract 6.4) to attend the Welsh school. In other words without sufficient knowledge of Welsh you may not have the required linguistic knowledge to have a genuine language choice.

The idea of social separation and division is clearly prominent in the account in Extract 8.1. For Emma it appears to take on a nationally identifying element – go to the 'Welsh school' and become Welsh, or go to the 'English school' and become English. There is also an implication of instrumentality, that apparently linguistic choices are being made in a material, consumerist world, based on 'the social and material gain it will bring them' (May 2005: 328). So whilst 'choice' of medium of instruction rests on the founding principles of *Iaith Pawb*, it needs to be acknowledged that this categorisation of school by language type is in itself far from inclusive. I suggest that it tends to create a compartmentalised approach towards language - 'whatever decision is made, the choice between opting for a majority or minority language is constructed as oppositional, even mutually exclusive' (May 2005: 333). Furthermore, the 'choice' is experienced as

oppositional and institutionalised as such. It emerged, for example, at the Welsh school that if you chose not to speak Welsh you could 'always go to the English school down the road' (Chapter 6, Extract 6.3), the ultimate realisation of 'them' and 'us'. Thus, whilst the institutional arrangements within this community appear to provide a choice, the institutional arrangements leave no opportunity to negotiate the implications of that choice.

Williams highlights that 'choice also implies conflict and tension, for one person's choice is another person's denial of opportunity; such is the competitive nature of languages in contact' (Williams 2003: 75). Thus 'choice' has the potential to open some doors, but to close others. These are in fact the grounds on which some would argue that offering choices over medium of instruction in Wales is undesirable. Thomas and Gruffudd assert that 'the continuous choices of language-medium given to pupils during their secondary education breeds uncertainty and lack of confidence in the threatened language' (Thomas and Gruffudd 2003: 77). This is a good example of why planning statements in Wales are sometimes wary of choice; it appears to undermine nationalist discourses about revitalisation. The ideological framing of the Thomas and Gruffudd argument warrants clarification. The 'certainty' that they favour is a very particular sort of certainty, linked to the revitalisation priorities and the need to be resolute there. Questions need to be asked, however, as to whether this is a concern about the students' levels of certainty or the planners' levels of certainty. Furthermore, this argument can be used to limit choice, and, ostensibly, to justify the control or management of Welsh/English contact situations.

It has emerged in the data presented that the apparently simple choice of the medium of instruction has far-reaching consequences that the young people in my study are aware of. There is, for example, a rich set of stereotyped characteristics attaching to Welsh versus English school students, such as *hambone* (a term used to refer to predominately rural Welsh speakers implying continuous use the Welsh language and a strong sense of Welsh identity), and *saeson* (a commonly pejorative term used to refer to an English-speaking person) – as discussed in relation to both Chapter 5, Extract 5.17 and Chapter 6, Extract 6.11. In addition, we have seen that

there is a strong sense of 'them' and 'us', with students reporting a social divide *within* schools, in that there is, for example a 'Welsh group' and 'other groups...who speak English' (Chapter 6, Extract 6.7), but also *between* schools (Chapter 6, Extract 6.12).

We now turn our attention back to research question 1 to see how the students in this study conceptualise the language ideological content of their education in relation to choice. From an ideological point of view, I view language choice, in the general sense of choosing to use or not use a language code, as a function of explicit and implicit language ideologies, and this is perhaps most clearly evident in relation to education. It is ideologies of language that constitute the social rules or norms that affect choice (the pragmatics of code usage). Moreover, it is the ideologies behind languages that create the context where choices become bound up with consequences. Thus, at the English school in this study, a particular institutional ideology of bilingualism (flexible bilingualism) gives an apparent choice, and offers discretion to students. The students clearly identify that there is an institutional openness and tolerance towards language at the English school, they can in their terms 'speak either one' (Chapter 5, Extract 5.10). Furthermore, they don't expect any punitive control: they won't, in their terms, 'get told off' (Chapter 5, Extract 5.2). However, we should acknowledge, as Estyn (the educational inspectorate for Wales) does, that reports show that 'in many (70% of more) English-medium secondary schools, there are not enough opportunities for pupils to improve their ability to use Welsh' (Estyn: 2011: 11). The Youth Club was also characterised as an ideologically tolerant and open space, with students once again identifying that they are given a free choice as to which language to use, in other words they 'won't get a row for speaking the wrong language' (Chapter 7, Extract 7.6). In this sense the Youth Club is most clearly related to the flexible bilingualism of the English school.

Conversely, at the Welsh school, choice is perceived as a threat to the minority language and thus, through separate bilingualism, boundaries are put up, to protect the language. Students identify the strict language separation that is encouraged by the Welsh school, they are aware that they are 'not supposed to

speak English' (Chapter 6, Extract 6.2) and that teachers 'want you to always talk Welsh' (Chapter 6, Extract 6.3). As a politically motivated ideology, this policy operates within the confines of the school to the effect that there is little or no language choice available at the level of practice. Therefore, the binary opposite to 'choice' is 'no choice', or 'lack of choice', implying control and management. The idea that language can be, and needs to be, 'managed' emerges strongly from the Welsh school data. In Chapter 6, Extract 6.1 the Headteacher explicitly states that the school 'doesn't allow students to use English', so language choice is apparently managed at an official level (additionally, in Extract 6.5 it emerged that prefects, as role models, were required to manage the language situation by 'positively promoting' the Welsh language to younger students). In Chapter 6, Extract 6.2 and 6.3 students confirm that the school does not allow the use of English during lessons and identify that they are subjected to repeated requests to speak to '*siarad Cymreig*'. In Chapter 6, Extract 6.4 it became clear that the school also manages the language situation by limiting who is eligible to attend the Welsh school (this will be discussed in greater detail in relation to social inclusion/exclusion). Lastly, students also identified the school's attempts to control and intervene in language choices outside of school, with students under pressure to make the 'right' choice by attending 'Welsh-speaking clubs' rather than 'saes clubs' (Chapter 7, Extract 7.3). To reiterate, management implies control and intervention, and thus a lack of 'choice'. To this extent, students' experiences of the impact of bilingual policies at school are inconsistent with *Iaith Pawb's* presumption that bilingualism should be premised on choice and on the inclusive principle that the option to learn and use Welsh (and English) is open to all, regardless of linguistic background.

As outlined in Chapter 3, there is a marked shift towards a language ideology of persuasion in *Iaith Fyw: Iaith Byw*, with talk of the need to 'convince' young people of the value of the Welsh language and 'influence' them (Welsh Assembly Government 2012). The document is noticeably more exclusionary at the level of policy than *Iaith Pawb*. Despite the criticisms that can be, and have been levelled at *Iaith Pawb*, particularly its lack of clarity over the concepts of 'language choice' and of 'true bilingualism' (see chapter 3 for a more detailed discussion of this), there

remains a sense of openness and tolerance in that text that is noticeably absent from the newer strategy document. This forces us to question what ideological model of bilingual education is desirable. Can a more open ideology (flexible bilingualism), in the popular idiom, 'save the language'? Would, for example, flexible bilingualism provide the appropriate environment for pupils with limited exposure to Welsh in a curricular context to develop a full range of skills in Welsh? That question needs to be set alongside the further question of whether the cost of separate bilingualism might be too high, in view of the within-community divisions it is likely to promote.

8.5 Inclusion/Exclusion – Research Question 3

As established Welsh language policy seeks to establish itself as inclusive, open and tolerant. Moreover, policies such as *Cymru'u Un* highlight the 'rich and diverse culture' of Wales whilst also arguing that 'the Welsh language belongs to everyone in Wales as part of our common national heritage, identity and public good' (National Assembly for Wales 2007: 34). Once again, the document, as shown in Chapter 3, goes on to express a commitment to opening up the Welsh language to 'new speakers' and to 'new communities'. It was therefore suggested in Chapter 3 that both *Iaith Pawb* and *Cymru'u Un* reflect the notion that you can have 'unity in diversity' (the European Union motto) – promoting cultural unity whilst preserving linguistic diversity.

My aim as outlined in Chapter 3, is not to debate the viability of these claims of inclusivity, but to ask whether a would-be inclusive ideology of this sort can and does in fact lead to social inclusiveness at the level of usage and practice (Williams 2005). Might it alternatively be the case that an articulated inclusiveness smoothes over deep-seated and persisting ideological conflicts in Wales? In this connection Baker argues that 'language planning aims can sometimes be good intentions, wishes and hopes that do not relate to grounded activity' (Baker 2003: 103).

Turning our attention to the research in question, the notion of inclusion and exclusion manifests itself in multiple ways: through linguistic insecurity (feeling

less Welsh/less English/less authentically Welsh), and with languages forming the basis for in-group and out-group divisions. My attention is thus focussed on the sense of inclusion and exclusion within the two schools and at the Youth Club. It will be argued, in relation to the data presented here, that issues pertaining to social exclusion are primarily relevant (with the exception of Chapter 5, Extract 5.15) to those students who are non-Welsh speakers, or those with a preference to use English.

A major means of organizing difference and inequality in Wales is connected to the construction of categories that are linked to ethnicity and language. In particular, what it means to speak Welsh and to be Welsh is a window onto major dimensions of difference and inequality. It emerged clearly in the school-based data that there are conventionalised ways of constructing ethnicity in the students' talk - there is an intimate presumed relationship between language choice and ethnicity, speaking English and being English and speaking Welsh and being Welsh. Students at the English school, for example, state that they are 'more English than Welsh' because they 'speak English at home' (Chapter 5, Extract 5.11).

Despite the emphasis within *Cymru'u Un* on the Welsh language belonging to everyone, 'as part of our common national heritage, identity and public good' (National Assembly for Wales 2007: 34), it was also established in Chapter 3 that the curriculum in Wales pushes a fairly homogenised version of Welshness, inextricably linking knowledge and competency in Welsh to a Welsh identity. In light of this it was established in relation to the school-based data that the consequence for non-Welsh speakers (or those with a preference to use English) was that it made them feel 'less Welsh', amounting to linguistic insecurity. In this sense a sociolinguistic hierarchy⁴ emerged, with students at both schools identifying others that were 'really full Welsh' (Chapter 5, Extract 5.12), 'proper Welsh' (Chapter 5, Extract 5.13) or 'really really Welsh' (Chapter 6, Extract 6.8). This, it was argued (in Chapter 5) related to issues of L1 vs. L2 language usage to 'traditional' vs. 'new' speakers of Welsh, and generally to levels of competency in

⁴ Hierarchies in themselves lead to patterns of social inequality in that some have more power and prestige than others.

Welsh. It was suggested in Chapter 5 that this was interesting at the level of ideology because it bought into a purist assumption about the integrity of Welsh in a situation where, for many historical reasons, people who have some Welsh 'fail' to meet purist criteria and in this sense it is an example of social and linguistic exclusion. Non-Welsh speakers (or those with a preference for speaking English) are thus required to negotiate a position within or in relation to the notional category of being 'Welsh'.

That said, students at the English school have a much more flexible conception of identity. In Extract 5.16, for example, students identified the possibility of being a '*mamiath*' (a mother tongue/first-language speaker of Welsh) who has 'learnt Welsh' (Chapter 5, Extract 5.16), so they are not bounded by the strict view that you need to 'know' Welsh to be considered 'fully' or 'proper' Welsh (as also seen in Chapter 6, Extract 6.4). Furthermore, in Extract 5.17 the students whilst identifying a continued difficulty in locating themselves within the Welsh category label negotiated and managed their identity by asserting that they 'weren't actually born in England' and 'can speak Welsh' if they choose, suggest that you can also be Welsh and *not* speak Welsh.

In other words the students argued that multiple varieties and ownerships should exist, and highlighted the possibility of experiencing Welsh identities that are not inevitably mediated by use of the Welsh language. In this sense the students at the English school, had a much more inclusive conception of what it means to be Welsh. Jaffe in turn, has argued, in relation to Corsica, that people should have 'the right to claim linguistic identities and to associate them with any kind of linguistic form or practice' (Jaffe 2007b: 71). These thoughts appear to be noticeably absent from the aforementioned Welsh language policy documents, which seem at some level to miss and/or by-pass the ideology of inclusion and choice laid out in *Iaith Pawb*.

The kind of Welsh you speak, and how you organise Welsh and English in your linguistic practices, also became a salient index of social position and hence a criterion of inclusion and exclusion. It was argued in relation to the English school,

and in particular Extract 5.8, that the use and tolerance of Wenglish allows for the varied linguistic intake in Welsh schools and for students of differing linguistic backgrounds and of varying competency levels. It was thus, suggested that it enabled a greater sense of social and linguistic inclusion. Students at the English school acknowledged that the mixing of Welsh and English was not considered 'good Welsh' (Chapter 5, Extract 5.9) and in this sense students were aware of a language-ideological norm that discredits code-switching (something that was also confirmed in Extract 6.9). Furthermore, Extract 6.9 highlighted that Wenglish, for students at the Welsh school, was representative of speaking 'subject Welsh' as opposed to speaking Welsh as an 'everyday language' (Chapter 6, Extract 6.9). The power differentials between 'novices' and 'masters' were in evidence as were the exclusionary attitude of first language Welsh speakers to language learners' 'in-authentic Welsh' (Robert 2009).

Both schools to some extent valorised particular linguistic practices and particular language users. In Extract 5.7, for example, it emerged that for students at the English school the 'perfect' student was someone that 'speaks well in both languages' (was bilingual) and in Extract 5.18, being bilingual was defined as having 'full English' and speaking both 'properly' (Chapter 5, Extract 5.18), with the assertion that some students even at the Welsh school fail to meet these criteria, in that they speak 'funny English' (Chapter 6, Extract 6.8). It was argued in relation to these extracts that whilst flexible bilingualism gave you an apparent free choice as to whether to speak Welsh and/or English, in reality the perception, for students at the English school, was that only those who master *both* were given status within the school. For those that failed to meet this criterion there were obvious issues of marginalisation and exclusion.

Contrastingly, students at the Welsh school perceived that only Welsh had any value, (as seen in relation to Extract 6.5 and Extract 6.8). It was suggested in Chapter 6 that for students at the Welsh school there was a sense that those who 'speak Welsh all the time', 'speak good Welsh' and 'speak Welsh at home' (Chapter 6, Extract 6.8) have greater legitimacy than others – resulting once again in a perception of social exclusion. The ideological constraints at the Welsh school,

result in less choice and thus a more exclusionary practice. Furthermore, Bourdieu (1991) argued that 'speakers lacking the legitimate competence are *de facto* excluded from the social domains in which this competence is required' (Bourdieu 1991: 55) and thus the schools serve to sustain disadvantage and inequality in that they control access to the production and distribution of symbolic and material resources. This exclusionary ideology was evident in relation to the Welsh school, where it was identified that those who were allowed to attend the Welsh school were those who had the required competency in Welsh, who were 'fluent in both languages' (Chapter 6, Extract 6.1) and able to 'speak', 'understand' and therefore 'know' Welsh (Chapter 6, Extract 6.4). In this sense discrimination on the basis of language ability was in evidence. In other words, the Welsh school, with its monolingual bias, symbolises the exclusion of a linguistically diverse student population whereas the flexible bilingualism of the English school arguably recognises bilingualism as a way of promoting social inclusion. Relatedly, if you were unwilling to conform to ideological precepts you could always 'go to the English school down the road', the ultimate realisation of social separation, them and us (Chapter 6, Extract 6.3) and in relation to the Youth Club, (Chapter 7, Extracts 7.8 and 7.10).

It was clear that within this community speaking Welsh was a critical attribute of ingroup/outgroup membership, in relation to friendship groups, and thus language became the basis for group divisions. Students at the Welsh school, for example, gave evidence of a division on the basis of whether you are a 'first-language Welsh speaker' or a 'first language-English speaker' (Chapter 6, Extract 6.7). The students suggested that if English speakers chose to linguistically assimilate this would result in greater social inclusion. Students at the Welsh school also reported that they 'judge you' and make you feel 'different' and therefore stigmatised within the school if you choose to speak English at home, with your parents (Chapter 6, Extract 6.6) or at the Youth Club (Extract 7.3). It was thus difficult for English dominant students to succeed (in that they didn't meet 'perfect' student criteria) in an institution that they perceived devalued the language they spoke, and forced them to use Welsh.

English was conventionally perceived as the language of social inclusion (in that all Welsh people speak English), with Welsh positioned as the language of exclusivity. In Extract 6.12 students at the Welsh school reported that Welsh could be used to alienate and exclude others (namely students from the English school). That said, there is also an argument to be made that the Welsh language acts as a focus for a Welsh identity, even for those who don't speak it (as seen in Extract 5.17). So there is the counter-view that Welsh can mobilise a sense of Welshness, and to that extent lead to some sort of feeling of inclusiveness – being Welsh, by contrast to being English, for example. In Extract 7.11 it became clear that whilst friendships between students at the two schools were possible (and indeed encouraged) at Youth Club, a space largely outside of the school's control (as seen in Extract 7.6), when representing their schools the girls indicate that the situation is less amicable, with language once again being the basis for group-divisions. In Chapter 2, the association between Welsh and middle class society was discussed. Aitchison and Carter (1997), for example claimed that a 'new bourgeoisie Welsh speaking elite' (Aitchison and Carter 1997: 357) exist, with this elite being defined as 'members of a Welsh speaking status group made up of middle-class families' (Fevre et al. 1997: 561). In Extract 7.11 the girls make the association between speaking Welsh and being 'snooty' (Extract 7.11) and thus speaking Welsh is once again associated with a sense of social exclusion. In this sense there is a greater sense of inclusivity present at the Youth Club.

The research presented here has highlighted and critiqued the dichotomy between an inclusive policy that drives current language education in Wales (but where there was never an explicit discussion of who should be/can be included, and particularly of how planning might lead to exclusion as well) and the reality 'on the ground', as articulated by school students. In other words this study has questioned whether the positive effects of Welsh Language provision (primarily in terms of language revitalisation) outweigh the emergent negative effects; effects that would not have arisen and that can be reliably located as occurring because of the conditions produced by the Welsh language revival. All of this raises further questions with regards to the sense of inclusivity in Wales and the impact of top-

down language policy and planning on issues of social inclusion and social exclusion, which up until now has been an under-researched area.

Coupland et al. (2005) highlight that, whilst the policy of compulsory teaching of Welsh to all students in Wales until the age of 16 succeeds in delivering some level of Welsh language competency to the vast majority of students, it does not seem to provide for or enable the delivery of the ideological principle of *Iaith Pawb* ('Everyone's Language'). In sum, a critical view of language policy in Wales combined with the findings of this ethnographic research has shown that current arrangements lead, at least in relation to the communities under investigation here and for the young people whose opinions and practices I have analysed, to experiences that are constrained by political ideologies that perpetuate language purity, create language hierarchies and ultimately marginalise and exclude groups. In simple terms, we are far from an open and tolerant ideology of language and from the unity in diversity agenda (Chapter 3). Instead what we see is the revitalisation of Welsh creating divisions and a sense of exclusion.

8.6 Where is Bilingual Education in Wales Heading?

As mentioned, Baker argues that, as part of the 'language as a problem orientation' (Ruiz 1984), the promotion of bilingualism⁵ may in fact cause 'less integration, less cohesiveness, more antagonism and more conflict in society' (Baker 2006: 376). Baker expands on this argument suggesting that the 'problem' is sometimes perceived as being caused by 'strong' forms of bilingual education (Baker 2006b: 369). It is not my intention here to 'blame' the Welsh school within this study; instead, I echo the view of Coupland et al. (2006) that 'Wales's most productive future must surely result from a self-consciously inclusive definition of Welshness, and not from privileging one sociolinguistic sector over another' (Coupland et al. 2006: 24). It is thus not about removing cultural and linguistic difference, but instead about moving beyond the purist, protectionist ideologies so prevalent within Wales, and within the Welsh school. There is a need to face up to the more

⁵ At this stage it's fruitful to recall the discussion in Chapter 3 where it was suggested that at the heart of a discussion of 'bilingualism' in Wales lies a 'call for a commitment to Welsh' (Musk 2010: 49)

complex picture of Wales, and accept and encourage the idea that there is more than one way to be Welsh and to perform Welshness linguistically. In other words, speaking Welsh and opting into bilingualism should be accepted and celebrated as one (among many) ways of performing Welshness, but where those who don't opt into Welsh, or choose not to organise their lives in relation to Welsh, are not ostracised for failing to live out someone else's ideological schema for proper Welshness. In this sense perhaps one possible way ahead in Wales, is to adopt a 'polynomic ideology' (Jaffe 2003b), one that values the use of multiple languages and multiple identities, where all languages are equally tolerated, a language ideology that is inclusive and non-hierarchical in nature and one that is characterised by intertolerance between users of different varieties (Jaffe 2003b).

Further critical sociolinguistic research is needed on the Welsh education system in order to better understand the complexities that arise and the impact it has on young people and their language use. Whilst this research has contributed to the debate around bilingualism in Wales, it is not yet fully clear where we are 'in terms of the new bilingualism in Wales' and where we might 'be heading' (Coupland and Aldridge 2009: 6). In conclusion, the living-out of the sociolinguistic models of Wales by these students in the data highlights that an apparently simple idea about bilingualism in Wales is in reality complex, with rich local classification systems in operation. The view of Wales as a particularly successful example of language planning misses the fact that impressively ambitious policy moves are giving rise to lay ideological tensions that we need to be more aware of. There is a gulf between the over-simplified rhetoric of language planning and the local politics of language and ethnicity that follow in its wake. The data suggest there is a continuing need to monitor the impact of institutional policy on national coherence and individual choice. So whilst the intention may be for an inclusive Welsh language policy, the reality 'on the ground' is very different.

Total Word Count – 53,920

Appendix 1 - Ethnographic Chat Prompts for Students

1. Discuss what it means to you (individually) **and** as a group to be bilingual

*Trafodwch beth mae'n olygu i chi (yn bersonol) **ac** fel grwp i fod yn ddwyieithog*

2. How would you describe the Welsh and English:
 - a. You speak
 - b. The others in this group speak

Sut fydddech chi'n disgrifio'r math o Gymraeg a Saesneg:

- a. Rydych chi'n siarad
- b. Mae gweddill y grwp yn siarad

3. Discuss what you think your school thinks about language

Trafodwch beth rydych yn meddwl bod eich ysgol yn meddwl am iaith

4. Discuss how you think they would describe the perfect student

Trafodwch sut byddai'r ysgol yn disgrifio'r disgybl perffaith, yn eich barn chi

5. Discuss and describe whether there are Welsh or English students or staff at Ysgol Arnant/ Ysgol Ardwyn

Trafod a disgrifio a oes fyfyrwyr Cymraeg neu Saesneg neu staff yn Ysgol Arnant / Ysgol Ardwyn

6. Discuss whether you think it is the same or different at Ysgol Arnant/Ysgol Ardwyn

Trafodwch a yw'r sefyllfa yn Ysgol Arnant/Ysgol Ardwyn yn debyg neu'n wahanol, yn eich barn chi

7. Are there ways of describing students at Ysgol Arnant and Ysgol Ardwyn?

A oes ffyrdd o ddisgrifio myfyrwyr yn Ysgol Arnant ac Ysgol Ardwyn?

8. Discuss whether you would get told off for speaking Welsh and/or English at Ysgol Dyffryn Teifi (who gets told off, when, where and by whom?).

Trafodwch a fydddech chi'n cael row am siarad Cymraeg a/neu Saesneg yn Ysgol Gyfun Emlyn (pwy sy'n cael row, pryd, ble a gan bwy?).

9. Discuss your opinions on this

Trafodwch beth ydych chi'n meddwl am hyn

10. Discuss how you think this is similar or different to Ysgol Arnant/ Ysgol Ardwyn?

Trafodwch a yw pethau'r un peth neu'n wahanol yn Ysgol Arnant/Ysgol Ardwyn, yn eich barn chi?

11. Discuss whether you think it is important for people who move to live in the area to learn Welsh and English

Trafodwch a yw hi'n bwysig i bobl sy'n symud i fyw i'r ardal i ddysgu Cymraeg a Saesneg, yn eich barn chi

12. Discuss how you would feel if you came to Ysgol Arnant/ Ysgol Ardwyn and **didn't** speak Welsh

*Trafodwch sut fydddech chi'n teimlo os bydddech chi'n dod i Ysgol Arnant/ Ysgol Ardwyn a **ddim** yn siarad Cymraeg*

13. Discuss how you would feel if you went to Ysgol Arnant/ Ysgol Ardwyn and **didn't** speak Welsh

*Trafodwch sut fydddech chi'n teimlo os bydddech chi'n mynd i Ysgol Arnant/Ysgol Ardwyn a **ddim** yn siarad Cymraeg*

14. Discuss how you would feel if you went to Ysgol Arnant/ Ysgol Ardwyn and **did** speak Welsh

*Trafodwch sut fydddech chi'n teimlo os bydddech chi'n mynd i Ysgol Arnant/ Ysgol Ardwyn ac **yn** siarad Cymraeg*

15. Discuss whether you had to speak more or less Welsh at secondary school than primary school.

Trafodwch a oes rhaid i chi siarad mwy neu lai o Gymraeg yn yr ysgol uwchradd nag oedd rhaid i chi yn yr ysgol gynradd.

Appendix 2 - Ethics Approval



1st May 2009

Charlotte L. R. Selleck,
CLCR,
Cardiff University.

Dear Charlotte

**Re: An Investigation into the sociolinguistic and relational processes
between Welsh students and ethnic minorities in Welsh Secondary Schools.**

Thank you for your Ethical Approval Form. I have read your account of the ethical procedures you have put in place, and I am confident that you have sought consent from the appropriate people, and informed all participants and their parents and guardians of the nature of the research and their rights in respect to the research. In addition, you are insuring the anonymity of all participants. I am thus happy that the research meets the ethical standards required of Cardiff University, and I am happy for it to proceed.

Do not hesitate to contact me if you need any further discussion of these issues.

Yours sincerely,

Andrew Edgar
(ENCAP Ethics Officer)

Appendix 3 – Informed Consent



Information sheet for parents of school students

Who am I?

My name is Charlotte Selleck and I am currently studying for a PhD in Linguistics at Cardiff University. My contact details are as follows:

Doctoral Researcher
Centre for Language and Communication Research
Cardiff School of English, Communication & Philosophy
Cardiff University
Humanities Building
Colum Drive
Cardiff
CF10 3EU

SelleckCL@cardiff.ac.uk

What is the project about?

I am researching what students in Welsh secondary schools think about language and how this is influenced by their education.

What is the research for?

The research will enable me to complete my PhD thesis. As part of the PhD process I will also be required to give conference presentations, both in this country and further afield. It is therefore possible that I will need to use parts of the data during these presentations. I will ensure that all the identifying features (your son/daughters name, school etc.) will be removed and all will be replaced with an appropriate pseudonym.

What does the research involve?

Over the last few months I have been spending some time in your son/daughters school, collecting data on bilingualism in Welsh secondary schools. Your son/daughter may already have seen me in the school and observing in some of their lessons. If you agree, your son/daughter will be involved in a two-year research project. It will involve me spending time with them during their lessons as well as in their break times and lunchtimes. During this time I will be making notes on what I see and hear. I would also like to interview your son/daughter in a group of 3-4 students. These students will come from the same year group, and possibly the same form. The interviews will be very informal and should last no longer than 30 minutes. I appreciate that your son/daughter's education is very important, and therefore interviews will be arranged at a time that suits you, your son/daughter and the school.

The interviews will need to be recorded, to aid with my research. As I am sure you will appreciate I will be carrying out a large number of interviews over a three-year period and I will need to refer back to the information at the end of research. Recordings will be kept securely, ensuring that only myself and my project supervisor at Cardiff University have access to them.

The school is fully aware of what I am hoping to do and has been very supportive in allowing me to spend time in the school.

What will you do with the data?

During the course of my PhD I will be required to present the data at conferences, both in the UK and elsewhere. I may also submit the research for publication. All identifying features (including your son/daughters name) will be removed and where necessary anonymised. Please note that if I choose to use data that involves your son/daughter it may be quoted verbatim (i.e. the exact words you son/daughter used will be used).

Do I have to give consent?

Absolutely not. Both you and your son/daughter are able to withdraw the consent at any stage up until September 2011. Please contact me, either via email or in writing to inform me of this withdrawal.



Information sheet for parents of Youth Club students

Who am I?

My name is Charlotte Selleck and I am currently studying for a PhD in Linguistics at Cardiff University. My contact details are as follows:

Doctoral Researcher
Centre for Language and Communication Research
Cardiff School of English, Communication & Philosophy
Cardiff University
Humanities Building
Colum Drive
Cardiff
CF10 3EU

SelleckCL@cardiff.ac.uk

What is the project about?

I am researching what students who attend Welsh secondary schools think about language and how this is influenced by their education.

What is the research for?

The research will enable me to complete my PhD thesis. As part of the PhD process I will also be required to give conference presentations, both in this country and further afield. It is therefore possible that I will need to use parts of the data during these presentations. I will ensure that all the identifying features (your son/daughters name, school, Youth Club etc.) will be removed and all will be replaced with an appropriate pseudonym.

What does the research involve?

Over the last few months I have been spending some time in your son/daughters school, collecting data on bilingualism in Welsh secondary schools. Your son/daughter may already have seen me in the school and observing in some of their lessons. If you agree, your son/daughter will be involved in a two-year research project. It will involve me spending time with them during their lessons as well as in their break times and lunchtimes. During this time I will be making notes on what I see and hear. I would also like to interview your son/daughter in a group of 3-4 students. These students will come from the same year group, and possibly the same form. The interviews will be very informal and should last no longer than 30 minutes. I appreciate that your son/daughter's education is very important, and therefore interviews will be arranged at a time that suits you, your son/daughter and the school.

The interviews will need to be recorded, to aid with my research.

I have also arranged access to a local Youth Club and I intend to continue my research in that environment. If you agree, I will record the students interacting with each other in that environment. To do this, rather than formal interviews, I will provide some of the students with portable lapel microphones and record them as they interact with their friends.

All recordings will be kept securely and anonymised, ensuring that only myself and my project supervisor at Cardiff University have access to them.

The local schools are fully aware of what I am hoping to do and have been very supportive in allowing me to spend time in the schools. The Youth Club leaders have also fully aware and have been supportive in allowing me to spend time in the Youth Club.

What will you do with the data?

During the course of my PhD I will be required to present the data at conferences, both in the UK and elsewhere. I may also submit the research for publication. All identifying features (including your son/daughters name) will be removed and where necessary anonymised. Please note that if I choose to use data that involves your son/daughter it may be quoted verbatim (i.e. the exact words you son/daughter used will be used).

Do I have to give consent?

Absolutely not. Both you and your son/daughter are able to withdraw the consent at any stage up until September 2011. Please contact me, either via email or in writing to inform me of this withdrawal.



Information sheet for school teachers and staff

Who am I?

My name is Charlotte Selleck and I am currently studying for a PhD in Linguistics at Cardiff University. My contact details are as follows:

Doctoral Researcher
Centre for Language and Communication Research
Cardiff School of English, Communication & Philosophy
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Humanities Building
Colum Drive
Cardiff
CF10 3EU

SelleckCL@cardiff.ac.uk

What is the project about?

I am researching what students in Welsh secondary schools think about language and how this is influenced by their education.

What is the research for?

The research will enable me to complete my PhD thesis. As part of the PhD process I will also be required to give conference presentations, both in this country and further afield. It is therefore possible that I will need to use parts of the data during these presentations. I will ensure that all the identifying features (students' and staff names, school name etc.) will be removed and all will be replaced with appropriate pseudonyms.

What does the research involve?

Over the last few months I have been spending some time in this school, collecting data on bilingualism in Welsh secondary education. You may already have seen me in the school and observing some of the lessons. It will involve me spending time with the students during their lessons as well as in their break times and lunchtimes. During this time I will be making notes on what I see and hear. I also aim to interview some of the students in a groups of 3-4 students. These students will come from the same year group, and possibly the same form. The interviews will be very informal and should last no longer than 30 minutes. I appreciate that the student's education is very important, and therefore interviews will be arranged at a time that suits you, the students and the school.

The interviews will need to be recorded, to aid with my research. As I am sure you will appreciate I will be carrying out a large number of interviews over a three-year period and I will need to refer back to the information at the end of research. Recordings will be kept securely, ensuring that only myself and my project supervisor at Cardiff University have access to them.

The school and the Headteacher are fully aware of what I am hoping to do and has been very supportive in allowing me to spend time in the school.

What will you do with the data?

During the course of my PhD I will be required to present the data at conferences, both in the UK and elsewhere. I may also submit the research for publication. All identifying features (including names of students, staff and the school) will be removed and where necessary anonymised. Please note that if I choose to use data that involves the students or staff it may be quoted verbatim (i.e. the exact words that were used).

Do I have to give consent?

Absolutely not. The students and their parents will be asked to formally provide written consent that they are willing to participate. They are able to withdraw that consent at any stage. Staff will not be formally asked, but please do not hesitate to contact me at the above contact address if you do not want to be involved in any way in this study.



Information sheet for Youth Club Staff

Who am I?

My name is Charlotte Selleck and I am currently studying for a PhD in Linguistics at Cardiff University. My contact details are as follows:

Doctoral Researcher
Centre for Language and Communication Research
Cardiff School of English, Communication & Philosophy
Cardiff University
Humanities Building
Colum Drive
Cardiff
CF10 3EU

SelleckCL@cardiff.ac.uk

What is the project about?

I am researching what students who attend Welsh secondary schools think about language and how this is influenced by their education.

What is the research for?

The research will enable me to complete my PhD thesis. As part of the PhD process I will also be required to give conference presentations, both in this country and further afield. It is therefore possible that I will need to use parts of the data during these presentations. I will ensure that all the identifying features (students' and staff names, school names and any identifiers of the Youth club etc.) will be removed and all will be replaced with appropriate pseudonyms.

What does the research involve?

Over the last few months I have been spending some time in two local schools, collecting data on bilingualism in Welsh secondary education. To further this research I am now going to spend time with the students in a recreational space, the Youth Club. During this time I will be making notes on what I see and hear. I also aim to record some of the students as they interact with their friends at the Youth Club with the use of lapel microphones.

Recordings will be kept securely, ensuring that only myself and my project supervisor at Cardiff University have access to them.

The local schools and the Headteachers are fully aware of what I am hoping to do and has been very supportive in allowing me to spend time in the school environment. The Youth Club leaders have also been very supportive in allowing me to spend some time in the Youth Club environment.

What will you do with the data?

During the course of my PhD I will be required to present the data at conferences, both in the UK and elsewhere. I may also submit the research for publication. All identifying features (including names of students, staff, the schools and Youth Club) will be removed and where necessary anonymised. Please note that if I choose to use data that involves the students or staff it may be quoted verbatim (i.e. the exact words that were used).

Do I have to give consent?

Absolutely not. The students and their parents will be asked to formally provide written consent that they are willing to participate. They are able to withdraw that consent at any stage. Staff will not be formally asked, but please do not hesitate to contact me at the above contact address if you do not want to be involved in any way in this study.

Written Informed Parental Consent



Dear Parent/Guardian of

I am writing to ask for your permission to work with your son/daughter as part of my PhD research at Cardiff University.

My name is Charlotte Selleck and I am currently studying for a PhD in Linguistics. I am researching what students in Welsh secondary schools think about language and how this is influenced by their education.

I have attached an information sheet, outlining exactly what the research would entail. Please take the time to read it and feel free to contact me with any questions/concerns you may have.

It would be a great help to me, and the project, if I was able to work with your son/daughter and hope that they would get something useful from the experience. If you are happy for your son/daughter to participate in the research then could you please sign the slip below and return it to me in the stamped addressed envelope.

I look forward to having the opportunity to work with your son/daughter.

Charlotte Selleck
Doctoral Researcher
Centre for Language and Communication Research
Cardiff School of English, Communication & Philosophy
Cardiff University
Humanities Building
Colum Drive
Cardiff
CF10 3EU

Name:

Name of child:

Relationship to child:

I would / would not be happy for my son/daughter to participate in this research.

(Please delete as appropriate)

Written Informed Student Consent



Name: _____

Form: _____

Date: _____

I acknowledge that I have seen and had time to read and understand the information sheet.

I am happy to participate in research with Charlotte Selleck, as part of her PhD research at Cardiff University.

I understand that she will have to record parts of these research interviews and that this will be kept securely, with only Charlotte and her supervisor (Nik Coupland) having access to it.

I am happy for Charlotte to use any information gained in this research in written work she produces, including any arising publications (I also realise that this may mean that the actual words I used are reproduced).

I understand that this information will be anonymous and that no direct reference will be made to me or to the school I attend.

I understand that I can withdraw at any stage during the interviews and recordings, if I feel uncomfortable in any way.

Signature _____

Appendix 4 – Newspaper article entitled ‘Schools under fire for Welsh shortcomings’

Carmarthen Journal (Wales) - Wednesday, March 31, 2010

Author: *Ian Lewis* ian.lewis@swwmedia.co.uk

TWO Carmarthenshire secondary schools have come under fire for how Welsh is taught to pupils.

[Ysgol Ardwyn] in [town]¹ and [school two] in [town two] have been attacked by [the] Plaid county councillor Gwyn Hopkins, who claims there are a lack of resources generally for Welsh being taught in county schools.

Councillor Hopkins claims the bilingual schools fail to reflect the areas they are in with a lack of resources to teach Welsh effectively.

Speaking at a Carmarthenshire Council education scrutiny meeting on Friday, councillor Hopkins made the comments while discussing standards of education arising from the authority's School Performance and Achievement 2008-9 report. He said he had visited *Ysgol Ardwyn* and had concerns, adding: "There is no doubt in this report that the biggest shortcoming is the teaching of Welsh in our schools.

"In our category B (bilingual) schools there are not enough resources to teach Welsh, some of the teachers cannot speak Welsh. It is a very serious issue. I was disappointed on a visit to [town]. I saw every part of [Ysgol Ardwyn] and there was almost no Welsh to be seen. I may as well have been in Newcastle-Upon-Tyne.

"The headteacher lives in [South Wales city] which is not an ideal situation.

"The school fails to reflect the area it lies in."

Councillor Hopkins added: "Sometime ago I went to [school two] in [town two] and that was not much better.

"There's no Welsh ethos at these schools."

Head teacher at [Ysgol Ardwyn], [Headteacher anonymised], said in response that the school taught Welsh both as a first and second

¹ The place names and names of individuals connected with the school have been anonymised by the author of the thesis to maintain the anonymity of research sites. Please note school 2 was not one of the research sites in this study.

language and was keen to promote the language. He also said all signage at the school was bilingual.

Carmarthenshire County Council head of improvement, Wyn Williams, said he did not want to comment on individual schools but agreed the authority has a challenge regarding bilingualism.

However, he said comparing Carmarthenshire figures with other counties was difficult.

He added: "For example, if we have 50 per cent of pupils achieving grades in Welsh as a first language in Carmarthenshire, it is difficult to compare with East Wales, in areas such as Newport. In Newport, 100 per cent of pupils achieve grades but there are only 30 of them. Carmarthenshire has more pupils being taught Welsh."

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