Exploring the Relationships between the Welsh Language, Investment, and Identity at Wales' Universities.

Valentina Begun

Supervisor: Robert Woore

MSc Applied Linguistics and Second Language Acquisition

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Table of Contents

Abstract

This study focused on collecting data surrounding the patterns of language usage reported by students at Welsh universities and the reasons for these patterns, the extent to which students engaged with learning Welsh and their reasoning for their reported level of engagement, and whether these choices contributed to students' sense of identity.

The answers to these questions were collected through a mixed-methods design consisting of an online survey circulated amongst four universities across four regions of Wales, which yielded 35 total participants, and three maximum variation cases selected for subsequent semi-structured interviews from willing survey respondents.

The results indicated that the Welsh language played a crucial role in personal identity for students. For some, learning or speaking Welsh served as a form of reclamation of personal identity, whilst for other participants, engagement with Welsh served as a method for reaffirming their identity as a courteous, productive member of society: a person who puts effort into communicating with others in the target language of their wider community. Students were found to avoid investment in Welsh or feel restricted from further investing in Welsh due to time constraints or insufficient access to resources at their universities, whilst the impetus for initial investment was predicated on ideas of inclusion and personal identity.

Tags: Wales, Welsh universities, Welsh, Welsh language, identity, investment

Chapter 1: Introduction

The Welsh language braved seemingly insurmountable odds arriving at the 21st century. These positive trends are a result of the previous century's effective grassroots organisation; for instance, collective action led to the establishment of the Undeb Cymru Fydd (New Wales Union), a committee which sought to lobby for the defence of Welsh (Davies, 2014, p. 101). Increased civic participation led to the signing of the Welsh Courts Act of 1942 (Davies, 2014, p. 99), which removed centuries old legislation enabling the exclusive use of English in legal contexts and allowed Welsh language testimonies, affirmations, and oaths, as well as the provision of interpreters (Welsh Courts Act of 1942). Saunders Lewis's 1962 radio lecture, 'Tynged ir Iaith' ('The Fate of the Language'), was a watershed moment for language activism (Jenkins, 2007, p. 262). Lewis warned that if no action was taken to preserve Welsh, it would not survive into the twenty-first century (Jenkins, 2007, p. 262).

This dour premonition spurred on the creation of Cymdeithas ir Iaith ('The Welsh Language Society'), a society of language activists who promoted non-violent action for the purpose of campaigning for Welsh-language rights (Jenkins, 2007, p. 262). The non-violent protests which followed resulted in tangible policy advancements including bilingual road signage, the creation of Welsh language radio and television broadcasting, and the provision of Welsh-medium education across all levels of schooling, among others (Jenkins, 2007, p. 264). The rise of Welsh civic nationalism led to administrative reform starting in 1997, later leading to the formation of the Welsh National Assembly in 1999 and allowing for greater autonomy regarding language revitalisation policies in Wales. The government's current strategy, Cymraeg 2050, introduced in 2017, consists of a collection of actionable policies across a variety of sectors for the purpose of achieving 1 million Welsh speakers by 2050 (Welsh Government, 2017).

However, the censuses of 2001, 2011, and 2021 all show somewhat mixed results across local authorities, with the most recent 2021 survey showing a slightly downward trend for language usage (Llio & Parry, 2022). This shift is worth noting, as more robust policy recommendations can emerge from these findings. There are valuable insights to be gained in exploring the justifications made by Welsh residents, regarding their choices to learn or abandon Welsh and comparing their rationale to historical trends to better inform policy choices. In particular, educational contexts should be observed and

analysed to examine rates of language retention and explore how policies may be better adapted to suit the linguistic promotion to university-enrolled speakers and learners.

Recent surveys commissioned by the Welsh Government regarding Welsh-medium education contain statistical information about language usage across educational stages, including post-compulsory education and adult language programmes; however, it is clear the primary focus remains on maintaining the language in younger demographics (e.g. Llio, 2022). The Welsh Language Commissioner's 2023 survey of post-16 learners in Welsh-medium or bilingual schools about their feelings towards educational provision and future educational choices found that only 40% of respondents intended to stay in Wales to continue their post-compulsory education – a somewhat jarring statistic, especially when compared to the 95% of English and Scottish students continue their education within their countries. Additionally, respondents often chose not to undertake Welsh language modules in post-compulsory education, with their primary reasons for this being that they felt their English proficiency was stronger, that a subject was not available through Welsh-medium education, and that they intended to complete their studies in English or they felt they had better future prospects in English; though general attitudes towards the Welsh language were reported to be positive overall (Welsh Language Commissioner, 2023)

Statistics on the language usage of university students in Wales primarily consist of demographic information: credits studied through Welsh, categories of modules studied through Welsh, and reported fluency of Welsh students, collected through government surveys or submitted by education providers (Bird, 2023; HESA, 2023). Whilst these indubitably serve as useful statistical resources, they are only able to provide an incomplete sketch of patterns of language usage, with no detailed examination of how, where, and why students utilise Welsh and how to encourage those who are reluctant to invest time in learning or maintaining Welsh. To clarify, these are not fatal flaws with the collected statistics, but merely an attempt to highlight key aspects which remain under-researched amongst Wales's university-enrolled population.

When observing policy advancements pertinent to the post-compulsory education sphere, it is relevant to discuss Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol. This is a national strategic organisation established in 2011 by the Welsh Government to develop Welsh-medium and bilingual education for post-compulsory education (Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol,

2020), and which provides scholarships and funding for students taking Welsh-medium courses (Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol, 2023); however, these financial incentives do appear to vary based on the university (cf. Aberystwyth University, 2021; Bangor University, 2024; University of Wales Trinity Saint David, 2018). The body also promotes Welsh as a tool for increased employment opportunities and personal and social development (Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol, 2023).

However, these efforts appear to be aimed at existing, proficient Welsh speakers, with most Welsh-medium modules being complex and technical. For those who do not have sufficient command of the language to manage their significant academic workloads through the medium of Welsh, universities offer courses across a variety of proficiency levels in partnership local course providers working with The National Centre for Learning Welsh (e.g. Cardiff University, 2014; Bangor University, 2023; Aberystwyth University, 2017); however, in practice, it has not been examined how well these are advertised, whether students are able to balance additional courses in addition to their regular workload, or, in some cases, whether affordability or other factors limit access.

For non-Welsh domiciled students, including students from other regions in the U.K. and international students, Welsh universities are advertised on the basis of their proximity to nature, lucrative career development opportunities, and lower cost of living when compared to other areas in the U.K. (British Council, 2023; Study in Wales, 2020). Though bilingualism at Welsh universities is presented as an advantage, it becomes abundantly clear that Welsh language classes are not strongly promoted to this demographic, with universities reassuring students that despite studying in a bilingual environment, speaking or understanding Welsh is not a necessity (e.g. Bangor University, 2023). Whilst this doubtless is a decision made to reduce pressures on international students as they adjust to daily life and educational demands, it does beg the question of whether this acts as a barrier for linguistic development and risks losing potential student investment in language learning.

The focus of this dissertation lies in the examination the patterns of language usage reported by students from four Welsh universities, particularly in analysing participants' reasoning for their choices to either learn or maintain Welsh or not, the contexts in which students report using Welsh, and how students relate to Welsh identity based on these decisions. These questions will be answered through the usage of a mixed-

methods procedure consisting of a two-part online survey and subsequent semi-structured interviews to enhance the survey data. The first of these will provide primarily demographic and quantitative information, whilst the latter will provide additional nuance and allow for a more holistic idea of Welsh language usage and attitudes at universities from the perspective of a subsection students, as well as establishing a basis for phenomenological analysis of specific cases.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This literature review introduces several key topics: a brief, historical overview of the factors which influence Welsh language use; the definitions, emergence, and evolution of concepts such as 'identity' and 'investment', influenced over time by varying theories; how conceptions of identity have been influenced by choices in language usage in the Welsh-language context; and the similarities and differences between 'investment' and 'motivation', and the reasoning for the exploration of 'investment' in this dissertation. It additionally sets out the theoretical frameworks and uses these to establish research questions and to justify the definitions of relevant terminology used in the analyses of the collected data.

2.1 History

Welsh is a Brythonic Celtic language spoken across Britain before and during the Roman conquest (Willis, 2024, p. 333). This brief overview will attempt to address dominant themes throughout the centuries and argue that certain recurrent themes continue to influence the perception of facets of the language to this day.

The erosion of the Welsh language after the English Conquest of 1282-1283 was gradual. After the Act of Union, proficiency in English was imbued with increased social capital, leading to linguistic reforms instating English as the sole language to be used in administrative and legal domains, and a gradual abandonment of Welsh amongst the landed gentry (Davies, 2014, p. 34-35). The nobility situated in the areas by the border were particularly susceptible to linguistic shift (Davies, 2014, p. 36; Jenkins, 2007, p. 148-149). Stewardship of the language fell instead to the "craftsmen, artisans, and lower clergy" (Davies, 2014, p. 36). These conceptions of English's inherent relationship with aristocracy and wealth, established centuries earlier, proliferates even into the modern era. In addition, perceived ideas regarding 'ownership' of the language will also fragment along geographical and industrial boundaries, with areas including Anglesey, Carmarthenshire, and Gwynedd perceived as 'heartlands' of the language and rural areas regardless of distance from the English border remaining monolingual well into the late 1800s (Davies, 2014, p. 82).

In the nineteenth century, Wales's productive southern and south-eastern coalfields encouraged English and Irish migrants, who did not always assimilate linguistically (Willis, 2024, p. 333; Jenkins, 2007, p. 184), though there were areas where

English simply failed to penetrate (Davies, 2014, p. 82) and others where linguistic integration was common (Davies, 2014, p. 83). On the surface, as the nineteenth century came to an end, the fate of Welsh did not appear dire, especially as migration from rural areas of Wales into industrial nuclei bolstered the numbers of Welsh speakers (Davies, 2014, p. 82-83). However, rural depopulation, the continued increase in migration, and administrative decisions imposed on Wales would soon pose a threat. As industrialisation boomed and the profits generated by Welsh coalfields continued to entice English migrants, the sheer volume of migration increased dependence on English as a common language (Davies, 2014, p. 88). Later, both World Wars extinguished the lives of thousands of young Welshmen, decimating a generation of potential speakers (Davies, 2014, p. 90). In the post-war period, the previously thriving coalfields experienced an exodus of young Welsh speakers bound for more prosperous industries (Davies, 2014, p. 92; Jenkins, 2007, p. 237), and rural and agricultural areas were witnessing population decline and post-war agricultural depressions (Davies, 2014, p. 91). Following WWII, successive governments attempted to remedy the economic situation in Wales, diversifying industry and enhancing social welfare (Jenkins, 2007, p. 238). However, it has been argued that Thatcher's later economic restructuring burdened Wales with high unemployment, soaring property prices, and frayed social bonds due to demographic shifts (Jenkins, 2007, p. 243). Wales instead came to be viewed as a prime area for English real-estate investment, once more prompting in-migration whilst younger generations of local, rural inhabitants left en masse (Davies, 2014, p. 112; Jenkins, 2007, p. 243). These pronounced waves of wealthier English incomers: retirees, commuters, second-home owners (Jenkins, 2007, p. 243), met resistance from language activists and locals alike and a clearer division between 'local' and 'incomer' began to emerge (Jenkins, 2007, p. 244).

Over the course of the 19th and 20th centuries, English became inseparable from its association with financial success, especially as the rise of television, telephone communication, and radio forced English into even the most remote areas of Wales (Jenkins, 2007, p. 261). Furthermore, the attitudes of the Welsh populace were increasingly influenced by Utilitarianism, with English being perceived as the language of achievement in secular domains, whilst Welsh narrowed to become the language of the spiritual hearth (Davies, 2014, p. 65). Despite the global, hegemonic presence of English during the peak of the British Empire, Welsh still managed to survive, with some

communities remaining entirely untouched by English encroachment (Jenkins, 2007, p. 261). However, adverse economic conditions prompted continual abandonment of Wales, with the idea that "if abandoning Wales was the only option for the younger generation, there seemed little point in ensuring that they had a command of Welsh…" (Davies, 2014, p. 92). The economic pressures of the twentieth century and the steady fragmentation of communities that resulted saw English eclipsing the prestige of Welsh (Jenkins, 2007, p. 261), with English as the common tongue in the industrial south-east, acquiring Welsh was viewed as a waste (Jenkins, 2007, p. 266). Increased English in-migration which replaced those who had fled the rural areas plagued by economic misfortune, led to resistance towards the language by in-comers who largely viewed Wales as a geographical extension of England (Davies, 2014, p. 112). Beyond that, the dominance of English continuously grew, as it transformed into the lingua franca of business, advertisement, innovation, and entertainment (Jenkins, 2007, p. 266).

The Welsh language, once heavily intertwined with spirituality, endured the religious upheavals of the Reformation and the ensuing attempts of the Church of England to Anglicise the clergy (Jenkins, 2007, p. 160-66). The church served as a sanctuary; translations of religious texts into Welsh acted as a medium for preserving distinct, indigenous literary traditions and buoyed the status of the language (Jenkins, 2007, p. 122), and the church itself acted as a deeply meaningful nexus of its community life (Jenkins, 2007, p. 271), with services conducted in Welsh. However, this relationship would prove unable to weather the storms of the economic and demographic shifts. The community chapels which served the coalfields were severely affected by depopulation, causing a contraction of chapel-based activities (Davies, 2014, p. 92-93), such as Sunday schools. Those holding scientific socialist perspectives derided both religion and, by association, the Welsh language, as superstitious and archaic (Davies, 2014, p. 92). The entanglement of the chapel and Welsh frayed; the 20th century saw institutions associated with Welsh become secular. One such institution, Urdd Gobaith Cymru, sought to attract young people through games and activities conducted in Welsh and successfully recruited around 50,000 members twelve years after its foundation (Davies, 2014, p. 94). The steady entwinement of a campaign for Welsh language preservation and politics was evident through the establishment of Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru, in 1925 (Davies, 2014, p. 94).

As stated earlier, though English political control as far back as the sixteenth century established English as the dominant language of administrative and legal domains, Welsh nonetheless persisted in the common sphere. In the nineteenth century, however, the Welsh language was increasingly blamed by the English state for the societal ills of the Welsh, especially following the inflammatory '1847 Report of the Commissioners of Enquiry into the State of Education in Wales', which attempted to establish a link between the poor educational provision in Wales and the prevalence of Welsh-medium instruction (Carradice, 2011). The report's proclamation: "The Welsh language is a vast drawback to Wales and a manifold barrier to the moral progress and commercial prosperity of the people. It is not easy to over-estimate its evil effects." (Lingen et al., 1847, p. 309), demonstrates the governmental attempt to cement English as the language of financial and social success. It could be argued that the 1847 Report, along with the Welsh Education Act of 1870, contributed to the notable decline of Welsh which would become evident in the ensuing century due to their effective recasting of perceptions towards Welsh. Whilst the 1870 Act did not outright ban Welsh language in education, teachers were required to ensure their students had adequate control of English, which lead to diminishing motivation to continue with the instruction of Welsh (Davies, 2014, p. 75). There was a concentrated, pervasive re-enforcement of the idea that English, in its role as the language of wealth and education, led to greater social and personal advancement. Bilingualism was not seen as beneficial, but rather, as an unwillingness to integrate into the fabric of British society (Jenkins, 2007, p. 216).

Despite the systemic obstacles, it is not as though the Welsh population accepted English control and the attempted stifling of Welsh. Resistance emerged through labour movements, civic action, and political campaigning. Communities defended Welsh over the centuries through rigorous chapel attendance and stalwart preservation of language in the home, despite educational and administrative reforms stifling Welsh in public life. In the 19th century, as commentaries on the deficiencies of Welsh proliferated: poets, authors, musicians, and scholars sought to elevate the status of the Welsh language and culture, drawing a connection to Wales's rich history of bardic traditions (Jenkins, 2007, p. 216-17). London and Liverpool-based Welsh creatives, including Iolo Morganwg, did much to revive the prestige of the Eisteddfod (Davies, 2014, p. 60). The Welsh press often acted as a bulwark, and in certain periods, such as the nineteenth century, the number of Welsh-language publications in Wales outpaced those in English (Jenkins,

2007, p. 221). As mentioned in the introduction, the 20th century only brought more organised, grassroots resistance, which manifested itself in the enacting of laws to enshrine Welsh-language rights and re-establish its position on equal footing with English. Collective action culminated in the establishment of a devolved government on the eve of the 21st century, with the Welsh National Assembly's continued efforts to maintain and reinvigorate the Welsh language.

2.2 Identity

Hobsbawm (1996) points to the historicity associated with the multiplicity of identities and postulates that the assumption of one singular, inflexible ethnic or cultural identity is not just unrealistic, but dangerous due to its inherent divisiveness. 'Identity' is shaped by individual responses to external perception and context. Language has often been viewed as emblematic of a collective identity and a vehicle for the creation of a national or ethnic culture (Carmichael, 2000); however, it is abundantly clear that the conception of a 'fixed' or 'static' identity is divorced from reality (Hobsbawm, 1996, p. 1073) and, regardless of their backgrounds, speakers inhabit multiple identities through their context-based invocation of languages, dialects, and registers (Hobsbawm, 1996, p. 1075).

Proponents of 'social identity' (e.g. Tajfel, 1974) and 'ethnolinguistic identity' (e.g. Giles & Johnson 1981, 1987), propose that identity is derived from group affiliations and social identities, and that the re-negotiation of identity is driven by a desire for an identification with a positive group identity (Hansen & Liu, 1997, p. 568). However, these conceptualisations often neglect the multiplicity and intersectionality of identities and may often prescribe narrow ethnolinguistic identities to diverse populations (Hansen & Liu, 1997, p. 571). Meanwhile, interactional sociolinguists have focused on illuminating the links between language and identity through analysis of code-switching (e.g. Heller, 1987; Fuller, 2007). Whilst this research upholds the idea of language as emblematic of an alignment with a specific group identity, the mechanics of language usage are predicated on context and are, at times, contradictory, as opposed to the previously postulated ideas of positive or negative group associations (Hansen & Liu, 1997, p. 568). However, interactional sociolinguistic theories on identity may be hampered by a sole focus on language as a marker of social identity, ignoring the intersectionality inherent to the human experience (Hansen & Liu, 1997, p. 572).

There was a temptation in SLA theory to define the individual along binary, static axes: such as extrovert versus introvert or motivated versus unmotivated, following the dominant definition in Western humanist philosophies (Peirce, 1995, p. 15). In opposition to this notion, Norton conceptualised 'identity' as "how a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is structured across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future" (2013, p. 45). Peirce draws upon the poststructuralist feminist scholar, Chris Weedon's, concept of 'subjectivity', referring to "the conscious and unconscious thoughts and emotions of the individual, her sense of herself and her ways of understanding her relation to the world" (1987, p. 32 in Peirce, 1995, p. 15). Weedon (1987) is not blind to language's contribution to the theory of subjectivity, which explains the relationships between larger social factors and individual experiences. Language is simultaneously the site of personal identity construction and the medium in which social and political consequences are expressed and negotiated (Weedon, 1987, p. 21). These ideas similarly define identity for Peirce (1995; Norton, 2013), who defines it as multiple, continually changing across time and space, and a site of struggle, with Darvin & Norton (2015) arguing that "identity is a struggle of habitus and desire, of competing ideologies and imagined identities" (p. 45). Speakers position themselves along the framework of habitus: the societal and structural norms a learner situates themselves within, whilst their identities simultaneously morph because of their shifting desires, which may contradict their habitual or prescribed place in society (Norton, 2013; Darvin & Norton, 2019).

i. Welsh Language & Identity

1901 saw a notable decline in the overall proportion of Welsh speakers, as recorded by that year's census (Davies, 2014, p. 88), a fact likely impacted by the previous century's educational reforms and demographic shifts, which (as outlined in the previous section) increasingly positioned English as a dominant force in industry and the language of financial and social capital. This forced a negotiation and redefinition of identity, wherein the suggestion that a lack of Welsh proficiency precluded one from identifying with a Welsh identity became a fraught subject (Davies, 2014, p. 88). Complicating this matter of language neatly aligning with identity was that entirely Welsh monolingual communities ceased to exist by the mid-twentieth century (Davies, 2014, p. 103). However, over the course of the last century nationalism has played a significant role in shaping the relationships between Welsh identity and the Welsh language (Morgan, 1971;

Williams, 2014). This included discourses surrounding geography, including conflating 'authentic' Welsh culture and identity with the Welsh 'heartlands', which were (and, at times, still are) perceived as sanctuaries of the language (Jones, 2019), despite the historic and current reduction of speaker density in these areas (Jenkins, 2007 p. 264; Coupland et al., 2006, p. 353-354).

Despite increasing heterogeneity in Wales and governmental intervention to position Welsh language proficiency as a facet of civic nationalism as opposed to ethnic nationalism, tensions remain in debates surrounding perspectives on the advantages of English versus Welsh (Jenkins, 2007, p. 268). The literature on Welsh identity focuses on a few key niches the proximity between native Welsh-language proficiency and the claim to 'authentic' Welsh identity, 'new speakers', and binary categorisations of English versus Welsh in varying areas of public and private life.

One early study on the relationships between Welsh identity and language usage and variation was that of Bourhis, Giles, and Tajfel (1973). The conclusion of this study indicated that members of linguistic minority groups may positively evaluate their own distinctive codes (Bourhis et al., 1973, p. 449), especially in the case of Wales, where the authors noted that it was more socially acceptable to relate proximity to the minority language as a dimension of identity (p. 450, 457). The study indicated that Welsh respondents viewed bilingual Welsh speakers most favourably, even being evaluated above the 'prestige' RP English speakers in measures of intelligence (Bourhis et al., 1973, p. 458). Welsh learners were found to consider themselves equally as 'Welsh' as fluent speakers, with the authors hypothesising that involvement with the national tongue affords a strengthening of self-identity (Bourhis et al., 1973, pg. 457), and adoption of the 'prestige' language or code was found to be disadvantageous in this context (p. 458). However, due to its age and limited geographical scope, the study's conclusions may be better representative of a particular period and region.

A later study by Giles et al. (1977), which analysed the importance of cultural background, language proficiency, and geographical residence to participants' conceptions of identity, similarly found that language was found to be the greatest determinant of identity. It was also noted that non-Welsh-speakers from Welsh backgrounds situate themselves in a position of cognitive dissonance by evaluating linguistic competence as highly important to identity without necessarily possessing it

themselves, which seems to similarly indicate that language plays a paramount role in the evaluation of identity (Giles et al., 1977, p. 173). Coupland et al. (2006) have brought up useful commentary on these studies, praising the resistance against framing the community along binary categorisations of Welsh-English bilingual and English monolingual (Coupland et al., 2006, p. 353). Instead, the former studies "problematize who counts as 'insiders' and 'outsiders' in terms of ethnolinguistic groups" (Coupland et al., 2006, p. 354) and these ideas become increasingly salient as globalisation progresses and the ideas of who can claim Welsh identity continue to evolve (Coupland et al., 2006, p. 354).

Whilst not conducted in the Welsh context, in opposition to the previously discussed studies, Siebenhütter's (2023) research more pointedly engaged with the multiplicity of identities held by speakers in multilingual contexts and postulated that language and identity are not necessarily strictly intertwined. The participants of the study were of Kui ethnicity. Siebenhütter argues that language should be seen as a constructor of multiple, co-existing social roles for an individual, which in turn facilitate identity re-negotiation (2023, p. 14). The results indicated that participants viewed their linguistic identity, defined by the author as the idea of belonging with a group of people that share your language, as variable, dictated by aspects such as the language of questioning. Language manifested itself as a 'role' inhabited by multilingual speakers, as opposed to a markedly separate identity; language did not define identity, nor did it define ethnicity and Siebenhütter argued that it was not necessarily a marker for group identification. This provides an interesting dimension to identity research in linguistics, especially as Wales becomes more multilingual. In an increasingly linguistically diverse Wales: does Welsh still function as a marker of group identification?

Madoc-Jones et al. (2013) analysed perceptions of Welsh identity through the utilisation of social class as the organisational framework for their analysis of interviews focusing on police stations, courts and prisons in Wales. Following the evolution of Welsh policies in the late 20th and early 21st centuries, the linguistic capital and social standing associated with Welsh have steadily been renegotiated, to the extent that there is a notable emergence of the 'new Welsh-speaking bourgeoise', as Welsh becomes increasingly desirable for administrative positions (Madoc-Jones et al., 2013, p. 396). As language revitalisation requires standardisation, it ironically undermines ethnolinguistic solidarity through the devaluing of non-standard forms of the language (Madoc-Jones et

al., 2013, p. 397). In their research, the results indicated that all respondents could identify with the broader ethnolinguistic 'Welsh' identity due to their ability to speak Welsh. Despite those from lower socio-economic backgrounds reporting that their forms of Welsh felt devalued, it was also a salient marker of localised Welsh identity, affording them a framework for community building at the local level despite lacking in the social and financial capital afforded to those who had control over formal registers or standardised forms of Welsh. The authors found that instead of the formations of a homogenous identity based upon the binary linguistic distinctions – 'Welsh' versus 'non-Welsh' – there is an argument to be made for that socio-economic status influences the extent to which Welsh-speaking individuals self-identify as 'Welsh'.

Other studies focused on the societal positionality of the identities of Welsh learners relative to native speakers and Welsh people unable to speak Welsh. Trosset's (1986) ethnographic study of English learners of Welsh, consisted of self-reported experiences by the author and interviews with NS, Welsh learners, and monolingual English participants. The ubiquity of English in the country establishes Welsh as a medium for division, but at once exposes a 'Catch 22' for learners: "To become a Welsh speaker, one must be perceived as Welsh, and to be Welsh, one must speak Welsh" (Trosset, 1986, p. 174). Welsh becomes a factor of frustration for learners, especially as native speakers are often quick to revert to English; self-reported motives for learning the language are unrelated to the language itself, but reliant on the idea that the language is representative or a reclamation of the culture (Trosset, 1986, p. 182). Beyond that, Trosset argues that due to the prevalence of code-switching by native speakers in Wales, "one cannot learn Welsh without entering in a significant way into the culture of Welsh-Wales" (1986, p. 183), and that learners face significant re-negotiations of identity through the necessity of cultural adjustment. However, whilst the experiences of Welsh learners discussed throughout the paper are useful, this paper would be remiss not to mention certain issues of this research. Chief of these is the study's age; its conclusions are limited, especially as Welsh language policy has evolved and Wales becomes increasingly linguistically and culturally diverse. Secondly, the underlying analytical frameworks are limited by conceptions of society and culture as static entities. Trosset concludes that Welsh learners achieve success in the eyes of native speakers through complete cultural and linguistic assimilation or are otherwise viewed in a perpetually state of transition; however, one

could argue that this presupposition oversimplifies the complexity of the Welsh language learning experience.

Despite a presupposition that minority languages, such as Welsh, are inherently exclusionary due to their entrenchment in ethnolinguistic communities, studies, such as that of Bermingham & Higham (2018), which analyse 'new speaker' investment, indicate this may not be an entirely accurate assessment. There is evidence that immigrant 'new speakers', defined by O'Rourke (2015, p. 1) as individuals who acquire a language through immersion or educational programmes rather than through family transmission or community exposure, do not seek to claim a Welsh identity through acquiring the language (Bermingham & Higham, 2018). Instead, 'new speakers' aim to attain Welsh language proficiency for economic and social capital (Bermingham & Higham 2018). The idea that language does not strictly define identity and is instead a vehicle for shifting across communities is a sentiment also echoed in Siebenhütter's (2023) research with Kui communities, supporting post-structuralist views on the fluidity and re-negotiation of identity across contexts (Peirce 1995; Weedon, 1987; Darvin & Norton, 2015, 2019, 2023).

Hornsby & Vigers's (2018) study consisted of an ethnographic analysis of 'new-speakers' of varying ages in the Welsh 'heartlands', who had learnt the language through Welsh-medium or bilingual education. Though the validity of results is arguably hampered by the limited number of participants (n=5), the study indicated that regardless of language acquisition through Welsh-medium education, 'new speakers' still struggled to assert their legitimacy in Welsh 'heartland' communities, and local communities may still construct identity as binary: 'English' or 'Welsh'. Interestingly, this builds upon Trosset's observations, whilst suggesting that attitudes towards 'new speakers' in Welsh-language communities has remained largely static, where participants were positioned as 'deficient' users of Welsh based on ethnicity, register, or accent (Hornsby & Vigers, 2018, p. 424). It is also interesting to note that a common thread across the previously discussed studies (Trosset, 1986; Bermingham & Higham, 2018; Hornsby & Vigers, 2018) is the dominant notion that Welsh natives may often not reciprocate the willingness of 'new speakers' to communicate, in effect, systematically limiting opportunities to negotiate an identity within the broader Welsh-speaking community.

A longitudinal ethnographic analysis, conducted by Selleck (2018) of two contrasting secondary schools, one English-medium and the other bilingual, in a 'heartland' area of South-West Wales, focuses the ideas surrounding the validity of the identities of 'new speakers' amongst school-age learners. The conclusions presented were contradictory, which is to be expected. There is evidence that students' ideas of an 'Welsh L1' speaker were determined by overall competency, regardless of whether the subject acquired the language at home or in the educational sphere (Selleck, 2018, p. 60), unrestricted by ideas that Welsh identity is applied only to those who were 'born into' Welsh. Flexible bilingualism was another reflection of hybrid social identities, enabling a 'claim' to Welsh identity (Selleck, 2018, p. 57), though this was complicated in instances where a preference towards English or lower proficiency in Welsh resulted in speakers feeling a historical pressure to revoke their claim to a Welsh identity (p. 56). However, the author believes that Selleck (2018) views certain aspects of efforts at revitalisation targeting the Welsh educational sector rather uncharitably (p. 49, p. 50). Nonetheless, the study provides support for Norton-Peirce's conceptions surrounding the malleability of identity and the idea of identity as a 'site of struggle' (Peirce, 1995; Norton, 2013; Darvin & Norton, 2015).

It is also salient to further analyse the understandings of language as a determinant of identity in school-aged populations across Wales, in particular. It can be reasonably argued that these serve as an interesting point of comparison to views held by both adult immigrant learners of Welsh and Welsh native speakers in higher education. Coupland et al. (2005) examined young people's engagement with the Welsh language, cultural life and their self-identified conceptions of Welsh identity. The results indicated regional disparities and higher affiliations with Welsh based on language competence, which the authors hypothesised could be due to increased opportunities for cultural engagement in traditionally 'heartland' areas. However, the study is limited due to the nature of self-reporting and additional qualitative data could have strengthened the findings, especially as a notable limitation of self-reports is that they are not necessarily indicative of speakers' language use and are more reflective of overt institutional policies internalised by participants (Price & Tamburelli, 2020).

Price & Tamburelli (2020) similarly analysed attitudes towards Welsh amongst adolescents, though their research focused on Welsh-English bilinguals and Welsh as a medium of informal communication. They found evidence that the overt perception of the

language as the medium for "school system formalities, high-domain transmission in education, and higher education and public sector roles" (Price & Tamburelli, 2020, p. 197) may shepherd pupils into covert usage of English in private domains. Unlike the previously discussed Bourhis et al. (1973) study, which used a similar mixed-guise technique[1], it was found that young people responded more positively towards English than towards Welsh, though in both cases low-formality registers were perceived more favourably than high-formality registers. Interestingly, this study somewhat contradicts historically held societal assumptions of English as a socially advantageous language (Jenkins, 2007; Davies, 2014), and instead repositions it as a language of informal communication and emblematic of youth identity.

An expansion on a 2022 government survey by Arman (2023) analysed secondary-school students' attitudes towards Welsh, comparing responses from Welsh-medium and bilingual-medium schools on the one hand and English-medium schools on the other hand. Significantly more respondents from Welsh-medium or bilingual schools stated Welsh contributed in some part to their identity (89%) as compared to pupils from English-medium schools, 54% of whom stated that it factored in 'not at all'. Pupils at English-medium schools were more conflicted regarding the utility of Welsh and the salience of the language for their future prospects, with the numbers of those who did acknowledge the perceived importance of Welsh competency falling around 30 percentage points between 2013/14 through 2021/22. The included statistics also show that younger students increasingly report 'lack of motivation' to learn Welsh, especially due to the perception that they will have to leave Wales for greater economic prosperity. The study serves as a succinct overview of younger students' opinions on various aspects of the Welsh language; however, it suffers from a lack of defining the terminology used throughout, which could have been rectified through qualitative data from respondents. It is also hampered by somewhat misleading comparisons, which appear to exaggerate the gap of between the opinions between Welsh-medium and English-medium school pupils.

ii. Relevant Frameworks for Examining Identity

Schumann's (1978, 1986) acculturation hypothesis was the summation of his ideas that a learner's success in language learning is the result of the degree to which a learner

[1] A method of examining attitudes towards linguistic varieties through assessing participants' judgements via the use of Likert scales of equivalent semantic content presented by a speaker in distinct linguistic varieties. (Loureiro-Rodríguez & Acar, 2022, p. 185).

bridges the psychological and social distance between themselves and the target language group (Pavlenko, 2018, p. 278). Gardner's (1979, 1985) socio-educational model, focused on the educational context, posited that the learning process is an attainment of an ethnolinguistic community's "symbolic features" (Gardner, 1979, p. 193 in Pavlenko, 2018, p. 278) and results in a re-evaluation of a learner's self-image. This model is notable for expressing the idea that the social and cultural backgrounds of learners determine their beliefs about culture and language and influences the extent to which they would like to identify with the broader culture of the target language, which Gardner termed 'integrativeness' (Pavlenko, 2018, p. 278). Other sociopsychological theorists, including Tajfel (1974, 1981), Giles et al. (1977), Giles and Byrne (1982) and Giles and Johnson (1981, 1987), proposed theories which revolved around the idea that language serves as a core tenet of group membership (Pavlenko, 2018, p. 278-279). However, critics of these sociopsychological approaches, including Peirce (1995), argue that they are rife with monolingual bias, and that they require cultural abandonment for effective language learning, whilst rebranding it as 'acculturation' or 'integrativeness' (Pavlenko, 2018, p. 279; Peirce, 1995).

As the understanding of traditional, community borders become more fluid due to the proliferation of internet communication and increased heterogeneity within national borders, new variations of language emerge, as learners are less concerned with integrating into specific target groups of speakers (Pavlenko, 2018, p. 279; Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 51). Traditionally, concepts such as culture, societies, motivation, and attitudes have been perceived as static and monolithic and, importantly for the discussion in this dissertation, constructs like 'identity' are rarely defined (Pavlenko, 2018, p. 279-280). This culminates in a flattening of the language learning experience, which becomes idealised as a wholly individual project, removed from social contexts – the vectors of broad societal forces, such as discrimination, racism, and lack of linguistic resources (Pavlenko, 2018, p. 281). One notion central to research exploring the relations of social contexts to SLA, such as that of Peirce (1995) and Darvin & Norton (2015, 2019, 2023), is the idea of language as symbolic capital, which can be exchanged for social or economic capital, and 'identity' as a site of struggle and continuous renegotiation based on societal positioning and the intersection of roles undertaken by a speaker. 'Language attitudes' are recast as 'language ideologies', which Darvin & Norton-Peirce define as "dominant ways of thinking that organize and stabilize societies while simultaneously

determining modes of inclusion and exclusion" (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 44). Social factors, such as the role of 'ideology', once underrepresented in SLA literature are now reappraised as language learning is seen as a social phenomenon, not solely a biological one (Pavlenko, 2018, p. 277).

This dissertation will focus on analysing data through the framework adopted by Peirce (1995) and whose tradition has been continued by Darvin & Norton (2015, 2019, 2023), defined by Pavlenko (2018) as 'poststructuralist'. There is some discourse within the literature regarding the true definitions of poststructuralism versus postmodernism as they apply to linguistics, with certain theorists, namely Kramsch, alleging that Norton's critiques are couched in modernism as opposed to poststructuralism (Kramsch, 2012, p. 494). However, the debate between what truly separates these two philosophies (cf. McNamara, 2012; Kramsch, 2012; Weideman, 2015), is not relevant to this dissertation. Norton-Peirce's framework is useful in that it rejects defining or discussing 'identity' as a static phenomenon and investigates the relationships between learners and the broader social context in which they are situated (Hansen & Liu, 1997, p. 572). This subsect of poststructuralist theory is notable for avoiding monolingual bias when assessing what accounts for 'legitimate' speakership, being contextually sensitive, acknowledging the stratification and multiplicity of potential memberships of speakers, reframing individual beliefs as results of societal impositions, and narrowing the distance between the individual and the social, thusly allowing for a more thorough examination of how speakers perpetuate or resist societal structures (Pavlenko, 2018). Additionally, these constructions allow for an understanding of the reciprocal relationship between 'language' and 'identity': how languages perform, resist, and transform identities and how various fractals of an individual's identity (race, class, gender, etc.) can inhibit or allow for access to linguistic resources (Pavlenko, 2018).

Finally, what is salient to this dissertation is that whilst poststructuralist theory is primarily applied to understanding the positioning of learners in SLA contexts, the author of this paper believes that it can be used to analyse how participants in an inherently multilingual context relate to conceptions of claiming an identity based on language usage. It is relevant to explore how bilingual Welsh-English speakers, Welsh learners, and English monolinguals in Wales use language to enter into negotiations regarding their identities and the dynamism of these conceptions within a plurilingual context, where tensions often arise due to the dissonance between societally imposed labels and self-

identified labels (Pavlenko, 2018, p. 284). Furthermore, poststructuralist theory's focus on observing structures of power which confer legitimacy to certain languages over others is particularly interesting in the case of Wales: a region where controlled systematic linguistic decline orchestrated by the intervention of the English government and the shifting economic and demographic landscape over centuries has recently been countered with linguistic activism and greater political autonomy and involvement due to recent local devolvement; all factors which have contributed to the region's framework of dominant 'language ideologies'

2.3 Investment

Previous SLA studies focused on motivation often attempted to "quantify a learner's commitment to learning the target language" (Peirce, 1995, p. 16). Gardner's socio-educational model (1985) quantified 'motivation' as desire to learn the target language, enjoyment of language-related tasks, and effortful engagement with learning (MacIntyre et al., 2009, p. 44), categorising it as 'instrumental' or 'integrative' (Peirce, 1995, p. 16). The former described motivation stemming from utilitarian purposes and the latter was based upon the work of Gardner and Lambert's (1972) frameworks of 'integrative orientation', which was defined as an attitude "reflecting a sincere and personal interest in the people and culture represented by the other group" (Gardner & Lambert, 1972, p. 132). The relationships between and attitudes toward a learner and the members of their target language group are central to integrative motivation (MacIntyre et al., 2009, p. 44).

Dörnyei's (2005) conception of 'possible selves' draws on psychological theories to explain the "internal process of identification within the person's self-concept" (Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009, p. 3, p. 2). Dörnyei utilised this notion to hypothesise that if target language proficiency is salient to a learner's conceptualisation of their ideal or ought-to self, this acts as a powerful motivating factor due to the human psychological desire to narrow the distance between a 'current' and 'future' state of being (Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009, p. 4). This ought-to self may, in some cases, relate to the linguistic dimension of ethnic identity, such as when a heritage language is threatened (MacIntyre et al., 2009, p. 49). Thus, individuals are motivated to act based on a desire to avoid cognitive dissonance: either "reaffirm their sense of identity with their present sense of self or as a potential goal in the case of possible selves" (MacIntyre et al., 2009, p. 46). By focusing on internal motivation focusing on attaining an 'ideal self', Dörnyei's model avoids the

pitfall of defining 'linguistic groups' inherent in Gardner and Lambert's ideas of 'integrativeness' (MacIntyre et al., 2009, p. 52).

However, motivational research is incomplete without an understanding of 'investment'. Despite the utility of the concept, measuring 'motivation' is hampered by methodological concerns including: difficulties in defining and measuring concepts such as 'self', due to its high variability across cultures, questions about impartiality and veracity of the data collected, since people feel the need to view themselves positively, the validity of measuring motivation through goal-setting, especially as goals often fail to translate into appropriate behaviour, and the instability of 'possible selves' over time (MacIntyre et al., 2009). Norton (2000) questioned whether motivation could be adequately measured, or identity accurately defined; the concepts are socially constructed, in constant flux and a site of conflict (Ushioda & Dörnyei, 2009, p. 5). Norton instead focused on conceptualising measures of 'investment'. Similarly to Dörnyei's constructions of the 'possible selves', investment focuses on conflicts surrounding 'habitus', the broader structural norms a learner exists within, and 'desire' – what a learner wishes to attain; the dynamism of these two ideas govern a learner's agency and resistance to dominant ideologies (Darvin & Norton 2019). 'Investment', pioneered by Pierce (1995), is situated at the circumfix of the intersecting axes of capital, ideology, and identity (Darvin & Norton, 2015, p. 42).

Ideologies, as defined in section 2.3, act as invisible barriers which shape communicative norms and underpin societal structural dynamics which appraise the validity of learners' claims to belonging and are sustained by coercive or tacit engagement with these practises (Darvin & Norton, 2019). Learners are not powerless against ideology, however, and are able to exert agency to assert themselves as legitimate speakers despite potential systematic disadvantages (Darvin & Norton, 2019). The conceptions which appraise languages as 'valuable', linguistic policies, and the constructions of ethnolinguistic identities are all influenced by ideology. Capital, whether social, financial, or cultural, determines a learner's initial positioning and subsequent further investment in language learning. Learners invest in a language with the implicit understanding that it will allow them the attainment of their desires (Darvin & Norton, 2015, 2019). The influence of capital on investment should be understood through the conceptions that learners may initially enter spaces equipped with capital and that the occupation of these spaces requires a necessary negotiation of capital based on its value in

new contexts (Peirce, 1995; Darvin & Norton, 2015, 2019). Identity, discussed previously in section 2.1, serves as an additive facet to investment, and is conceptualised as a multi-dimensional, fluctuating site of struggle and re-negotiation and serves as an additional lens through which investment is communicated (Peirce, 1995; Norton, 2013; Darvin & Norton, 2015, 2019). By examining the interplay between these factors, researchers are able to analyse the dynamics which contribute to investment in language-learning (Darvin & Norton, 2019).

'Motivation' and 'investment' are often used interchangeably; however, it is more correct to view them as dialectic (Darvin & Norton, 2023). As mentioned repeatedly throughout Norton-Peirce's work (Peirce, 1995; Norton, 2013; Darvin & Norton, 2015, 2019, 2023) the existence of investment does not negate motivation: motivation focuses on the learner individually, whilst investment is predicated on assertions of power a learner engages in within a classroom or community. Motivation is couched in cognitive factors, whilst investment explores sociological facets. The are a few key divergences between these concepts. One includes the necessary negotiation of power in the maintenance of investment, as there are frequently institutional, often arbitrary restrictions preventing participation in social contexts. Another difference is the methods of research involved in measuring investment and motivation, with the former relying on ethnographic data collection to better understand its interplay with identity and personal lived experiences. However, these concepts converge in areas of identity, context, and complexity, though they should be viewed through distinct epistemological lenses (Darvin & Norton, 2023). Darvin & Norton (2023) argue that motivation research assesses learners through cognition and affect to assess learner differences, whilst investment research focuses on issues of identity and power (p. 34). Despite their progressive alignment, motivation and investment should more accurately be assessed as distinct lenses to answer the question of why learners choose to engage with a language (Darvin & Norton, 2023).

This paper choses to focus on 'investment' to examine the constructions which underpin why learners and speakers choose to participate in particular patterns of usages of certain languages (Pavlenko, 2018). Instead of focusing on individual factors, which runs the risk of flattening brief snapshots of individual sociocultural histories encapsulated in the data by categorising them along binary axes, this dissertation will utilise data regarding individuals' experiences or opinions regarding the Welsh language,

identity, and other factors to understand which broader societal factors inhibit or facilitate engagement with Welsh, depending on the profile of the individual.

2.4 Research Questions

The research questions investigated in this dissertation included:

1. What patterns of language usage do students at Welsh universities report?
   i. What reasons do they report for these patterns of usage?
2. To what extent and in what ways do students at Welsh universities engage in learning Welsh?
   i. What reasons do they report for their decisions regarding learning Welsh?
3. What role does the Welsh language play in students' sense of identity?

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Rationale

To best answer the research questions, this dissertation presented an analysis of a mixed-methods design, consisting of an online survey and interviews. This methodology was employed as the examination of social identity, a dynamic phenomenon, likewise requires a dynamic approach; it was hoped that this approach to methodology would adequately acknowledge the complexity and malleability of constructs of social identity (Hansen & Liu, 1997, pp. 573-4). 'Mixed-methods research', as explained by Hashemi & Babaii, involves the integration of quantitative and qualitative approaches to data collection and analysis within a single research project (2013, p. 829), based on the synthesis of definitions such as Tashakkori & Cresswell (2007) and Yin (2006). Hashemi & Babaii argue that not only can quantitative and qualitative analysis mutually coexist to enhance an understanding of the phenomena observed, but that certain questions require their co-occurrence to be answered in their entirety (2013, p. 829). The specific subtype of mixed-methods design selected for the project a sequential explanatory model, as the research questions would benefit from additional qualitative data to expand on patterns found in the quantitative data phase. Nested analysis, described by Lieberman (2005), may provide guidance for case selection of sub-types out of a larger statistical dataset (p. 435). This allows for enhanced quality of the study through the examination of extreme cases (Hashemi & Babaii, 2013, p. 842).

Online surveys were chosen as a method of collecting both quantitative and qualitative responses from participants as they were appraised as useful tools, due to their ability to enable access to specific communities, save time for researchers, and prevent high research costs (Wright, 2005). An online survey was hypothesised to be the best way of accessing the target population of this study. Coverage is generally less of an issue with a population of university students (Crawford, Couper & Lamais, 2001, p. 146). Beyond that, the benefits of online surveys include a more streamlined process for both participants and researchers, with online surveys being appraised as shorter and more enjoyable by respondents, lower rates of item refusals when compared to paper-based surveys, automatization of data entry, and more complex survey designs, all whilst allowing for anonymity and standardisation across participants (Nayak & Narayan, 2019, p. 32). The principal issue encountered in the utilisation of online surveys for this

research project was one which plagues all online surveys: non-response (Crawford, Couper & Lamais, 2001, p. 146).

To attempt to prevent survey abandonment, the survey was split into two parts. The first of these collected primarily demographic information and was comprised almost entirely of multiple-choice questions. It was estimated to take no more than five minutes to complete, and this was expressed to participants both in the consent form on the landing page of the survey and in any e-mail invitations sent to universities. An explicit disclosure of the survey length was hypothesised to reduce nonresponse rates (Crawford, Couper & Lamais, 2001, p. 153). The second part of the survey was optional, but was an attempt to screen for participants who would be more willing to participate in interviews. It included open-response questions. Since nonresponse rates can increase due to the perceived burden of open-ended questions (Crawford, Couper & Lamais, 2001, p. 160-161), open-ended questions were limited in number and concentrated in the second part of the survey so as to not overwhelm the survey-takers. The second part of the survey consisted of multiple-choice questions, rating scales, and some open-ended questions, whose appearance was predicated on previous participant input, and which were entirely optional. Whilst it is often difficult to ensure the reliability of participant opinions, especially as many choose mid-point answers in scale rating questions (Nayak & Narayan, 2019, p. 36), this was mitigated with the additional data collected both in the survey and in interviews. In addition, non-numerical Likert scales were selected as it was thought it would be difficult for participants to numerically quantify the extent of their feelings (Schwarz, 1999, p. 95).

Despite their convenience in saving costs, accessibility to certain populations, and ensuring speedy distribution, surveys are flawed instruments for data collection. Whilst the researchers attempted to mitigate non-response rates, certain issues encountered during survey distribution and general participant unwillingness could not be predicted or avoided. Additional drawbacks of online survey implementation include relying on participants' own observations or recollections of their behaviours (Schwarz, 1999, p. 97) and lack of interest in the survey topic resulting in lower rates of engagement, which leads to participant self-selection and negates the possibility of random sampling (Andrews et al., 2003, p. 191, p. 189). Participant self-selection may have played a significant factor in potentially biasing the results in any one extreme, in addition compounding issues such as non-response rates and under-coverage (Nayak & Narayan,

2019, p. 34), leading to inaccurate representability of a population. The possibility of verifying that participants belonged to the target population was also near impossible, especially as IP addresses were purposefully not recorded to ensure anonymity. In certain instances, such as if the respondent agreed to participate in an interview, their institutional email address was temporarily recorded and their student status could potentially be accurately confirmed, but this was not the case for most respondents.

To supplement the surveys and further improve response quality, especially as the construction of survey questions may bias participant responses (Schwarz, 1999), interviews were chosen as an additional method for collecting qualitative data for this project. Whilst probabilistic sampling may have ensured generalisability of findings and mitigated selection bias, purposeful sampling was utilised instead, not only due to willingness and availability of participants, but as it was consistent with the aims of achieving depth of understanding (Palinkas et al., 2015, p.554). Due to time constraints, only four maximum variation cases were chosen for analysis. Maximum variation cases (Flyvbjerg, 2006) are utilised when "obtain[ing] information about the significance of various circumstances for case process and outcome" (p. 230), especially as random sampling may lead to 'typical' or 'average' cases which are not necessarily the most illuminating when examining a given phenomenon (Flyvbjerg, 2006, p. 229). This strategy was believed to allow for comparing and contrasting varying opinions regarding the Welsh language and determine possible similarities in reasoning, which may hinge on conceptions of 'identity' tied to 'community' or 'culture' and 'investment' linked to 'economic gain' or 'connection', among others. However, a noted issue with purposive sampling, especially with sequential purposive sampling implemented in this project, "lies in the limitations the initial method may place on sampling for the subsequent method" (Palinkas et al., 2015, p. 556) and that the range of variation actually present in the study is unknown at its outset (Palinkas et al., 2015, p. 555).

3.2 Materials & Procedure

The online survey was created using the Qualtrics XM platform and consisted of two parts. Before the survey was distributed and any target responses were collected, the researcher distributed a pilot survey to colleagues on the course and to their supervisor to ensure participant understanding and technical functionality of the survey. The four target universities were contacted and asked to circulate the survey amongst their undergraduate and postgraduate student populations. Universities were contacted through any central

university contact address, student unions, and all academic departments, if emails were available on the university's official website. To mitigate issues with recruitment or if there were insufficient responses from universities, professional and personal contacts at certain universities and personal contacts at the University of Oxford were contacted to further circulate the survey.

Before any questions were shown, participants were required to read the consent form presented on the landing page of the survey, confirm that they were 18 years of age or older, and agree to have their data processed in accordance with the information set out in the consent form. The participants were also made aware of how to participate in the interviews, should they wish to, and that a separate consent form would be made available to them in the event they are contacted for participation in interviews.

The first part of the survey was entirely anonymous. If respondents chose to continue with the second part of the survey, no data was collected that would identify them, unless they chose to provide their official university e-mail address for participation in the interview portion. During surveys, no IP addresses were collected. Any contact details that were collected were stored in a password-secured electronic file on the University of Oxford secure servers and all communication commenced from the researcher's official University of Oxford e-mail address. All data collected throughout the research process was securely stored on Nexus365, used by the University of Oxford. All reasonable measures were taken that data collected would stay confidential

. Both parts of the survey passed the test of face validity after being looked over by the supervisor (Collingridge, 2014). The first part of the survey included between ten and twelve questions, depending on branching logic. These asked about respondents' demographic information, such as the university they attend and their nationality, and questions about language usage, including whether participants were a native Welsh speaker and general patterns of language use. All the questions in part one of the survey were multiple-choice, except for the penultimate question, which was a matrix table asking participants to indicate how often per week they engaged with different kinds of Welsh-language media. The final question simply asked whether they would like to continue to part two, exit the survey and submit their data, or exit the survey and withdraw their data.

The second part of the survey also included between ten and twelve questions, dependent on branching logic. These questions focused on discussing more open-ended topics regarding language usage, such as the contexts in which respondents use Welsh, what their feelings towards the language are, and how this corresponds with national and personal conceptions of identity. Some questions encouraged respondents to write out their answers, whether that be in bullet-points or full sentences, including asking about reasons for why they have or have not started learning Welsh and whether their universities could do more to promote Welsh.

However, most questions involved asking participants to grade their feelings towards a topic with responses ranging from "Very important", "Somewhat Important", "Neither Important nor Unimportant", "Somewhat Unimportant", to "Not at all important", and an option for "I am not sure". This type of scale was suggested as the researcher believed it would be difficult to quantify feelings towards subjects such as national identity or personal identity on a continuous scale. For instance, it would be near impossible to try and distinguish why one hypothetical participant would have responded to a question such as "How important is the Welsh language to the Welsh identity?" with a 60% whilst one responded with a 63%.

Surveys were open for approximately six weeks after being sent off to the four universities. The survey was meant to be live for four weeks initially, with one additional week to allow for circulation within universities. However, the researcher encountered difficulties when contacting certain universities, as some required additional permissions to distribute an external survey amongst their students. In one instance, this led to a delay of approximately three weeks before receiving an answer from one institution, after which it was communicated to the researcher that the survey could not be distributed through official channels and should only be circulated through 'unofficial means', such as through personal or professional contacts or the Student Union's unofficial channels. As a result, this led to comparatively less data collection from that institution; administrative issues, including acquiring survey circulation permission and communication delays, led to lower response rates and delays in data collection. Despite attempts to distribute the surveys through personal and professional connections, that method did not manage to garner further participants, though it did appear possible that surveys were still circulated through unofficial channels, including through students from other institutions, which did result in some responses from that particular institution

regardless. Due to a fear of insufficient responses, personal and professional contacts were contacted to circulate the survey, both through channels such as e-mail, department-run group chats, or, in one instance, SMS communication.

At the end of the second part of the survey, respondents were asked to leave their official university contact e-mail address, should they wish to participate in the optional interview portion of the dissertation. The interview portion was initially planned to be conducted in-person depending on both the participants' and researcher's availability, however, due to time limitations, interviews were ultimately conducted online. Online interviews were conducted through Microsoft Teams, with only audio being recorded and transcribed. This data was automatically transcribed using Microsoft Teams during the interviews, reviewed within one week of the interview by the researcher and the participant to ensure accuracy of responses, and the audio recording deleted following confirmation of transcription accuracy by the participant.

The interviews were estimated to take anywhere from twenty-five to thirty minutes. All communication with participants took place in English due to the researcher's insufficient knowledge of Welsh and the anticipated difficulty in accurately translating interviews. The interviews were semi-structured, with around thirteen initial questions. Participants were encouraged to expand on their thoughts from part two of the survey. Questions focused on ideas such as thoughts about the Welsh language, the interviewee's personal history and relationship with Welsh, what defines 'Welsh identity' and how closely language relates to the interviewee's conception of identity, investment in learning Welsh, and community impact on learning or speaking Welsh. Following the conclusion of interviews, automatically generated transcript data would be reviewed and edited by the researcher, and sent to the participant for review. This was done to mitigate bias from the researcher and ensure the participants felt as though their responses were interpreted and transcribed accurately by the researcher.

3.3 Participants

Respondents were drawn from four universities across Wales. One reason the four particular participating universities were chosen was due to their student population sizes, with total student populations ranging from 8,000 to 33,000 students. Larger universities were selected as it was hoped this would lead to more potential for participation in surveys. The principal investigator and researcher for this research project also had

professional and personal contacts at two universities, which theoretically made it easier to distribute surveys and ensure a sustainable response rate, although limitations of these strategies will be discussed at a later point. Another reason for the selection of the four chosen universities specifically is their presence in four distinct geographical areas of Wales. Given that Welsh language usage was traditionally perceived to vary by geographical area, it was thought that observing language patterns of the student population at these universities may provide further insight into whether the university's location in any way impacted alignment with the Welsh language.

In total, the survey yielded approximately 35 responses (n=35), with 11 from University A, 9 from University B, 4 from University C, and 11 from University D. Out of the total number of respondents, 18 were undergraduate students and 17 were postgraduate. Part one of the survey garnered a total of 35 responses with 2 participants opting to exit after concluding part 1, whilst 33 participants went on to complete part two.

All respondents who chose to leave their e-mail address were contacted for participation in interviews, out of which four maximum variation cases (n=4) (Flyvbjerg 2006) were meant to be selected out of all participants based on adherence to certain criteria and timely responses to recruitment emails. Initially, the four maximum variation cases were meant to be selected along the axes of Welsh national choosing to continue or begin learning Welsh, Welsh national choosing not to continue with or begin learning Welsh, a non-Welsh national choosing to learn Welsh, and a non-Welsh national choosing not to continue with or begin learning Welsh. However, based on the relatively limited overall responses and a lack of e-mail submissions from participants who were either Welsh nationals or non-Welsh nationals who deliberately chose not to learn Welsh, the previously mentioned categorisation could not be conducted. As such, the available maximum variation cases differed mainly by nationality and whether someone was a Welsh NS or NNS.

All four case variations could not be interviewed, however, the three cases who were interviewed were deemed sufficient. Participants in the interviews were Participant A (hereafter referred to as A), an English NS, postgraduate student with an English background choosing to learn Welsh, Participant B (hereafter referred to as B), an English NS, postgraduate student with a Welsh background choosing to learn Welsh, and

Participant C (hereafter referred to as C), a Welsh NS (Welsh-English bilingual), postgraduate student with a Welsh background choosing to maintain Welsh.

3.4 Analysis Procedures

Quantitative responses from the survey were collated and the data visualised in graphs which represented the reported patterns of language usage. These included visualisations of statistics collected, including proportions of Welsh L1 or L2 speakers based on nationality, languages used in the home, education, or with the wider community, frequency of Welsh media consumption, and respondents self-reported opinions towards the Welsh language, the relationships between the Welsh language and national and personal identity, and their university's promotion of Welsh. These visualisations were collected to contextualise the qualitative data gathered in the survey and interviews.

Some qualitative responses from the survey were coded by the researcher across themes such as 'personal identity', 'inclusion', and 'mobility'. This coding applied to questions inquiring about respondents' reasoning for their choices to learn Welsh or not and in which contexts respondents reported using Welsh. These categories were chosen for data analysis as the researcher was particularly interested in observing the interplay of these factors and their correspondence to Darvin & Norton's (2015, 2019, 2023) framework of investment, which requires an analysis of the intersections of capital, ideology, and identity. The wording of the themes was evocative of Darvin & Norton's constructs, but simplified to ensure a more understandable codebook for the second coder (see below).

The two questions analysed outside of this procedure were (a) the one asking participants if they use Welsh in their daily life and (b) in what contexts and the one relating to respondents' opinions on how their university could promote the Welsh language. Instead, the former question was coded along the matrices of 'none/very little', 'community', and 'academia'; the latter question was coded according to which areas participants felt the university's promotions should improve in: 'none', 'engagement', 'access', and 'consistency'. In all cases, after the data was coded, it was given to a second coder, a colleague of the researcher from the same Master's course, findings were compared, and several processes were used to calculate intercoder reliability, which will be expanded on in the next chapter. Whilst it was initially theorised that 5-10% of the

data would be given to a second coder, to ensure the reliability of calculations and due to the lower response rates (with some questions only having four response items), all data was anonymised and given to the second coder.

Interview data was analysed based on both hybrid thematic analysis, which combined both deductive and inductive methods (Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006; Proudfoot, 2023), enhanced by interpretive phenomenological principles. This was done to observe the frequency of certain patterns of answering amongst groups of participants. The aim of the qualitative data analysis was focused primarily on how the synthesis of identity, community, and history may influence Welsh learners and aimed to disentangle how 'Welsh identity' was conceptualised by respondents and where learners and NSs situate themselves in relation to 'Welsh identity'. For the hybrid thematic analysis, Darvin & Norton's framework (2015, 2023) was utilised as an analytical lens with the data analysed along themes of 'identity', 'capital', and 'ideology', and sub-themes emerging through inductive thematic analysis. A codebook is available in the appendix and contains all the parent codes and the sub-codes. Although full interpretive phenomenological methods (Smith et al., 2009) were not employed, data analysis was nonetheless guided by a phenomenologically sensitive, idiographic approach meant to enhance the overall data through the examination of participants' lived experiences. It was not the intent of these qualitative interviews to produce findings which could be generalised across the whole population. Rather, this complementary approach sought to provide both an examination of the common patterns present across the interviews and enrich these with investigations of the participants' personal experiences with the Welsh language.

Chapter 4: Results

4.1 Multiple-choice Survey Questions

The answers to the survey questions indicated that English remains the dominant language for most students, regardless of any Welsh background; however, Welsh elicits largely positive feelings from those surveyed. However, some of the overall numbers in this graph may be inconsistent since all survey questions were optional, and not all respondents completed every question. As mentioned in the methodology section, the survey produced 35 valid responses, with an even split amongst undergraduate and postgraduate responses, n=18 and n=17 respectively (Fig. 1). Additionally, there was a relatively even balance of respondents across all four target universities, with the caveat that one university (University 3) yielded significantly fewer responses due to administrative issues. More respondents came from outside of Wales (n=20) than from Wales (n=15) (Fig. 2); though when factoring in the five respondents who indicated their nationality as 'other', the numbers of respondents who state their nationality is 'Welsh' or 'English' is evenly split. Out of the 22 principal areas of Wales, 8 are represented, with most participants coming from Gwynedd (20%) and Swansea (20%) (Fig. 3).

For Figures 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9, when respondents who selected multiple options, such as 'English' and 'Welsh', those languages were counted separately, hence the slightly inflated number of languages when compared to number of participants evident in other graphs. When observing Fig. 4-8, it can be surmised that English is far more widely used by participants in the home, education, and with the wider community. However, Fig. 9 indicated that English does not dominate in the arena of media consumption. It appears students choose to engage with Welsh and any other languages primarily through media consumption. Fig. 10 shows that those who do consume a variety of media in Welsh primarily do so less than once a week up to 1-2 times a week on average, with significantly fewer participants engaging with Welsh-language media 3-4 times a week. 5-6 times a week, or every day. Across the surveyed population, responses indicated that Welsh-language social media content was engaged with most frequently on average (47%), followed by books and newspapers (38%), and music (24%). Welsh-language movies and TV had a higher percentage of respondents who engaged with it 5-6 times a week than any other medium, but still had only about 18% of respondents engaging with them more frequently than 1-2 times a week. Only 6% of respondents engaged with

Welsh-language radio or podcasts 3-4 times a week on average, with none reporting spending more time per week engaging with this form of media.

Whilst a majority of participants were not NS (Fig. 11), most respondents indicated they were either current Welsh learners or had made plans to begin learning Welsh, which the survey specified included actions such as buying textbooks and booking lessons (Fig. 12). In general, nearly all respondents reported feeling 'positive' or 'somewhat positive' about the Welsh language (Fig. 13), and when analysing the responses by university, University 2 and University 3 had the highest proportion of 'positive' responses, though this may be due to the fewer number of respondents relative to Universities 1 and 4 (Fig. 13.1). Overall, 91% of respondents indicated that the Welsh language was important to Welsh identity, with 70% stating it is 'very important' and 21% stating it is 'somewhat important'; 6% stated that it is 'neither important nor unimportant' and no respondents indicated it was 'somewhat unimportant' or 'not at all important' (Fig. 14). When the question asked about the Welsh language's importance to personal identity, responses were more evenly split; 54% indicated that the Welsh language had importance to their personal identity, factoring in responses of 'very important' and 'somewhat important', 21% of respondents stated that Welsh was 'neither important nor unimportant' as it related to their persona identity, and 18% of respondents indicated that it was 'not at all important' (Fig. 14).

When respondents were asked about how important Welsh language usage at their university was to them when choosing which university to attend, only 30% of respondents indicated that it was a factor, with 24% stating it was 'neither important nor unimportant', whilst 43% indicated it was not a factor of great importance (Fig. 14). Across the board, most respondents felt their university promoted Welsh language learning for all levels either 'very strongly' or 'somewhat strongly' (Fig. 15), however, this did vary by university, with University 4, for instance, having much more split responses (Fig. 15.1).

Fig. 1

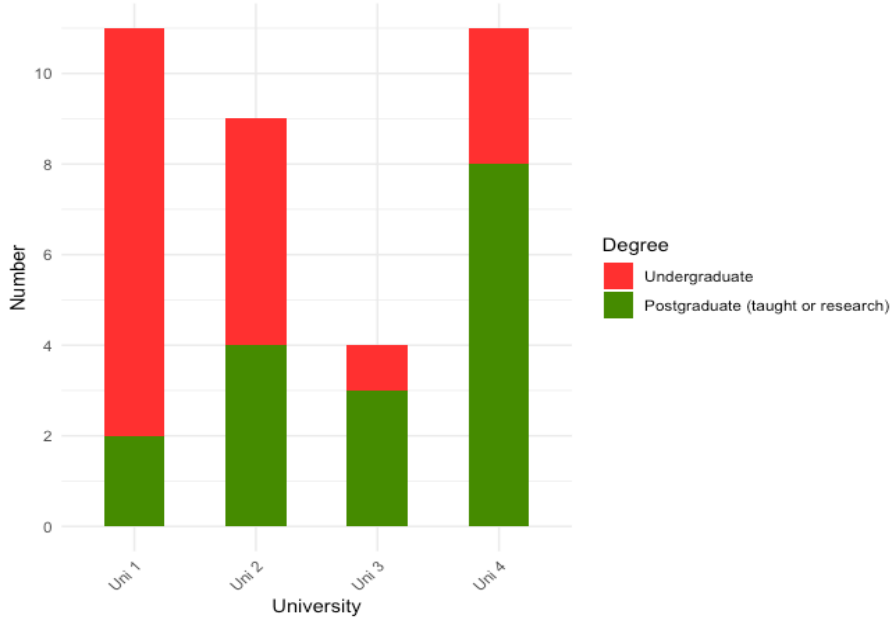

Number
10
8
6
4
2
0
Uni 1
Uni 2
Uni 3
Uni 4
University
Degree
Undergraduate
Postgraduate (taught or research)

Fig. 2

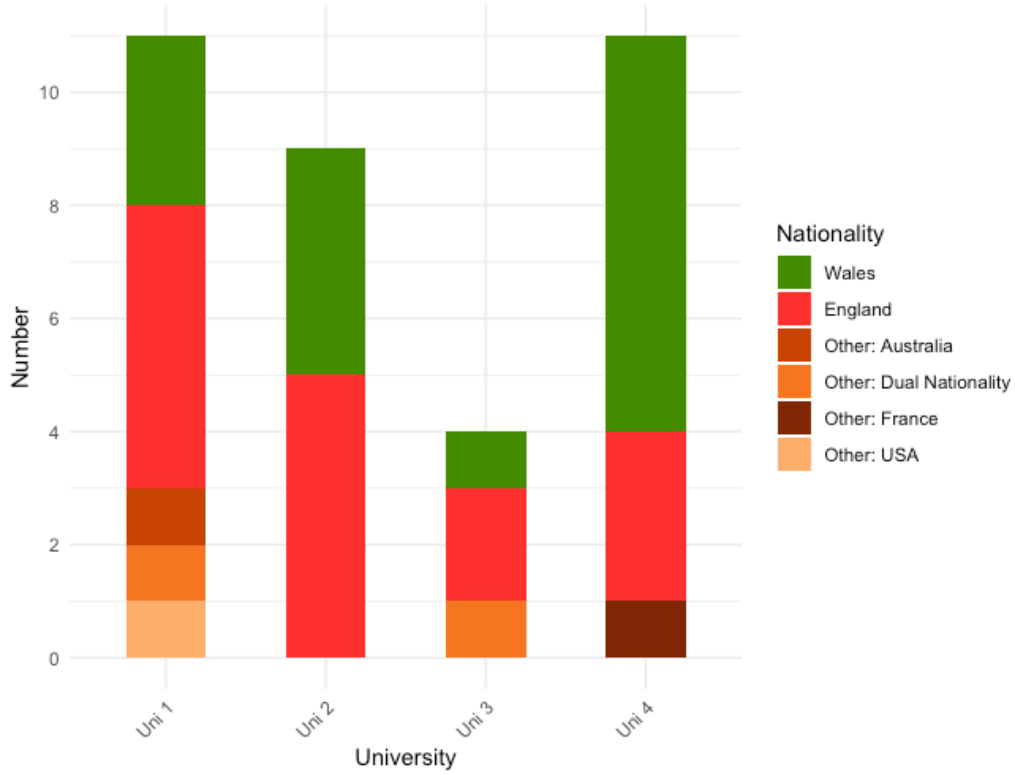

Number
10
8
6
4
2
0
Uni 1
Uni 2
Uni 3
Uni 4
University
Nationality
Wales
England
Other: Australia
Other: Dual Nationality
Other: France
Other: USA

Fig. 3

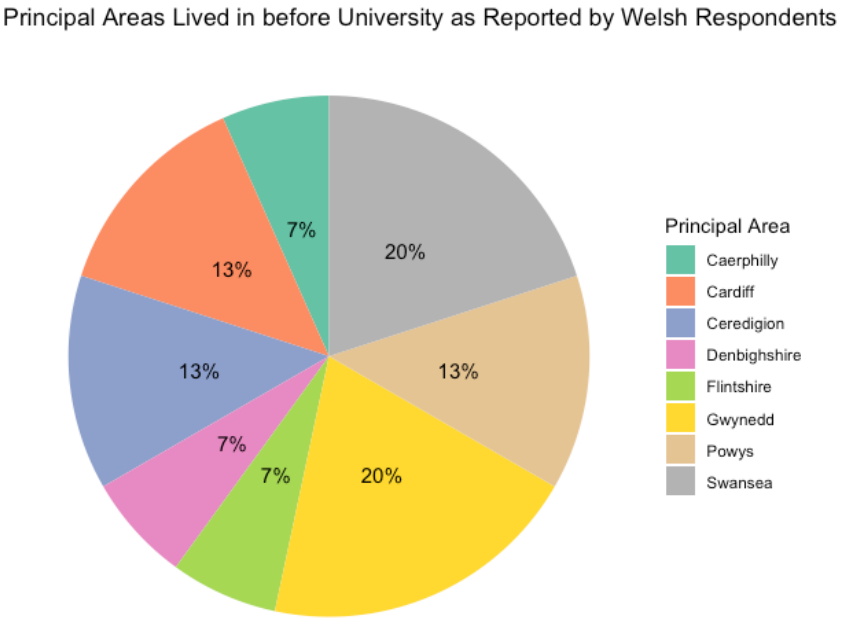

Principal Areas Lived in before University as Reported by Welsh Respondents
7%
20%
13%
13%
13%
7%
7%
20%
Principal Area
Caerphilly
Cardiff
Ceredigion
Denbighshire
Flintshire
Gwynedd
Powys
Swansea

Fig. 4

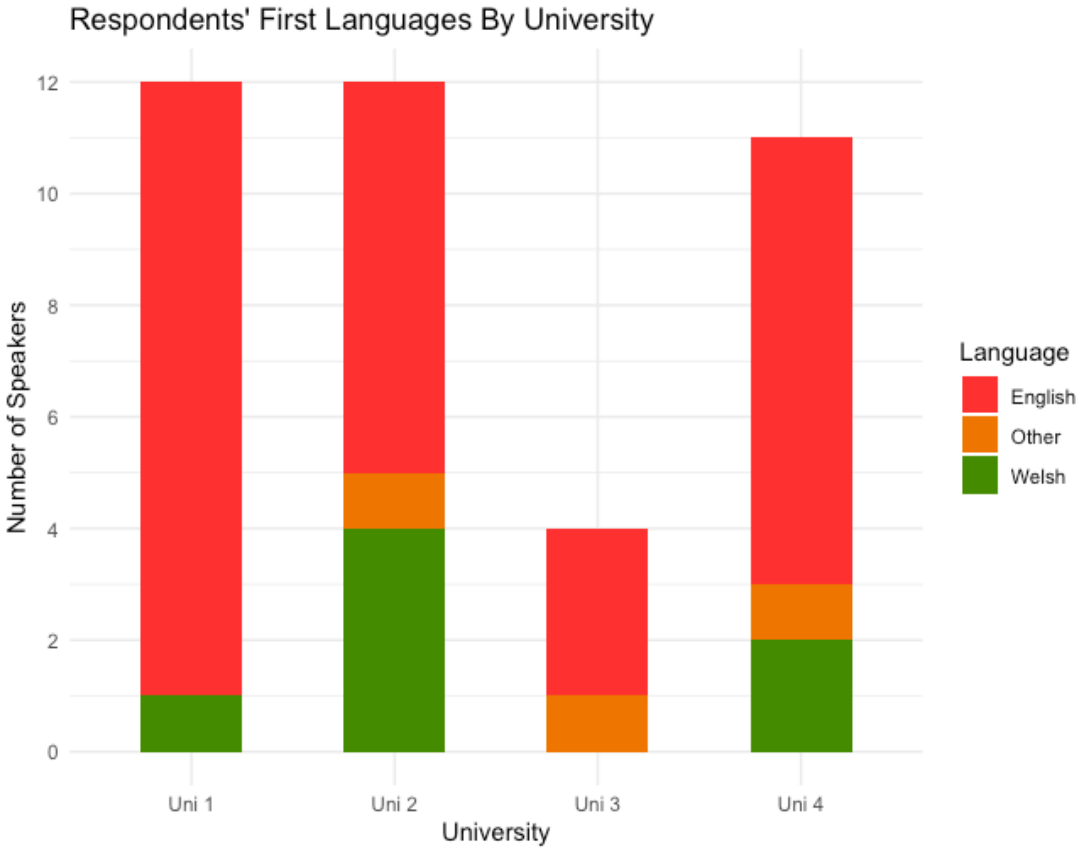

Respondents' First Languages By University
Number of Speakers
0
2
4
6
8
10
12
Uni 1
Uni 2
Uni 3
Uni 4
University
Language
English
Other
Welsh

Fig. 5

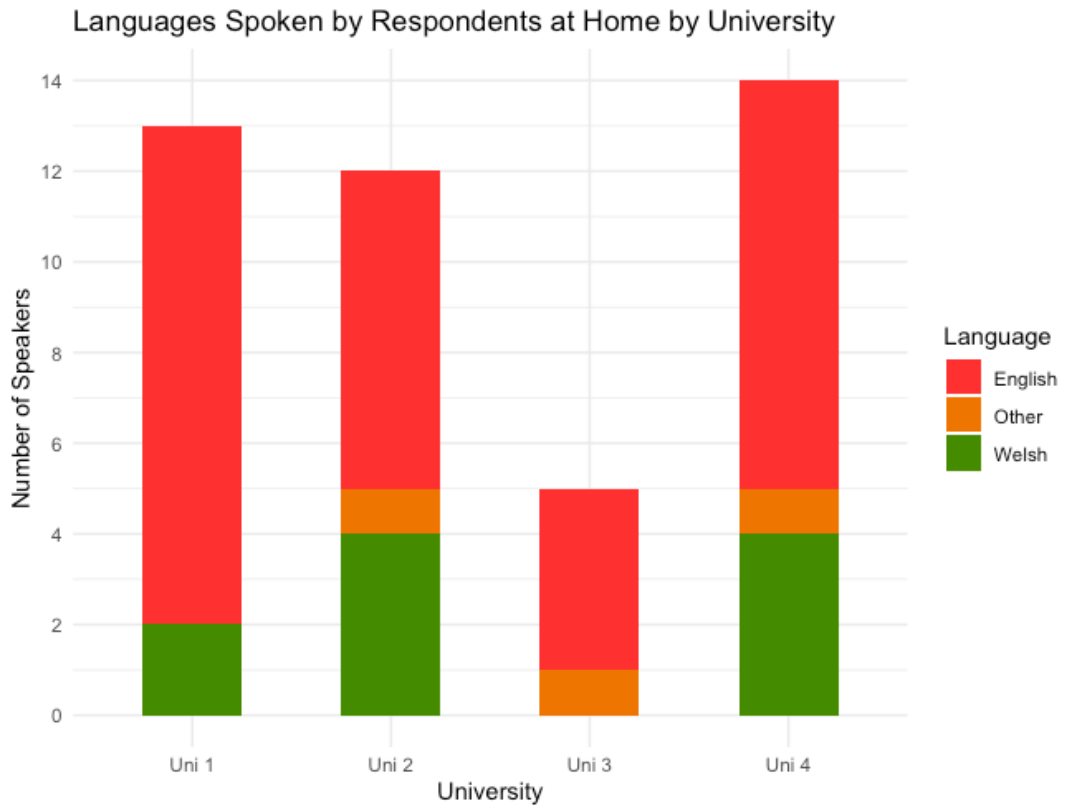

Languages Spoken by Respondents at Home by University
Number of Speakers
0
2
4
6
8
10
12
14
Uni 1
Uni 2
Uni 3
Uni 4
University
Language
English
Other
Welsh

Fig. 6

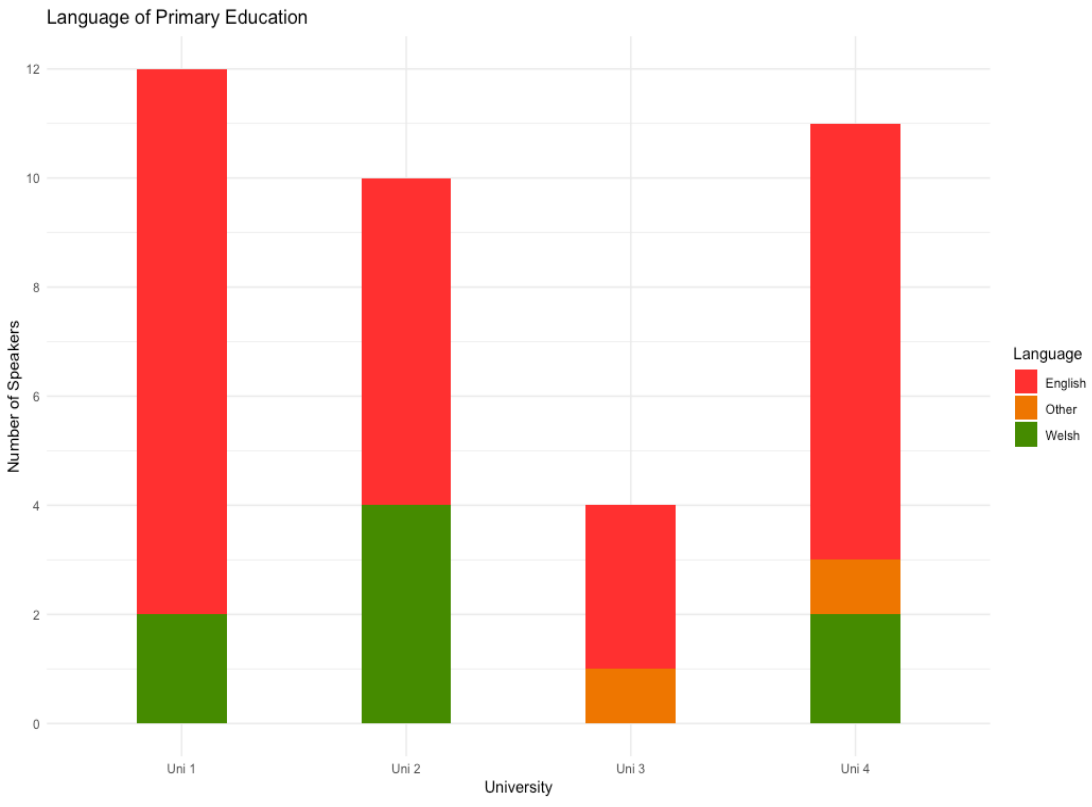

Language of Primary Education
Number of Speakers
0
2
4
6
8
10
12
Uni 1
Uni 2
Uni 3
Uni 4
University
Language
English
Other
Welsh

Fig. 7

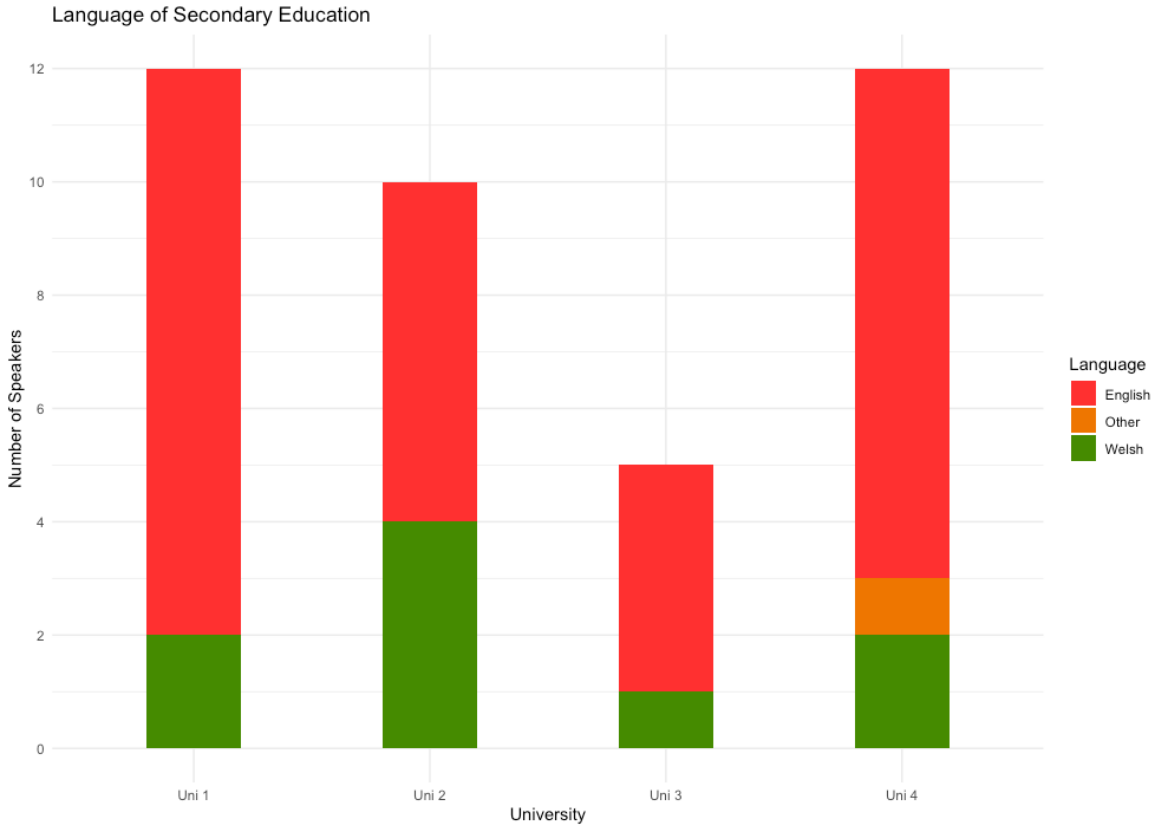

Language of Secondary Education
Number of Speakers
0
2
4
6
8
10
12
Uni 1
Uni 2
Uni 3
Uni 4
University
Language
English
Other
Welsh

Fig. 8

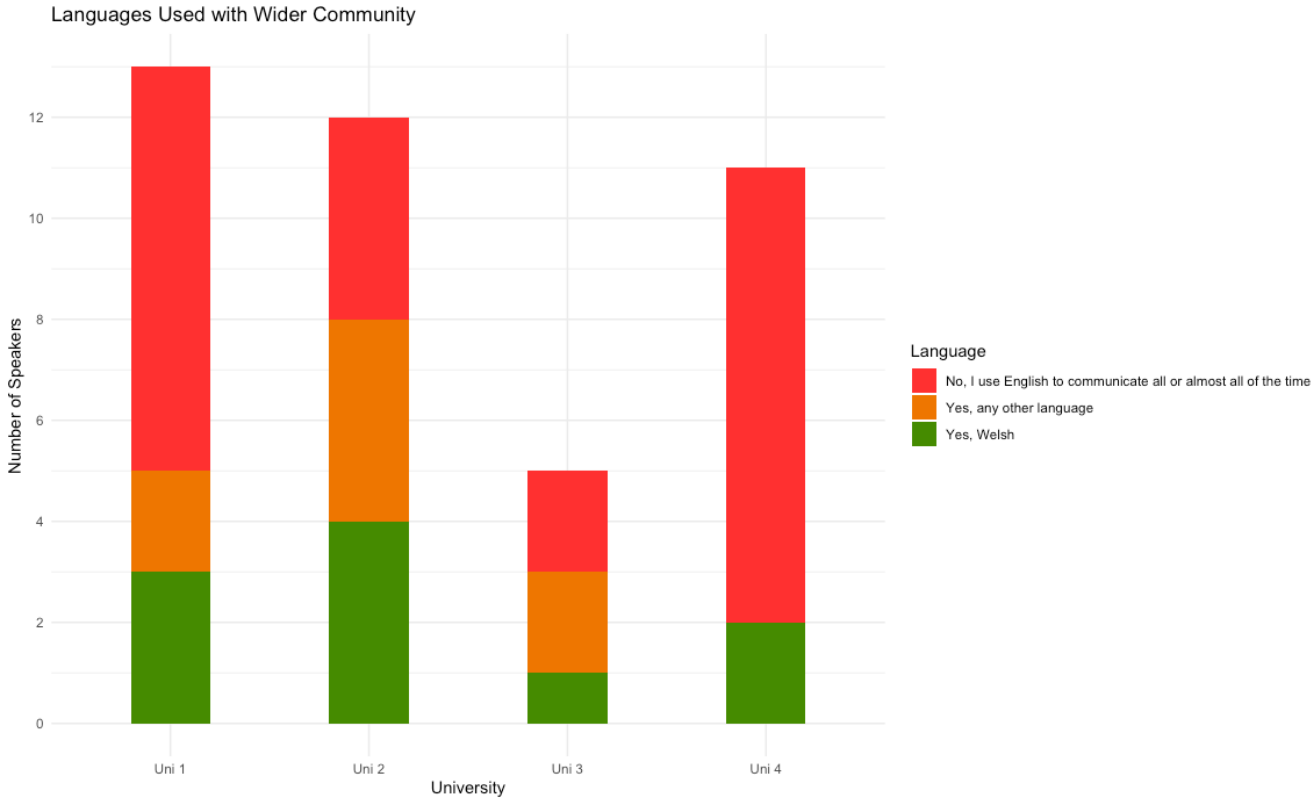

Languages Used with Wider Community
Number of Speakers
0
2
4
6
8
10
12
Uni 1
Uni 2
Uni 3
Uni 4
University
Language
No, I use English to communicate all or almost all of the time
Yes, any other language
Yes, Welsh

Fig. 9

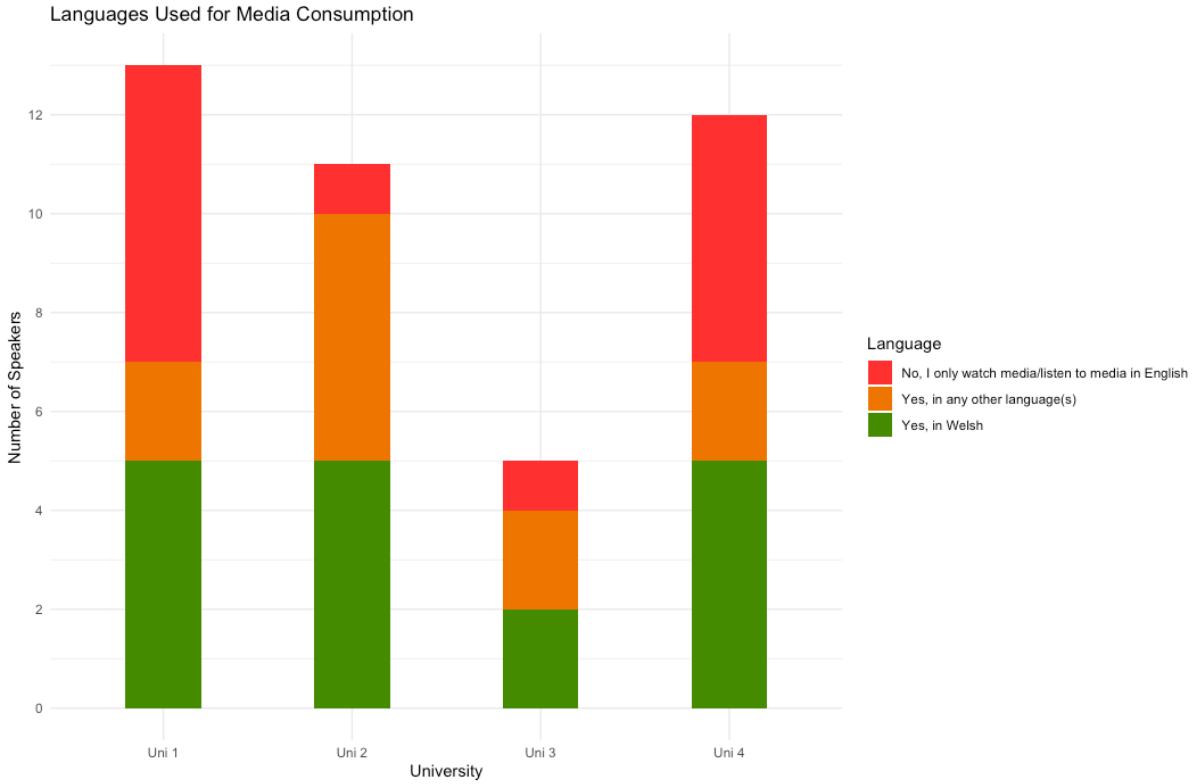

Languages Used for Media Consumption
Number of Speakers
0
2
4
6
8
10
12
Uni 1
Uni 2
Uni 3
Uni 4
University
Language
No, I only watch media/listen to media in English
Yes, in any other language(s)
Yes, in Welsh

Fig. 10

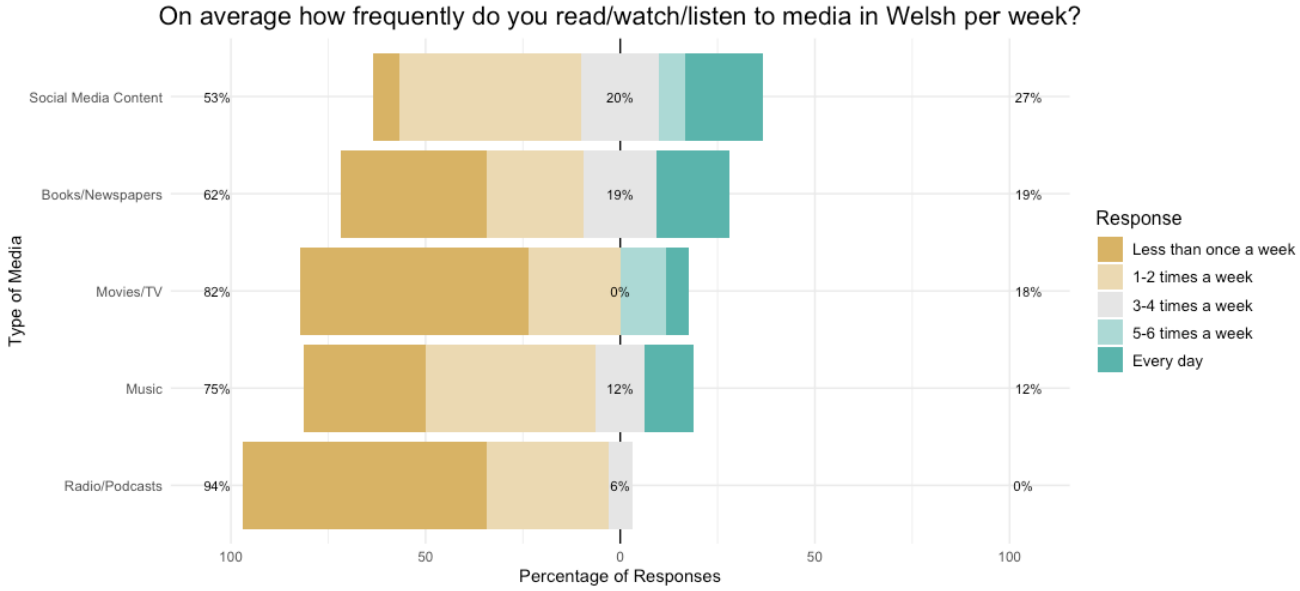

On average how frequently do you read/watch/listen to media in Welsh per week?
Type of Media
Social Media Content
Books/Newspapers
Movies/TV
Music
Radio/Podcasts
53%
62%
82%
75%
94%
20%
19%
0%
12%
6%
27%
19%
18%
12%
0%
100
50
0
50
100
Percentage of Responses
Response
Less than once a week
1-2 times a week
3-4 times a week
5-6 times a week
Every day

Fig. 11

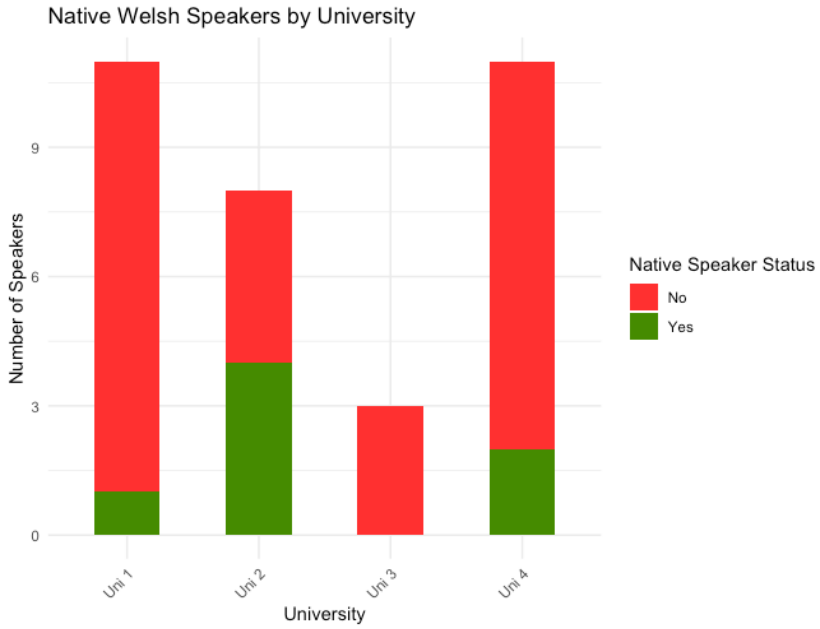

Native Welsh Speakers by University
Number of Speakers
0
3
6
9
Uni 1
Uni 2
Uni 3
Uni 4
University
Native Speaker Status
No
Yes

Fig. 12

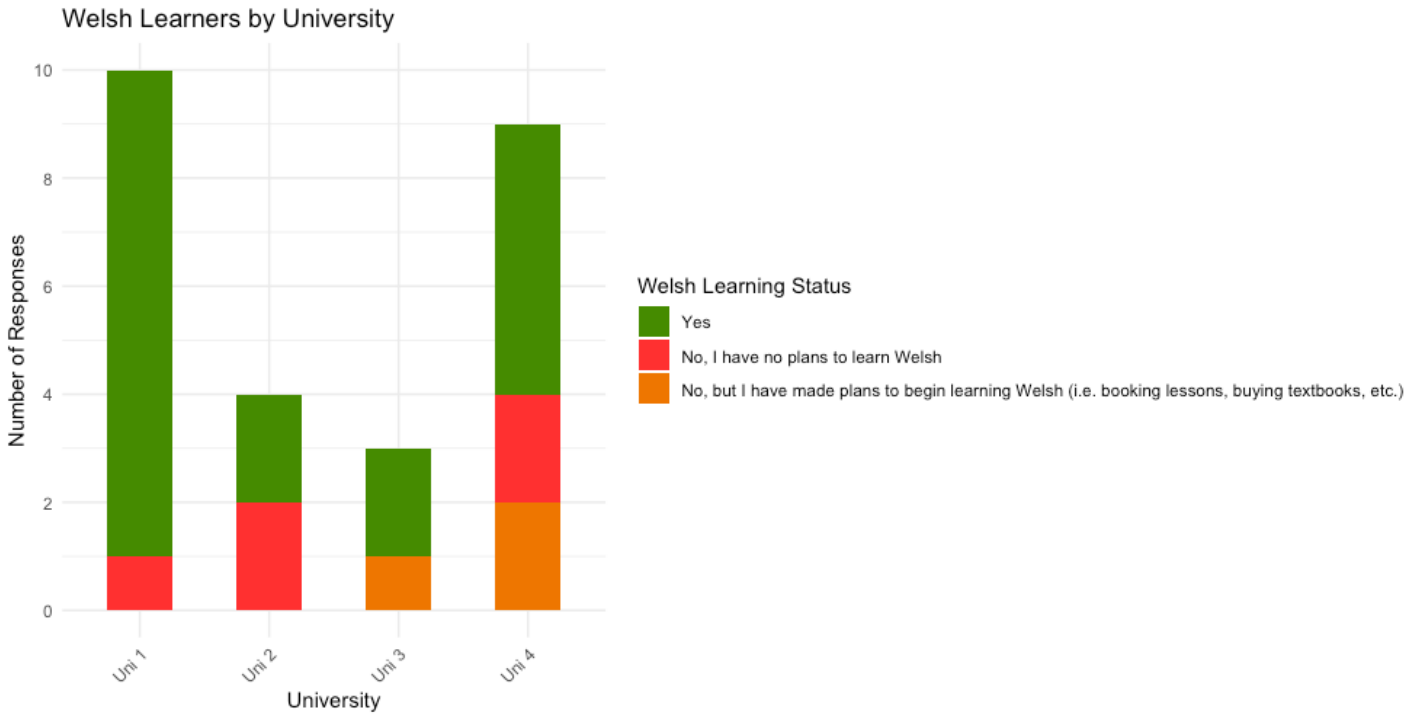

Welsh Learners by University
Number of Responses
0
2
4
6
8
10
Uni 1
Uni 2
Uni 3
Uni 4
University
Welsh Learning Status
Yes
No, I have no plans to learn Welsh
No, but I have made plans to begin learning Welsh (i.e. booking lessons, buying textbooks, etc.)

Fig. 13

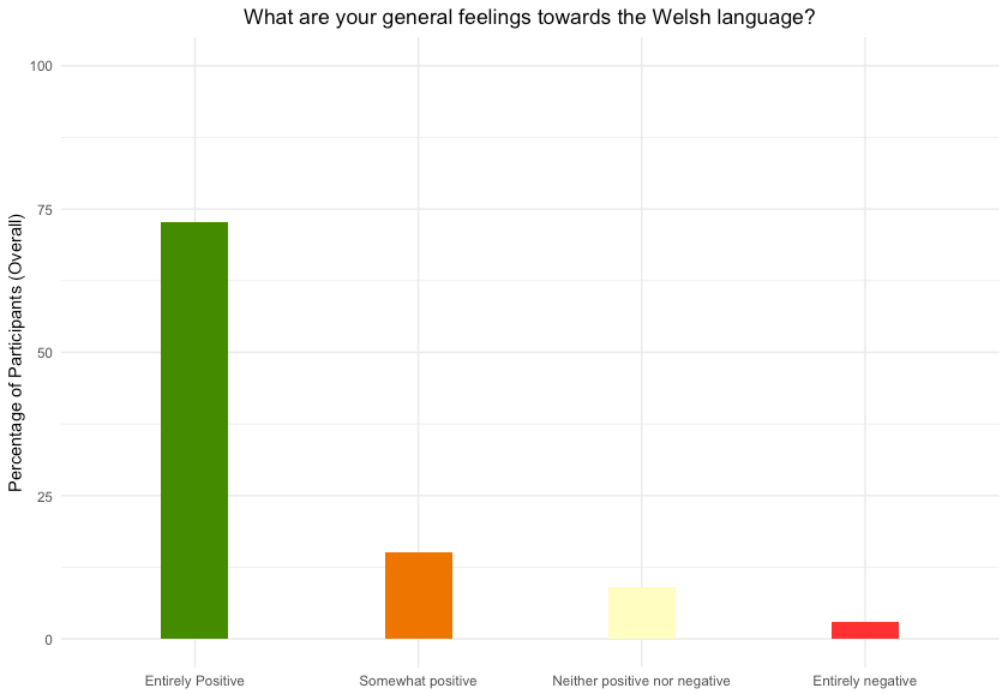


Fig. 13.1

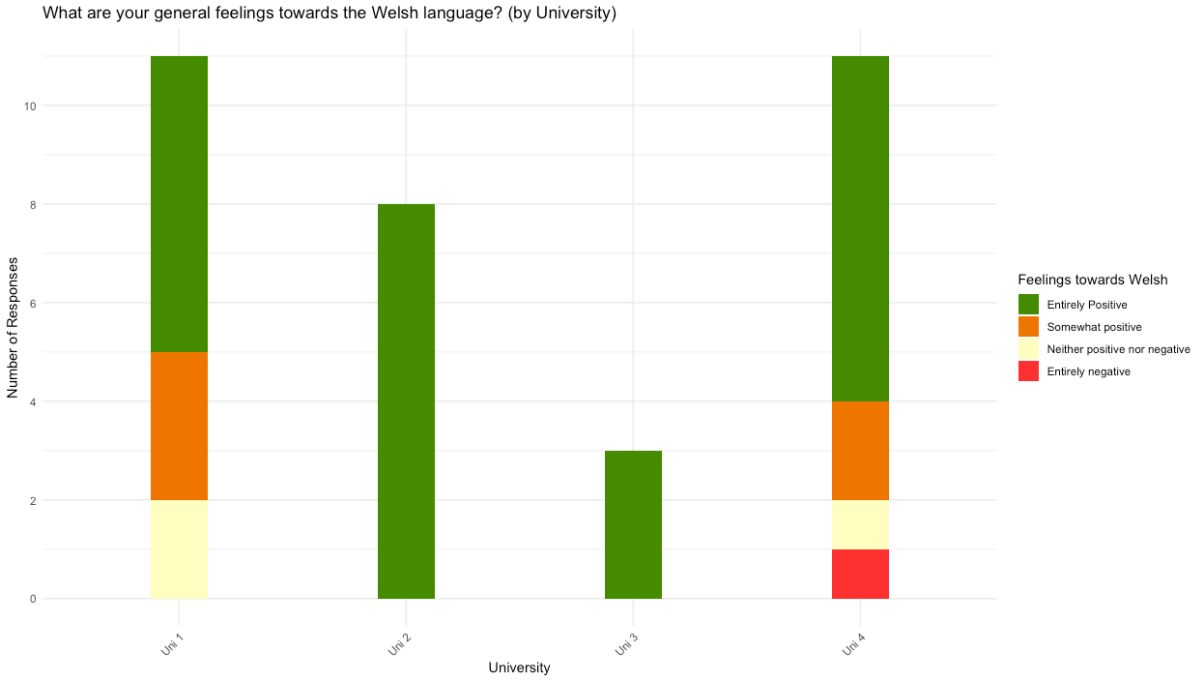
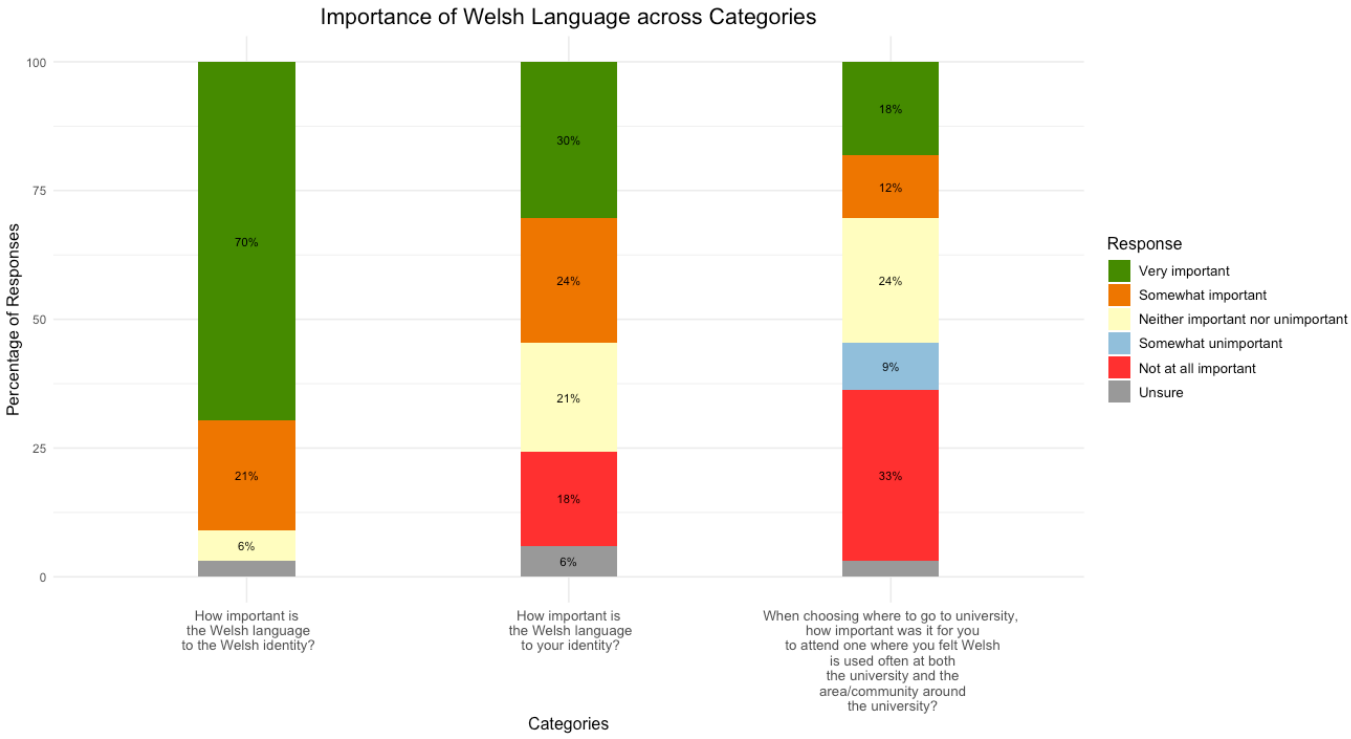


Fig. 14


Importance of Welsh Language across Categories
Percentage of Responses
100
75
50
25
0
70%
21%
6%
30%
24%
21%
18%
6%
18%
12%
24%
9%
33%
How important is the Welsh language to the Welsh identity?
How important is the Welsh language to your identity?
When choosing where to go to university, how important was it for you to attend one where you felt Welsh is used often at both the university and the area/community around the university?
Categories
Response
Very important
Somewhat important
Neither important nor unimportant
Somewhat unimportant
Not at all important
Unsure

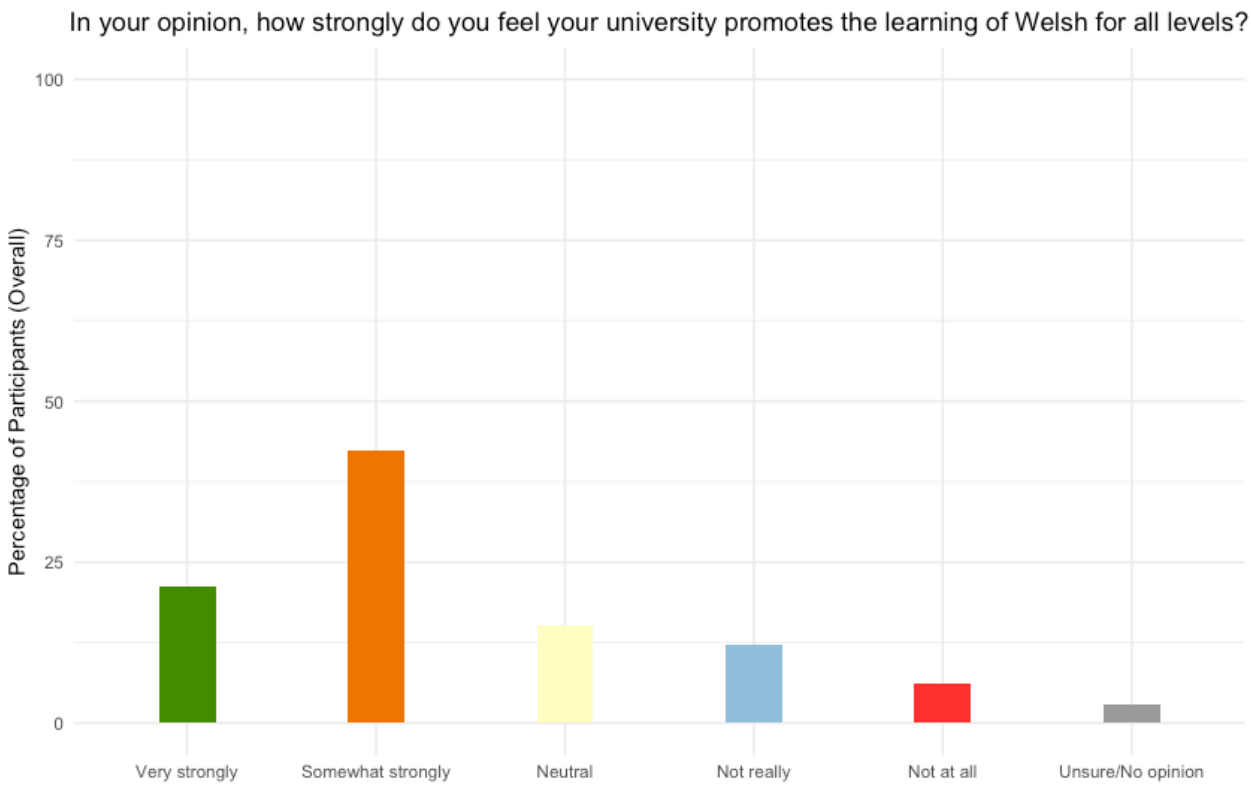
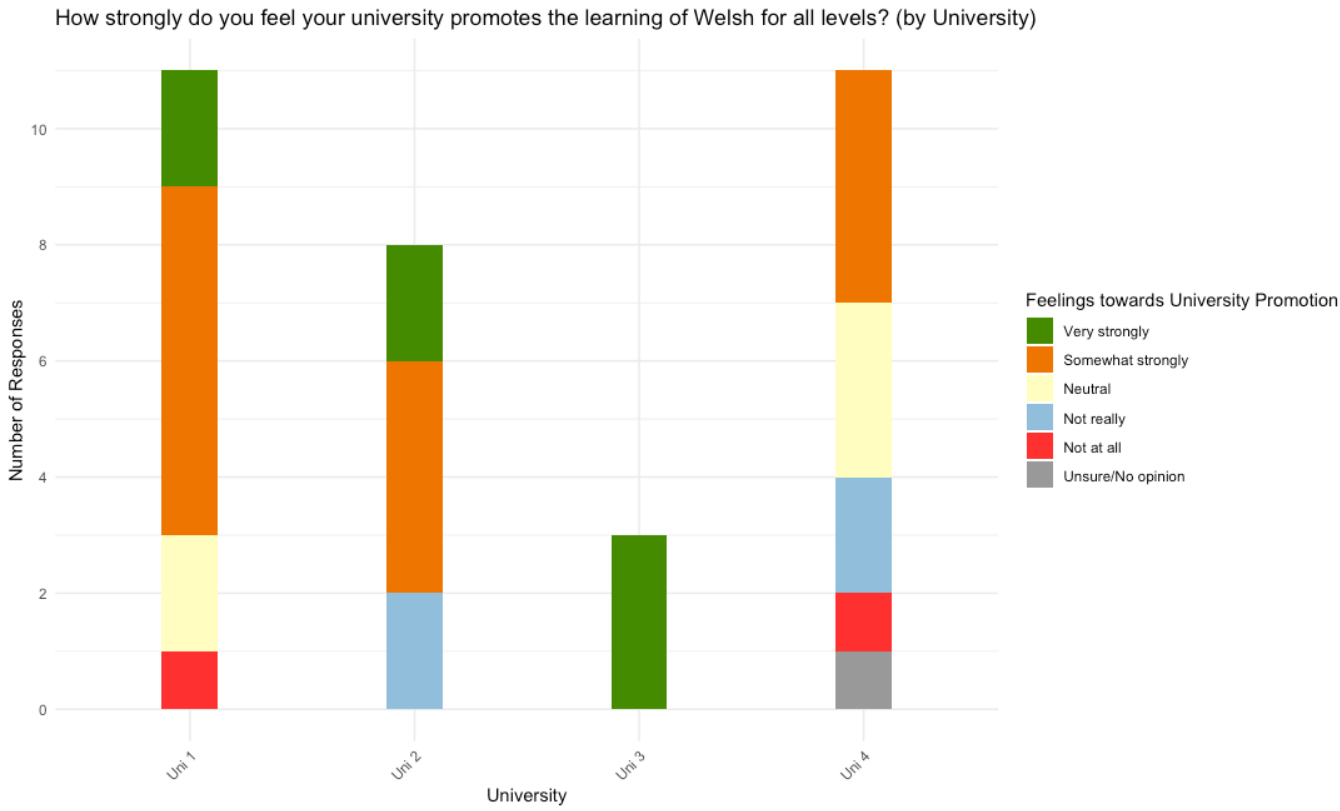

In your opinion, how strongly do you feel your university promotes the learning of Welsh for all levels?
Percentage of Participants (Overall)
100
75
50
25
0
Very strongly
Somewhat strongly
Neutral
Not really
Not at all
Unsure/No opinion

Fig. 15.1



4.2 Text-based Survey Questions

i. Inductive Coding Procedures

The four text-based survey questions were analysed through inductive coding analysis. Q1 and Q3 were coded along themes of 'personal identity', 'mobility', and 'inclusion'. Q2 used numbers corresponding to 'none-very little/basic phrases', 'community', and 'academia', whilst Q4 used codes referring to 'none', 'engagement', 'access', and 'consistency'. Tables 1, 2 and 3 list the codes used for each question and gives illustrative examples for each code.

Table 1

Question:	Code Name:	Examples:	Frequency of Code Across Data Set:
Q1: If you answered 'yes', or are planning to learn Welsh, what are your reasons for this?	'personal identity'	Q1: "I've always wanted to be a fluent Welsh speaker. I think it is really important to promote and protect my heritage. Once	Q1: 28.59%[2] Q3: 40%

[2] Frequency calculations are based on post-hoc coder agreement.

Q3: If you haven't made plans to learn Welsh, why not?		you've learned a little bit of the history behind the Welsh language, it's hard not to want to regain some of that heritage that was lost." Q3: "I do not find learning languages easy"	
Q1 & Q3	'mobility'	Q1: "As I live and intend to work in Wales, I feel this would be a useful skill to have" Q3: "I don't want to live in Wales"	Q1: 10.16% Q3: 60%
Q1 & Q3	'inclusion'	Q1: "My son attends a Welsh-speaking school. My wife is a current Welsh learner."	Q1: 61.25% Q3: NA

Table 2

Question:	Code Name:	Examples:	Frequency:
Q2: Do you use Welsh in daily life? In what contexts?	'none or very little/basic phrases'	"Not really. I am a little shy when using Welsh out in cafes and bars or shops, and at university most people just speak English to me."	41.02%
Q2	'community'	"Yes. Talking to friends, family, social media, co-workers, and out in the community e.g. shops, cafes, etc."	44.24%
Q2	'academia'	"Yes I do. I speak Welsh at home with my immediate and extended family, I also communicate with the majority of my close friends in Welsh. I also communicate in	14.73%

		Welsh with my supervisor at university."	

Table 3

Question:	Code Name:	Examples:	Frequency:
Q4: What are some ways in which you feel the university could promote the Welsh language?	'none'	"They do enough"	12.25%
Q4	'engagement'	"I would argue that the promotion of Welsh through the university is generally as a result of needing to comply with the relevant legislation, rather than it being driven by a cultural desire."	20.41%
Q4	'access'	"Offering more resources to learn the language, such as easier access to in person classes."	46.92%
Q4	'consistency'	"More lecturers and tutors to speak fluent Welsh. Especially those who are in higher positions. There is a need for a stricter criteria when it comes to employment in Wales and welsh speaking should be a priority."	20.41%

ii. IRR measures

Inter-rater reliability was assessed through Krippendorff's Alpha (α), both due to its suitability to calculate IRR for two raters and for its ability to accommodate multiple codes per item. α can range anywhere from 0 to 1, with a number closer to 1 indicating higher reliability (Krippendorff, 2011).

The small sample sizes for each question led to unstable α measurements, and this was mitigated somewhat by including mean fuzzy agreement (S_f) calculations. Despite not being an accepted IRR measure, S_f was additionally calculated to indicate the flexibility across measurements and illuminate partial agreement, and to mitigate the instability of the α measurements brought on by the small sample size.

Table 4

Question Assessed:	Mean α**:**	Mean S_f:
Q1: (n=19)	0.46	0.69
Q2: (n=26)	0.91	0.94
Q3: (n=4)	0.53	0.75
Q4: (n=21)	0.28	0.57

Due to the unavailability of practise data, the coding schematics were not piloted beforehand. Though initial coding was done independently, both coders reconvened to discuss and resolve coding disagreements.

4.2 Interview Responses

i. Hybrid Thematic Analysis

As stated earlier, a hybrid approach to thematic analysis was used to better understand the data collected through interviews. Darvin & Norton's (2015, 2023) framework of investment was used as an initial basis for deductive thematic analysis, with the strands of 'capital', 'ideology', and 'identity' utilised as theoretically underpinned codes applied to the data. Following that, through the use of inductive thematic analysis, sub-themes emerged, and the frequency and co-occurrence of these sub-themes was also examined. These sub-themes will serve as the primary vehicle through which to analyse the interviews cumulatively, and this paper will relate them to the overarching themes which contribute to Darvin & Norton's concept of investment. Table 6 below features a portion of the codebook used for the deductive thematic analysis conducted using interview data. The full codebook, which features sample quotes and inclusion criteria for each code is available in the appendix.

Table 6

DIMENSION	THEME	CODE	DESCRIPTION	FREQUENCY
CAPITAL	BARRIERS TO ACCESS	TEMPORAL	When a participant expresses that time is what stops further engagement with Welsh	2
CAPITAL	BARRIERS TO ACCESS	FINANCIAL	When a participant expresses that financial constraints are what stops further engagement with Welsh	2
CAPITAL	DRIVERS FOR WELSH	ACCESS	Whenever a participant expresses an idea about the accessibility of Welsh	3
CAPITAL	DRIVERS FOR WELSH	MOBILITY	When a participant expresses that they feel Welsh offers mobility: social, cultural, financial	3
IDEOLOGY	LEGITIMATE WELSHNESS	SPEAKERHOOD	Mentions of what makes a 'legitimate' speaker of Welsh; mentions of any lines between 'learner' and 'legitimate speaker'	3
IDEOLOGY	LEGITIMATE WELSHNESS	DELINIATION	Any mentions of ideas of what makes someone 'Welsh'	3
IDEOLOGY	MINORITY LANGUAGE	HISTORY	Mentions of history as it applies to 'Welshness' and the Welsh language; The importance of history to the participant	2
IDEOLOGY	MINORITY LANGUAGE	LEARNER PERCEPTION	Mentions of how learners are perceived by Welsh speakers (NS or NNS) and Welsh society at large	3
IDEOLOGY	MINORITY LANGUAGE	UTILITY	Any mentions of the utility of Welsh in Wales or outside of it	3
IDENTITY	IDENTITY NEGOTIATION	INTRINSIC	References to what makes someone *feel* 'Welsh'; What does Welshness mean?; How does a participant feel about being 'Welsh'	3
IDENTITY	IDENTITY NEGOTIATION	INTEGRATION	References to belonging in a community; Learning Welsh to adapt to/reclaim space in a community	3

Theme 1: Identity Negotiation

The Welsh language appeared to serve as a tool for identity negotiation for all interviewees. This identity negotiation was actively influenced by both intrinsic and extrinsic factors; The former of these emerged through ideas participants expressed around heritage, reclamation, and belonging, whilst the latter was expressed as a desire to participate in a larger community and integrate into broader Welsh society and culture.

Participant A repeatedly clarified that he could himself never identify as Welsh, as he had established that claiming Welshness, in his view, would require one to spend formative, childhood years in Wales, or have familial ties to Wales:

> "I don't think I could ever[3] be Welsh because I have, English parents and I was born and raised in England."

Nonetheless, the participant's experience of the ubiquity of Welsh in his specific circumstances, namely employment at the university, and his decade of residence in Wales, not only saw him viewing the language positively, but viewing it as somewhat symbolic of integration, indicated through his recounting his feeling of missing the presence of the language in daily life after returning from holiday:

> "Several years ago, and then when I came back I needed to get some cash out and, when you get cash out in Wales at the cash point like the first question that it asks is if

[3] Italics used when participants emphasised particular words. Ellipses were used when participants paused for a significant length of time.

you want it in Welsh or English. And I'd-I'd almost like missed that as an option, whilst I'd been in England, like, so then coming back and seeing the option to have those two things I think made me feel more at home again."

Participant B's experience of the Welsh language's impact on his identity came intrinsically, with him communicating that despite his childhood and adolescence primarily spent in England, he aligned closely with the Welsh identity. When asked about what being Welsh entails, he responded:

"I only moved fully to Wales when I was 18. I still thought of myself as Welsh before that, so maybe it's not just about living there. I think a lot of it is… the identity that you embrace."

He echoed this sentiment throughout the interview. Beginning the process of learning Welsh was a crucial part of reclaiming a part of his identity which he felt disconnected from:

"Because for a long time it had felt like that was something that was missing… Sort of identity wise, something that would help me to feel… to validate, my sort of sense of 'Welshness'. I guess. Because sometimes I felt like I had to sort of almost like prove that I'm Welsh. Maybe to myself more than anyone else."

Proficiency in Welsh not only served as a form of social capital for integrating into communities, such as the Welsh music scene, but a sense of pride after successfully communicating in what the participant described as a "difficult language to learn if you haven't learned it growing up". A reflection on the sense of achievement felt when succeeding in the target language, which the participant stated throughout the interview was important in reinforcing his connection with Welsh identity, culminated in this statement:

"And it, yeah, helps me feel that sort of sense of… Do you know the word 'cynefin', the Welsh word 'cynefin'? Yeah, like belonging."

'Cynefin', often translated as 'habitat', differs in that it is not in reference to a place in the geographic or physical sense. It refers to a place of belonging, "where the people and landscape around us are reassuringly recognisable" and to a "historic, cultural, and social place which has shaped and continues to shape the community which inhabits it" (Welsh Government 2020). In this case, Welsh served as a medium for achieving a sense of deeper entrenchment within the community and reclamation of belonging.

Out of the multiple communities with which Participant C identified, it appeared that identifying with Welshness, as a Welsh speaker, was of primary importance:

"I'd be more insulted if somebody is… Sort of casually bigoted towards Welsh speakers than if they are towards, you know, autistic people or bi people or… Even women, to an extent, I do feel like that comes first out of everything"

Theme 2: Legitimacy

The ideological underpinnings of what constitutes a legitimate speaker of Welsh and the ideas participants expressed around ideas of what makes someone Welsh were interestingly not necessarily predicated on fluent language usage.

Participants were hesitant to define 'Welshness' within strict parameters. Most ideas of what constituted Welshness were predicated mainly on cultural expressions. Participant A noted:

"I would say it's very fluid concept. It's, I suppose more of a cultural thing than like a geographical or, genetic thing. Although I guess they probably play into it. But I definitely don't think that you need to speak Welsh to be Welsh."

Participant B also noted cultural factors, particularly allegiance to Welsh sports teams, in buoying feelings of legitimate Welsh identity for him in his childhood, especially as they served to separate him from an environment in which his peers supported English teams:

"Like, it was something I, maybe, like galvanised… my identity around was, 'Well, I support Welsh teams, so I'm Welsh.'"

Participant C recounted several personal anecdotes, concluding that English social etiquette feels more distant to her than Welsh social norms, which she noted was something the struggled to adapt to when visiting England. Her uniquely Welsh deviations from these norms were a point of critique for her English peers. She noted:

"I'd say it's probably a cultural thing. I think people, people in England in particular, don't realise that culturally it is a bit different here."

When the conversation shifted to discussions around the importance of the Welsh language, the language's role in constructing broader Welsh identity was acknowledged, but fluency was explicitly not factored into definitions of legitimate Welshness. Participant A, who continuously hesitated to define many facets of Welshness due to his perceived 'out-group' status, noted earlier that the ability to speak Welsh does not necessarily define Welshness. In a later statement, he clarified his perspectives on the importance of the Welsh language to a Welsh identity overall:

"[…] I'm sure that there are some, Welsh people and others who wouldn't necessarily consider the language to be a major part of it, but I suppose there's a kind of,

aggregate, of all of those different possible perceptions of a Welsh identity in the Welsh culture. My opinion is that it's quite an important part of it."

Participants B and C also shared the opinion that Welsh proficiency does not necessarily define a legitimate speaker of Welsh. Participant B still noted its importance in shaping personal identities, including his own:

"Yeah, a lot of people would say that particularly a lot of like, Welsh speakers, and… A lot of first language Welsh speakers might say that you should… You do need to speak Welsh to feel Welsh, or you should try to speak Welsh to feel Welsh. Which, I think is a bit problematic. I think that it can certainly help though, and for a lot of people it does, and for me it does"

Participant C, meanwhile, stated:

"[…] It's not so much the speaking or how well you speak it, but do you actually make use of what you can do? […] You know if you… If you could do everything in Welsh and you choose to do nothing, I feel like that's that's less Welsh than somebody who you know will say, 'Oh, do you want to come around for a paned', rather than 'a cup of tea'…?"

Theme 3: Minority Language Status

The status of Welsh as a minority language within Wales was reflected in participants' ideas around the history of Welsh and the resulting attitudes towards learners and conceptions of the utility of the language. Whilst these factors naturally intersect, they will be examined separately and discussed further in the following section.

i. History

Whilst all participants acknowledged the importance of the history of Welsh, especially as a catalyst for administrative shifts which led to easier access to resources, overall, the tangible personal impacts were of lesser importance. Participant C, for instance, noted that it had little impact on her personal choice to use the language, but that it influenced her perception of the reactions of her interlocutors:

"I'd say it has more of an influence in my perception of other people and how they react to it. I think in terms of I'm not sure if I ever did consciously decide to keep using it."

Participant B reiterated that whilst he is conscious of the historical trajectory of Welsh, his decision to engage with the language was purely personal, which he stated was, in a way, separate from the history:

"[…] Maybe it didn't, maybe the history didn't directly influence my choice to learn the language. Like I said, my main reason for learning the language is to do with my own sense of identity. But it's definitely a factor that I'm conscious of."

Participant A, meanwhile, positioned the history of Welsh as a point of delineation, which allowed for a reappraisal of his role as a Welsh learner:

> "I think because of what I understand at least and I might be totally wrong about this, but what I understand to be the uniqueness of, a language going into decline and then, you know, growing again in use. I think that does make you feel almost, I suppose part of a movement. And part of a sort of relatively unique cultural shift.

ii. Learner Attitudes

In general, all participants reported being received positively as learners or speakers of Welsh. Participant A remarked:

> "But the-the only kind of reaction that you get is really positive. Whether that's, you know, if you sign up to a class or, you know, you say something in Welsh to somebody, it's-it's very kind of... people are pleased, even if they're not a Welsh speaker themselves"

Participant B's views acknowledged a dynamic between learner's and L1 Welsh speakers, although with the caveat of not having experienced any particularly negative interactions, which he later clarified may have to do with his geographic location in a part of Wales which has generally fewer Welsh speakers:

> "So there has traditionally been this dynamic, where people learning Welsh as adults have sometimes felt a little bit sort of, condescended, or excluded by first language speakers. To be honest, I haven't experienced that myself personally. I've-I've found it's all been pretty welcoming. And I think that's maybe something that's changed in recent years because maybe, more broadly, people recognise the importance of just… Having more people embrace the language at whatever level."

The views of Participant C, as a Welsh NS, appeared to reinforce the positive experiences of the other two participants:

> "I think it's really nice. It's another kind of cultural thing, I think. Where it feels like people are being really polite, really nice when they do that."

iii. Utility of Welsh

For Participants A and B, the perception of the utility of Welsh and its influence on their learning journeys was primarily brought up through the context of both of their jobs at university. When Participant B was mentioning his experiences searching for work in Wales, he noted:

> "And when I've- When that's come up in interviews, like, and I've mentioned that I want to learn Welsh, they've always said like, 'Oh we-we really want to support that as an

employer. We really want to be able to encourage more people to speak Welsh, and we can support you on courses and stuff.'"

Participant C discussed the discrepancy in perspectives on the utility of Welsh across the country:

"Oh, I'd say… So you know, you speak to other people in sort of similar situations, but who maybe we're in a part of the country where, you know, they'd be told, 'Oh, don't worry too much about your Welsh exam, you're never going to need it.' And that kind of thing. And there's a very definite… I'd say, people who grow up around where I do because it is so ubiquitous, and of course you use it in the community, at work, at all of this. That definitely has an effect relative to people in other areas of the country who… sometimes will almost not believe that, 'What do you mean you actually use it.'"

Theme 4: Drivers for Welsh

Access to Welsh language resources and the reported mobility which the Welsh language was reported to result in were brought up across all three interviews.

Participant A noted both the prevalence of resources, especially the abundance of assistance from the university:

"[…] you know, [if I] really wanted to become fluent or much more fluent than I am now, then I'm aware of the resources and support that would be available"

As well as his personal desire to continue, citing that one of his reasons lies in continuing a life in Wales:

"I definitely have an interest in improving my Welsh and, yeah, even once I've finished my PhD, there's a good chance I'll-I'll still be here"

Participant B's statements also supported the prevalence of support for advancement in Welsh at the university level:

"And the university generally is very pro-Welsh language learning, like it's integrated into so much university policy. To an almost [laughs] inconvenient extent sometimes. […] So yeah, in the sort of settings that I'm in, it's been I've felt very supported and very encouraged to learn Welsh.

He also spoke about the increased benefits of being a Welsh learner whilst applying for jobs:

"At the moment, I'm actually applying for lots of jobs. And, without exception, every single one has had somewhere on there a desirable criteria being that you either speak Welsh or are learning Welsh."

Participant C noted the personal advantage of her previous ability to access Welsh as a NS:

"Almost every job I've ever had has been, you know, they needed a Welsh speaker to do a particular thing and I could do the thing."

She also admitted there was a skill in which she would like to improve: academic writing. Whilst she found there existed an avenue for her to improve through an academic Welsh writing module, she reported the content was primarily geared towards those who are already involved with Welsh academically:

"I think the biggest problem is probably that people who are very good at formal Welsh and in writing and academic Welsh are often the same people you know they'll have a they'll have a PhD in Welsh, they'll have, you know, qualifications in looking at literature and that kind of thing."

Theme 4.5: Barriers to Access

This theme builds on the previous, in that it more closely examines what participants reported were barriers to further advancement or difficulties in maintaining their Welsh language skills. This theme was most clearly expressed by the Welsh learners in their interviews.

Both Participant A and Participant B clarified the benefits of their employment situations resulting in free Welsh language courses, with Participant B noting a class-based dimension, citing the fact that Welsh language resources are often concentrated in wealthier areas. Both described being aware of and satisfied with the breadth of resources and support offered. The main barrier for both appeared to be in inability to invest sufficient time in Welsh language learning due to personal time constraints, with Participant A reporting:

"I think, that in many ways, the only thing that's holding me back from learning more-more Welsh is myself. And the amount of time that I'm, prepared... to, put into it"

He clarified that the primary difficulties involve balancing Welsh learning with his other commitments, citing his academic workload, hobbies, and social involvements.

This is a sentiment echoed by Participant B, who expressed disappointment with the amount of time he is able to invest in learning Welsh, especially when compared to his previous experience of learning other languages for his degree, all of which necessitated full-time learning. He expressed that the current Welsh language course he's enrolled in, whilst overall satisfactory, feels comparatively slower:

"I would like to be able to commit more time, more of my time to it. This is something that I've found quite frustrating while I have been learning. Is the pace that I've been learning it at. […] But, like, I do get frustrated at the pace of it because I would like to be

learning it quicker. But equally I've got, you know, my work, and my studies, and other stuff that kind of means that I can't put more time into it than I am currently."

Chapter 5: Discussion

This study aimed to explore the relationships between the Welsh language, investment, and identity prevalent across four Welsh universities. The survey indicated that most students appear to be receptive to learning or maintaining the Welsh language, with a vast majority having a positive view of the Welsh language and holding the opinion that the Welsh language plays an important role in Welsh identity. Some reported reasons for their learning of Welsh as rooted in desires to integrate with the wider community, reclaim a perceived missing part of their heritage or identity, or out of a desire to continue living in Wales after graduation. However, these views did not necessarily correspond with students' choices of where to study; Welsh language usage around or within any university community did not play a significant role in a majority of respondents' choices to study at their institution. Furthermore, there were reports of inconsistencies in access or language usage rates among staff across the universities, which participants indicated were areas of improvement to potentially strengthen broader investment in Welsh language learning.

Meanwhile, the interviews provided additional nuance with the key themes of the language's relationships with identity negotiation, the mechanics of legitimisation of identity, the influence of Welsh as a minority language on participants' investment and identity, and echoed certain findings prevalent in the survey, primarily those related to drivers for learning Welsh hinging on ease of access and perceived mobility and certain barriers for language uptake, primarily time constraints. This section will apply these observed themes as they relate to the research questions, whilst considering the literature.

5.1 What patterns of language usage do students at Welsh universities report?

Expectedly, an overwhelming majority of respondents used English as the primary language for communication within the home, the language of both primary and secondary education, and the language of choice for interacting with the wider community, including friends, peers, retail stallers. Factoring in childhood bilinguals, English also appeared as most respondents' first language. Despite massive governmental reform and community intervention in buoying the numbers of Welsh speakers over the last several decades, and the re-negotiation of social capital, which now often positions Welsh as a language of higher prestige (Madoc-Jones et al., 2013; Price & Tamburelli, 2020), this is unsurprising, given the historical erosion of Welsh monolingualism and shifts which cemented English as a dominant force in Wales (Jenkins, 2007; Davies,

2014). Furthermore, the overall prevalence of English within higher education may be explained by the general hegemonic presence of English across various sectors of global academia.

However, the dominance of English wanes when participants were asked if they occasionally consume media in languages apart from English. Although the regularity of media consumption in Welsh is still relatively low, with most respondents to that question indicating it occurs anywhere from less than once a week to 1-2 times a week, social media content and print media are much more regularly consumed than other options such as movies or television, radio or podcasts, and music. Whilst not necessarily the focus of this study, the regularity of social media content consumption is likely related to the relative ease of access to online resources in various languages, including Welsh, within this population, which Darvin & Norton (2015) postulate may be a factor in the reshaping of ideologies, the value of capital, and identities as learners are more seamlessly able to traverse transnational boundaries through increased access to digital resources (p. 41). This could be a subject of potential future research.

The results also indicated that most students at Welsh universities appear eager about engaging with the Welsh language, whether they are L1 or L2 speakers. Within this sample, 60% of respondents stated they were current or prospective learners of Welsh. Furthermore, for a fairly significant proportion of participants (41%), Welsh was used either not at all, or very little in daily life. Nonetheless, around 44% responded they interact regularly with the community, including their family and friends, in Welsh to some degree. Interestingly, students' choice of university was not dictated by their perceptions of the prevalence of Welsh language usage within the university and wider community. This may indicate that the impetus to learn Welsh does not necessarily stem from the wider community in which these learners are situated.

i. What reasons do they report for these patterns of usage?

Whilst not necessarily indicative of personal decisions to engage with Welsh (these will be discussed later in this chapter), the patterns of usage and the uptake of the Welsh language amongst students may be influenced by overall positive opinions about the Welsh language. Nearly all respondents indicated that they viewed Welsh entirely or somewhat positively, and this sentiment was echoed throughout the interviews. It may be tentatively concluded that the fostering of a general positive reception of Welsh serves as

an ideological force to encourage the learning or usage of Welsh. In interviews, two participants, who both worked at their universities, also indicated the prevalence of Welsh as a part of administrative procedures. Although remarking that it is sometimes inconvenient, they nonetheless report feeling supported and encouraged by the promotion and attitude towards Welsh within the university administration. However, it should be recognised that some survey respondents made specific reference to the fact that their interlocutors, either within the wider community or at university, will either switch to English or assume the participant wishes to engage in English, which appears to serve as a deterrent for further engagement with Welsh.

Despite the general positive attitudes towards the Welsh language, and the high rates of Welsh learners within this sample, a dominant theme which emerged through the interview process was an acknowledgement of the lack of time participants could afford to dedicate to learning Welsh. Interestingly, this was viewed by one participant more as a personal failure ("the only thing that's holding me back from learning more Welsh is myself"); the other participant who mentioned this theme instead felt more frustrated at the pace of lessons offered, especially as someone with experience learning languages for a degree, though acknowledging that he still has other commitments he cannot disengage from to allot more time for Welsh anyway. While the survey's sample size restricts any definitive conclusions regarding their specific reasonings, this sentiment reoccurred in the survey data by a student who chose not to engage with Welsh, who cited the demands of their degree ("I feel like I didn't have the time, and I was more concerned with improving in Spanish as part of my degree"). Others cited the futility of learning Welsh personally, as they had no plans to continue life in Wales after the completion of their degree, as a reason for their unwillingness to participate in learning Welsh.

It may be theorised based on the available data that regardless of any one participants' drive to learn Welsh, temporal constraints often outweigh desire, and serve as barriers towards increased learner investment, as students are limited by their role as students. As evident in the interviews, despite both participants reiterating that engagement with Welsh was deeply important to them, insufficient time served as a significant restrictive force.

5.2 To what extent and in what ways do students at Welsh universities engage in learning Welsh?

As discussed briefly in the previous section, a significant proportion of Welsh speakers use Welsh in daily life for conversing with the community and, a subsection of respondents additionally used Welsh for engagement with academia. This is echoed in the interviews, where participants discuss their utilisation of Welsh within administrative contexts (e.g. emails) and largely to communicate with family, friends, and their wider network. It is a drawback of this study that more specific questions were not asked about what specific steps learners and NS take to learn or maintain their language skills; nonetheless, some pertinent conclusions can be drawn when observing the results of what students wish were implemented within their universities to further promote Welsh.

The results for satisfaction with university promotion of Welsh appear slightly contradictory. Overall, approximately 60% of respondents feel that Welsh is promoted very strongly or somewhat strongly to learners of all levels. Meanwhile, only about 12% of respondents actually had no suggestions for improving Welsh language promotion at their universities. Most complaints had to do with barriers to access Welsh language resources: difficulty accessing in-person classes, lack of free language courses, and insufficient resources for beginners learning Welsh. The latter point was also mentioned by Participant C, who mentioned that, from her perspective, learners with a higher proficiency are better catered to and receive more benefits after the conclusion of their degree. Other criticisms included the lack of promotion to and engagement with NNS and the lack of consistency with Welsh language provision throughout modules and amongst teaching staff.

Furthermore, in the interviews, some data emerged with regards to access to Welsh resources. As discussed in the previous section, time served as a limiting factor in progressing in Welsh; despite participants' desire to improve, some felt somewhat constrained by either the pacing of courses, especially when compared to previous experiences of learning languages for their degree, and their overall workload allowing for little time to invest in Welsh. Two participants – A & B – also mentioned that they personally benefit from free language courses provided due to their employment at the university; Participant B later brought up the growing prestige of Welsh-medium education concentrating in more upper-middle class areas (e.g. Madoc-Jones et al., 2013) and that resources at times felt unevenly distributed.

As mentioned previously, there is some evidence that willing learners feel restricted by the wider impulse of NS to switch to English for interlocution. There is evidence for this in the Welsh context (Trosset, 1986; Hornsby & Vigers, 2018) However, this warrants more investigation, and concrete conclusions cannot be drawn about the systemic limitations imposed by NS towards 'new speakers' specifically within university contexts.

i. What reasons do they report for their decisions regarding learning Welsh?

When analysing participants' textual responses for reasons to learn Welsh most (61%) were explained by the theme of the desire for inclusion: communication with family and friends, residence in Wales, further embeddedness within the community were all cited as justifications for their decision. Following that, the second most popular theme was the relation of Welsh to personal identity, including whether participants personally had a claim to Welsh identity through a familial or residential connection or participants' ideological belief that engagement with the language acts as a form of courtesy towards the wider community and their belief in themselves as a person to uphold that personal value.

The responses from NNS align closely with the conclusions of Bermingham & Higham's research (2018): 'new speakers' of Welsh, particularly those from non-Welsh ethnolinguistic backgrounds, do not necessarily seek to define themselves with a Welsh identity, but instead seek to improve Welsh proficiency to acquire increased social and economic capital. This is particularly evident throughout Participant A's interview: Welsh is viewed by him as the marker of his desired home, a part of a profound linguistic movement, which he seeks to further manoeuvre within, although he rejects the belief that he could ever be considered 'Welsh' regardless of his integration due to insufficient cultural and ethnic ties. Nonetheless, Welsh is viewed extremely positively by him. This tracks with survey responses: Welsh proficiency does not necessarily conclude in participants claiming Welsh identity; many learn it to identify themselves with their personal desire of being productive, courteous members of Welsh society. Nonetheless, this desire for inclusion, and its tension with the participants' social and cultural positionality, still factors into their investment to learn Welsh and symbiotically functions as a marker of identification.

The interviews indicated that Welsh ability and, for learners, instances of successful communication functioned as salient factors in achieving a feeling of belonging or a feeling of reclaiming missing parts of identity. This holds true regardless of the level of proficiency: across interviews, it appears that though Welsh language is important to Welsh identity broadly, the actual level of fluency is immaterial: the act of communication in Welsh to the best of one's abilities is seen as a better marker of Welshness than fluency. Attitudes towards learners also do not appear to act as a significant deterrent for prospective or current learners. This contrasts somewhat with the findings of Trosset (1986), whose research concluded that Welsh proficiency was determined and reinforced by somewhat exclusionary extrinsic perceptions of Welsh identity. On the contrary, for instance, Participant C, a Welsh NS, instead wholistically views learners appreciatively, despite any deviations from standardised Welsh. This is echoed by Participants A & B, who recount their experiences as learners: one from a non-Welsh background and one from a Welsh background. Participant A notes that all responses towards Welsh learning have been positive, even from those who do not speak Welsh; Meanwhile, Participant A does note a historical condescension of NS towards learners, but notes that he has never been on the receiving end of such an experience and concludes with the possibility that this has to do with his surroundings having relatively more Welsh learners than NS and a general attitudinal shift.

5.3 What role does the Welsh language play in students' sense of identity?

The Welsh language appears to play a fairly significant role for students in the positioning, construction, and negotiation of their identities. Although only 54% of students indicated that the Welsh language plays a significant or somewhat significant part in their personal identity, as opposed to 91% of respondents' opinions that it strongly or somewhat strongly impacts Welsh identity wholistically, a closer examination of both survey and interview responses indicated that this was a far more complex issue. Throughout the survey responses, some common sentiments included "regaining heritage", the importance of Welsh "to our culture", and "learning Welsh to feel more Welsh. As discussed in the previous section, Welsh also functioned as a tool to position oneself within the community: used as a tool of engagement, as an expression of courtesy towards others, and as a method for learning the history of Wales. This latter factor is a crucial component of identity: the desired self perceived by the larger community and themselves as a courteous, willing participant in broader society through the expression of

the target language – the synthesis of ideology, identity, and capital culminating in a desire to engage, with investment in the language.

Interview responses further illuminated the participants' personal experiences with the language as a method for negotiating social positionality, identity reclamation, or an assessment of the identities and ideologies of other participants in instances of communication. Participant A, though feeling unable to claim Welsh identity, nonetheless views Welsh as a crucial indicator of home, of desired enmeshment into a community, of participation in a wider movement. Despite his reservations in 'claiming' Welshness, his identity is nonetheless informed by Welsh: his engagement with Welsh imparts a feeling within him of being a member of a broader cultural shift. He views his engagement with the language as a method of being a responsible, courteous member of his adopted community, and as he seeks to continue building his home in Wales, he increasingly sees the value of Welsh for increased social, cultural, and financial capital.

Participant B views the language as a method of reclamation of a part of an identity he felt was missing. He noted always thinking of himself as Welsh, particularly through his familial ties and support of Welsh sports teams as a distinction between himself and his peers growing up, but learning Welsh served as a tool for personally validating his claim to an identity. Improving Welsh was viewed as a vector not only for reclamation of what he felt was continuously missing, but as a validation of him as a member of a historic community – 'cynefin'. Participant C acknowledged the multiplicity of her identities in the interview and to her, Welsh was of paramount importance – "I do feel like it comes first out of everything" – Welsh language is a conscious choice, a reassertion of identity, a form of social and financial capital, and a tool for interaction and assessment.

In summation, these cumulative results, particularly those evident in interview data, seem to closely align with poststructuralist theories on identity (Weedon, 1987; Peirce, 1995; Norton, 2013; Darvin & Norton, 2015); identity is a site of multiplicities: a persistent struggle between present positioning and desired selves, of shifting ideologies and future possibilities. The results also appear to indicate that language does not simply function as a tool to align a learner with a prescribed national or historical identity, but rather as a method of constructing an idea of themselves as a willing community participant; in an increasingly inter-connected world, language transcends strict ethno-

national identities and may instead function as a more complex method of expressing the multiple, potentially contradictory statuses of an individual within a larger community.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

The research found that students at Welsh universities appear overall enthusiastic about learning Welsh, with high levels within the sample of agreement regarding the importance of the language to Welsh identity, and to some degree, personal identity. The reasoning for engagement with Welsh, regardless of learner background, is rooted in a desire for greater inclusion, whether within learners' own family units or the broader social fabric of Wales. The impact of Welsh on personal identity appeared overall lower, though for some respondents Welsh functioned as a tool for reasserting identity.

However, students find it difficult to continue further improvement primarily due to time constraints encountered throughout their degree. Reasons for not engaging with Welsh at all hinged mostly on ideas of restricted mobility and the decreased utility of Welsh outside of Wales. Potential barriers restricting prospective Welsh learners may lie in insufficient means to access Welsh language resources at universities. Although many respondents' choice of university attendance not influenced by Welsh language status at their institution, it may be theorised that more effective measures of engaging a student populace with Welsh may further buoy speaker numbers and encourage further learner investment.

This research hints at some potential policy implications that could be implemented across Wales' universities to further stimulate the uptake of Welsh. Quite a few suggestions from respondents, which could be feasibly implemented within institutions include subsidised or free Welsh, more opportunities to attend language classes, which could carry certain amounts of credits towards students' degrees. Secondly, societies for prospective Welsh learners or beginner learners could be established or better publicised, so that those without Welsh language proficiency could more feasibly engage with Welsh language resources for their level.

6.1 Limitations

The overall sample size was smaller than expected. Whilst the researcher was aware this was a possibility, there was an assumption that this could be mitigated by the choice to promote and circulate this survey amongst the four universities with some of the largest student population sizes in Wales. Potential reasons for a smaller sample size were unexpected barriers to the implemented circulation tactics and general lower response rates due to students' unwillingness to complete surveys. In addition, it is entirely

possible that students who were not Welsh speakers were hesitant to participate in the survey due to assuming that only Welsh speakers or learners were the target population. This resulted in a potential skewing of the results due to lower sample size and respondent bias; there is a possibility that it was predominantly those who had stronger positive feelings towards the role of the Welsh language who responded to the survey, which was reflective of the overall results.

There was also a notable obstacle with recruitment from one university due to administrative issues, so overall participant numbers from that university are low and do not allow for meaningful, generally applicable conclusions to be drawn from that subset of the population.

Whilst the proportion of those who agreed to participate in interviews was higher than expected based on the sample size, additional responses, especially from participants who were not invested in the Welsh language and felt more negative in its role in their identities, would have enhanced this research by providing a more wholistic representation of attitudes towards Welsh at universities. The fact that the maximum variation cases had to be altered also resulted in potentially positively skewed results and did not allow for further nuance in the study. Nonetheless, the results illustrate the complex, personal choices and experiences of Welsh speakers and learners in Wales' higher education sector through an examination of the role of language in the construction of identity.

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Appendix

CUREC Approval:

Education (Educ) DREC

15 Norham Gardens, Oxford, OX2 6PY

Applicant: Valentina Begun

Principal Investigator: Robert Woore

Department: Education

Study title: Exploring the Relationships between the Welsh Language, Investment, and Identity At Wales' Universities.

(Version: 4.0)

Ethics reference: Education (Educ) DREC - 1257359

Dear Robert Woore,

On behalf of the Committee, I confirm that the above research study described in the application and other supporting documentation submitted to the committee has been carefully considered by the Education (Educ) DREC in accordance with the University's regulations and policy for ethics approval of research involving human participants, human tissue and/or personal data. The opinion is as follows:

Opinion of Research Ethics Committee: Amendment Submission

Subject to the following conditions:

Decision Date: [redacted] 2025, [redacted]

Opinion End Date: 20 Mar 2026

If favourable, insurance-provided indemnity arrangements will be in place between the decision date and opinion end date and you may now commence your study activities.

Should you plan to continue the research beyond the end date above, it is your responsibility to ensure that you request, and receive, an extension (via amendment) from the committee for indemnity to remain in place. You may be required to provide a justification.

Please note the following:

Amendments: Should there be any subsequent changes to the reviewed study, applications for amendments can be made via the Oxford Ethics Application System (Worktribe Ethics).

Reports: Studies considered by OxTREC are expected to submit an annual progress report on each anniversary of study approval, until the study is completed. An end of study report is also required.

Audit: This study may be selected for audit at the discretion of the Research Governance, Ethics and Assurance Team.

Data safety: It is the responsibility of the PI to ensure that all data collected during the course of the study is stored and transferred safely and securely in accordance with University requirements. Further guidance and advice are available from the Research Data Team. Additional information is available at https://researchsupport.web.ox.ac.uk/governance/ethics

Yours Sincerely,

Education Ethics Officer

Survey (Consent & Communication):

Consent Information & Form:

Department of Education
University of Oxford
15 Norham Gardens Oxford OX2 6PY
communications@education.ox.ac.uk
+44 1865 274024

Principal Researcher: Valentina Begun
Contact Details: valentina.begun@linacre.ox.ac.uk

Principal Investigator: Robert Woore
Contact Details: robert.woore@education.ox.ac.uk
+44 1865 274141

Consent Form for 'Exploring the Relationships between the Welsh Language, Motivation[4], and Identity At Wales' Universities'.
CUREC Approval Reference: EDUC_1257359

General Information

The aim of this research is to investigate the relationships between learning Welsh, motivation, and identity at universities in Wales.

We appreciate your interest in participating in this online survey. You have been invited to participate as you are students at select universities in Wales. Please read through this information before agreeing to participate, if you wish to, by ticking the 'yes' box below.

You may ask any questions before deciding to take part by contacting the researcher (details above). The Principal Researcher is Valentina Begun who is attached to the Department of Education at the University of Oxford. This research is being completed under the supervision of Robert Woore. You will be asked to complete the first part of the survey, with an additional choice to complete the second optional part of the survey, should you wish. The first part of the survey includes general questions regarding your place of birth and your language usage. The second part of the survey includes questions concerning your opinion on the Welsh language, whether you are a learner or speaker of Welsh, among others, and an optional field to leave your contact information should you

[4] This was the previous title of the project, the final title is present on all other consent material (interviews) going forward.

wish to participate in an interview. The first part of the survey should take no more than 5 minutes, whilst the optional second part will take around 15 minutes, should you wish to participate. No background knowledge is required. Interviews (if you choose to take part in these after the surveys) will be expected to take around 25-30 minutes.

Both parts one and two of the survey will be utilised in the dissertation to build a framework of the relationship between Welsh language usage, patterns of motivation, and conceptions of identity at Welsh higher education institutions. All data will be used exclusively for the purpose of writing up an MSc dissertation.

Do I have to take part?

No. Please note that participation is voluntary. If you start part 1 of the survey and then change your mind, you can scroll to the end of page and click on "No, please withdraw my data". You may then exit out of the browser and your data will be deleted. As the first part of the survey is anonymous, once submitted, no data may be withdrawn.

The second part of the survey is anonymous, unless you choose to leave your contact details. If the second part of the survey is submitted without leaving contact details, no data may be withdrawn once it is submitted. The second part of the survey is entirely optional, including leaving your contact details in the event you would be willing to participate in the subsequent interview portion of this project. If you start part 2 of the survey and then change your mind, you can scroll to the end of the page and click on "No, please withdraw my data".

Taking part in the interviews is also entirely optional. If you indicate in part 2 of the survey that you are interested in participating in an interview, I will contact you separately (using the contact details you provide) with an additional consent form.

How will my data be used?

If only completing the first part of the survey and the second part of the survey without leaving your contact details, no data collected will directly identify you. Your IP address will not be stored. We will take all reasonable measures to ensure that data remain confidential.

If only completing the questions included in the second part of the survey, no data collected will directly identify you. However, if you choose to leave your contact details in the case you would be willing to participate in the interview portion of the project, these contact details will be stored in a password-protected electronic file on the University of Oxford secure servers and may be used to contact you for participation. All data collected during the duration of this project will be stored on OneDrive Nexus 365, used by Oxford University.

Any correspondence regarding participation in interviews will only be conducted from the researcher's Valentina Begun's, official email, valentina.begun@linacre.ox.ac.uk

In the case you have been contacted for your participation in interviews, you will be required to complete a consent form and send it back to the researcher. The interviews will be conducted in-person, with audio recording completed using Microsoft Teams. There will be no video recording. Audio data will be transcribed using Microsoft Word during the interviews, reviewed within one week of completion of interviews by both the researcher and the participant to ensure accuracy of responses, and deleted after conclusion of transcription. Once interviews are completed and all information has been clarified, your securely-stored contact information will be promptly deleted.

The responses you provide will be stored in a password-protected electronic file on University of Oxford secure servers and will be used for the submission of a MSc dissertation. Identifiable information will be deleted as soon as it is no longer required for the research. Research data will be securely transferred to the supervisor's (Robert Woore) University of Oxford Nexus 365 account after the completion of the course and stored for three years, as required by the University of Oxford's Research Data Policy.

Who will have access to my data?

The University of Oxford is the data controller with respect to your personal data and, as such, will determine how your personal data is used in the research. The University will process your personal data for the purpose of the research outlined above. Research is a task that we perform in the public interest. Further information about your rights with respect to your personal data is available from https://compliance.admin.ox.ac.uk/individual-rights. The results will be written up for

submission of a dissertation for the completion of an MSc degree.

Who has reviewed this research?

This research has been reviewed by, and received ethics clearance through the Department of Education Research Committee, a subcommittee of the University of Oxford Central University Research Ethics Committee (EDUC_1257359)

Who do I contact if I have a concern or I wish to complain?

If you have a concern about any aspect of this research, please contact Valentina Begun at valentina.begun@linacre.ox.ac.uk or Robert Woore at robert.woore@education.ox.ac.uk or by telephone at +44 1865 274141, and we will do our best to answer your query. We will acknowledge your concern within 10 working days and give you an indication of how it will be dealt with.

If you remain unhappy or wish to make a formal complaint, please contact the University of Oxford Research Governance, Ethics & Assurance (RGEA) team at rgea.complaints@admin.ox.ac.uk or on 01865 616480.

Sample Recruitment E-mail:

Hello,

My name is Valentina Begun, an MSc Applied Linguistics and Second Language Acquisition student at the University of Oxford's Department of Education. I'm currently beginning my research project, “Exploring the Relationships between the Welsh Language, Motivation, and Identity at Wales’ Universities”, which focuses on investigating the connections between university students' choices to study the Welsh language, their patterns of motivation to pursue or continue Welsh, and how it interacts with their identity. Whether a student is a speaker of Welsh or not does not exclude them from taking the survey. I would be immensely grateful if you could share the survey with undergraduate or postgraduate students at your institution.

The survey consists of two parts, both of which are anonymous, unless students explicitly choose to share their contact information at the end of the second part. This is optional and would only be if they would be willing to be contacted for participation in interviews. Part one is approximately 5-10 minutes in length and part two is approximately 10-15 minutes in length.

Please share this survey with any undergraduate or postgraduate students at [redacted], if possible:

[link]

Also attached to this email is a version with a QR code.

Thank you kindly.

Sincerely,

Valentina Begun

Survey Questions:

Consent Information (Mandatory Questions):

Please note that you may only participate in this survey if you are 18 years of age or older

- I certify that I am 18 years of age or older

If you have read the information above and agree to participate with the understanding that the data (including any personal data) you submit will be processed accordingly, please tick the box below to start.

- Yes, I agree to take part in the surveys. (A separate consent process will be used for anyone who takes part in the interviews).

Part 1:

Please select which university you attend:

- [redacted] University
- [redacted] University
- [redacted] University
- [redacted] University

Please select your degree programme:

- Undergraduate
- Postgraduate (taught or research)

Please select nationality:

- England
- Wales
- Northern Ireland
- Scotland
- Other (please specify)

If from Wales, please specify which principal area:

- Isle of Anglesey
- Gwynedd
- Cardiff
- Ceredigion
- Carmarthenshire
- Denbighshire

- Flintshire
- Monmouthshire
- Pembrokeshire
- Powys
- Swansea
- Conwy
- Blaenau Gwent
- Bridgend
- Caerphilly
- Merthyr Tydfil
- Neath Port Talbot
- Newport
- Rhondda Cynon Taf
- Torfaen
- The Vale of Glamorgan
- Wrexham

Please select your first language. If bilingual from childhood, select all that apply:

- Welsh
- English
- Other (please specify)

Please select all languages you use to communicate at home:

- Welsh
- English
- Other (please specify)

Please select the main language(s) through which your primary education was delivered:

- Welsh
- English
- Other (please specify)

Please select the main language(s) through which your secondary education was delivered:

- Welsh
- English
- Other (please specify)

Do you often use a language other than English to communicate with the wider community (i.e. friends, peers, professors, retail workers, restaurant staff etc.)? Please select all that apply.

- Yes, Welsh
- Yes, any other language (please specify)
- No, I only use English to communicate

Do you watch/listen to media in languages other than English? Select all that apply.

- Yes, in Welsh
- Yes, in any other language (please specify)
- No, I only watch media/listen to media in English

If yes, on average how frequently do you read/watch/listen to media in languages other than English per week?

- Movies/TV:

Less than once a week – 1-2 times a week – 3-4 times a week – 5-6 times a week – Every day

- Music:

Less than once a week – 1-2 times a week – 3-4 times a week – 5-6 times a week – Every day

- Social media content:

Less than once a week – 1-2 times a week – 3-4 times a week – 5-6 times a week – Every day

- Radio/Podcasts:

Less than once a week – 1-2 times a week – 3-4 times a week – 5-6 times a week – Every day

- Books/News articles/Print media:

Less than once a week – 1-2 times a week – 3-4 times a week – 5-6 times a week – Every day

Would you like to submit your responses? (Mandatory Question)

- Yes, submit my data and continue to part 2
- Yes, submit by data and exit the survey
- No, please withdraw my data

Part 2:

This is the start of part 2.

Please note that all questions in this part are optional, except the last one asking about data submission.

Are you a native speaker of Welsh?

Note: in this case, "native speaker" refers to anyone with Welsh as their first language, anyone growing up with exposure to both Welsh and English in the home simultaneously, and anyone who spoke or utilised Welsh before the beginning of formal education.

- Yes
- No

Are you a Welsh learner?

Note: in this case, "learner" refers to anyone with any experience of studying Welsh, regardless of proficiency level.

- Yes
- No, but have made plans to begin learning Welsh (i.e. booking lessons, buying textbooks, etc.)
- No, have no plans to learn Welsh

If yes, or are planning to learn Welsh, what are your reasons for this?

If yes, do you use Welsh in daily life? In what contexts?

If you haven't made plans or are not learning Welsh, why not?

What are your general feelings towards the Welsh language?

Entirely positive – Somewhat positive – Neither positive nor negative – Somewhat Negative – Entirely Negative – I am not sure

How important is the Welsh language to the Welsh identity?

Very important – Somewhat important – Neither important nor unimportant – Somewhat unimportant – Not at all important – I am not sure

How important is the Welsh language to your identity?

Very important – Somewhat important – Neither important nor unimportant – Somewhat unimportant – Not at all important – I am not sure

How important was the perceived amount of Welsh language usage at the university or in the areas surrounding the university to you when choosing where to study?

Very important – Somewhat important – Neither important nor unimportant – Somewhat unimportant – Not at all important – I am not sure

How strongly do you feel your university promotes the learning of Welsh? Note: in this case, “learning” can also refer maintaining language proficiency for native speakers.
Very strongly – Somewhat strongly – Neutral – Not really – Not at all – I am not sure/No opinion
What are some ways in which you feel the university could promote the Welsh language?
If you wish to be contacted for an interview, please provide your contact details below:
Note: Please only leave your official university email address (ending in .ac.uk). Please double check that your email address is correct before submitting your response.
Would you like to submit your responses?

- Yes, submit my data
- No, please withdraw my data

Interview Questions:
How do you feel about the Welsh language?

How do you feel your own history with the Welsh language influences your perception of Welsh?

How do you feel the history of Welsh influences your perception of Welsh and your decision to learn Welsh?

What makes someone 'Welsh'?

Is speaking Welsh an important part of being Welsh? Why?

Does your background (i.e. English-born, studying in Wales; Welsh-born studying in Wales, international student studying in Wales) influence your decision to learn Welsh?

Why have you chosen to learn/not learn Welsh?

What would/does interest you in continuing/starting to learn/further developing your skills in Welsh?

Do you feel that your wider community (both within and outside your university) has an impact on your decision to learn Welsh or not?

What challenges are holding you back from learning/or progressing in Welsh?

How do you feel about Welsh learners in Wales?/How do you feel as a Welsh learner in Wales?

How do you engage in learning Welsh?

How do you feel when speaking/communicating in Welsh with your family/friends/wider community?

In what ways and to what extent do you see yourself using Welsh after completing university and in the future?

Interviews (Consent & Communication):

Consent Information & Form:

Department of Education
University of Oxford
15 Norham Gardens
Oxford
OX2 6PY
communications@education.ox.ac.uk
+44 1865 274024

Principal Investigator: Robert Woore
Contact Details: robert.woore@education.ox.ac.uk
+44 1865 274141

Principal Researcher: Valentina Begun [MSc Student]
Contact Details: valentina.begun@linacre.ox.ac.uk

Consent to take part in Interviews for 'Exploring the Relationships between the Welsh Language, Investment, and Identity At Wales' Universities.'

Central University Research Ethics Committee (CUREC) approval reference: EDUC_1257359

Purpose of Study: The aim of this research is to investigate the relationships between learning Welsh, investment, and identity at universities in Wales.

	Please initial each box if you agree with the statement
I confirm that I have read and understand the information for the above research. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.	☐
I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any point until **XX/XX/2025**, without giving any reason.	☐

I understand who will have access to the personal data provided, how the data will be stored and what will happen to the data at the end of the project.	☐
I understand the extent to which I could be identifiable from any publications.	☐
I consent to being audio recorded.	☐
I understand how audio recordings will be used in research outputs.	☐
I understand I will not be identifiable from any publications and:	☐
a) I do not wish to be quoted.	☐
b) I agree to the use of quotations in research outputs if I am not identifiable.	☐
I give permission for you to contact me again to clarify information.	☐
I understand how to raise a concern or make a complaint.	☐
I agree to take part.	☐

	dd / mm / yyyy	
Name of participant	Date	Signature
	dd / mm / yyyy	
Name of person taking consent	Date	Signature

Sample Recruitment Email:

Hello,

My name is Valentina Begun, an MSc Applied Linguistics student at the University of Oxford currently undertaking a research project titled "[Exploring] the Relationships between the Welsh Language, Inves[t]ment, and Identity at Wales' Universities[5]". (which has undergone a minor name change since the survey.)

I am contacting you as you have provided your email address for participation in the interview portion of this research project. I would like to sincerely thank you both for your completion of the survey and for being willing to participate in interviews. If you are still willing to participate in interviews, please carefully read and fill out the information sheet and attached consent form. These contain important information regarding participation and data privacy and storage, as well as contacts should you have any questions or concerns. Please also provide any dates and times during these next two weeks (01/07-14/07) when you would have time for the short 25-30 minute interview.

If you could please get back to me within 1 week, I would be immensely grateful. Otherwise, I will assume you do not wish to participate in interviews and your contact details will be deleted.

Please also let me know if you would no longer like to participate, and your contact details will be deleted.

Thank you so much and look forward to hearing from you!

Kind regards,

Valentina Begun

[5] Minor spelling/formatting errors, noticed by the researcher only after circulation of emails. All attached content (consent forms, etc.) had the correct title.

Full Coding Matrices for Text-based Survey Responses

Table 1

Question:	Code Name:	Inclusion Criteria:	Examples:
Q1: If you answered 'yes', or are planning to learn Welsh, what are your reasons for this? Q3: If you haven't made plans to learn Welsh, why not?	'personal identity'	Mentions of reasons for using Welsh which have to do with personal attachment to Wales/Welsh identity, heritage, belonging, reclaiming, etc.; mentions of personality or ability.	Q1: "I've always wanted to be a fluent Welsh speaker. I think it is really important to promote and protect my heritage. Once you've learned a little bit of the history behind the Welsh language, it's hard not to want to regain some of that heritage that was lost." Q3: "I do not find learning languages easy"
Q1 & Q3	'mobility'	Mentions of job security, social advancement, continued life and perceived success in country.	Q1: "As I live and intend to work in Wales, I feel this would be a useful skill to have" Q3: "I don't want to live in Wales"
Q1 & Q3	'inclusion'	Any mentions of reasons for using Welsh which have to do with integration into a wider community: family, friends, university, city, etc.	Q1: "My son attends a Welsh-speaking school. My wife is a current Welsh learner."

Table 2

Question:	Code Name:	Inclusion Criteria:	Examples:
Q2: Do you use Welsh in daily life? In what contexts?	'none or very little/basic phrases'	Any mentions of either never or rarely using Welsh, or using basic phrases, including 'Hello', 'Goodbye', 'Thank you', etc.	"Not really. I am a little shy when using Welsh out in cafes and bars or shops, and at university most people just speak English to me."
Q2	'community'	Any mentions of using Welsh with others in a social context, including family, friends, retail staff, any CMC, etc.	"Yes. Talking to friends, family, social media, co-workers, and out in the community e.g. shops, cafes, etc."
Q2	'academia'	Any mentions of using Welsh to complete academic work, attending lectures or seminars in Welsh, discussing academic subjects with professors, communicating with peers on academic topics, or conducting research in Welsh.	"Yes I do. I speak Welsh at home with my immediate and extended family, I also communicate with the majority of my close friends in Welsh. I also communicate in Welsh with my supervisor at university."

Table 3

Question:	Code Name:	Inclusion Criteria:	Examples:
Q4: What are some ways in which you feel the university could promote the Welsh language?	'none'	Applied to answers which had absolutely no feedback on improvements needed at their university.	"They do enough"
Q4	'engagement'	Any mentions of promotion of Welsh to a wider student population (e.g. advertisement, outreach, improvement of current offerings, etc.)	"I would argue that the promotion of Welsh through the university is generally as a result of needing to comply with the relevant legislation, rather than it being driven by a cultural desire."
Q4	'access'	Any mentions of barriers to access Welsh (e.g. financial, social, temporal, etc.)	"Offering more resources to learn the language, such as easier access to in person classes."
Q4	'consistency'	Any mentions of Welsh usage enforcement across different positions at university (administration, professors, students, etc.); Any mentions of lack of consistency in teaching Welsh.	"More lecturers and tutors to speak fluent Welsh. Especially those who are in higher positions. There is a need for a stricter criteria when it comes to employment in Wales and welsh speaking should be a priority."

Interview Coding Matrix (Inclusion Criteria & Sample Quotes)

DIMENSION	THEME	CODE	DESCRIPTION	INCLUSION CRITERIA	SAMPLE QUOTES
CAPITAL	BARRIERS TO ACCESS	TEMPORAL	When a participant expresses that time is what stops further engagement with Welsh	References to time, scheduling, workload that a participant notices stops engagement with Welsh learning	"Well, I think that in many ways the only thing that's holding me back from learning more Welsh is myself and the amount of time that I'm prepared to put into it."
CAPITAL	BARRIERS TO ACCESS	FINANCIAL	When a participant expresses that financial constraints are what stops further engagement with Welsh	References to lesson, textbook, resource cost that a participant notices stops engagement with Welsh learning	"But there is a shortage of Welsh language schools. So, I guess, more Welsh language schools would be beneficial for that? Particularly in, like, poorer areas. Because, as I said, they tend to be quite concentrated in richer areas."
CAPITAL	DRIVERS FOR WELSH	ACCESS	Whenever a participant expresses an	References to ease (or difficulty) of booking lessons,	"[...] If I, you know, really

			idea about the accessibility of Welsh	buying textbooks, accessing Welsh-language media, courses, speaking with others in Welsh etc.	wanted to become fluent or much more fluent than I am now, then I'm aware of the resources and support that would be available"
CAPITAL	DRIVERS FOR WELSH	MOBILITY	When a participant expresses that they feel Welsh offers mobility: social, cultural, financial	Any references to job security, financial gain, improving socio-economic class, increased mobility that comes with learning Welsh	"I think in terms of things like employment, it's just completely essential. Almost every job I've ever had has been, you know, they needed a Welsh speaker to do a particular thing and I could do the thing."
IDEOLOGY	LEGITIMATE WELSHNESS	SPEAKERHOOD	Mentions of what makes a 'legitimate' speaker of Welsh; mentions of any lines between 'learner' and 'legitimate speaker'	Any references/mentions by the participant of what separates a Welsh learner from a Welsh speaker; What ideas the participant noticed about Welsh learners vs. 'legitimate speakers'	"This is not always the case, it's not the case with everyone. And I'd say it's becoming less the case, but traditionally there has

					been a bit of a… vibe, in the sort of Welsh language community where people who are first language Welsh or who have grown up speaking Welsh, there's a perception that they can be a bit pretentious about it."
IDEOLOGY	LEGITIMATE WELSHNESS	DELINIATION	Any mentions of ideas of what makes someone 'Welsh'	Any ideas the participant has about what separates 'Welshness' from other identities; What upholds the distinctiveness of 'Welshness' according to participants; What makes someone 'Welsh'?	"I think people, people in England in particular, don't realise that culturally it is a bit different here. And… […]. But I'd say cultural things along the lines of you know what? What does it mean to be 'polite'? What's kind of what counts as a 'high-status

					job'? Kind of thing, sort of an underlying that might be more social stuff, I suppose, than cultural, but that kind of socio-cultural stuff, I would say, is-is what makes someone Welsh."
IDEOLOGY	MINORITY LANGUAGE	HISTORY	Mentions of history as it applies to 'Welshness' and the Welsh language; The importance of history to the participant	Any references to the historical trajectory of Welsh and how it's impacted a participant's decision to engage with the language; Any references to administrative actions as they relate to the history of the language	"I think the kind of the, efforts, that the government and, you know, various campaign groups and so on have taken to preserve it and actually promote it, are really valuable and certainly for people who have grown up speaking it and have, you know, spoken in their families for

					generations. I think that it’s really important that they're trying to preserve it"
IDEOLOGY	MINORITY LANGUAGE	LEARNER PERCEPTION	Mentions of how learners are perceived by Welsh speakers (NS or NNS) and Welsh society at large	Any references to how the participant perceives learners or is perceived as a learner	"Whether that's, you know, if you sign up to a class or, you know, you say something in Welsh to somebody, it's very kind of... people are pleased, even if they're not a Welsh speaker themselves"
IDEOLOGY	MINORITY LANGUAGE	UTILITY	Any mentions of the utility of Welsh in Wales or outside of it	Any references to how useful Welsh is perceived to be and whether that impacts the participant's engagement (or overall engagement that the participant has noticed) with the language	“[...] Where I live... Welsh isn't like particularly widely spoken like it's still, you know, there are... plenty of it’s spoken, but I'm aware that in other areas, you know, it is the main language

					that is spoken.”
IDENTITY	IDENTITY NEGOTIATION	INTRINSIC	References to what makes someone feel 'Welsh'; What does Welshness mean?; How does a participant feel about being 'Welsh'	References to the participant's personal connections with the Welsh identity	“Because for a long time it had felt like that was something that was missing… Sort of identity wise, something that would help me to feel… to validate, my sort of sense of ‘Welshness’. I guess. Because sometimes I felt like I had to sort of almost like prove that I'm Welsh, maybe to myself more than anyone else. I don't think anyone else really cares, but, yeah. So to answer the question, Welsh is very important to me in a personal sense.”

IDENTITY	IDENTITY NEGOTIATION	INTEGRATION	References to belonging in a community; Learning Welsh to adapt to/reclaim space in a community	References to any broader connection or desire for integration with the larger community: family, friends, academia, workplace, etc.	"But I can do the basics. And that in itself is really satisfying. And it, yeah, helps me feel that sort of sense of… Do you know the word ‘cynefin’, the Welsh word ‘cynefin’? Yeah, like belonging. I'm guessing that's going to come up a lot in the research. It's… Yeah, that is something that I feel when I speak Welsh in the community, even if it's only fairly basic stuff that is… Definitely the sort of sentiment that I feel."