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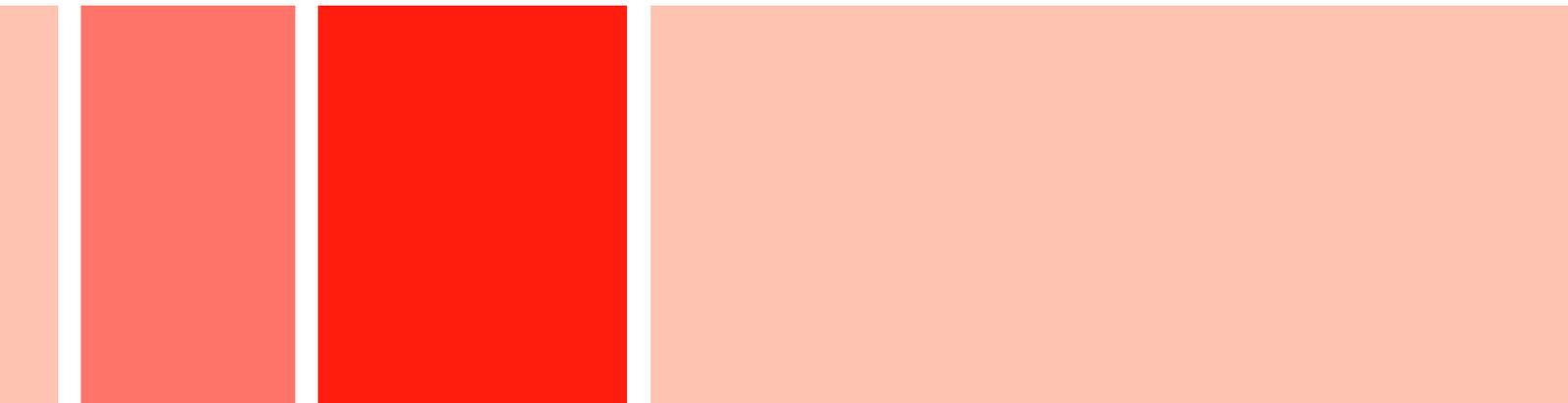
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Welsh Language Strategy Evidence Review



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Views expressed in this report are those of the researcher and not necessarily those of the Welsh Government

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1 Introduction

- 1.1 This paper provides a high level overview of current evidence relevant to Welsh language use and the six main themes in the Welsh Language Strategy.
- 1.2 A paper presenting an updated estimate of the annual change in the number of fluent Welsh speakers is attached at [Annex 1](#). This paper follows on from previous work by the Welsh Language Board (Jones, 2004¹) and uses similar methodology.
- 1.3 In Wales, we have a relatively detailed picture of the numbers of people who can speak Welsh and the frequency of doing so. The 2001 Census reported around a fifth of those aged 3 or over were able to speak Welsh, whilst the more timely but less robust Annual Population Survey estimates this at around a quarter. According to the Annual Population Survey, of those who said that they could speak Welsh, 56.9 per cent said that they used it daily, whilst 3.6 per cent said that they never used Welsh².
- 1.4 Work undertaken for this rapid evidence assessment suggests however that there is a significant lack of empirical evidence in relation to the impact of individual initiatives that have been designed to increase the use of Welsh.

2 Scope of the review and purpose of this document

- 2.1 The purpose of this document is to provide a brief overview of the available evidence in relation to initiatives relevant to the six themes in the Welsh Language Strategy. The review has been undertaken alongside the development of the Strategy and has been used to shape it. The review is published alongside the Strategy in order to make explicit evidence which has informed it. This document is not intended to provide a blueprint for Welsh language planning or decision making. However, it is hoped that the evidence it provides will contribute to a developing evidence base which will help evaluate the effectiveness of the Strategy and its component programmes in influencing

¹ "Derivation of rough estimate of annual change in fluent Welsh speakers"

² Office for National Statistics (2010) *Annual Population Survey*. Colchester: UK Data Archive

Welsh language status and use. It will also be valuable in identifying gaps in evidence that can be filled through further research.

2.2 It should be noted that evidence pertaining to Welsh medium education was not explicitly examined as part of this review. It was felt that this wasn't a priority for the review as the Welsh Medium Education Strategy already exists and evidence from research and evaluation is being taken forward as an integral part of its implementation. Nevertheless, Welsh language education is of course a central part of the Welsh Government's approach to improving Welsh Language use and there are several links to its importance mentioned within relevant sections of the review.

3 Key findings

3.1 The review identifies evidence that suggests:

- Continual exposure through the lifespan to any language may be necessary for the individual to maintain that language.
- The population most at risk of abandoning the Welsh language is families with only one Welsh-speaking parent and that the perceived status of the language in the community affects parents' attitudes towards using the language.
- The language of a child's 'community' of speakers, which includes parents, grandparents, siblings, teachers and school, influences the language spoken by the child. The language of interaction with friends correlates highly with the language the child speaks, and is influential in children's attitudes towards either or both languages.
- Initiatives such as Twf have been successful in bringing bilingualism into the mainstream work of midwives and health visitors. It has also helped raise awareness of the advantages of bilingualism.
- There could be an enhanced role for Twf and Mudiad Meithrin in providing parents with more practical and intensive support to create a stimulating

Home Learning Environment (HLE) which promotes and facilitates the use of Welsh, although there is also a need for further research on the HLE in the context of Welsh language acquisition.

- Early and teenage years are a crucial period in developing an attitude towards a minority language and in determining whether the language is maintained.
- School does not seem to be enough on its own; it needs to be supported in the home (if possible) and through wider social and cultural activities.
- There is little explicit evidence that the provision of services in minority languages increases language status or use. However, there is a body of evidence that shows that languages will thrive only if there are opportunities for use in all spheres of life.
- Attitudes towards the provision of Welsh language services are positive in Wales. Over nine out of ten Welsh speakers (with a range of fluency levels) take the view that Welsh language service provision is important to keep the language alive.
- Since the Welsh Language Act of 1993 barriers to accessing services in Welsh remain. Main barriers include a lack of supply of services in Welsh, a lack of demand for services due to lack of confidence amongst non-fluent Welsh speakers and a lack of awareness that services are provided in Welsh. Evidence on the effectiveness of specific ways of addressing these barriers is lacking.
- Lack of confidence is one of the main obstacles preventing employees from using their Welsh language skills at work. Language awareness training appears to be a successful means of increasing positive attitudes towards Welsh amongst employees.
- The Welsh language infrastructure should be strengthened through a focus on: Welsh language marketing and promotional approaches on younger age groups; improving the accessibility to and relevance of available Welsh

language media and resources; and maximising the potential of technology such as the internet and new social media.

- The likelihood of interventions to improve the use of Welsh need to be realistically assessed given emerging evidence from research on behaviour change. Such assessment needs to consider the scale - and type of intervention - necessary to secure such change at a national level.

3.2 The key finding from the statistical paper discussing the annual change in the number of Welsh speakers is that since the original Welsh Language Board analysis the impact of 'natural change' is likely to be diminished and broadly 'births' and deaths of Welsh speakers are at similar levels – although conclusion is highly dependent on the assumptions made concerning fluency at school age. There remains a net annual loss through out-migration. The paper estimates this at around 1,200 – 2,200 fluent Welsh speakers although it is impossible to set a definitive figure.

4 Objectives and methodology

Background

4.1 It is widely acknowledged that behaviour change and the factors that influence it are multifaceted and complex (Dolan, 2006; Kollmuys & Agyeman, 2002). It has been noted that simply granting a language an 'official' status does not guarantee its use, or its transmission (Romaine, 2002). Use and transmission are also dependent upon the prestige of the language; 'its position relative to that of other languages' (Grin et al, 2002). As such, many countries with minority languages have adopted strategies and initiatives that attempt to increase the knowledge, use and prestige of their languages rather than relying on official status. In Wales, numerous initiatives have been adopted with the aim of increasing the take up and use of Welsh in different spheres of life. The extent to which these have been successful however is less clear.

Aim and methodology

4.2 The Knowledge and Analytical Services department of the Welsh Government were asked to undertake a review of the evidence with the aim of informing the development of the Welsh language Strategy, 'A Living Language: A Language for Living'.

4.3 The Welsh Language Strategy is split into six themes.

1. [Welsh in the Community](#)
2. [Intergenerational Transfer of the Language](#)
3. [Children and Young People](#)
4. [The Citizen: Delivering Services](#)
5. [Welsh in the Workplace](#)
6. [Strengthening the Infrastructure](#)

4.4 For more information on the six themes please refer to the Welsh Language Strategy itself.

4.5 The three main research questions that reviewers attempted to answer in relation to the six themes outlined above were:

1. What relevance does the theme have in relation to Welsh language use?
2. What evidence is there of the success or otherwise of interventions under each theme?
3. What evidence is there that other types of interventions /policies could be successful? (including both national and international evidence)

4.6 Evidence was sourced from:

- A literature review undertaken by the Welsh Government's Library Services to identify relevant national and international research undertaken within the last 10 years and published in English or Welsh. Resources searched included Journal articles, Research papers, Conference papers, Government publications, Organisations, Books;
- Searches by individual researchers with specialist knowledge of the themes;
- Research undertaken by the Welsh Language Board since 1996;
- PHD research supported by the WLB;

- International comparisons identified through searches and research contacts in those countries;
- Direct approaches to organisations involved in interventions for evidence of impact.

4.7 Research for the review was conducted in August and September 2011. Each theme was allocated to a Government Social Researcher or Economist with expertise in that particular area. Government Statisticians contributed to all sections of the review and the key supporting statistics pertinent to each theme are presented at the start of each chapter. In order to minimise the chance of relevant research being missed, the report was also reviewed by the Welsh Language Board and peer reviewed by four leading researchers in the field during September 2011. The peer reviewers remit allowed them to highlight additional evidence where they were aware of any. However, final content decisions were the responsibility of the report's editors.

4.8 This review was not conducted using a systematic literature review methodology. And, whilst every effort has been made to ensure that this review is as comprehensive as possible, it cannot be guaranteed that all relevant literature has been accessed and reviewed.

5 Theme One - Welsh in the Community

Supporting statistics:

According to the 2001 Census of Population

- 20.8 per cent of people aged 3 and over in Wales said that they could speak Welsh.

According to the Welsh Language Use Surveys of 2004-06 by the Welsh Language Board (WLB), in 2004-06:

- 58 per cent of Welsh speakers considered themselves to be fluent in Welsh
- The percentage was highest in Gwynedd at 83 per cent and lowest in Monmouthshire at 13 per cent
- Among those who said that they could speak Welsh, the percentage that considered themselves to be fluent increased with age. Of speakers aged 3 to 15 years, 47 per cent considered themselves fluent, compared to 71 per cent of those speakers aged over 65 years of age
- Welsh was the language of the most recent conversation in the case of 59 per cent of the fluent speakers. This varied from 71 per cent in Gwynedd to under 5 per cent in Blaenau Gwent, Monmouthshire and Newport.

According to the 2001 Census:

- There were 54 communities where over 70 per cent of those aged 3 and over could speak Welsh, 6.2 per cent of all communities in Wales. This compared to 92 communities, or 10.7 per cent, in the 1991 Census.

Note: Note however that the 1991 Census asked 'Do you speak Welsh?' not 'Can you speak Welsh?' as in the 2001 Census.

What relevance does the theme have in relation to Welsh language use?

5.1 Evidence from across the world, over many decades, strongly demonstrates that the vitality and continued existence of languages is almost always closely allied to it being able to maintain a degree of dominance as the 'default' medium of communication within a defined geographical area. Language analysts distinguish various domains of expression which are particularly important for the sustained usage of a language and its intergenerational transmission. The most obvious relates to a child's interaction with its parents,

particularly the mother, and the language it is first taught. Wider socialisation through childhood with other children and adults in the home, school and immediate environment plays a further part in 'normalising' the use of one language or another, through necessity or (largely) sub-conscious choice. As the child's range of activity widens beyond the immediate locale and remote influences, such as via books and electronic media, come to bear more forcefully, there is a further cementation of the predominant use of one language over another. The implications of this are explored below in relation to the available evidence pertaining to the Welsh language.

- 5.2 This process of embedding the position of one language over another may still allow the lesser-used tongue to persist in restricted life domains, such as in exclusive mother-child interactions and, as historically in the case of Welsh, in religious life. It can also be the case that a degree of exclusivity along linguistic lines develops between the social lives and daily interactions of speakers of different languages living in the same geographical community – as charted by Aitchison and Carter (2004) in the case of monolingual English speakers (generally English in origin) and bilingual Welsh speakers in rural communities in the West.

- 5.3 This can suggest that the minority or threatened language will persist longer than would otherwise be the case by operating within a confined social world – but the more permeable the boundaries the harder maintaining the language is likely to be. The presence of a monoglot population in the minority tongue is, self-evidently, likely to help a language to survive, and a common conclusion amongst academic researchers is that bilingualism has often been an intermediate stage in the decline and disappearance of languages, as with Manx or Cornish. However, as put forward by Fishman (1991), if a strict separation of distinct domains develops, so that each language is 'tied' to specific fields of social life, bilingualism may become stabilised. As above, religion provides possible examples, such as in the use of Arabic, Syriac and Hebrew as liturgical languages amongst communities using other tongues in all other contexts.

- 5.4 Language use in the *geographical* area where Welsh speakers live remains extremely important (Jones, 2007) as it impacts on the opportunities to speak Welsh (Enparantza, 2001), network formation, and the formation of households/families (Welsh Language Board, 2005).
- 5.5 However, the nature of social networking is changing for many people, especially the younger generation. More communication is at a distance via electronic media and the social networks that people are part of are more dispersed, including in other countries. This lessens the importance of 'place' to some extent and highlights the growing significance of language use in cyberspace and amongst 'communities of interest' whose members may be very remote from each other.
- 5.6 The literature highlights the following problems relevant to Welsh language use in the community:
- The profound problems associated with a low rate of Welsh language transmission within families with at least one Welsh-speaking parent.
 - The fragmentation and rapid erosion of predominantly Welsh-speaking areas in the North and West (*Y Fro Gymraeg*) through large-scale in-migration and selective out-migration, particularly of young people.
 - The minimal use of Welsh beyond the school gates by many pupils educated through Welsh in an overwhelmingly Anglicised culture.
- 5.7 There is good evidence that maintenance of Welsh in community contexts in adulthood is contingent on continued exposure to the language post-school (Gathercole & Thomas, 2009) and as Baker puts it in Thomas and Roberts (2011):

“Informal influences within school and pervading Anglicising influences out of school (e.g. TV, ‘pop’ culture, the information technology revolution) soon provide skills in the majority language and enculturation into English and American value-systems. In a major sense, bilingual education alone cannot reverse language trends. There needs to be other support mechanisms for the language, from

cradle to grave....(Welsh) needs to penetrate an individual's whole way of life....and be present in everyday active, participatory culture”

5.8 Despite the loosening of geographical ties, as a natural consequence of growing up, because of technological change and increasing mobility, the linguistic make-up of the culture in which individuals participate day-to-day where they live is still crucially important.

What evidence is there for the success or otherwise of interventions relevant to Welsh in the Community?

5.9 *laith Fyw: laith Byw* summarises a number of planned interventions, and the continuance of some already in place, which aim to bolster its position as a community language. Arguably, virtually any successful intervention to encourage the learning and usage of Welsh would be to the benefit of the 'community language' goal, either directly or indirectly.

5.10 However, from this rapid evidence assessment, there appears to be little evaluation evidence on the effectiveness of most of the interventions currently in place, aimed explicitly at the use of Welsh in the community, other than studies of the *Mentrau laith*, including that commissioned by the Welsh Language Board (Jones & Ioan, 2000) and published in 2000, together with academic and professional critiques of the role of *Mentrau laith* (Campbell, 2000). More recently Glyn (2010) has produced a comprehensive analysis of the effectiveness of Community Initiatives, especially the role of *Mentrau laith*. One particularly significant lacuna is the lack of evaluation of the effects of guidance to local planning authorities intended to support the continuance of Welsh as a community language, and there is little evidence that the language is yet being 'mainstreamed' into community development and community regeneration schemes via Communities First, as envisaged by the 2010 consultation on the Welsh Government's Welsh Language Strategy (Pearce, 2008).

5.11 Williams' critique of *laith Pawb* in 2004 raised several serious concerns about whether the range of actions encompassed within it could possibly meet all its broad goals of;

1. Increasing the proportion of Welsh speakers by 5 percentage points by 2011 from the 2001 Census baseline
2. Arrest the decline in heartland communities, especially in those with close to 70 per cent-plus Welsh speakers
3. Increase the proportion of children in pre-school Welsh education
4. Increase the proportion of families where Welsh is the principal language
5. Mainstream Welsh-medium services

5.12 In relation to developing Welsh as a 'community language', goals 2. and 4. are probably the most significant. Some evidence of progress on some goals should soon be available from the 2011 Census findings, though assessing the role of national policy in contributing to any changes will be challenging.

5.13 The study questioned whether the initiatives gathered together under *Iaith Pawb*, including those expected of local authorities, could be described as constituting part of a national language plan or strategy, or up to the task of addressing the erosion of the use of Welsh in the home, community and wider locale – pointing to a 2 per cent reduction between 1991 and 2001 in the number of Welsh-speaking children who dwell either in Welsh-speaking families or families where one of the parents speaks Welsh. Whilst there has been an increase in the numbers of Welsh-speaking children with non-Welsh-speaking parents (a result of the growth of Welsh medium education), Williams claims there are:

“..severe difficulties with the notion that an education system alone can produce the requisite ethnolinguistic vitality to sustain a semi-autonomous Welsh-medium culture”.

5.14 One promising initiative, which appears to be having some success in addressing family transmission is the Family Transfer Programme *Twf* (Edwards & Newcombe, 2006), as discussed under theme 3 below. In addition, sustained support is provided to a wide range of community organisations, such as Urdd Gobaith Cymru, Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin, Merched y Wawr, the National Eisteddfod, Young Farmers and papurau bro, which appear to be important in helping to maintain a social fabric which embodies Welsh as a

routine medium of expression and mark of cultural identity for many people across many parts of Wales. These organisations also provide more opportunities for speakers to use the language in everyday contexts and increase their confidence and fluency, although no formal evaluations of their impact on language use have been found.

5.15 However, these actions intended to help sustain Welsh as a community language need to be seen in the context of the forces acting to erode it. The changing demographic and linguistic composition of many parts of Wales, including the changes resulting from migration effects and economic change, are central but very hard for Welsh Government policy to get much purchase on.

6 Theme Two - Intergenerational Transfer of the Language

Supporting statistics:

Transmission rates (from the 2001 Census):

- In couples where both parents were Welsh speakers, 79 per cent of 3 year olds were able to speak Welsh
- In lone parent families where the parent (female) could speak Welsh, 47 per cent of 3 year olds were able to speak Welsh
- In couples where only one parent could speak Welsh, 37 per cent of 3 year olds were able to speak Welsh where the mother was a Welsh speaker, 29 per cent where the father was the Welsh speaker.
- In 2001, 7 per cent of the 3-4 year olds were able to speak Welsh and living in households where Welsh could be the main language as all adults in the household could speak Welsh.

What relevance does the theme have in relation to Welsh language use?

- 6.1 The role of the home and family is commonly acknowledged as being central to the 'transmission' of minority languages. Language planning experts across the world agree that increasing intergenerational language transfer in the home is a prerequisite for language maintenance and growth (Fishman, 1991). There is a body of evidence that suggests that the population most at risk of abandoning the Welsh language is families with only one Welsh-speaking parent and that the perceived status of the language in each community affects parents' attitudes towards using the language (Welsh Language Board, 2007b).
- 6.2 Census data indicates that there is a marked lack of 'parental transmission of Welsh', particularly in cases where one parent speaks Welsh and the other not. Such a trend, should it continue, seriously threatens the future of the Welsh language (Jones, 2005). Census and similar large-scale survey data fail to distinguish between the role of the family and the education system in minority language socialization; however, research has been undertaken investigating

the association between these factors and language use. Jones (2008) demonstrates that the daily use of Welsh by Welsh speakers is higher for those who are fluent, those living in areas where a high proportion of the population speaks Welsh, those attending secondary schools where Welsh is used equally or mainly as a medium of teaching, those living in a household with Welsh speakers and those who were aged between 11-15 compared with those aged 16-29. Focussing on transmission, Jones found that those living in a household where everyone can speak Welsh increases the odds on daily use of Welsh by nearly two and a half times, whilst having a fluent Welsh-speaking mother and father increased the odds twofold.

6.3 The literature suggests that many factors influence language transmission practices among bilingual families in Wales. Quantitative research (Welsh Language Board, 2007b) shows that some of these are related to the parent's choice of language to speak to the child, some have to do with the child's likely 'uptake' of the language. The evidence found that the 'choice' of language is made largely on an intuitive basis. Parents use the language they know best, the one with which they are most comfortable. In the case of parents who are bilingual, the language of the other partner is critical in influencing the language that is spoken with the child. Those who have two options for speech to their children choose the language that is 'inclusive' of the partner, not the one that may exclude the partner. In terms of factors that influence the child, their 'community of speakers' has been shown to influence the language spoken by the child. These include parents, siblings, teachers at school and friends. This study identified that friends have the greatest importance within the child's community of speakers. The language of interaction with friends correlates highly with the language the child speaks, and influential in children's attitudes towards either or both languages.

6.4 Many of these findings were supported by a separate qualitative study (Jones & Morris, 2005) that identified the primary factors affecting a child's Welsh language socialization as:

- time spent & interactional practices with Welsh-speaking parent
- involvement of Welsh-speaking grandparents

- language background, language values, & language practices of parents and their extended families
- parental language values & power relations

6.5 Contributing factors are:

- Childminding & childcare
- Local education policy & schooling options
- Community
- Family practices involving the use of TV, DVD's, Books and Computers

What evidence is there of the success or otherwise of interventions in relation to intergenerational transfer?

6.6 The main intervention for tackling the issue of Welsh language transfer in the family is 'Twf'. Twf works with partners such as midwives and health visitors to raise awareness amongst parents of the advantages of bilingualism and to attempt to change the language patterns of their target group, namely mixed language families.

6.7 A process-level evaluation of the efficiency and effectiveness of the project (Edwards & Newcombe, 2003) showed that Twf has been successful in bringing bilingualism into the mainstream work of midwives and health visitors. It has also helped raise awareness of the advantages of bilingualism. However, one major caveat to the evaluation is that it does not attempt to attribute the extent to which the project is changing the language patterns of transmission in the target group, in order to increase the number of children speaking Welsh in the home. The reason the authors give for this is that a 'wide range of factors influence decisions about language choice and it is impossible to isolate the influence of Twf'. For example, the availability of local Welsh education, the status of the language as a community language, the influence of family and friends, attitudes towards bilingualism and identity and language proficiency and confidence are identified all identified as key factors that can influence language transmission in the home. The report does identify some anecdotal evidence that Twf is making a contribution to changing language patterns and helping families to make an informed choice, irrespective of language background. Parents, health professionals and other partners were all able to

cite individual cases of a change in language behaviour following exposure to the project. A further evaluation report on Twf was published in 2008 (Irvine et al). The stated aim was to provide an evaluation of the impact of Twf, but the report does not attempt to attribute any of the differences in family language transmission to the programme. Instead, it identifies the implications of the general findings about language transmission in the home and how influences at the home/community interface could be used to improve the programme. This is encouraging research but further investigation of the impact of the scheme would be beneficial.

- 6.8 Mudiad Meithrin (MM – previously known as *Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin*) exists to promote the education and development of children under five through the medium of the Welsh language in *cylchoedd meithrin* (playgroups) and *cylchoedd Ti a Fi* (Parent/Carer and child groups). It aims to extend and enrich the Welsh of children from Welsh-speaking families, and to facilitate early bilingualism in children from non-Welsh speaking families. The Welsh Language Board commissioned research to investigate the impact of MM on pre-school Welsh Language Development in 2003 (Baker & Lloyd Robert). Over one school year, 1,259 children's Welsh language development in 102 *cylchoedd* was recorded, with Cylch leaders providing a judgement on a four point scale (usually, sometimes, starting to, not yet) against three criteria - Listening and Understanding, Speaking and Communication and Early Literacy Skills in Welsh. The report concludes that the cylch helps children make considerable progress in acquiring Welsh. This study adopted a 'before-and-after' evaluation design which does not carry as much weight as, say, an experimental impact design. Nevertheless, the findings are encouraging and add constructively to the evidence base in this area.
- 6.9 In some areas Twf has been supported by another programme 'Mae Dy Gymraeg Di'n Grêt' ('Your Welsh is Great') which aims to improve confidence and increase the use made of the Welsh language amongst parents who have low confidence in their Welsh language ability. The programme itself is relatively small scale and therefore a robust evaluation has not been possible, although the end of year assessment (Cyngor Iaith Hafan, 2010) indicates that

mothers used more Welsh with their children after the project ended, and also with the family in general.

What evidence is there that other types of interventions/policies could be successful?

6.10 Overall, this rapid evidence assessment has not identified any other successful interventions that could be applied in Wales. However, there is a case for a re-examination of whether the Twf initiative is the most appropriate method for increasing language transmission in the home. Although it has a role to play in raising awareness of bilingualism, there is a question over whether the intervention is intensive enough to contribute to changes in language transmission. The recent review of behaviour change by the House of Lords (2011) concludes that non-regulatory measures used in isolation, including "nudges", are less likely to be effective. Effective policies often use a range of interventions.

6.11 One element that Twf does not appear to tackle in appropriate depth is the quality of the Home Learning Environment (HLE). In the wider evidence base on early child development, the HLE is a composite measure of the factors that enable children to experience/practice language and experience stimulation to enhance their cognitive development (for example, looking at books, read stories, recite nursery rhymes and playing at recognising letters, words, shapes or numbers). There is a wealth of evidence from long term studies with monolingual children that demonstrate that the quality of the HLE has a very significant impact on young children's wellbeing, learning and development. Studies with bilingual children also show that, as with monolingual children, shared book reading, story telling, conversations, and watching educational television programs positively impact bilingual children's vocabulary and language comprehension, at least in the language used during these interactions (Patterson, 2002).

6.12 Furthermore, the evidence shows that bilingual children's proficiency in each language is strongly related to the amount of input in that language. The more input a child receives in a specific language, the better the child performs on vocabulary, reading, and writing tests in that language (De Houwer, 2007). A

study of the importance of parental support for early immersion in the context of a study of Irish-medium pre-schools (or *naíonraí*) found that parents reported that their child's attendance at an immersion pre-school increased their home use of the target language (Hickey, 1999). In turn, it was found that this home usage contributed significantly to the children's test scores in Irish. Taking these results together, they point to the role of continuing home support for the target language, and the importance of encouraging parents to use Irish as often as possible in order to support their children's acquisition in early immersion.

6.13 Therefore, the evidence suggests that there could be an enhanced role for Twf and MM in providing parents with more practical and intensive support to parents to create a stimulating HLE which promotes and facilitates the use of Welsh. Further research on the HLE in the context of Welsh language acquisition would be helpful here.

7 Theme Three - Children and Young People

Supporting statistics:

According to the 2001 Census:

- 20.8 per cent of the population aged 3 or over in Wales could speak Welsh. Among those aged five to nine years old, the figure was 37.4 per cent, and for those aged 10 to 15 years old, the figure was 43.6 per cent.

According to the Pupil-Level Annual School Census (PLASC) 2011, as at January 2011:

- 7.6 per cent of primary school pupils aged 5 and over, and 8.8 per cent of secondary school pupils aged 11-15 spoke Welsh fluently at home (as assessed by parents)
- A further 6.2 per cent of primary school pupils aged 5 and over, and 7.2 per cent of secondary school pupils aged 11-15 did not speak Welsh at home but could speak it fluently (as assessed by parents)
- There were 467 Welsh-medium primary schools (including dual stream and transitional medium schools) out of 1,435 primary schools, and 56 Welsh-medium secondary schools (including bilingual type A, B, C and Ch schools) out of 222 secondary schools

What relevance does the theme have in relation to Welsh language use?

7.1 Historically, early bilingualism was seen as dangerous, as it was thought that it would lead to confusion and language delay. However, research has begun to show that early bilingualism may well bring benefits (including cognitive advantages), and that any delay experienced is caught up on later on (State University, 2010; Gathercole & Thomas, 2009). As well as cognitive benefits, there are also documented cultural, communicative, educational and employment benefits (Baker, 2011).

7.2 A cognitive advantage of bilingualism has been termed 'metalinguistic superiority' by cognitive neuroscientist Ellen Bialystok (2011). Her work on bilingualism also points to bilingual Alzheimer's patients coping better with the damage to the brain than their monolingual counterparts.

- 7.3 However it is important to note that much of the literature on the benefits of early bilingualism are referring to 'fluent bilingualism' that is that a certain level of competence has been reached in both of the languages in question. More work is also required in order to unpick the causal pathway of these advantages (Chipongian, 2000).
- 7.4 In considering whether it is useful, practical and cost-effective to concentrate on children and young people, it is worth considering the critical period theory of language acquisition. There appears to be a consensus that the critical period for first language acquisition ends around puberty.
- 7.5 The picture around second language acquisition is less conclusive. There does seem to be good evidence that people who acquire a second language earlier reach higher levels of competency than those who learn the language later on. Later learners tend to be unlikely to attain native-like levels of proficiency, struggling on aspects of grammar and accent. However, there are exceptions to this rule and so it cannot be conclusively argued that second language acquisition has a critical period, in the same way that first language acquisition does. However, there does appear to be good evidence that focusing on early years is a good thing (Churchill, -) and that second language acquisition should start by age six in order to gain native-like proficiency (Gathercole & Thomas, 2009).
- 7.6 Following on from acquisition, research suggests that continual exposure through the lifespan to the language is necessary for the individual to maintain that language (Gathercole & Thomas, 2009).
- 7.7 Teenage years are seen as a crucial period in developing an attitude towards a minority language and whether the language is maintained (O'Riagain et al, 2008). Research has looked at the use of Irish, Welsh, Catalan, Basque and Spanish, for young people who were being educated bilingually and in some cases came from homes where the minority language was spoken. The majority chose to converse with their friends and siblings in the majority language (Gathercole & Thomas, 2009; O'Riagain et al, 2008).

- 7.8 Looking at Catalan and Basque as examples, it has been shown that language competence among adolescents has improved due to their schooling, but without an increase in the social use of the language. It has been concluded that this is due to the fact that great effort has been placed on developing the formal acquisition of these languages at the expense of the interpersonal aspects of the language and for the language spread to be more effective, Catalan and Basque need to be incorporated more into activities unconnected with education (O’Riagain et al, 2008). Similar results have been found in Wales; the desire by English speaking families for their children to learn Welsh through the education system does not necessarily lead to the increased social use of Welsh (Welsh Language Board, 2005).
- 7.9 There is evidence that this theme is important. School does not seem to be enough on its own; for a language to thrive, it needs to be supported in the home (if possible) and through wider social and cultural options. There is evidence that much of young people’s time is spent with family, the peer group and other school associates suggesting the influence of these networks on normative language. The language of the home is a core factor in determining language use, as are both the language of the peer group and the attitudes of the peer group towards Welsh (Welsh Language Board, 2005).
- 7.10 It would seem important in the first instance to clarify that Welsh usage does decrease outside of school and after leaving school, to find out why this is and to engage with young people in the types of activities which they would like to access in the Welsh language.

What evidence is there of the success or otherwise of interventions aimed at increasing children and young peoples’ use of Welsh?

- 7.11 Clearly, education provision within both Welsh medium and English medium schools and colleges is likely to have the most influence on language acquisition for children and young people outside the home. However, as noted, this review has not been extended to look at the effectiveness of education per se.

7.12 Over and above that caveat, no outcome-related evaluations of Welsh language interventions directly related to this theme have been found. In some cases, more general reviews have been undertaken, such as the review on the activities of the youth organisation 'the Urdd'. This review concluded that the activities being undertaken by the Urdd were having an effect on spreading and promoting the social use of the Welsh language (Lewis & Richards, 2004).

7.13 However, taking the lack of robust evaluation findings into consideration, some recommendations about how to increase and encourage Welsh language use outside the classroom have been made as follows (O'Riagain et al, 2008):

1. Maintain and increase the number of families who speak Welsh at home.
2. Maintain and increase the number of schools who use Welsh as the main or only means of education and administration.
3. Introduce an element of language awareness education to Personal and Social Education (PSE).
4. Develop appropriate training for youth workers and others on inclusive approaches to the Welsh language.
5. Provide opportunities for young people to socialise in Welsh outside of school.
6. Introduce liaison youth workers to promote Welsh both in the community and at school.
7. Increase the number of significant institutions that reinforce the use of Welsh in the community.
8. Increase the visual status and the social value of Welsh in the community.

What evidence is there that other types of intervention/policy could be successful?

7.14 It can be difficult to translate findings from different cultures, countries and situations. However it is important to have international collaboration to share knowledge, avoid duplication of effort and fragmentation of research effort (O'Riagain et al, 2008).

7.15 In conclusion, given the importance of early and teenage years in developing and maintaining aptitude and attitude towards a minority language, there is a need for the research evidence to be improved particularly with respect to

gaining the views, opinions and behaviours of children and young people in Wales. As Price (2010) states... *“If the dictum ‘the young people of Wales have the future of the Welsh language in their hands’ is to be widely upheld and endorsed then the attitudes of young people need to be explored”*. Research on both attitudes **and** behaviours would provide beneficial evidence for this area.

8 Theme Four - The Citizen – Delivering Services

Supporting statistics:

- According to a Consumer Focus Wales survey (2010):
 - 92 per cent of Welsh speakers (fluent and non-fluent) said providing Welsh language services is important to keep the language alive;
 - 80 per cent of respondents agreed that Welsh speakers should have the right to access all services in Welsh;
 - 57per cent of fluent Welsh speakers felt it was personally important to them to be able to access Welsh services in the public sector; and
 - 50 per cent of Welsh speakers felt it was personally important to them to be able to access Welsh services in the private sector.

What relevance does the theme have in relation to Welsh language use?

- 8.1 The Welsh Language Act (1993) placed a statutory duty upon public sector organizations serving the public in Wales, wherever those organizations are located in the UK, to treat the Welsh and the English languages on a basis of equality in the delivery of their services. The bilingual provision of services is as much about equality and rights as it is about promotion.
- 8.2 There is little explicit evidence that the provision of services in minority languages increases language prestige or status, however there is a body of evidence that shows that languages will only thrive if there are opportunities for use in all spheres of life. The provision of services is clearly such an opportunity (Grin, 2002).
- 8.3 The literature also distinguishes between reversing the language shift and language revitalisation. The provision of services in Welsh does not necessarily bring back former patterns of familial use, but is likely to bring Welsh to new users and uses (King, 2001).

- 8.4 Support by the population in Wales for Welsh language service provision is well evidenced. In a 2009/10 survey of Welsh speakers (Consumer Focus Wales), the majority (92 per cent) felt that providing Welsh language services was important to keeping the language alive. Furthermore, eight out of ten respondents agreed or strongly agreed that they should have the right to access services in Welsh.
- 8.5 The Consumer Focus Wales survey showed that, in both public and private services, a higher percentage of Welsh speakers felt it was *important* to be able to access Welsh services than the percentage that actually choose to do so. This suggests that either the services are not available, or there are barriers to the use of Welsh when accessing services. Surveys commissioned by the Welsh Language Board in six towns in 2005/06 illustrated the positive impact of language schemes. However, it was also shown that a number of commitments had not been delivered: of the services provided by government bodies 73 per cent were delivered in Welsh or bilingually and of those provided by local government bodies, 69 per cent were delivered in Welsh or bilingually. Misell (2000) suggests that barriers in accessing services are likely to discourage people from using Welsh even when a Welsh or bilingual service is available.
- 8.6 Looking at specific services, citizens were more likely to want to access transport services (train, bus, patient transport) and library services *bilingually*, whilst there was greater support (by parents) for communicating with staff at primary & secondary schools and GP services in *Welsh*. This is supported by research into Welsh language use in pharmacies that showed the majority of Welsh speakers would prefer to speak in Welsh as they would find it easier to explain symptoms and would ask more questions about their medication (Hughes et al, 2009). Research into both the third sector and the provision of mental health services reveals similar findings; one of the main reasons for wanting to access services in Welsh was that citizens felt they were better able to explain themselves (Prys, 2010; Madoc-Jones, 2004). Those services that had higher demand for access to services in English tended to be emergency related (ambulance, A&E and hospital) but also included dental services and housing advice.

- 8.7 There is some qualitative evidence that service users can only be treated effectively in their first language (Hughes et al, 2009). This is especially true for medical services, such as those receiving speech and language therapy, and for the following key groups:
- people with mental health problems,
 - people with learning disabilities and other special needs,
 - older people, and
 - young children.
- 8.8 Research shows that some patients are unlikely to ask for or insist upon Welsh language services which could result in patients whose first language is Welsh receiving a substandard service (Roberts et al, 2004).
- 8.9 Although much of the evidence is in relation to the health sector, there is also evidence suggesting that Welsh language provision is important with regard to the courts and police (Hughes & Madoc-Jones, 2005). Research shows that Welsh speaking prisoners can be made to feel isolated, and this can have implications on their rehabilitation.
- 8.10 With respect to the private sector in particular, there is evidence to suggest that where Welsh speakers have the opportunity to use Welsh as their preferred language, satisfaction with the service received is higher, and that (in the case of the private sector) they would be more likely to buy again or recommend to a friend (Cwmni-iaith, 2008; Consumer Focus Wales, 2010; Beaufort Research, 2005).
- 8.11 The evidence implicitly shows that providing services in Welsh is important in encouraging the use of Welsh in everyday lives.

What evidence is there of the success or otherwise of interventions related to delivering services?

- 8.12 Evidence shows that the Welsh Language Act of 1993 has had a positive impact on the use of Welsh (Pertot et al, 2008). There is also evidence of the implementation of Welsh Language Schemes both in Wales and the rest of the UK as required by the Welsh Language Act although how well the schemes have been applied is variable. Research shows that whilst some local

authorities and national institutions adopted robust policies which fulfilled and in some cases surpassed the requirements of the Welsh Language Act, other organisations evinced less support for their Welsh Language Schemes. Factors related to the success of Welsh Language Schemes were the demolingusitic characteristics of the area, astute political leadership and perhaps most critically the commitment of senior managers to the implementation of the Welsh Language Scheme (Williams, 2010).

8.13 Evidence also shows however that the Welsh Language Act alone is not enough; barriers to accessing services in Welsh remain. Consumer Focus Wales summarise the main barriers as:

1. Provision – lack of supply of services in Welsh
2. Perceptions – lack of demand for services due to lack of confidence amongst non-fluent Welsh speakers
3. Promotion – lack of awareness of the provision of services in Welsh

8.14 These barriers were apparent across public and private services. Related to provision, for health services in particular, in 2008 23 per cent of Welsh speakers were dissatisfied with the level of availability of services in Welsh whilst 19 per cent were dissatisfied with the number of staff who spoke Welsh. Additionally, 25 per cent of Welsh speakers disagreed that the needs of Welsh language customers were adequately met by the NHS (Welsh Language Board, 2008). This suggests that there is a gap between provision of services and the needs of Welsh language customers.

8.15 Estyn Llaw is a project aimed at supporting voluntary and community organisations in the development of bilingualism and promoting volunteering amongst Welsh speakers. An evaluation of Estyn Llaw concluded that it led to changes of practice, increased awareness of and sensitivity to bilingual issues and a greater ability and willingness to engage with Welsh-speaking communities. Additionally there was evidence to suggest that Estyn Llaw beneficiary organisations are more likely to have a Welsh language scheme than their non-beneficiary equivalents and that in some cases this was as a result of working with Estyn Llaw to develop a scheme. However, the evaluation concluded that progress in terms of developing front-line bilingual

service delivery itself was not widespread. This was reported to be due to issues beyond the scope of Estyn Llaw; namely limitations within existing capacity and recruitment difficulties regarding Welsh speaking volunteers and staff.

- 8.16 Interviews with senior managers across local authorities and public bodies in Wales highlighted the view that confidence was an important factor in preventing the use of Welsh by public sector staff (WISERD, 2011). This research highlighted the considerable variation in the availability of Welsh Speakers to fill posts in the public sector.
- 8.17 Likewise, confidence was also highlighted as an issue for citizens, with research suggesting that often service users report that they didn't access services in Welsh because their Welsh wasn't good enough. This was the main barrier preventing using Welsh when dealing 'face to face' with staff reported by those who spoke Welsh but not fluently (Beaufort Research, 2005).
- 8.18 The promotion barrier is supported by findings from the BBC; they contacted several organisations in 2011 and most reported that around 1 per cent of customers use their Welsh language facilities. Although these figures are not robust, they give an indication of the picture. When asked in 2008, however, Welsh Water reported that demands for its Welsh language call centre rose by 50 per cent to 9 per cent of calls following an advertising campaign thus demonstrating the importance of promoting Welsh language services. When asked again in 2011 Welsh Water reported that approximately 3 per cent of calls were to its Welsh language customer services line. However, British Gas reported that they had advertised Welsh language services in the past, but that less than 0.5 per cent of the contact they get from customers is in Welsh. These figures show that there is potential for promotion to increase use of Welsh language services, but that more research needs to be done to uncover how this can achieve success.
- 8.19 Additional support for the promotion aspect is available from Consumer Focus research (2010). Promotion was highlighted as the second highest reason for not accessing services in Welsh; 30 per cent of those who rarely or never

accessed services in Welsh said this was because they didn't think about doing so.

8.20 Mae Gen Ti Ddewis is a campaign sponsored by the Welsh Language Board to promote Welsh language choice. A survey of 50 public bodies in 2009 (Trywydd) showed that Mae Gen Ti Ddewis was the main method of promotion in terms of Welsh language services, but that it was not widely used by those organisations surveyed. Of those that had used the campaign and collected information on use, most had seen an increase in Welsh language users. However one reported that the increase in use following the campaign was short lived suggesting the need for a longer term solution. As only a few organisations collected Information on use, one of the recommendations from the report was that effective mechanisms for measuring the effect of the campaign be built into criteria for participation.

8.21 The evidence suggests that interventions aimed at increasing the provision of Welsh services have had some success, but that success is still limited as a result of the factors highlighted above such as confidence of Welsh speakers in their Welsh speaking abilities and awareness that services are available in Welsh.

8.22 As a Welsh Language Board (2007) report concludes;

“...while public sector language schemes have been implemented, the full provision of Welsh language services is not available. Furthermore, any attempts to promote the use of Welsh in the private sector have met with only limited success.”

What evidence is there that other types of interventions policies could be successful in increasing the use of Welsh when accessing services?

8.23 Regarding the provision of services, research suggests that, in healthcare in particular, staff have fairly positive attitudes towards Welsh and that training initiatives that enhance language awareness and increase proficiency could be beneficial in increasing Welsh language service provision (Roberts et al, 2007). Misell (2000) suggests that there are two main ways in which non-Welsh

speaking staff can promote the interest of Welsh speaking patients; language sensitivity (recognition of the importance of the first language and apologetic nature), and limited use of Welsh to establish or strengthen the bond between patients and staff (enough Welsh to get by). Although these examples relate specifically to health services, the lessons could be applied to other services and suggest that training staff either in Welsh, or in what Welsh speaking customers can expect is important. Although the success rate of those learning Welsh is not high, as Misell shows, the knowledge of some key phrases can help when delivering services.

- 8.24 A number of higher education courses now provide opportunities for students to use Welsh, including placements in centres where Welsh is widely spoken. These are planned, supported and developed centrally through Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol. Although this is intuitively a good idea as it allows students to get used to using Welsh in the workplace, no evidence has been found on the success or otherwise of these opportunities.
- 8.25 There is some evidence that the promotion of the availability of Welsh language services is likely to increase their use. The reluctance of fluent Welsh speakers to access services face to face unless they know that the staff can speak Welsh is cited as the main barrier to using Welsh (Consumer Focus Wales, 2010). Although limited in scope, the example of the promotion campaign by Welsh Water increasing take up of services in Welsh shows that benefits of raising awareness of bilingual services can be realised. Additionally, evidence shows that customers should be offered services in both English and Welsh to avoid them being put off using the service in Welsh because they have to ask for it (Prys, 2010).

9 Theme Five - Welsh in the Workplace

Supporting statistics:

According to the Language Use Surveys 2004-06, of those respondents who could speak Welsh and were in employment:

- 52 per cent said that their employers were supportive of Welsh in most aspects, formal and informal, of the business.
- 21 per cent said that employers were supportive informally but not in formal matters.
- 9 per cent said that employers were not supportive of the use of Welsh.
- 36 per cent said that most supervisors could speak Welsh, whilst 31 per cent said that most colleagues could speak Welsh.
- 22 per cent said that most clients could speak Welsh.
- 52 per cent used mainly Welsh when speaking to Welsh speaking managers, whilst 50 per cent used mainly Welsh when speaking with colleagues or those supervised who could speak Welsh. This compares with 49 per cent who mainly spoke Welsh to Welsh speaking clients.
- When asked about training, 17 per cent had been offered training for spoken Welsh, 13 per cent for written Welsh and 9 per cent for specialist skills. A total of 80 per cent had not been offered training in any of these areas.

What relevance does the theme have in relation to Welsh language use?

- 9.1 Grin (2002) proposes a model of language behaviour where language vitality is seen as requiring three conditions, namely: the *capacity* to use a language; *opportunities* to use it; and the *desire* to do so. Increasing the supply of situations where Welsh can be used (such as in the workplace) is therefore seen as a key part of the effort to promote and encourage the language in general (Consumer Focus Wales, 2010).
- 9.2 There is a lack of relevant and frequently collected data on this theme. It is therefore not possible to form a view on general trends, i.e. to establish whether or not the use of Welsh in the workplace is in the ascendancy or in decline. The Welsh Language Board's Welsh language use surveys (2008)

identified Welsh language speakers' fluency, as well as the ability of supervisors and other colleagues to speak Welsh, as the key factors that influence Welsh speakers' use of Welsh in the workplace.

- 9.3 It is difficult, on the basis of the evidence identified as part of this review to judge the importance of this theme relative to the other themes within the strategy. It would seem reasonable to assume that increased opportunities to use Welsh within the workplace may well increase frequency of use, and perhaps increase confidence in language ability, but given the complex nature of minority language policies in general, it is difficult to draw any firm conclusions on this area given what is currently known. This would suggest that the evidence base for this theme needs to be developed further.

What evidence is there of the success or otherwise of interventions relevant to Welsh in the Workplace?

- 9.4 Few evaluations assessing the quantitative impact of policy interventions to develop, or encourage the increased use of Welsh in workplaces have been identified; particularly in terms of determining the use of Welsh in the workplace pre and post policy intervention. It is therefore not possible to establish the cost-effectiveness of such interventions, which would provide at least one potential indicator of success or impact. There is, however, a growing body of qualitative evidence on the initiatives that appear to work with regard to increasing the use of Welsh in the workplace (Welsh Language Board, 2007-10). The Welsh Language Board is also due to publish further research in this area; therefore the evidence base is developing.
- 9.5 Recent qualitative research (Welsh Language Board, 2010) involving seventeen organisations within Wales found that the internal use of Welsh in the workplace is influenced by a number of different factors. The value placed upon the Welsh language by an organisation, as well as staff's acceptance of those values, all play a part. A 'skills gap'³ was reported by each of the seventeen organisations interviewed and there was broad agreement that a lack of confidence was one of the main obstacles preventing staff from using

³ Defined as the disparity between the skills required in order to provide services through the medium of Welsh, and to use Welsh as a language of internal administration, and the current skills capacity of staff.

their Welsh language skills at work. The research highlights that language awareness training appears to be a successful means of increasing the positive attitude towards Welsh amongst staff. It is suggested that this, can in turn, lead to a greater interest in learning Welsh and use of Welsh in the workplace. *Iaith Fyw: iaith Byw* notes that 'Welsh for Adults' may well be important with regard to this theme. This may well be true in the case of increasing confidence and skills of Welsh speakers in the workplace, but further research seems to be required.

- 9.6 Research shows that there is considerable variation in the use made of Welsh by various organisations. Some of the main factors that are reported to increase the use of Welsh in the workplace include enthusiastic and proactive leadership (although not one that necessarily has Welsh language skills), language awareness training, raising the confidence and willingness of staff to communicate in Welsh, vocational training and support from language officers/champions/mentors. There is also anecdotal evidence that the use of Welsh in the workplace increases the use of Welsh outside of work, particularly with Children and homework.

What evidence is there that other types of interventions/policies could be successful?

- 9.7 There is some evidence which is relevant to Wales from the Canadian experience; specifically in the case of using both English and French as the language of work within the public sector. There are some important caveats in making any comparison with Canada, and other countries with bilingual policies, such as differences in the legal status of the languages spoken and different national policy aims. Nevertheless, evaluations of the Canadian experience have shown that, in general, one language tends to dominate to the detriment of the other within any bilingual workplace (Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages, 2006). This generalisation needs to be tempered by additional evidence that suggests that where organisations or departments are fully equipped to operate in a bilingual fashion or have competent bilingual employees then neither official language need dominate. Cardinal et al have demonstrated that in the case of several public domains such as health and law in Ontario it is quite feasible to operate a fully functional

bilingual system so long as the necessary infra-structure is maintained (Cardinal et al, 2005).

- 9.8 There is also evidence available from the Basque and Catalan experiences (Eaves et al, 2007) but, similarly to the Welsh experience, there is little research on the patterns of language use in work pre and post policy intervention, therefore determining some assessment of the 'success' of these interventions for the purpose of this review has not been possible.

10 Theme Six – Strengthening the Infrastructure

Supporting statistics:

- The Omnibus Survey (2011) commissioned by S4C reported the level of importance respondents attached to elements of the Welsh language infrastructure in supporting and encouraging the use of the Welsh language. The following received a score out of 10:
- Welsh medium education **9.1**
- Welsh language cultural events like the Eisteddfod **8.9**
- Family and friends **8.7**
- Welsh language television **8.4**
- Welsh language books **8.3**
- Local Welsh events **8.2**
- Welsh language radio **8.1**
- Welsh language websites **7.5**
- Newspapers and magazines **7.4**
- Social networking in Welsh i.e. Facebook/Twitter **6.9**

What relevance does the theme have in relation to Welsh language use?

10.1 The consultation document on the Welsh Language Strategy (Welsh Government, 2010) highlighted the need for a strong infrastructure in order to increase the number of people who speak and use Welsh in everyday life. For the purpose of the document, infrastructure includes *‘terminology, translation and interpretation, language technology and data and research’* and should serve the purpose of *‘reflecting its status as an official language in Wales, whilst helping those who wish to use the language to do so’*. The consultation document goes on to describe those elements required to build and support such an infrastructure:

‘The media, in all forms, plays an important part in supporting the infrastructure of the language. Access to high quality Welsh language books, radio, television and online content is vital in ensuring that the language thrives.’

- 10.2 Although the media and access to Welsh language materials are seen as key to strengthening the Welsh language infrastructure and encouraging the use of Welsh, research has highlighted a number of challenges faced by these areas.
- 10.3 One particular study which examined the extent to which Welsh speakers lived their lives through the medium of Welsh, identified that awareness, accessibility and relevance were key barriers to using Welsh in everyday life (S4C, The Welsh Language Board, BBC Wales & The Arts Council of Wales, 2006). The study found that there was a general lack of awareness amongst Welsh speakers of the availability of Welsh language options and in some areas of the media there were no Welsh language equivalents, particularly in the arena of mainstream popular culture.
- 10.4 In addition, the study also found that many Welsh speakers had difficulties knowing where to go for Welsh language books, magazines and music and were critical of having to go out of their way to find specialist shops. It was also suggested that there was limited choice in terms of Welsh language TV, radio, books and magazines. There were perceived gaps in the content and programming of Welsh media, particularly for certain age groups. Many of the under 40 year old age group felt, for example, that much of S4C's output was not relevant or interesting for their age range and instead was better serving the needs of younger viewers and those in the over 50's age group (Welsh Language Board, 2006c). Radio Cymru was also criticised for being 'boring' and 'for older people'.

What evidence is there for the success or otherwise of interventions in relation to infrastructure?

- 10.5 There are examples of existing initiatives that are supporting the Welsh language infrastructure by increasing access to Welsh language resources and support.
- 10.6 A review of mentrau iaith (Jones & Ioan, 2000) observed that some of the mentrau were developing Welsh language information and resource centres to

assist in publicising the Welsh language and promoting its use in the community.

- 10.7 Two reviews undertaken by the Welsh language Board (2004 & 2006) of the Government supported 'Linkline', an enquiry service for the public regarding Wales and the Welsh language, shows an increasing demand on the service, particularly in terms of translation support.
- 10.8 A project providing community simultaneous translation service in Gwynedd aimed to influence attitudes towards Welsh and change language use customs by strengthening Welsh as a language in the community, increasing the opportunity to use Welsh and offering an equal opportunity in the community for everyone to speak in their chosen language. An evaluation of the project suggested that the service had a positive impact on the Welsh language as it demonstrated bilingualism at work and contributed to the Welsh language being more audible and visual (Kaufmann, 2009).
- 10.9 There is also evidence that cultural activities such as the Eisteddfod have impacted on the promotion and use of the Welsh language. A survey undertaken with visitors who had applied for the free entry scheme to the festival in Blaenau Gwent reported that 54 percent of those who had completed the English questionnaire felt that the Eisteddfod had a positive effect on their opinions of the Welsh language. Over a quarter (29 per cent) of respondents reported that they wanted to start learning Welsh after their visit to the Maes and of those who were already learning Welsh, a quarter (25 per cent) felt that the Eisteddfod had inspired them to continue their studies. Blaenau Gwent Council also reported 'record registrations' for their Welsh in the Workplace lessons (The National Eisteddfod, 2010). This exercise was repeated with those visitors who had booked tickets online through a ticket system following the Eisteddfod in Wrexham. Just under 60 percent of those who responded in English reported that the Eisteddfod had a positive impact on their attitudes towards the Welsh language, with over 16 per cent either going to or hoping to learn Welsh because of their visit.

10.10 A review of Welsh-language print media (Welsh Language Board, 2008) in the field of news and current affairs concluded that profiles of current titles suggested that the sector was fragile, uneven and incomplete although individual publications performed well. The review also comments;

“What is equally striking is the lack, outside the Y Byd project itself, of research literature devoted to the Welsh-language press, the role and impact of current funding systems in supporting it, and its significance in today’s Wales.”

10.11 There appears to be an absence of evidence examining the relationship between these initiatives and their impact on facilitating the use of Welsh.

What evidence is there that other types of interventions/policies could be successful?

10.12 Much of the discussion relating to strengthening an infrastructure for and overcoming barriers to using minority languages, such as Welsh, appear to focus on marketing approaches and increasing the availability of minority language resources, with a particular emphasis on the role of the internet and new media.

10.13 Research suggests that there is a need for alternative marketing approaches in order to encourage the use of the Welsh language and increase the availability of Welsh language resources. In particular, discussions around Welsh language use have highlighted the importance of focusing on younger Welsh speakers as a means of encouraging and increasing the use of the language. A study of Welsh language use in 2004 – 2006 (Welsh Language Board, 2008 cited in Honeycutt and Cunliffe, 2010) found that the 5 – 14 year old age group had a significantly higher proportion of Welsh speakers than the 15 – 24 year old age range. Research focusing on marketing of the Welsh language found that those under the age of 35 were more likely to respond to marketing media and should therefore be the focus of Welsh language marketing strategies and action plans (Welsh Language Board, 2003).

- 10.14 The study also noted that *'media consumption by young Welsh speaking audiences is a critically important factor if marketing is to influence their behaviour and language usage'*. Those in the 18 – 35 year old age group were found to be less inclined to read daily newspapers and watch S4C and more likely to watch digital channels such as E4, Sky Sports and MTV and listen to English language BBC radio and local commercial radio. Therefore, it has been suggested that cross media promotions and marketing approaches using mainstream channels and English language media should be fostered in order to raise awareness of and increase the use of the Welsh language (Welsh Language Board, 2006c).
- 10.15 The need to improve the availability and relevance of Welsh language media and resources has also been highlighted. Recent findings from the latest Omnibus Survey (Beaufort, 2011), reported that 86 per cent of Welsh speakers believed that S4C supports the Welsh language with its programme and content. The survey also reported that 69 percent felt S4C had made the Welsh language appear more modern and relevant to them and over half of respondents said that S4C had improved their grasp on the Welsh language (52 per cent) and inspired them to improve their Welsh (51 per cent). There were variations according to region and fluency. However, a previous study highlighted the need to broaden the portfolio of products and programmes available, specifically tailoring them to 22 – 45 year old age range and to more popular tastes (Welsh Language Board 2006c).
- 10.16 It has been suggested that more proactive marketing of alternative channels for buying Welsh language books and resources is also a way of facilitating the use of Welsh. Examples include making books and resources available to buy online, as well as promoting the distribution of Welsh language books and music through popular mainstream outlets, such as the high street bookshop Waterstones. It should, however, be noted that these suggestions are provided by a report published in 2003 and therefore may be less relevant to the present day (Welsh Language Board, 2006c).
- 10.17 An emerging theme from the existing body of research highlights the centrality of the internet and new media in facilitating the use of minority languages, and

the incorporation of electronic technology has been recognised as a prerequisite for language revitalisation. According to Crystal (2000, as cited in Nichols, 2007):

“An endangered language will progress if its speakers can make use of electronic technology”.

10.18 The internet and other forms of new media are seen as facilitating access to a wide range of information written in and about minority languages. For example, an impact survey undertaken in New Zealand in 2010 (Te Puni Kokiri), examining the contribution of various Maori language services funded or provided by the government, concluded that there was a relationship between viewing websites orientated towards the Maori language and increases in Maori language usage. The survey found that those people who were using the Maori language more than they did 12 months earlier, had consistently higher rates of Maori language website usage than others. However, the direct impact of the websites on increased language use remains unclear.

10.19 Studies have shown the internet and new media to be particularly relevant and important for a younger target group, who have a clear preference towards this type of medium. It has been suggested that technology has a major role in promoting the relevance of minority languages to young people as they are ‘quick to embrace new technological tools’ (Fleming & Debski, 2007).

10.20 A study examining marketing the Welsh language reported that young people are spending more time on the internet than watching TV (Welsh Language Board, 2003). Young adults (18 – 35 year olds) were found to have a strong tendency to use the internet as their prime information and news source, rather than the printed word.

10.21 Research has also shown that young adults are using the internet extensively for email and chatrooms (Welsh Language Board, 2003). A study by OFCOM (2008, cited in Honeycutt & Cunliffe, 2010) reported that 49 per cent of children and young people aged 8 – 17, who had the internet, had set up a profile on a social networking site.

10.22 The evidence suggests that that the internet and new media may encourage the increased use of minority languages. Studies reveal that online communities and social networks can play a key role in encouraging the use of the Welsh language. A study examining young people's social networks and language use found that *'the greater the density of Welsh speakers in the social network of young welsh speakers, the greater the opportunity and tendency for members of that network to use Welsh'* (Morris, 2007 cited in Honeycutt & Cunliffe, 2010). Honeycutt & Cunliffe (2010) suggest that social networking sites are not only providing an opportunity to use Welsh, but also to discuss the language. The role of virtual communities such as Perthyn and Maes-e (an online community offering Welsh medium chat aimed at Welsh speaking young people) as a tool to inform and enable Welsh speakers to participate in civil society in Wales and discussions around current affairs and the Welsh language has also been highlighted by Cunliffe & Roberts-Young (2005). It should however be noted that this work was published in 2005 and the role of communities such as Maes-e may have changed.

10.23 Social networks are also recognised as important sites for developing language norms (Wei, 2000, cited in Honeycutt & Cunliffe, 2010). A study examining the use of the Welsh language on the Social networking site 'Facebook' observed that Welsh speakers were playing an important role in establish language norms in Facebook and other similar online forums (Honeycutt & Cunliffe, 2010). The evidence suggested that the use of the Welsh language had, to some extent, been *'normalised'* within Facebook, particularly with the campaign and subsequent introduction of a Welsh interface where translations were *'crowd-sourced'*. The Welsh language *'established an active presence'* within Facebook.

10.24 Preliminary results from a recent survey of Welsh-speaking Twitter (Jones, Cunliffe & Honeycutt – preliminary results) users seem to show that the vast majority of respondents have normalised their use of the language on the platform. When questioned about their reasons for joining Twitter, only a very small percentage of the 130 people surveyed (about 5 per cent) cited ideas of language advocacy or the future survival of Welsh amongst their motivations for doing so. For the Welsh-speakers surveyed, the most popular reasons for

setting up a Twitter account appeared to be: the presence of friends and celebrities on the site; peer pressure; general curiosity, and an interest in social networking.

10.25 The majority of Welsh speakers appear to show mixed use of Welsh and English in their updates, or 'tweets', on Twitter. Initial analysis of survey responses appears to show that individuals deem certain topics (such as the discussion of Welsh-language, or English-language media) to belong to the domain of one language more than another; the perceived audience for any particular tweet was also a dominant factor in determining whether a user would update in English or Welsh. Twitter conversations, between two or more individuals, would typically follow the language common to the participants.

10.26 A study of children and the Irish language, Fleming & Debsk (2007) recommended the introduction of networked communication into schools to give children an opportunity to communicate in real time with fellow Irish speakers, outside of the school domain. It was suggested that this was a successful approach in the revitalisation of the Hawaiian language.

10.27 The literature also shows that the internet has facilitated access to materials in minority languages that are more difficult to access in traditional print and audiovisual media (Wright, 2006). Digital libraries are an example of how the internet has facilitated access to a wealth of information and lowered barriers to publishing (Deere & Cunliffe, 2009, cited in Pertot et al, 2008). According to Lu et al (2004, cited in Nichols et al, 2007), digital libraries offer a solution to the challenge of organising and making accessible large amounts of information and are a practical tool for preserving and revitalising minority languages. In an article about digital libraries and minority languages, Nichols et al (2007), discuss and provide examples of how Greenstone digital library software has been used to build digital libraries in languages including Hawaiian (Ulukau Figital Library) and Maori (Niupepa Digital Library).

10.28 Issues have, however, been raised regarding the way in which minority language material is presented on the intranet. A comparison of the Canadian and Welsh experiences relating to web pages offering minority language

services and materials highlighted the need to have effective and consistent implementation of guidelines and design principles in order to reduce the risk of minority language provision being undermined by technological barriers such as difficulties in accessing materials. According to this work, many UK sites studies demonstrated that Welsh was in an inferior position to the English language and concluded that more research monitoring the habits of bilingual users when faced with language choice options is needed in order to examine whether the presentation of minority language material has a significant impact on actual use.

10.29 A further theme emerging from the existing body of research, which is related to electronic technology, is the impact of language technology and tools on the use of the Welsh language.

10.30 Broadening *'the range of services and facilities available to Welsh speakers and learners'* has been identified in Iaith Pawb as key to encouraging and supporting the use of Welsh, reflecting *'the importance of developing new opportunities to use the language and ensuring that it is promoted on the internet and in new IT packages'*

10.31 These services and facilities, termed 'Language Tools' (Prys, 2008, cited in LULCL II, 2008), includes terminology standardisation, a national database of terms, the development of lexicographical and machine translation aids for translators, and the creation of *'an ICT Strategy for increasing and facilitating the use of Welsh on the internet and in IT packages to augment the existing list of computer resources available in Welsh...'* (Prys, 2008). The Welsh Language Board published a strategy document, Information Technology and the Welsh Language, in 2006 that aimed to *"provide a comprehensive policy statement and list of what needs to happen to ensure the language is mainstreamed into all relevant areas of IT and keeps pace with technological developments"*.

10.32 Discussions around language tools have highlighted the practical considerations of language support when using computers and electronic media. *'Electronic language tools such as spelling and grammar-checkers, and*

on-line or CD dictionaries, are crucial aids for small languages” (Prys, 2008), as not only do they provide practical help in correcting errors, but also increase the confidence of the writer in their ability to use the language for written communication.

10.33 The language technologies Unit at Canolfan Bedwar, Bangor University have recently tried to quantify the use of electronic resources developed for Welsh (e.g. Welsh National Database of Terms, Termiadur: Standardised Terminology and Cysgliad) in order to begin to measure their effectiveness in language revitalisation. As an example, the Unit has received 63,768 visits (from 21,581 different visitors) to the free Cysill ar-lein website since June 2010. This is in addition to the 3,000 registered individual licences and 270 network versions of the full Cysgliad (Cysill + Cysgeir dictionary collection) software distributed. Feedback received from users has suggested that many people rely on the proofing tools to have the confidence to write Welsh⁴. The Unit has also received 19,089 visits (2,972 unique visitors) to their Porth Termau (National Terminology Portal) in the same period, a specialist site for translators and professionals.

10.34 However, Prys (2008) notes that *‘measuring the effect of the availability of electronic resources on the use and status of a language is far more difficult’* and that little research has been carried out in this area. According to Prys (2008):

‘Quantifying the number of searches, downloads and sales of such products affords a quick and easy measurement of the use of electronic resources and technology in a minority language. Measuring their impact on attitudes towards the language is harder to achieve, and requires further surveys on the perceptions and attitudes of the target populations’.

10.35 There are, however, examples of projects promoting the awareness and use of Welsh medium information technology. In particular, the promotion of the Welsh Language Control Centre (a Welsh Interface and software available through the medium of Welsh) to businesses and organisations in Gwynedd

⁴ Usage data provided directly by Delyth Prys and the Language Technologies Unit.

and Conwy. A survey of clients who agreed to have the system installed on their computers reported positive results in terms of promotion and use of the Welsh language. Around two-thirds (66per cent) of the clients reported that they used the Language Control Centre on a daily basis and all felt that the system would help to promote the Welsh language. It was also suggested that the software would increase client confidence in using the language and improve the standard and quality of their work. Similar projects have also been undertaken, widening the promotion of Welsh Medium Information Technology to colleges, schools and individuals in Anglesey and Gwynedd and Conwy.

11 Conclusion

11.1 Many factors influence language choice and use which makes effectively evaluating language policy, and attributing change to specific initiatives, challenging. Some evidence of the success of aspects of individual initiatives such as Mentrau Iaith, Twf and Mudiad Meithrin does exist. In addition, this report does highlight broad areas which the wider literature on Welsh language development and use does suggest should be best targeted and strengthened.

11.2 However, in general, there is a lack of robust empirical evidence on the effectiveness of individual policies aimed at increasing Welsh language use. This means it is difficult to make an objective assessment of how effectively initiatives have worked either individually or collectively or to properly appraise the likely success of future activity in this area.

11.3 Of course, a lack of robust evidence does not mean necessarily that initiatives have been unsuccessful. However, the likelihood of small-scale interventions improving the use of Welsh need to be realistically assessed given emerging evidence from research on behaviour change. Such assessment needs to consider the scale - and type of intervention - necessary to secure such change at a national level (see Annex 2 for further information on current levels of expenditure in relation to the six themes in the Welsh Language Strategy).

11.4 Some examples of the more significant evidence gaps identified by this review are:

- Children and young people's own views and attitudes towards the Welsh language and bilingualism. The evidence demonstrates how a child's behaviour can influence transmission practices in the home. It is difficult to get a full picture of the factors that may contribute to use of a language between parent and child without including the attitudes of children towards their language(s).
- Research into the role of the Home Learning Environment in relation to Welsh language acquisition.

- Longitudinal research, to track the influences of the social context and the role of the language environment in shaping second language acquisition.
- Research into parents' transmission of the Welsh language to their children as a basis for developing initiatives that effectively influence behaviour.
- Research amongst Welsh speaking employees to ascertain whether or not workplace initiatives aimed at increasing Welsh in the workplace have been effective.
- Research into the availability and quality of Welsh services, compared to the availability and quality of English services;
- Evaluation studies designed to demonstrate impact in relation to a counterfactual – what would have happened in the absence of an initiative (ie experimental or quasi-experimental designs).
- Further work to uncover relevant international evidence for comparison purposes.
- Further research into the costs-benefits of language interventions.

11.5 The First Stage Evaluation of Iaith Pawb in July 2007 highlighted the lack of evidence and measurement against targets as one of the key themes to emerge. Since the First Stage Evaluation, there is little evidence that this has been addressed. There is a risk that this could also be the case for the new strategy going forward. It is recommended, therefore, that the Strategy as a whole, as well as the main programmes within it, should incorporate plans for robust and independent evaluation.

12 Evaluating the Welsh Language Strategy

12.1 It is essential therefore that the Welsh Language Strategy is evaluated in order to help assess its effectiveness against its strategic objectives and improve learning over time. To do this, it is recommended that an evaluation framework and plan is developed alongside the Strategy from the outset. This will set-out how the Strategy will be evaluated via a range of methods and sources of data along with bespoke research and analysis.

12.2 Given the wide-range of policy interventions covered it will be important to ensure a consistent and comparable approach to evaluation across the Strategy. The approach should be both formative – to ensure lessons are learnt throughout implementation – and summative – to ensure outcomes are captured in a robust and timely manner.

12.3 There are a number of challenges for evaluating the Welsh Language Strategy, namely:

- Providing robust evidence of outcomes of programmes individually and collectively;
- Providing timely analysis about process/implementation;
- The setting of measurable ‘outcomes’, emphasising that the focus should only be on those that are measurable;
- Defining what elements of the Strategy are likely to achieve impacts that can be captured;
- Engaging stakeholders as part of a shared approach to evaluating the Strategy and its component programmes;
- Avoiding duplication (eg by using existing data and building upon international evidence);
- Identifying and filling gaps in data;
- Achieving the right balance between policy, programme and project level evaluation;
- Addressing policy complexity (eg range of programmes; understanding what contributes to the success of the programme; differentiating programme effects from other factors);
- Developing skills and capacity for evaluation (within the Welsh Government and within delivery agencies).

12.4 Specifically, an evaluation framework should be developed within 6 months following launch of the Strategy, that:

- Sets out how the effects of the Welsh Language Strategy are to be captured at different levels (individual participant, project/programme and locally/nationally);

- Defines measurable indicators of the Strategy's expected and possible effects, drawing where possible upon nationally and locally collected data. This should fit as much as possible with agencies' own performance monitoring systems.
- Identifies gaps in the information/data already gathered and consider how appropriate data might be sourced, taking into account the practicality and cost of deriving additional information and the utility which such information is likely to offer; and
- Identify a programme of data collection, research and analysis which will be published throughout the life of the Strategy to inform its on-going development and review.

ANNEX 1 - Broad estimates of the annual change in the number of fluent Welsh speakers

Summary

This paper presents an updated estimate of the annual change in the number of fluent Welsh speakers following on from previous work by the Welsh Language Board (Hywel Jones, 2004)⁵ and uses similar methodology.

The estimated annual change in the number of fluent Welsh speakers can be considered, as with overall population projections, to consist of two components: natural change and migration. In this respect natural change considers the death of Welsh speakers and their replacement by newborns that will either be brought up to speak Welsh fluently or will do so by virtue of school education. Migration considers the flows of fluent Welsh speakers in and out of Wales.

The gap between births and deaths has narrowed in recent years, and therefore the impact of natural change seems to be minimal with deaths overall being 'replaced' by births, although this depends on the assumptions we make over education and upbringing and whether or not the fluency seen at school will continue post-compulsory education.

By estimating that 19per cent of all deaths will be of fluent Welsh speakers over the next decade this will result in an annual loss of around 5,700 based on Office for National Statistics projections. Using fluency of secondary school pupils as a proxy for the numbers that speak Welsh through education and upbringing gives a similar number of around 5,500 – 5,800 'births'. Therefore at most there may be a loss of at most **150 per annum** due to natural change, although given the variation in sources it might be reasonable to assume that 'births' and deaths are broadly equal.

Migration has been analysed through a number of sources but there are no sources which give the complete picture, particularly for out-migration. The movement of students also complicates the issue. It is very likely that there is a net outflow

⁵ *"Derivation of rough estimate of annual change in fluent Welsh speakers"*

through migration although it is not clear to what level. Through using the Pupil Level Annual School Census⁶ we can estimate that the net outflow through migration might be around **1,200p.a**. Through adjusting the estimates by using data from the Labour Force Survey⁷ on Welsh language ability, a further estimate suggests the net outflow might be around **2,200p.a**. Taking into account other work in this area by the Welsh Language Board which looked at the long-term changes in language ability by age it is reasonable to conclude that there is a level of out-migration.

Conclusion

The paper concludes that there is likely to be a net loss of fluent Welsh speakers every year, and this is mostly due to out-migration.

Overall, it is estimated a net annual loss of around **1,200 – 2,200** is a reasonable range of estimates.

However it is impossible to be definitive due to the data available. 1,200 is probably a lower limit, whilst 2,200 is based on some assumptions with little evidence.

This is a complicated area to synthesise due to the different reliability and coverage of the data sources. Further work could be done on analysing the Labour Force Survey or the Longitudinal HE survey (or combining PLASC records with HE data), for example, as well as the 2011 Census but it is difficult to see that this would increase the robustness of our knowledge sufficiently.

⁶ Welsh Government analysis of Pupil Level Annual School Census 2010 and 2011

⁷ Welsh Government analysis of Labour Force Survey 2001-2010

Policy implications

It is worth reflecting on the different components separately. The component for which policy can have most influence is in natural change, or more specifically the inflow through education. The analysis suggests that the net impact of natural change is minimal as the number of births is broadly estimated to be the same as the number of deaths.

With regards to migration Welsh language policy can have a limited impact on this flow due to the various reasons and economic influences for migration. Nevertheless there is an impact on services (e.g. S4C) and it is important to be aware of the cumulative impact of net-migration on those services in Wales and, potentially for a user base for services in England (e.g. cross-border digital transmission of S4C).

Detailed analysis

1. Natural change and education

Outflow arising from deaths

Original WLB assumption⁸:

There were 33,200 deaths in 2002. Estimates from the 2001 Census of the percentage able to speak Welsh ranged from 17.9 per cent for 70-year-olds, rising to 19.5 per cent for those aged 77 and then up to 24.7 per cent for those aged 90 or above. Assumed that 19.5 per cent of the 33,200 deaths were of fluent Welsh speakers, giving an estimate of 6,500.

Latest data:

Latest population projections suggest fewer deaths than in the original assumptions - around 30,000 deaths a year for the next decade, dipping to around 29,500 in the middle of the 2010s⁹. Using the age distribution of Welsh Language skills and applying it to the age distribution of current deaths gives an assumption that around 18-19 per cent of deaths were of fluent Welsh speakers. Using 19 per cent as an 'at most' assumption this gives an estimate of **5,600 – 5,700 p.a**

Inflow arising from natural population change and education effect

Original WLB assumption:

Around 31,000 births p.a and taking into account Census data on 3 year olds able to speak Welsh and children undertaking Key Stage (KS) assessments through Welsh, estimated around 5,100 p.a

Latest data:

Births: Increasing from around 34,800 to 35,800 over the decade⁵, more than in the original WLB paper.

Taking into account a range of data sources (see Annex) estimating the effect of upbringing and education depends on the robustness of the data source and the age of assessment.

⁸ Original WLB paper

⁹ Source: ONS 2008-based National Population projections

http://www.statistics.gov.uk/downloads/theme_population/NPP2008/NatPopProj2008.pdf

Assessments in primary school are more likely to be taken in Welsh (first language) although Welsh language skills are assessed by parents to be lower in primary than secondary. By secondary school the proportion assessed through Welsh at Key Stage 3 converges with the proportion of children in secondary school assessed as fluent Welsh speakers - and those studying Welsh First Language at Key Stage 4 - at around 16 per cent. Therefore by secondary schools a range of around **5,550 to 5,800** are estimated to be fluent.

Further triangulation of this is provided by the Annual Population Survey which shows that around 17 per cent of 16-19 year olds speak Welsh daily – giving a similar, if a little higher, estimate to the above. 16 per cent would therefore seem a reasonable estimate to use, although the robustness of that estimate depends on the long-term impact of education and upbringing on the use of the language post-compulsory education.

Overall impact of natural change and education

If we use the secondary school figures as a proxy for the output of the education system and parental upbringing then this would suggest that in general deaths of Welsh speakers are being replaced by “births” and that the net loss of fluent Welsh speakers would now be **at most 150 per annum** due to natural change, although it might be reasonable to assume that ‘births’ and deaths are broadly equal. The main reason this is lower than the previous analysis by the WLB is the reduction in numbers of annual deaths and the lower likelihood of those deceased to be fluent Welsh speakers.

Since most deaths are of over 65s this estimate is likely to stand for the next decade or so unless the number of young people speaking Welsh fluently continues to rise.

2. Migration effects

Outflow - Original WLB assumption:

5,200 based on numbers migrating to England from Wales in the 12-months to the 2001 Census, by age group. For those aged 30 and over assumed the percentage of them speaking Welsh would be the same as reported by the Census. For those aged

5-14, assumed 13.9 per cent would speak Welsh (the percentage of primary school pupils fluent in Welsh), for 15 year-olds 12.3 per cent (a percentage based on those taking a Welsh language GCSE), an arbitrary 5 per cent of those aged 20-29 (expected to be largely England-domiciled students returning to England).

Inflow - Original WLB assumption:

Applied the percentage of Welsh speakers amongst in-migrants aged 16+, i.e. 6.3 per cent, to the total number of in-migrants from 2001 Census. This gave 3,600.

Latest data

The migration component is the most difficult to measure, particularly due to the lack of data on the Welsh language relating to out-migrants. The WLB assumption was based on the premise that out-migrants would be as likely to speak Welsh as the general population. But it might be assumed that out-migrants are less likely to speak Welsh and there is evidence to support that assumption. People of non-Welsh origin may be more likely to migrate out of Wales whilst Welsh speakers will have incentives to stay in Wales that don't exist for non-Welsh speakers (use of language in jobs, local community etc). Also there is the issue of students: a large proportion of Welsh speakers will migrate out for HE, but also some will come back after graduation. We do not have a definitive answer for the balance.

Out migration to rest of the UK from Wales over the past five years has ranged from around 54,000 to 56,000¹⁰. Inward migration has fallen slightly in the past couple of years to 56,500.

The most comparable source of information about the actual Welsh language skills of in and out-migrants may be the Schools Census. We can use the School Census to identify migrant children through assuming those who do not appear on the School Census in a following or preceding year have left or moved into Wales.

According to the PLASC¹¹, 7,400 5-14 year olds "left" Wales both between 2009-2010, and 2010-2011 (this compares with around 6,200 0-14 year olds according to ONS migration figures). Of these, 4.5 per cent were fluent Welsh speakers. The data

¹⁰ ONS internal migration estimates

¹¹ WG analysis of Pupil Level Annual School Census 2010 and 2011

support the hypothesis that Welsh speakers were less likely to out-migrate than non-Welsh speakers. *If we assume that these pupils are representative of the households moving out of Wales*, applying this to the general migrant population gives around **2,400 – 2,500** out-migrants per year.

Using a similar technique on in-migration we can estimate that in both 2010 and 2011, around 5,800 6-15 year olds entered the Welsh school system from outside. 2.2 per cent of these in-migrant pupils were assessed by parents to be fluent in Welsh. *Again if we assume that these pupils are representative of the households moving in to Wales*, applying this to the general migrant population gives around **1,200** in-migrants per year.

This suggests that there is a **net outflow** of Welsh speakers and using this assumption at a rate of around **1,200 – 1,300 p.a.**

However it is likely that this is an underestimate. The suggestion that Welsh speakers are less likely to migrate than non-Welsh speakers is more likely to hold for families (and children) than for young people, particularly students. This is the largest group of migrants and we estimate that around 16 per cent of young people will be fluent Welsh speakers. Therefore the 4.5 per cent figure from the PLASC underestimates the gross outflow. However it does provide a basis for like-for-like comparison.

We do have other data on the Welsh language skills of in-migrants. Using the LFS we can estimate the proportion of in-migrants (people who lived outside Wales 12 months ago) that can speak Welsh. The series is very volatile, but an assumption of around 10 per cent for the adult population could be made using data for the most recent years. From the LFS question on “frequency of use” we can estimate that around 60 per cent¹² of these would speak Welsh “daily” (a proxy for fluency). This therefore suggests that around **6 per cent** of in-migrants would be fluent in Welsh and this figure compares well to the figure from the 2001 Census which showed that

¹² WG analysis of Labour Force Survey 2001-2010: applying the proportion of LFS “Welsh speakers” that speak Welsh daily to the 10 per cent of in-migrants speaking Welsh

6.3 per cent¹³ of in-migrants aged 16 or above were fluent Welsh speakers. This is much higher than the 2.2 per cent of in-migrant children that speak Welsh.

Therefore the picture is as follows.

Age	Gross inflow (2010)	% fluent	Gross outflow (2010)	% fluent
0-14	6,727	2.2%	6,172	4.5%
15-19	8,454	6% (avge for 15+)	5,864	?
20-24	13,770	6% (avge for 15+)	15,292	?
25+	27,577	6% (avge for 15+)	26,664	?

The key component that is missing is the proportion of out-migrant young people and adults who speak Welsh. We could estimate this using the data on the Welsh language ability of the population although this would probably over-estimate the gross outflow and would not be directly comparable. Using the proportion of the population that speak Welsh “daily” would at least use the same basis in terms of definition as the in-migrants.

We also know from the LFS that between 15-24 the cumulative effect of young people migrating is a net loss and in particular a net loss of persons born in Wales: the 6 months HE destination study shows that 3,000 graduates originally domiciled in Wales – 22 per cent of the cohort - are working in England after graduating, compared with 1,800 non-Welsh graduates working in Wales. The Longitudinal destination study shows a greater loss over the longer-term: 30 per cent of Welsh graduates are working in England 3.5 years after graduating compared with 22 per cent after 6 months.

Applying the proportion that use Welsh daily from the Labour Force Survey¹⁴ to the out-migrant figures above gives the following:

Age	Gross inflow (2010)	% fluent	Gross outflow (2010)	% fluent
0-14	6,727	2.2%	6,172	4.5%
15-19	8,454	6% (avge for 15+)	5,864	17%
20-24	13,770	6% (avge for 15+)	15,292	10%
25+	27,577	6% (avge for 15+)	26,664	10%

¹³ Source: original WLB paper

¹⁴ WG analysis of Labour Force Survey 2001-2010

Total flows	56,528	3,136	53,992	5,377
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This method gives a net outflow of around **2,200 p.a.**

Conclusion

Therefore there is in all probability a net outflow through migration, but problems with the data available mean it is difficult to estimate precisely. The PLASC estimate of **1,200 – 1,300 p.a** is likely to be an underestimate and the modelled estimate of **2,200 p.a** is based on assumptions with little grounding.

3. Adult learners

An assumption could be made about the impact of adult learning and an increase in fluent Welsh speakers through that route. There are around 18,000 Welsh for Adults learners – of various levels and ability - in a typical year. We do not have evidence on how many of these students progress to using the language fluently. In addition if we were going to include an assumption on that basis we might need to make an assumption on the number of previously fluent Welsh speakers who “lose” their ability over time.

4. Long-term effects

Hywel Jones (2009)¹⁵ analysed the long-term impact of migration on Welsh speakers, rather than short-term annual, using ONS Census longitudinal study data. He demonstrated that successive Censuses had fewer young adult Welsh speakers than might be ‘expected’ given the profile in previous Censuses.

He said:

“The lower than expected numbers of young adult Welsh-speakers in the 2001 Census appears to be a consequence of out-migration, not of a failure by individuals to retain their Welsh-speaking ability.

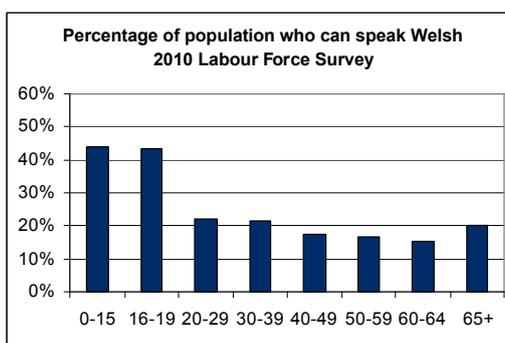
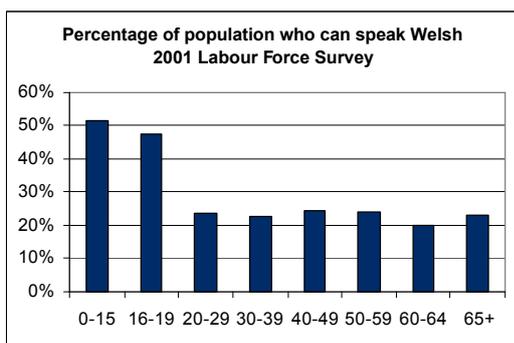
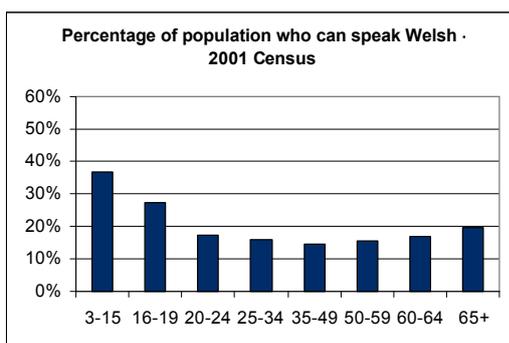
By 2001, 1 in 5 of Wales’s children of 1971 had moved to England.”

Comparing the 2001 Census data and the 2001 Labour Force Survey with the 2010 Labour Force Survey (charts below) suggests that this hypothesis still holds. The increased levels of Welsh speaking amongst 3-15 and 16-19 year olds in the 2001

¹⁵ “*Welsh speakers: the relationship between their age profile and out-migration*” (Hywel Jones, 2009)

Census has not translated into large increases amongst young adults. This may be a reflection of the out-migration of the student population described earlier, giving a little more credence to the assumption of over 2,000 out-migrants per annum.

Therefore whilst the level of Welsh speaking amongst 0-19 year olds is higher than older cohorts it remains to be seen whether that will result in a bulge of young adult, or even middle age (post HE), Welsh speakers.



Hywel Jones also analysed the results of two surveys: the Welsh Social Survey in 1992 and the WLB's Welsh Language Use surveys of 2004-06. Whilst these surveys were completely independent and it is unclear how comparable the surveys are, comparing the two suggested a fall in Welsh speakers over a 13 year period of around 46,000 which equates to a net loss of around 3,500 per year.

5. Further potential areas for investigation

The migration data could be investigated further, although it is difficult to see how the picture could be fitted together to develop a robust estimate. Areas of work might include investigation of the longitudinal component of the Annual Population Survey; analysis of the longitudinal HE leavers survey; or analysis of the 2011 Census next year. It might also be possible to use data linkage to analyse the destination of Welsh speakers from the PLASC in terms of further and higher education. However the purpose and benefits of that work would need to be considered.

Indicator	Latest and trend	Estimate applied to births p.a (34,800 – 35,800)
Primary school pupils able to speak Welsh fluently (Schools Census 2011: final results table 7.6)	13.7% , prior to this has hovered at around or just under 13% for most of the past decade. Around 8% speak Welsh fluently at home and this number has been declining.	4,750 – 4,900
Secondary school pupils able to speak Welsh fluently (Schools Census 2011: final results table 7.14)	15.9% and has increased slightly in recent years. 8.8% speak Welsh fluently at home	5,550 – 5,700
Key Stage 1 assessments through Welsh (first language) (Schools Census 2011: final results table 7.12)	21.9% , a steady increase from 18% in 1998	7,650-7,850
Key Stage 2 assessments through Welsh (first language) (Schools Census 2011: final results table 7.13)	19.6% , a steady increase from 17.5% in 1998	6,800 – 7,000
Key Stage 3 assessments through Welsh (first language) (Schools Census 2011: final results table 7.20)	16.3% , a steady increase from 12% in 1998	5,700 – 5,850
Proportion taught Welsh as a first language in Year 11 (Schools Census 2011: final results table 7.18)	16.3% , a steady increase from 12% in 1997	5,700 – 5,850
GCSE entries taken through Welsh medium (Schools Examination performance 2010 table 2.7)	11% - WJEC entries taken through Welsh medium as percentage of all entries. If Welsh-medium pupils more likely to take more GCSEs than non-Welsh speaker this will be an overcount. However not all Welsh speakers will take GCSEs through Welsh.	3,800 – 3,900
Percentage of HE students recorded as being able to speak Welsh fluently <i>(HESA student record)</i>	15% . This will be skewed by socio-economic class and excludes those Welsh students who attend HE outside Wales. Since Welsh speakers who want Welsh medium teaching will stay in Wales this will	5,200 – 5,370

	be an overestimate.	
Labour Force Survey – percentage of 16-19 yr olds that speak Welsh daily (<i>WG analysis of LFS</i>)	17% in 2010, but volatile series (previous years 16%, 10%, 19%)	5,900 – 6,100
Labour Force Survey – percentage of 1-15 yr olds that speak Welsh daily (<i>WG analysis of LFS</i>)	29% in 2010, similar for few years	10,100 – 10,400
Labour Force Survey – percentage of 1-15 yr olds that speak Welsh daily or weekly (<i>WG analysis of LFS</i>)	44% in 2010, similar for few years	15,300 – 15,800

ANNEX 2 - Total currently spent in Wales on (non-education) Welsh language Policies

Strategic aim 1: Welsh in the community

Total spend: £2.49m

Strategic aim 2: Transfer of the language in families

Total spend: £1.94m

Strategic aim 3: Children and young people

Total spend: £1.10m

Strategic aim 4: Services to the citizen

Total spend: £0.18m

Strategic aim 5: The workplace

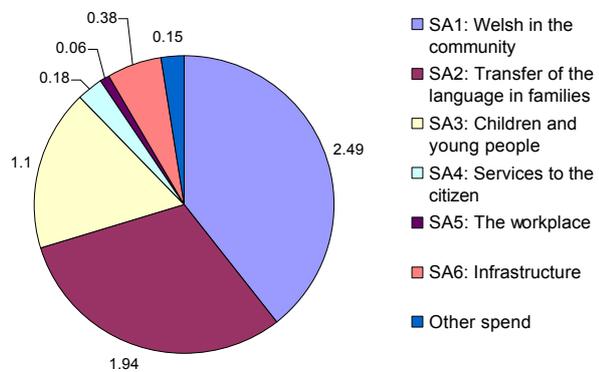
Total spend: £0.06m

Strategic aim 6: Infrastructure

Total spend: £0.38m

Other spend

Total spend: £0.15m



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