UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON

FACULTY OF HUMANITIES

School of Modern Languages

A Critical Evaluation of Linguistic Minorities from a Postmodern Perspective: the case of Welsh

by

Mark Muirden

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Abstract

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My aim in this thesis is to consider language policy and minority languages from the viewpoint of postmodernism – a theoretical framework that has much to offer beyond mere explanation and support for the concepts of diversity and pluralism. I argue here that there is a shortage of texts that interrogate language policy from a postmodern perspective – notwithstanding the contributions of a relatively small group of linguists including Pennycook (2000, 2006), Wright (2000, 2004), Cameron (1995) and Edwards (1985, 2003) among others. Thus, I combine some arguments from the domain of postmodernism articulated by theorists such as Foucault (1980), Lyotard (1997), Hutcheon (2002) and Connor (2004) with other arguments from the fields of language policy, language ideology and minority language rights formulated by theorists such as Phillipson (1993, 2003), Crystal (2000, 2003), Schiffman (1996), Skutnabb-Kangas (1995), Mühlhäusler (1996), Gal (1979, 2006) and Woolard (1989).

Comprising four main chapters and a conclusion, the thesis follows a general-specific structure. In the first chapter I consider how language policy and planning has developed as a subject of academic enquiry since World War II. I also explain why there is a need for a postmodern approach to language policy. In the second chapter I focus on a primary objective for language policymakers, namely minority language maintenance. Here I conclude that characteristics and trends associated with postmodernism are neither wholly supportive nor wholly unsupportive of minority language maintenance. In the third chapter, I concentrate on the minority language Welsh, tentatively concluding that a truly bilingual Wales is not achievable. In the fourth chapter, I present and analyse findings from my ethnographic research into Welsh language usage in Newport. With the aid of observations and interviews, I tentatively conclude once more that the Welsh Assembly Government's bilingual objective is unachievable. Finally, in the main conclusion, I argue that postmodernism is a useful theoretical perspective for academics in the field of language policy and planning. It has the potential to provide an enriched understanding of the attitudes and behaviours that tend to prevail among language policy users in the postmodern age or postmodernity.

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DECLARATION OF AUTHORSHIP

I, Mark Muirden

declare that the thesis entitled

A Critical Evaluation of Linguistic Minorities from a Postmodern Perspective: the case of Welsh

and the work presented in the thesis are both my own, and have been generated by me as the result of my own original research.

I confirm that:

- this work was done wholly or mainly while in candidature for a research degree at this University;
- where any part of this thesis has previously been submitted for a degree or any other qualification at this University or any other institution, this has been clearly stated;
- where I have consulted the published work of others, this is always clearly attributed;
- where I have quoted from the work of others, the source is always given. With the exception of such quotations, this thesis is entirely my own work;
- I have acknowledged all main sources of help;
- where the thesis is based on work done by myself jointly with others, I have made clear exactly what was done by others and what I have contributed myself;
- none of this work has been published before submission;

Signed: ……..

Date:……..

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0: Introduction

0.1: Context

My aim in this thesis is to consider language policy and minority languages from the viewpoint of postmodernism. Henrard (2003, p.48) claims that the 1992 UN Declaration on Minorities encourages states to pass appropriate legislation to protect and promote the linguistic identity of minorities. Accordingly, many nation-states have formulated and implemented language policies – which frequently involves the enactment of related legislation – to protect and promote those minority languages employed within their territorial boundaries. From around the date of the UN Declaration, the British government began to attend more closely to the status of the Celtic languages within the territories of the UK. In particular, it concerned itself with the status of Welsh within Wales, instigating the Welsh Language Act in 1993.

This legislation, according to May (2001, p.263), stipulates that Welsh is to be 'treated for the first time as having "a basis of equality" with English in Wales', yet cautions that this equality only applies within appropriate circumstances and where it is 'reasonably practical'. In addition to this Act, victory for the 'Yes' campaign in the Welsh devolution referendum of 1997 also improved the fortunes of the minority language. The victory enabled the Welsh Assembly Government (WAG) to set out its vision for a 'truly bilingual' Wales, where people are able to choose 'to live their lives through the medium of either or both Welsh or English' and where they may derive pride and strength from the existence of the two languages (WAG, 2003, p.1). Aside from language policy and minority languages in general and in the context of Wales, the other pivotal aspect of the thesis' aim is postmodernism.

0.2: Theoretical framework – Postmodernism and Postmodernity

Hutcheon (2002, p.1) proclaims that, 'few words are more used and abused in discussions of contemporary culture than the word postmodernism'. Punch (2005, p.139) concurs, declaring that postmodernism 'is prominent in discussions of contemporary culture' and it is difficult to identify an area of study that has remained impervious to its influence. Eagleton (1996, ix) asserts that 'part of postmodernism's power is the fact that it exists'. McRobbie (1994, p.15) claims that having affected various spheres of art history, postmodernism has clearly infiltrated political

discourse. Hutcheon (2002, p.2) agrees, suggesting that politics and postmodernism 'have made curious, if inevitable, bedfellows'. Significantly, the terms postmodernism and postmodernity are sometimes used interchangeably; nonetheless, I distinguish between them. I understand postmodernism to be either a social theory, a style of thought or, as Grenz (1996, p.11) indicates, an intellectual mood. In contrast, I employ postmodernity as a periodising concept, and consider the terms postmodernity, postmodern age and the postmodern to be synonyms.

The precise dating of postmodernity is a matter of debate. Jameson (Brooker, 1999, p.174) sees its beginnings in the 1950s and 1960s, whereas Aynsley (2001, p.249) claims the term postmodernity refers to a paradigmatic shift in cultural sensibility that occurred during the 1970s and 1980s. Connor (2004, p.2) corroborates Aynsley's claim, indicating that through these decades, there emerged a number of separate accounts applying the postmodern hypothesis to various objects of analysis. Harvey (1889) also identifies the 1970s as the decade that witnessed the onset of postmodernity. Brooker (1999, p.174) states that postmodernity is 'commonly used' to allude to a distinct historical and cultural age that coincides with the development of the advanced information and consumer societies in the West. I deduce from this statement that he also feels postmodernity begins in the 1970s. I concede that the genesis of postmodern currents may be conceivably traced to the fifties; nevertheless, in this thesis, I respect the consensus of opinion and use the term postmodernity to denote the period beginning around 1970 and continuing to the present day.

I appreciate that postmodernism is not the only 'ism' of relevance to this study or in use in the postmodern age: there is of course academic support for nationalism, liberalism, conservatism, feminism, communism, realism etc. as well as postmodernism. Countless 'isms' are in circulation in postmodernity, which accords with one of the guiding principles of postmodernism: the abandonment of a 'single, universal worldview' (Grenz, 1996, p.12). I do not believe that the theory of postmodernism provides a better framework for understanding issues relating to LPP than any of the above theories. It is not my intention to attempt to convince academics in the field of LPP that such theories are no longer relevant to their research. However, I firmly believe that postmodernism can offer an additional framework

whose application to issues relating to language policy and minority languages can prove useful.

Concepts associated with postmodern theory such as diversity, hybridity, metanarrative, performance, scepticism, pragmatism and truth resonate with issues that concern academics in LPP. These include the management of hybrid languages, the criticism of the metanarratives of linguistic imperialism and language rights, and the adoption of a pragmatic approach to the advance of English etc – all of which and others are discussed in chapter 1. I also maintain that modernism did not lose any of its relevance following the paradigmatic shift from modernity to postmodernity. Likewise, it is mistaken to consider this theory as the mere antithesis of postmodernism. Some but not all of the features aligned with modernism find their direct opposites among those associated with postmodernism. Basically, I regard postmodernism to be not only the converse but also the extension of modernism, which Spencer (1999, p.161) corroborates. I also conceive of postmodernism not as an agent actively involved in influencing language policy, but as a theoretical framework, which, if applied appropriately, can greatly aid analysis and understanding of issues relating to LPP.

0.3: Research Questions

This thesis comprises four main chapters followed by a conclusion. I tackle two research questions in chapter 1: how has language policy and planning developed as a subject of academic enquiry since World War II? And why is there a need for a postmodern approach to language policy? In chapter 2, my primary focus is not on language policy but on minority languages. I reflect this by focusing on the following two research questions in this chapter: how might the term ‘minority’ be defined from the perspective of postmodernism? And, are characteristics and trends associated with postmodernism supportive of minority language maintenance? In chapter 3, the focus is on Wales, where I address one research question: through close reference to the theory of postmodernism, is the WAG’s vision of a ‘truly bilingual’ Wales achievable? Finally, in chapter 4, I concentrate on the linguistic landscape of Newport. In particular, I am concerned with the research question: through close reference to postmodernism, does Newport problematise the planned outcome of the Welsh Assembly Government’s language policy for Wales? If so, how? In the

Conclusion, I focus on a general, overarching research question that underpins the whole thesis: to what extent and in what ways is postmodernism a useful theoretical perspective for academics in the field of language policy and planning (LPP)?

0.4: Motivation for the Research

There is an evolving discussion about language policy and minority languages from the perspective of postmodernism. Sociolinguists such as Sue Wright, Thomas Ricento and Alastair Pennycook have all alluded to postmodernism in the context of language policy. In particular, Pennycook has concerned himself more than any other linguist with the implications of postmodernism for language policy. In a section entitled 'Postmodernism in Language Policy' within Ricento's *An Introduction to Language Policy: Theory and Method*, Pennycook (2006, p.60) claims that 'there are sufficiently serious ideas within the discursive field of postmodernism to warrant a discussion of its implications for language policy'. One key argument associated with postmodernism is that truth is contingent and perspectival rather than fixed and absolute (Barker, 2003, p.215), which highlights the need for more discussion about language policy and minority languages from the viewpoint of postmodernism. I wish to offer an additional 'truth' through undertaking a critique of the Australian linguist's arguments as well as those of other academics who involve themselves directly with language policy and planning (LPP). I explain the need for a postmodern approach to language policy in 1.2.

Postmodernism is able to provide the theoretical base from which to undertake a rigorous examination of the achievability of WAG's bilingual vision. Wales is an interesting case to study because on the one hand we are told of the revitalisation of the Welsh language. Coupland et al (2005, p.1) claim, 'Welsh provides a rare instance of sustained minority language revival. There is a consensus in government, the press, popular discourse, educational and academic circles in Wales that Welsh is being revitalised at present'. On the other hand, I am aware of some disquiet about the revival of this minority language among the general public. According to BBC Wales History (2009, [www]), this is actually nothing new as some form of opposition to Welsh has been an enduring feature of the country's language policy for the last fifty years.

What may be new however in the devolved, nationalistic Wales of today is a fear of expressing opposition to the Welsh language in public. In a report entitled 'Tongue tied' for Radio 4's *Analysis* programme broadcast on 25 October 2007, Mukul Devichand (1997, [www]) found that the revival of the Welsh language in Wales could further 'division and resentment'. This reporter spoke to several public sector employees who were concerned about how language policies operate but too fearful to criticise them publicly. In a web article entitled 'Too much Welsh language support', the producer of the Radio 4 programme *Hecklers*, Innes Bowen (2007 [www]) also identified people's reluctance to criticise publicly the promotion of Welsh. 'The problem wasn't finding people who wanted to complain about Welsh language promotion. It was finding someone who was prepared to say so in public' (Bowen, 2007 [www]).

My motivation for undertaking the case study on Newport was not to find people who were willing to express misgivings about the WAG's bilingual objective. Rather, I wanted to give individuals the opportunity to speak candidly about both the Welsh language and the prospects of greater bilingualism. Equally, a postmodern approach to research, as Usher (2001, p.53) confirms, attempts 'to create a space from which the voices of those not normally heard could be heard'. I believe that there has previously been very little research on the people who live and/or work in Newport, either before or after 2002 when, as Newport City Council (2007, [www]) states, it was granted city status. Therefore, in my view, there is a need to 'create a space' from which the voices of those connected with Newport can be heard. A further motivation for focusing on Newport is my familiarity with the city, which I discuss in greater depth in the introduction to chapter 4. Having identified why I embarked on this research, it is now necessary to discuss how I did it.

0.5: Methodology

To address the various research questions, I synthesise arguments from the domains of postmodernism, language policy and planning and language ideology. In particular, with regard to the domain of postmodernism, I use the arguments of theorists such as Foucault, Lyotard, Lyon, Grenz, Hutcheon, Auslander, Spencer and Connor. In respect to the domains of language policy and planning and language ideology, I draw on the arguments of scholars such as Phillipson, Bruthiaux, Crystal, Schiffman,

Pennycook, Wright, Skutnabb-Kangas, Mühlhäusler, Gal, Woolard, O'Reilly and de Varennes. For the Welsh component of the thesis, I draw inspiration from scholars such as Colin (C.H.) Williams, Charlotte Williams, Chris Williams, Glyn (G) Williams, Raymond (R) Williams, Baker, Coupland, Brooks and Aaron. For this research, I am heavily reliant on monographs, but I also use articles from journals such as *Contemporary Wales* and from websites such as *BBC News Online.* I also make use of visual media in the form of a six-part documentary entitled *The Story of Welsh.* In addition to the textual analysis outlined above, I also undertake a case study of Newport.

For the collection of data for the case study, I interview a number of Newportians - recipients of the Welsh Assembly Government's (WAG's) Welsh language policy – about the use of and attitudes towards the minority language etc in the border city. I also interview a group of individuals whose positions of employment require or allow some degree of involvement with the formulation and/or implementation of Welsh language policy. Agar (1996, p.120) advises that a participant tends to be more comfortable in dealing with questions within their own familiar territory. Consequently, I interview the majority of the participants in their workplaces and the remainder in their homes. As well as the interviews, I undertake fieldwork, which involves observing the presence and use of the minority language in various contexts inside Newport. Gray (2003, p.74) argues that, 'It is pretty clear that the researcher plays a significant role in any study upon which he or she embarks and …neutral objectivity is an impossibility'. Despite this, I try to be as objective as possible about language use in a city, which Newport City Council (2007, [www]) describes as 'standing at the gateway between England and Wales', and which at certain points in history has arguably been more English in character than Welsh. To complete the introduction, it is now appropriate to provide an outline of each of the four chapters and the Conclusion.

0.6: Chapter Overview

In Chapter 1, I consider how language policy and planning has developed as a subject of academic enquiry since World War II, focusing on issues such as globalisation and the dominance of English, the conception of language and the concern for minority language loss. I also explain why there is a clear need for a postmodern approach to

language policy, examining concepts such as performance, hybridity and governance. In Chapter 2, I define the term minority from the perspective of postmodernism. Then in the same chapter I explain how certain characteristics and trends associated with postmodernism have consequences for minority language maintenance, concentrating on diversity, discourse, specific political forms, economic globalisation, and the global media.

In Chapter 3, through close reference to the theory of postmodernism, I consider whether the WAG's vision of a truly bilingual Wales is achievable. In order to do so, I pay close attention to the following themes: disunity, nationalism, resistance, performance, transience, discourse and the televisual media, some of which have already been discussed in this thesis, but they are re-examined in the context of Wales. In Chapter 4, again through close reference to postmodernism, I reflect on how the city of Newport might problematise the planned outcome of the Welsh Assembly Government's language policy for Wales. To achieve this, I discuss the data collected from the interviews and observations that constitute my research, alongside arguments relating to postmodernism that have been discussed in earlier chapters. Finally, in the Conclusion, I consider how postmodernism is a useful theoretical perspective for researchers in the field of language policy and planning (LPP).

1: Language Policy in Postmodernity

1.0: Introduction

Shohamy (2006, p.46) claims that language policy remains a central feature of nation-states, within which various language groups struggle for 'recognition, self-expression and mobility'. Language policy refers to the decisions a government or institution makes to encourage or discourage the use of a particular language within a particular speech community. It denotes a set of principles regarding language behaviour that inform general statements about matters such as the rights of indigenous groups to maintain their language (Schiffman, 1996; Phillipson, 2003; Shohamy, 2006). Language policy is often discussed in conjunction with another term, language planning, which refers to the concrete measures a government or institution implements to influence the status, corpus and/or acquisition of a given language (Phillipson, 2003; Ager, 2003; Lo Bianco, 1997; Huss, 2001). The boundary between the two terms is nevertheless unclear (Schiffman, 1996; Shohamy, 2006), which I discuss further in 1.1.5. Thus, in this thesis, I sometimes distinguish between the terms language policy and language planning as illustrated above. I also extend the definition of the term language policy at other times to incorporate all that language planning involves. In *Language Policy and Language Planning* (2004), Sue Wright uses the acronym LPLP to designate language policy and language planning. I prefer however to use the more common acronym LPP to denote language policy and planning.

Institutions of the state are not the only actors involved in language policy. Schools and colleges are also implicated in the delivery of language policy as are hospitals, the emergency services, and businesses operating in both the private and public sectors etc. Individuals may formulate their own language policies, e.g. 'nobody is to speak, read or write language x in my house'. In this thesis, I tend however to focus more on the formulation and imposition of language policy from the perspective of state institutions. According to Shohamy (2006, p.9), the 'top-down' imposition of any language (minority or majority) on an individual or group may constitute 'a form of oppression' (2006, p.9). However, what constitutes a 'top-down' or 'bottom-up' intervention is rather uncertain. An institution such as a school may oppose –

officially or otherwise - some state-sanctioned language policy in favour of devising and implementing its own, regardless of the level of opposition from students. Does the school's language policy amount to a 'top-down' or 'bottom-up' intervention? Most people would perhaps believe that a school imposing a policy is 'top-down'. However, I suggest that it is appropriate to reflect on a wider policy hierarchy, where a school is situated below a government; thus, in this instance, a school's policy may be considered 'bottom-up'. Similarly, a parent may prevent the use of a particular language in the home against the wishes of their children. The same question about what constitutes a 'top-down' or 'bottom-up' intervention applies to the parent's language policy. Concerning this thesis, I consider a 'top-down' intervention to be one where the state officially intervenes on behalf of a particular language or languages, while I associate 'bottom-up' with the popular voice.

As stated in the Introduction, the aim of this thesis is to consider language policy and minority languages from the viewpoint of postmodernism. To assist the realisation of this aim, I address the following research questions in this chapter: how has language policy and planning developed as a subject of academic enquiry since World War II (the principal concern of 1.1)? And, why is there a need for a postmodern approach to language policy (the principal concern of 1.2)?

1.1: The Post-War Development of LPP

Wright (2004, p.8) states that language policy and language planning (LPLP) first emerged as an academic subject in the age of high nationalism when language planning was held as fundamental to the objective of nation building. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, British, American and French intellectuals wrote extensively about a range of matters relating to the discipline, but it is the Germans, Herder and Fichte, who are celebrated for being the first to highlight the connection between ethnic nationalism and language. According to Wright (2000, p.10), over the past two centuries, most Europeans have considered the nation state as the 'key allegiance'. They unquestioningly accept that the state has unchanging boundaries, that those citizens residing within them form a cohesive nation and that they are different from those living in neighbouring states. Haugen (1966, p.103) claims that, 'every self-respecting nation has to have a language. Not just a medium of

communication, a “vernacular” or a “dialect”, but a fully developed language. Anything less marks it as underdeveloped’. He further claims that, to foster internal cohesion, the nation requires a single linguistic code, through which ‘free and rather intense communication’ can occur (1966, p.103). However, to facilitate external distinction, some forms of nationalism advocate that the nation does not merely have a single language, but its own language (Haugen, 1966, p.103).

1.1.1: From Modernisation to Multilingualism

Shohamy (2000, p.45) argues that the nation-state undertakes LPP (language policy and planning) to organise, manage and manipulate the language behaviour of individuals and groups for a specific objective: to ensure the nation has its own language. Wright (2004, p.8) notes that language has been central to the foundation and government of nations from the period of high nationalism to the present day. It provides groups struggling for independence with the means to delineate their ethnicity, yet it also represents a critical tool for newly independent nations aspiring to facilitate statewide communication. LPP came to be recognised as a subject of academic enquiry after World War Two, when it began its evolution through a series of overlapping phases. According to Wright (2004, p.8), the first phase saw academics focus their attention on the language needs of the new nations founded as a direct result of decolonisation. It seems that the nationalist ideal of ‘one language, one people, one state’ did not inform the creation of these new postcolonial territories. These academics thus advocated LPP interventions to facilitate the efficient inter-group communication, which was seen as a prerequisite for effective government and modernisation (Wright, 2004, p.9). Similarly, Ricento (2000, p.10) argues that during the first stage – which he dates from the 1960s to the 1970s - a nation formulated language plans to achieve one or more of the following goals: unification, modernisation, standardisation, efficiency and democratisation. Sociolinguists viewed status and corpus planning as unconnected and ‘ideologically neutral’ activities. Ricento (2000, p.13) also states that language policy and planning studies of the time tended to abstract languages from their socio-historical and ecological contexts.

Wright (2004, p.9) claims that the first phase of post-war LPP is characterised by optimism, with scholars such as Fishman believing the discipline to be an effective

instrument for managing and solving language problems throughout the world. In contrast, the second phase sees scholars less optimistic about the capacity of language planners to solve such problems. Wright's claim is in fact consistent with the belief that the transition from modernity to postmodernity – which took place in the late sixties to early seventies - marked a general change in outlook, namely from one of optimism to one of pessimism (Grenz, 1996, p.7). Shohamy (2006, pp.51 & 68) suggests that official language policies are plainly 'manifestations of intentions' and 'nice words'. Language planners and policymakers are frequently pessimistic about the likelihood of the successful implementation of these policies: they recognise that they simply cannot 'control the language scenes of a country'. Even if language policies are explicitly defined, there is still no guarantee that they will be implemented in practice. She believes that some citizens will always follow their own language agendas and resist from 'bottom-up' a language policy instituted from 'top-down'. This resistance manifests itself in diverse ways: the teaching of private language classes, the using of certain languages in the home, and the devising of local policies to supplant and oppose national ones etc (2006, pp.51& 67).

Ricento (2000, p.15) claims the second phase in LPP research, which from his standpoint covers the early 1970s to the late 1980s, examined some of same themes as the first but investigated others too. In particular, this phase marked a shift in emphasis as many sociolinguists retreated from the twin objectives of modernisation and nation building, to focus instead on the social, economic and political effects of language contact (Ricento, 2000, p.15; Wright, 2004, p.9). According to Ricento (2000, p.15), sociolinguists at this time wished to consider 'the status and relations of speech communities in defined contexts' rather than to analyse languages as entities 'with defined societal distributions and functions' (2000, p.15). A significant feature of LPP from this phase onwards is a concern for context. Schiffman (1996, p.59) contends that language policy has to be deeply embedded in the linguistic culture of a language group. Otherwise it will fail to cater for the needs of its users and be 'in serious trouble'.

The second half of the twentieth century witnessed large-scale migration, which had an immediate and significant impact on language behaviour as huge numbers of speakers of different languages came into contact. Wright (2004, p.10) indicates that

these migrants revealed themselves to be more determined to maintain their first languages than those involved in earlier waves of migration; as a result, they often rejected the opportunity of full linguistic assimilation. In support of the migrants' position, linguists in the field of LPP criticised conventional assimilationist policies, preferring instead to champion bilingualism and multilingualism. Some governments rejected 'the strong form' of assimilation after acknowledging the benefits of enabling migrants to maintain some cultural and linguistic traditions. Essentially, these governments adopted language policies that were distinguished by 'a more tolerant pluralism' (Wright, 2004, p.10). Huss (2001, p.138), for example, claims that following a sharp rise in immigration to Sweden during the sixties and seventies, the Swedish government implemented a policy for immigrants that was underpinned by a freedom of choice principle (with language at its core). It was now possible for the immigrant to determine the extent to which they immersed themselves in Swedish culture or maintained their original culture.

The terms employed in LPP also began to come under closer scrutiny during the discipline's second phase. Wright (2004, p.10) suggests that some linguists (wrongly in her opinion) identified a link between specific concepts and racism, e.g. immigrant, minority and mother tongue. Tollefson (1991, p.205) criticises the standard language of research since it 'dehumanises and depersonalises'. He believes that researchers intentionally employ scientific language to stifle the candid expression of human experience. There is a tendency for 'plans' to be 'formulated' and 'implemented', while 'empirical' research produces terms such as 'studies', 'data' and 'generalisations' (1991, p.205). Tollefson (1991, p.205) also complains that the use of categories, such as minority, bilingual or Breton speaker etc. impedes our understanding of individuals' diverse responses to LPP initiatives. The language used in research may have been highlighted as a concern during the second phase but it remains a point of interest in the third too.

1.1.2: Globalisation & the Hegemonic Position of English

Wright (2004, p.10) explains that the third phase of LPP is a direct consequence of the Cold War division of the world, which required states to align themselves with one of the two conflicting ideological and economic blocs. This division meant that sizeable populations in the East were seen to develop greater competence in Russian while

their counterparts in the West improved their English language skills. According to Ricento (2000, p.17), the third phase in language policy research can be traced from the mid 1980s to the present day. He explains how momentous global events such as the division of the Soviet Union, the globalisation of capitalism and the evolution of national and supranational identities impacted the status of both large and small languages (2000, p.17). Strinati (1995, p.238) states that once limited, coherent identities, shaped from sources such as the nuclear family, religion, social class and, significantly, the nation, have now fragmented into a diverse series of competing identities because of globalisation. Edensor (2002, pp.27-28) believes that identity has already become or is in the process of becoming 'nationally deterritorialised'. Lyon (1999, p.63) claims that a vast array of endlessly proliferating global cultural networks are more likely to mould identity than national cultures. Language policymakers and planners operating in the third phase are required to consider the issue of individual identity as it has a direct relevance for their work within national cultures.

Following the demise of communism in the late 1980s and early 1990s, America ascended to the position of global leader, which duly accelerated the process of globalisation - the trend for economic activities and processes to operate above and beyond the confines of the nation state (Strinati, 1995, p.238). Wright (2004, p.10) suggests that the economic power of the nation-state began to decline when organisations such as the IMF and the WTO set out to create a global market place free from the restrictions of tariffs and quotas. The nation-state's political power is also in decline due to the ever-increasing willingness of supranational bodies such as the United Nations and NATO to intervene in the domestic affairs of myriad countries across the globe. Linguists in the field of LPP focus intently on one significant outcome of globalisation: the employment of English as a lingua franca (Wright, 2000 & 2004; Bruthiaux, 2003; Molesky, 1988; McGroarty, 1997; Crystal, 2003; May 2001; Ricento 2000; Paulston, 1994; Pennycook, 2000a, 2000b & 2006; Macias, 2001; Shohamy 2006 and Eggington 1997). A number of them criticise the hegemony of the English language in not only economic and political but also cultural and technological fields.

Fairclough (1992, p.49) suggests hegemony may be defined as a type of social domination where 'the dominant or hegemonic group …wins the consent or at least acquiescence of other groups to the practices and ideologies which constitute its domination'. This group is inclined to have an 'idealised and utopian view of what the sociolinguistic order ought to be like' (Fairclough, 1992, p.51). Wright (2004, p.168) explains that once the hegemonic group wins consent for their policies from other groups – which are convinced that such policies serve their interests too - there is no need to fortify hegemony with the threat of coercion and violence. Phillipson employs the term linguistic imperialism to signify Anglophone dominance. In *Linguistic Imperialism* (1993), he vehemently criticises academic and political discourses that 'demonstrate the legitimation of English linguistic imperialism in the wider context of a hierarchy of languages and the crystallisation of official language policy' (1993, p.271). In his view, 'English-intrinsic' (what English is), 'English-extrinsic' (what English has) and 'English-functional' (what English does) arguments have come to be regarded as part of that formal body of 'common sense' arguments that informs hegemonic beliefs and practices (1993, p.271).

Phillipson (1993, p.279) is critical of English-extrinsic arguments (what English has), pointing out that English's abundance of resources – initiated by the expansion of ELT worldwide in the mid-1950s – has been amassed at the expense of other languages' development. He feels that English linguistic imperialism of the past facilitated the unequal allocation of resources between English and other languages, whereas present-day English linguistic imperialism has simply perpetuated the resource power of 'the world's first truly global language' (1993, p.279). Bruthiaux (2003, p.11) however states that the English language is indispensable in respect to 'the amount of specialised information it carries'. Phillipson (2003, p.281) also objects to the English-functional arguments (what English does) on the grounds that to designate English a world language 'falsely implies that English is universally relevant'. He rails against the English-functional arguments on the basis that English is not the only 'language of wider communication' (2003, p.281). Other languages such as Spanish, Russian and Chinese may indeed function as languages of wider communication.

Phillipson identifies hegemony as the reason why non-English speakers accept English as vital for communicative exchanges, even though this global language curtails their ability to express themselves. He employs a number of metaphors in his texts to denigrate the English language. Eggington (1997, pp.34-42) indicates that at various times from the 5th century to the present day English language metaphors have been circulated to convey various assumptions about the English language. It has been presented as an oppressed language, a national language, a language of beauty and the language of moral and intelligent people. English has also been depicted as an assimilating, liberating and/or civilising language and as a language of international communication. However, some sociolinguists produce less favourable metaphors that differentiate English as an oppressing language and as a language of cultural imperialism. Phillipson, for example, proclaims that, 'in international gatherings, there is a pecking order of languages. English has the sharpest beak, one that inflicts wounds on speakers of other languages' (2003, p.5). He also warns that, 'English has acquired a narcotic power in many parts of the world, an addiction that has long-term consequences that are far from clear'. In his view, significant commercial interests are reliant on the global English language industry, as is the case with the drugs trade (2003, p.16).

Phillipson (2003, p.6) maintains that the French have consistently sought to protect their language from 'being corrupted by an invasion from English'. He explains how English has now become 'entrenched worldwide' on account of British colonialism, international interdependence, advancements in communications, improved transportation links, technological innovation as well as America's global presence (1993, p.23). The use of words such as 'wounds', 'entrenched', and 'invasion' that belong to a military discourse together with the association of the English language industry with drugs trafficking unambiguously identifies his position on this global language. Phillipson's English language metaphors, which are integral to his discourses on language rights and linguistic imperialism, do not merely represent a global sociolinguistic order but seek to constitute or reconstitute that order.
The justification for Phillipson's use of such emotive language may be found in critical linguistics. Wright (2004, p.166) concedes that the main academics operating within this discipline 'see themselves as involved and implicated' and regard

dispassionate reporting on events as neither valuable nor possible. Nevertheless, Phillipson attracts criticism from other researchers in the field of LPP.

1.1.3: Criticism of Linguistic Imperialism & Language Rights

Ricento (2000, p.18) claims that even some sociolinguists broadly in support of Phillipson express concern that the linguistic imperialism view is 'too deterministic and monolithic in its assumptions and conclusions'. They perceive it to be too deterministic because it focuses on the hegemonic position of imperial English within global language policy but neglects to consider the speaker's free will and autonomy. Pennycook (2000b, p.117) rejects linguistic imperialism in favour of postcolonial performativity, which stresses the 'agency of resistance'. Postcolonial subjects are 'resistant, hybrid beings', who should not be conceived as 'mere reflexes' of both colonialism and postcolonialism. These subjects are sufficiently autonomous to combine elements of indigenous languages and colonial languages like English to enable the performance of various communicative tasks. Pennycook (2000b, p.117) holds that the global dominance of English should be viewed not as 'an a priori imperialism but rather as a product of the local hegemonies of English', which betray 'complex local contradictions'. This implies that it is preferable to think of a plurality of local hegemonies of English, which postcolonial subjects actively help to shape, rather than, as Phillipson appears to suggest, a single global hegemony of English.

From this perspective, the linguistic imperialism view is too monolithic because it assumes that a global language such as English always militates against the restitution and revitalisation of the local language(s) irrespective of context. Pennycook (2000a, p.59) claims that we cannot make sense of language policies unless we 'understand their location historically and contextually'. He believes that it is mistaken to assume that the promotion of local languages at the expense of a dominant language is positive while the promotion of a dominant language is necessarily detrimental, either to the conservation of local languages or to the progress of multilingualism (2000a, p.59). Blommaert (2005, p.211) agrees, arguing that while we should not project 'prestige, mobility, and a middle-class identity potential onto English worldwide', it is equally imperative that we do not project 'attributions of oppression or imperialism onto English worldwide'. Pennycook (2000a, p.59) warns that the dominant/local

language dichotomy is too frequently viewed ‘through the lenses of liberalism, pluralism or anti-imperialism’ without the required attention to context.

A language policy that promotes the use of a dominant language such as English does not automatically harm the survival prospects of a local and/or minority language that shares the same geographic space. Lo Bianco (1997, p.107), for instance, explains how the dominant, irreproachable position of English in Australia is a decisive factor in the advance of multilingual policies that serve to protect linguistic diversity. He claims that the primacy of English in Australia has been ‘the solid ground on which diversity has been made possible’ (1997, p.117). In contrast, Clyne (2003, p.9) refers to ‘an open-ended tension’ between English monolingualism and multilingualism in this Southern-hemisphere country, where the prevailing trend is for language shift from immigrant languages to English (2003, p.20). The case of Australia is indicative of how academics in the sphere of LPP often disagree over whether the English language is an aid or an obstacle to the maintenance of global linguistic diversity.

It is also possible to be critical of Phillipson’s advocacy of linguistic nationalism to counter the advance of English because nationalism is reliant on hegemonic support to assist the achievement of its utopian vision. Wright (2004, p.171) confirms this, identifying how the linguistic nationalism approach overlooks the fact that the success of nationalism within any nation-state depends on the hegemonic influence of ruling elites. She indicates that hegemony operates in the same way in respect to both nationalism and globalisation, claiming that, ‘in the contest between the evils of (linguistic) nationalism and the evils of (linguistic) globalisation, the choice would not seem to be as clear cut as Phillipson’s solutions suggest’ (2004, p.171). Moreover, aside from the previous criticisms of linguistic imperialism, many working within the area of LPP simply believe that language planners, irrespective of experience and resources, can never curtail the attractiveness of English as a global language. Bruthiaux (2003, p.22), for instance, argues that ‘it would take a geopolitical realignment on a catastrophic scale’ to supplant English as the primary language of communication in either the short- or long-term. Wright (2004, p.169) herself claims that all the evidence thus far suggests governments cannot legislate top-down about the acquisition of lingua francas such as English.

Hassanpour (1999, p.237) insists that whilst languages may certainly be legally equal, it is usual for them to be unequal in the market. He advises that, in the case of Canada, English dominates French because of the former's economic power, in spite of the legal equality between the two languages. According to Hassanpour (1999, p.237), it is the 'dictatorship of the market' that causes the domination of French. Crystal (2003, p.126) suggests that economics could motivate a country to implement a language policy 'to reduce its investment in the English language'. Were a country to envision its future economic development on a regional rather than a global level, it could implement a language policy dedicated to the task of promoting a local lingua franca (Crystal, 2003, p.126). He suggests that the Spanish-speaking countries of Latin America could promote Spanish at the expense of English if they did not wish to participate in the global economic village. Crystal does not suggest though that a country should 'reduce its investment in the English language' and simultaneously compete economically at a global level. He recognises that 'the language behind the US dollar is English' (2003, p.10). Therefore, any country aspiring to become a global economic competitor has to adopt a language policy that respects the global power of English regardless of its accompanying ideological baggage.

During the third phase of LPP, academics concerned with the issue of minority language maintenance produced an extensive body of work on linguistic human rights – which many ethnic groups had been denied. Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1995, p.71) explain that linguistic human rights should grant people the right 'to identify with it/them [mother tongue(s)], and to education and public services through the medium of it/them [mother tongue(s)]'. Mar-Molinero (2000, p.70) discusses the distinct principles of territoriality and personality that are invoked to uphold collective and individual language rights respectively. The territoriality principle affords linguistic minority communities specific rights within their own designated space, which enables them to resist (to some degree) the advance of dominant majority language groups. Mar-Molinero (2000, p.70) however explains that some criticise the territoriality principle for facilitating the creation of 'marginalised, monolingual enclaves'. In terms of linguistic minority communities, minority language monolingualism tends to generate the same hostility and intolerance as the majority language monolingualism it replaces.

In contrast, the personality principle acknowledges that each individual is entitled to use and have their mother tongue recognised in all public interactions throughout the whole of a state's jurisdiction. Mar-Molinero (2000, p.70) states that some oppose the personality principle on the basis that when two languages come into contact, the speaker of the dominant language invariably has no incentive to learn the less prestigious language; the other speaker is therefore deprived of their right to use their mother tongue. I suggest that the criticism of the territoriality principle resonates with the creation of a Gaeltacht[1] in Ireland, while criticism of the personality principle has relevance for the Welsh Assembly Government's bilingual vision.

In addition to the above criticisms, May (2001, p.8) criticises advocates of language rights as they 'tend to assume the identity of linguistic minority groups as given, the collective aims of linguistic minority groups as uniform, and the notion of collective rights as unproblematic'. He believes that those wishing to secure rights for a particular group must always take into consideration the rights of the individual, which are held as inviolable in liberal democracies (2001, p.9). He acknowledges that it is possible to reach some measure of collective consensus about language. Nevertheless, some members of linguistic minorities will always resist the interventions of others intended to safeguard or increase the usage of their minority language. Intra-group resistance further highlights the complexity of resistance to language policies in postmodernity, a cultural era, which Spencer (1999, p.161) regards as 'an extension of the critical, sceptical, dissenting – even nihilistic – impulse of modernity'.

1.1.4: Concern for Language Loss

Some sociolinguists champion the linguistic imperialism view and language rights because they wish to address an issue of immense importance in contemporary LPP, namely the displacement and death of smaller languages. Aitchison & Carter (2004, p.133) indicate that language death has attracted much discussion among the academic community over the last decade. Phillipson (2003, p.176) protests that speakers of indigenous languages have been denied language rights so are more liable to encounter, 'domain loss, attrition of their languages, and a loss of cultural vitality'.

[1] The Irish Government officially recognises a Gaeltacht, which refers to a district or districts in the South of Ireland where the principal language of communication is Irish.

Mühlhäusler (1996, p.1) claims that multilingualism is being increasingly superseded by monolingualism and the possibility of traditional languages and forms of communication surviving is slim. Crystal (2000, p.27) states that some academics believe that any reduction in the number of the world's languages is beneficial. From their position, it brings us closer to an ideal world where everyone shares a single language, which is lauded as 'a guarantor of mutual understanding and peace, a world of new alliances and global solidarity'. Crystal (2000, p.32) though criticises advocates of language loss and the employment of one universal language. He cites various arguments for why society should care if any language dies, e.g. linguistic diversity is an essential ingredient for a successful humanity (2000, p.32), languages are integral to the articulation of cultural identity (2000, p.39) and languages offer themselves as 'repositories of history' (2000, p.40).

Sociolinguists such as Crystal, Fishman, Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas favour language policy interventions to protect minority languages. Phillipson (2003, p.16) for example claims that language policy measures instigated by the governments of France, Hungary, Poland and Sweden to check the advance of English in their respective countries illustrate how various types of preventive action and sanction may be applied to negotiate the threat of English. In contrast, others present arguments to question the appropriateness of language policy interventions. Pennycook (2000b, p.115) for instance wonders whether the belief that language shift is indisputably catastrophic might be dismissed as merely a 'passing ideological fashion'. Similarly, the postmodernist philosopher Jacques Derrida (1996, p.30) concedes that languages are disappearing but questions whether it may be desirable for us to renounce a specific language in order to safeguard our future. He suggests that the individual may wish to submit to, what he describes as, the 'homo-hegemony of dominant languages' (1996, p.30). Edwards (2003, p.38) argues that because society in general is in a state of flux, it is inevitable that languages are mutable and thus at risk. Shohamy (2006, p.10) also claims that language death may simply be treated as 'a natural phenomenon of change'. After all, languages evolve and death is a fundamental element of the evolutionary process.

The field of ecolinguistics emerged as a response to language shift/loss, with some academics drawing parallels between the importance of preserving linguistic diversity

and the need to preserve diversity in the natural world. Muhlhausler (1996, p.2) states that the term 'language ecology' – allegedly first popularised by Haugen in a paper published in the early seventies - is a metaphor procured from the study of living beings. He criticises most practising sociolinguists for failing 'to understand what is happening around them' (1996, p.1). He also criticises studies on languages for being particularistic rather than ecological in their approach (1996, p.1). According to Pennycook (2000b, p.111), an ecological approach to linguistic diversity strives to reorient thinking about language maintenance in so far as it concentrates on the relationship between languages rather than on the preservation of individual languages. However, he criticises the notion of language ecology for demanding the 'preservation of a natural order' (2000b, p.111). Languages though are never finite and static but perpetually in a state of evolution; as Shohamy (2006, p.8) explains, over the course of time they 'develop, expand, shrink, borrow and mix as part of the dynamic processes of human interaction'. Wright (2004, p.12) also criticises the language ecology viewpoint, arguing that the comparison between linguistic diversity and diversity in the natural world is flawed since language is merely behaviour with no existence beyond its user: ultimately, the speaker can change their language yet still survive.

The concern for language shift/loss resonates with the issue of language justice. Cameron (1995, p.28) states that, 'postmodern societies are often linguistically diverse' and 'currently …there is a shift towards evaluating diversity more positively'. Laitin and Reich (2003, p.80) stress that 'linguistic diversity is a social fact' that raises significant questions about how language policy should tackle the issue of language justice. I present three of their approaches to linguistic justice below, making reference to postmodern theory where appropriate. Laitin & Reich (2003, p.81) consider the nationalist approach to linguistic justice, which advocates the revitalisation of once-thriving language communities that found themselves marginalised as a result of historical injustices. To facilitate this, the nationalist approach recognises that the state may have to undertake an intrusive role, which would restrict the free choices of parents and children regarding what language is to be used in the school, office or street (Laitin & Reich, 2003, p.81).

Laitin & Reich (2003, p.89) explain how the liberal culturalist approach to linguistic justice recognises that minority groups and their related cultural characteristics such as language do not deserve to be defended simply 'for the sake of maintaining diversity'. Nevertheless, this approach fails, in their view, because it views these minority groups as 'speaking with one voice'. These linguists state that it would be unusual to encounter ethno-cultural groups without intra-group tension concerning issues such as the distinctiveness of their culture, the aspects of their culture worthy of transmission to future generations and, specifically, the value of linguistic diversity within their community (2003, p.90). The Welsh are certainly not immune to intra-group tension, as I discuss later in this thesis. Laitin & Reich (2003, p.92) themselves endorse a liberal democratic approach to linguistic justice, which recognises every citizen has the right to campaign on behalf of a language community or to enlist support for language policies that they view as a 'collective or public good'. This approach, according to them, conceives of 'the construction of a viable language community as a consumption item'. It likens the subsidisation of a language community to that of a museum, house or sports stadium, treating all in a morally neutral way (2003, pp.93& 95).

The dissolution of the once fixed spatial boundaries between nation-states has undoubtedly facilitated the international movement of languages. C.H. Williams (1995, p.5) argues that the collapse of both time and space requires a 'fresh appreciation of the interdependence of the world system, which goes beyond the conventional boundaries and categorisation of the established nation state'. Languages such as English and, to an extent, Spanish now permeate the boundaries of traditional nation-states across the globe. Equally, minority languages such as Romanian and Polish transcend their traditional national borders with increasing regularity. As a consequence, more than ever before, those focused on delivering language policy within their respective nation-states, are obliged to negotiate the phenomenon of multilingualism. With regard to the impact of globalisation on languages, Monica Heller (1999, p.5), argues that languages are still appreciated as autonomous systems. From her perspective, multilingualism 'is valued as a set of parallel monolingualisms, not a hybrid system'. This clearly has implications for language policy, which now finds itself the focus of much more rigorous examination than in the early years of the discipline.

1.1.5: The Implementation of Language Policy

In the third phase of LPP, there is an evolving discussion regarding the relationship between language policy and language planning. Mar-Molinero (2000, p.74) chooses to differentiate between language policy and planning so as not to confuse decision-making and implementation. She further justifies this differentiation by pointing out that language planning does not automatically follow on from the formulation of language policies: sometimes objectives simply cannot be implemented due to a lack of resources (2000, p.77). Shohamy (2006, p.49) however highlights the dissolution of the boundaries between language policy and language planning. She states that language planning concentrates on control, specifying not only what the individual should know, but also how exactly they should obtain their knowledge. In contrast, language policy is less interventionist, focusing on principles affecting language usage (2006, p.49). Shohamy contends that the role of planning may be diminishing and policy 'is becoming the bona fide' due to the increasing popularity of less interventionist approaches - which might explain why the majority of the literature reviewed for this research seems to concern itself primarily with language policy. From her perspective, language policy now assumes a broader definition as it accepts the responsibilities traditionally allotted to language planning. She notes how some LPs, in particular, education policies, stipulate in very clear terms, which languages should be learnt, how they should be learnt, who should learn them and where etc (2006, p.49).

The academic discipline of LPP focuses increasingly on the implementation rather than simply the content of language policies. Shohamy (2006, pp.52 & 54) argues for 'an expanded view of LP' that encompasses more than an examination of 'declared and official statements'. She argues that the implementation of any language policy is dependent upon a variety of mechanisms, which should not be regarded as neutral since they promote and perpetuate clearly defined political and ideological agendas (2006, p.55). One mechanism is the rules and regulations commonly used to shape and create de facto language practices within the private as well as the public domains. Central authorities impose language laws to direct language behaviour in entities such as nation-states (Shohamy, 2006, p.59). The UK Government for example passed the Welsh Language Act 1993 to change the language behaviour of the citizens of Wales. Officiality is another mechanism exercised to bestow preference

upon certain languages at the expense of others within a given territory (Shohamy, 2006, p.61). The law is not the only institution involved in regulating officiality as families, towns, schools, hospitals etc. can all influence language choice in the public arena. Official institutional decisions usually mirror national policies, but decisions concerning language use can be made at the local too.

Central governments also use standardisation to influence and manipulate language behaviour (Shohamy, 2006, p.63). This mechanism tends to be used to elevate the status of particular languages or to reverse the language shift of others. It requests that languages be used in certain ways so is perceived as 'a form of linguistic engineering and an imposition on personal freedom' (Shohamy, 2006, p.64). The association of language with citizenship is a further mechanism that nation-states can adopt to influence language practice. Residents are mandated to prove themselves proficient in the national language as a prerequisite to full acceptance within the nation (Shohamy, 2006, p.66). For example, the UK Government introduced legislation in 2005 that required applicants for British citizenship and permanent residence in the UK to take a computer-based English language test. The same Labour Government set out proposals in 2009 for an 'expanded language testing regime', which required would-be citizens to submit to two separate tests, first at the probationary citizenship stage and then at the British citizenship stage. Ministers also proposed that people coming to the UK to be with British husbands and wives must take a pre-entry English language test from 2011 onwards (Kelly, 2009, [www]).

Hogan-Brun et al (2009, p.3) claim that since the eastward enlargement of the EU in 2004 nation-states are becoming increasingly concerned with the testing of the language skills and cultural knowledge of migrants who seek residence rights or citizenship, so as to prevent the disruption and erosion of typically homogenous national cultures. These sociolinguists explain that migration concerns mean modern nation-states tend to focus on the management of diversity, which often involves the adoption of an ambiguous position on multiculturalism. Some official discourses present multiculturalism as a valuable social resource, while others depict it as a threat to the order and unity of traditional cultures (2009, p.6). I suggest that testing for citizenship illustrates how the popularity of the policies of multiculturalism and assimilation are subject to constant fluctuation: it is mistaken to believe that the

development of LPP coincides with the promotion of multiculturalism and the rejection of assimilation. For a discussion of specific language testing regimes in Europe, including Holland, Austria and Luxembourg, see the relevant chapters in *Discourses on Language and Integration* (2009) cited above.

Having discussed the post war development of LPP as a subject of academic enquiry, it is now appropriate for me to explain why there is a need for a postmodern approach to language policy.

1.2: A Postmodern Approach to Language Policy

The erosion of boundaries between nation-states may well facilitate greater linguistic flows between languages. Consequently, those involved in LPP may have to view a language as a hybrid system, where some of the vocabulary and grammatical structures of one language combine with those of another. In a section entitled 'Hybridity: the postmodern politics of identity' within *Language and Minority Rights*, May (2001, p.38) stresses 'the transgressive potential of cultural hybridity', which I suggest could mean that policymakers and planners have to work with more 'impure' languages in the future than was previously the case. We have in fact witnessed some partial hybridisation of languages in postmodernity, where each language retains its autonomy but becomes more accommodating of loan words etc - much to the consternation of language purists. Lipski (2008, pp 38-39), for instance, claims that one hybrid language Spanglish (which constitutes Spanish accompanied by countless English borrowings) continues to supplant Spanish among Latino Spanish speakers born or resident in the United States. This claim is however controversial since some scholars prefer to conceive of Spanglish as an example of the practice of code mixing rather than as a language variety.

Pennycook (2006, p.69) suggests that a postmodern approach towards language policy and planning incites a rethink about the conception of languages as autonomous systems. Such an approach is hugely significant because it not only problematises the notion of languages as discrete entities but it also problematises the notions of language rights, multilingualism, mother-tongue education and code switching, which Pennycook (2006, p.69) refers to as 'treasured icons of liberal-linguistic thought'.

Language policymakers argue for language rights, champion multilingualism, outline the benefits of mother tongue-education and highlight the commonness of code switching. However, they do so from within a paradigm that uncritically accepts pluralisation as the norm. Pennycook (2006, p.70) warns that the majority of discussions on these issues will continue to reproduce the same concept of language unless language policymakers adopt 'strategies of disinvention'.

A postmodern approach to language policy is so necessary because it places emphasis on performance. Connor (2004, p.14) notes the close association between 'postmodernism and the idea of performance'. Auslander (2004, pp.98-99) claims that the predominant characteristic of postmodern culture is that 'everything performs'. The concept of performance is employed as an interpretive paradigm to explain everything, including political demonstrations, large-scale social conflicts and everyday language behaviour. From a postmodern perspective, languages only exist through their users. Pennycook (2006, p.66) claims that a postmodern approach to language policy challenges the 'pernicious myth' that languages exist as 'ontological entities'. He advocates 'an anti-foundationalist view of language as an emergent property of social interaction and not an a priori system tied to ethnicity, territory, birth, or nation' (2006, p.67). It is the millions of users of English throughout the world that validate the language's existence rather than any historical connection with England and the English. The concept of performance is pertinent as it helps to distinguish between the use and the potential use of any given minority language. With regard to Wales, the focus perhaps ought to be more on who is using Welsh, why, where and how proficiently as opposed to x numbers of people who can or have the ability to speak, read and/or write the language.

The discipline of LPP could benefit from input from postmodernism because of its valorisation of pragmatism. Spencer (1999, p.162) states that this social theory proclaims the value of pragmatism as a counterbalance and antidote to modernism's promotion of unrealistic, utopian visions. Pragmatism, as I understand it, signifies practicality, or more specifically, the adoption of a practical rather than a theoretical approach to all concerns. Many individuals strive to develop communicative competence in English since they recognise this is crucial for securing employment in transnational corporations and for profiting from global markets (Wright, 2004,

p.170). A pragmatic approach to language policy, I maintain, recognises how the power of capitalism invariably makes it impractical for smaller nation-states to legislate against the global advance of English.

Ricento (2000, p.18) declares that academics associated with postmodern theory present 'more nuanced [,] contextualised and historical descriptions' of events and practices. I suggest that this can to some extent be attributed to a (partial) rejection of theories and ideals. From the standpoint of postmodernism, linguists in the field of LPP are not 'obligated' to favour a liberal culturalist, liberal democratic, nationalist or ecological approach to linguistic justice. They are free to use their common sense, which may for instance lead them to fuse some or many elements from each of the above approaches, if such a course of action best suits the linguistic context under examination.

Postmodernism is also important for contemporary LPP because of its rejection of the metanarrative, which Butler (2002, p.13) defines as an overarching narrative that seeks to endow cultural practices with legitimation and authority. Bounds (1999, p.89) argues that the metanarrative 'points the way towards universal liberation' through issuing instructions about what ought to be undertaken to facilitate the establishment of the universally desired society. Pennycook (2006, p.67) claims that a postmodern approach to language policy is sceptical of the metanarratives of linguistic imperialism and language rights, both of which have their origins in 'the grand modernist project'. Linguistic imperialism presents English as an imperialist force that destroys other languages and thereby homogenises the world, while language rights is a universalising concept that demands the retention of global heterogeneity and diversity (Pennycook, 2006, pp.67-68).

These two metanarratives dominate current LPP debate, as indicated in 1.1.3; yet, the solutions they offer can never be universally applicable. From a postmodern perspective, linguists implicated in language policy and planning matters need to explore and embrace more local narratives. It is also imperative to engage postmodernism to gain insight into and possibly to challenge another metanarrative, nationalism, which also features prominently in LPP discussions. The shifting status of the national identity in the era of globalisation is of particular relevance, as

indicated in 1.1.2. Various theorists draw upon postmodernism to present insightful accounts about identity construction and conservation in postmodernity, such as Bourdieu (1991), Barker and Galanski (2001), Pennycook (2006), Lyon (1999), May (2001), Strinati (1991, 1995), Harvey (1989), Baudrillard (2001), Wright (2000, 2004) and Blommaert (2005).

It could also be argued that a postmodern approach to language policy is necessary because the theory of postmodernism explains and exposes how governance is realised through language. Pennycook (2006, p. 64) claims that from a postmodern perspective language policy is not merely about selecting a language for use in government, education or the law; similarly, it is not simply about determining the medium of instruction in schools or deciding upon the involvement of translators in courts and governments. In his view, language policy is about 'the use of languages as part of language governmentality'. The concept of governmentality – developed by Foucault – refers to 'how power operates at the micro-level of diverse practices, rather than in the macro-regulations of the state'. Language governmentality refers specifically to how decisions about languages and language forms made within a wide range of institutions 'regulate the language use, thought, and action' of different individuals and groups (Pennycook, 2006, p.64). Pennycook (2006, p.36) claims that the concept of governmentality is important for language policy and planning as it shifts understanding of governance from the strategies of centralised governments to the practices of smaller organisations. The concept is also important because it evidences how language planning supports and reinforces distinct political and ideological agendas.

The transition from more authoritarian to more liberal government coincides with greater governance. Pennycook (2006, p.65) claims that a supposedly enlightened state policy on bilingualism is in fact an extended strategy of governmentality; he highlights the range of systems that are able to monitor bilingualism in various public domains (2006, p.65). With respect to Wales, the Welsh Language Board agrees and monitors the Welsh Language Schemes of a variety of public and voluntary organisations responsible for the provision of services to the public in the region. It also prepares performance reports on these organisations, invites, receives and resolves complaints from the public about inadequate Welsh language services, and

investigates non-compliance with the Welsh language Schemes (Welsh Language Board, 2010b, [www]). The Board promotes and polices Welsh language provision in Wales, to facilitate the realisation of the Welsh Assembly Government's enlightened bilingual vision, which is based on the principles of choice and equality. However, the WLB is certainly not the only institution implicated in language governmentality in Wales, as explained in 3.6.3.

1.3: Conclusion

Language policy and planning has developed as a subject of academic enquiry since the end of World War II, particularly over the last twenty years, owing to an exponential growth in the number of texts that consider the implications of minority language loss for specific groups of speakers and for the future of global linguistic diversity. The discipline of LPP is recognised as having three overlapping phases, the last of which includes the greatest number of developments. During the third phase, the global dominance of English is the subject of much debate, with some sociolinguists desperate to express their opposition and others keen to communicate their support for this world language. The conflicting attitudes of sociolinguists towards the metanarratives of linguistic imperialism and language rights serve to highlight further the division in the LPP community that English engenders. Equally, theories employed to support efforts to reverse language shift such as liberalism, nationalism and language ecology have both defenders and detractors within the field of language policy and planning. In essence, the English language seems to have created a schism between idealists and pragmatists.

A further key development in the subject area is a growing awareness and acceptance that language policymaking is an activity that nation-states undertake in order to promote favoured political ideologies. During the first phase however sociolinguists somewhat naively failed to see any connection between status planning and ideology, which illustrates the extent to which the discipline has matured. The depth of analysis of contemporary language policy provides further evidence of the discipline's growing maturity. There is support for the argument that suggests it is essential to focus not only on the series of statements that constitute the policy, but also on the mechanisms that support the implementation of the policy. The transition from the

first to the second and third phases is also marked by a shift from optimism to pessimism, with academics generally less optimistic about the capacity of policy interventions to prevent the displacement of minority languages, especially in postcolonial settings.

Sociolinguists have become more aware of the limitations of certain terms they use to report on linguistic trends and practices. There is a deeper understanding that both written and spoken texts can struggle to reflect accurately the human experiences of language policy users. Another central feature of LPP over the past fifty years is the increasing support among academics for language policies that protect and promote multiculturalism. The assimilationist tendency that featured prominently in phase one and before no longer appears to be fashionable. The role of language in nation building illustrates the interconnection of the various phases of LPP. From the inception of the discipline over two hundred years ago and through the identified post-war phases, this particular topic has remained significant. The post-millennium language policy in Wales for instance uses the Welsh language as a device for nation building.

A postmodern approach to language policy, I suggest, is very important because it embraces the phenomenon of hybridisation to problematise the conception of languages as autonomous systems. Significantly, the emergence of the hybrid language has the potential to render notions such as language rights, multilingualism and code switching problematic. I am not nearly as convinced as Pennycook however that the notion of hybridity alone should inform future research in the field of language policy and planning. It seems to me that the notion of the hybrid language can reinvigorate thinking in LPP as it provides an additional way of conceiving languages. Nevertheless, as Heller rightly argues, multilingualism will endure as a set of parallel monolingualisms. If modernism is defined by originality then postmodernism is defined by plurality. I believe that Pennycook needs to appreciate that a postmodern approach to language policy is predicated on an acceptance that novel and traditional conceptions of languages can coexist and are of equal validity. I am also concerned that Pennycook's plea for language policymakers to adopt 'strategies of disinvention' to facilitate new ways of thinking about language is more akin to idealism than pragmatism.

One of the central reasons though for advocating a postmodern approach to language policy is the need to view the advance of global languages, particularly English, from the standpoint of pragmatism. It appears to me that much discussion in LPP is based on the simple assumption that English is an aggressive, oppressive, global language. Its advance has to be checked, through legislation and regulation, so as to protect and preserve vulnerable, oppressed, little languages in perpetuity. Postmodernism however is a valuable theoretical aid for pragmatists who recognise the many benefits English offers its users and who understand displacement and death as inevitable stages of a language's natural evolution. There is also a need for a postmodern approach to language policy to focus attention on how policy users perform with a specific language in a specific context. The success of any language policy can only be determined through (prolonged) observation of the linguistic practices of policy users. It is clearly wrong to declare any language policy successful simply through assessing the cogency of arguments presented within its accompanying discourses. It is clear that in this chapter I have made a case for a postmodern approach to language policy; however, it is far less clear whether the theoretical framework of postmodernism supports the objective of minority language maintenance. Thus, the following chapter focuses on the minority language situation in general while Chapters 3 and 4 concentrate on the Welsh language in Wales and Newport respectively.

2: Postmodernism & Minority Languages

2.0: Introduction

In chapter 1, I addressed the research questions: how has language policy and planning developed as a subject of academic enquiry since World War II? And why is there a need for a postmodern approach to language policy? In chapter 2, the focus shifts from language policy to minority languages. I reflect this through tackling two research questions here: how might the term minority be defined from the perspective of postmodernism (the principal concern of 2.1)? And, are characteristics and trends associated with postmodernism supportive of minority language maintenance (the principal concern of 2.2-2.6)?

In sub-section 2.1 I interrogate those objective elements that collectively constitute the definition of minority from a postmodern perspective and explain how the dual concepts, minority and majority, are to be regarded as relational in postmodernity. In the following sub-section 2.2 I discuss postmodernism's position on linguistic diversity in the context of minority language maintenance. In 2.3 I assess the capacity of discourse – another key characteristic of this social theory - to assist the conservation of a minority language. In 2.4 I consider how various postmodern political forms have relevance for the minority language in the postmodern age. Following this, in 2.5 I reflect on how economic globalisation impacts on the issue of minority language conservation. Lastly, in 2.6 I discuss how the prosperity of the minority language is to some extent determined by the global televisual media.

2.1: Analysis of the Minority in the Postmodern

Grenz (1996, p.40) claims that postmodernism signifies the transformation from 'an objectivist to a constructionist outlook'. We do not encounter 'a world that is out there' but construct our world through the concepts we apply to it (1996, p.41). In this sub-section, I address how the term *minority* might be defined from the perspective of postmodernism. The definition of the key term *minority* underpins the subsequent discussion about whether particular characteristics and trends associated with postmodernism are supportive of minority language maintenance.

2.1.1: The 'Objective' Definition of the Minority

Eagleton (1996, vii) explains that postmodernism is sceptical about 'classical notions of truth, reason, identity and objectivity'. I argue that postmodernism may be used to problematise any objective definition of *minority*. Nevertheless, I recognise that the concept of minority is still defined in objective (as well as subjective) terms. Kristin Henrard (2003, p.38) acknowledges the absence of a generally accepted definition of *minority*. After undertaking a review of the various definitions, she concludes that there are certain recurring elements, some of which are objective while others subjective. She notes how one particular objective element tends to be held as the 'most compelling': the minority group is different from the rest of the state's population, in terms of its ethnic, religious and social characteristics (2003, p.38). However, to claim that one objective element is the 'most compelling' is significant. Such a claim, I argue, implies there are degrees of objectivity, i.e. some elements are more objective than others; yet, objectivity has to be absolute.

O'Reilly (2001, p.9) cautions against defining the minority purely in respect of absolute numbers or demography. For instance, speakers of Catalan outnumber speakers of Danish, yet only the former linguistic group is identified as a minority. Specifically linking population group and state, Henrard (2003, p.38) however cites another objective element as the size of the minority group, i.e. the population group involved must be smaller in number than the rest of the state's population. I wish to consider this in respect to the 'Indian' indigenous population in the state of Peru that is numerically a 'majority' but characterised by minoritisation. According to population size, the 'Indian' indigenous population in this South American country would be classified as the 'majority' despite being largely excluded from political office, particularly at the state level.

Paredes (2008, p.23 [www]) explains how this 'majority', once regarded as 'irrational, threatening and potentially violent', has been granted important political rights since the return of democracy to Peru in 1980. Nevertheless, the state 'remains white and mestizo upper middle-class led' (Paredes, 2008, p.13 [www]). Bhatt and Mahboob (2008, p.132) consider a numerical definition of the term minority language in the context of India. They argue that that no single language is spoken by more than half of India's total population of 1.1 billion, which means that only minority

languages are spoken in this country. The most widely spoken language is Hindi, yet its speakers amount to less than forty percent of India's population (Bhatt and Mahboob, 2008, p.132). Thus, numerically, it is a minority, even though it is India's official language and spoken by approximately half a billion people there.

The above examples highlight the difficulty of defining a minority group in numerical terms, even if it is possible to do so objectively. However, irrespective of whether the minority can be defined objectively in respect of population size, I consider that the appetite for doing so has somewhat waned. For instance, Nelde (1995, p.77) focuses on how the Belgian state abolished the language consensus, arguing that the quantitative evaluation of linguistic minorities represents 'one of the most disputed and most often misused tools in situations of minority/majority conflict'. The abolition of language counts in the Belgian census resulted in the rights of a majority and/or minority no longer depending exclusively on numbers of speakers. One of the targets the Welsh Assembly Government (WAG) seeks to achieve by 2011 is 'to increase the percentage of people able to speak Welsh by 5 percentage points from the 2001 Census' (WAG, 2003, p.11). The census figures indicating numbers of Welsh speakers are also contentious (as I highlight in chapter 4's case study on Newport), which supports Nelde's (1995) argument.

Henrard claims that non-dominance emerges as the final objective element of the definition of a minority. This claim, I argue, may be challenged on the grounds that it is debatable whether the concept of dominance is objectively measurable. Is it possible to distinguish objectively a dominant from a non-dominant minority? Likewise, Brenzinger (1997, p.276) claims that minority languages are those that 'exist in environments hostile to them …dominated by other languages'. However, is it possible to identify objectively a dominated minority language? In spite of the above criticism, the 'objective' elements that help define minority are still commonly cited.

2.1.2: The Minority, the Majority & the Nation-State

Eriksen (1993, p.121) argues that a minority solely exists in relation to a majority (and vice versa). This argument resonates with Derrida's deconstruction or deconstructionism, which refers to the rigorous examination and subversive reading

of texts (M. Thompson; 2003, p.209; Abercrombie et al, 2000, p.86). Butler (2002, p.23) claims that deconstruction rejects the idea that the author is the 'delimiting authority' of the text, which is underlined by its close association with the expression 'the death of the author'. This theorist is particularly concerned with one aspect of deconstruction, namely how conceptual opposites such as natural versus cultural and masculine versus feminine are fundamentally dependent on each other for their definition (2002, p.20). Deconstruction's emphasis on the interdependence of these conceptual opposites challenges their customary hierarchisation. Derrida (2007, p.107) states that 'the goal is not to assert a new hierarchy but to undermine the old hierarchy in a general displacement of concepts following from the reversal of the hierarchy'. Butler (2002, p.20) claims one term tends to be placed above the other and thereby acclaimed as superior, e.g. man's superiority is to be contrasted with woman's inferiority.

The same usually applies to the majority/minority relation, with the former term privileged over the latter. An assessment of the linguistic minority from the position of postmodernism is inclined to emphasise the interdependence of the linguistic minority and majority in all contexts, rather than to focus exclusively on one at the expense of the other. A key principle of postmodernism is also the rejection of hierarchisation: McGuigan (1996, p.36) for instance states that postmodern theory advocates 'the flattening of hierarchies and the blurring of boundaries'. Thus, it is possible to invoke this social theory to challenge the hierarchical relationship that appears to exist between minority and majority languages, where the former are assigned inferior status. According to Khleif (1978, p.109), language 'denotes status – it is an index of social rank, of the capacity to command deference. An inferior language means an inferior person, a psychologically handicapped one, perhaps an economically circumscribed one also'. Mouthaan (2007, [www]) claims that there is a hierarchy of languages in the EU with minority languages as 'the inferior category'.

The Welsh Language Board (2010, [www]) expresses concern that some minority language secondary schools are obliged to use majority language curriculum materials. It fears that this results in the prioritisation of the majority language at the expense of the minority language, which is subsequently seen as 'deprived and inferior'. From the Board's perspective, this is an international problem, not one

simply restricted to Wales (Welsh Language Board, 2010a, [www]). In accordance with postmodern theory, Phillipson (1993, p.276) however argues that no language is 'intrinsically superior or inferior' to any other as each one has the capacity to fulfil any function. I believe that the elimination of the hierarchy between minority and majority languages may aid the objective of minority language maintenance: the individual would be less likely to view the status of a minority language as inferior to that of its majority counterpart. Nevertheless, a minority language's status is of course not the only factor that determines its conservation. The status of Welsh in Wales is arguably higher now than in the recent past – among some sections of the Welsh and UK populations at least - but its future survival is still uncertain and a matter of institutional concern, as discussed in Chapter 3.

Any change to a state boundary, whether a significant transformation or slight modification, affects the minority-majority relation (Eriksen, 1993, p.122). Following changes to the boundaries of a state, dramatic or otherwise, what was once designated a minority language group in possession of a minority language may evolve into an accepted majority group with a majority language. I suggest this evolution is indicative of how 'ephemerality and discontinuity' characterise the postmodern period, as Wright (2000, p.96) argues. However, it would be very wrong to overestimate the frequency of inversions of the majority/minority relation as a result of state-boundary change. There are few examples of this, aside from those resulting from the disintegration of the Soviet Union. In fact, Laitin & Reich (2003, p.82) claim that members of minorities who speak a minority (or dominated) language find themselves permanently situated 'on the lower rungs of the socio-economic ladder' in any state. Eriksen (1993, p.122) similarly indicates that the minority/majority relationship endures. He believes that even if a redefinition of a nation-state's state boundary triggers a redefinition of an associated minority because it has become a majority, new minorities invariably surface (1993, p.122).

The nationalist ideal of one language for one state coincided with modernism's objective of homogeneity. O'Reilly (2001, p.8) claims that as this ideal became increasingly embedded within modern society, stateless languages evolved into 'minority' languages, with their speakers classified as minority ethnic groups. The theoretical framework of modernism with its advocacy of rationality and progress is a

determining factor in the emergence of 'minority' languages and minority ethnic groups. Eriksen (1993, p.123) suggests that states usually adopt one of three strategies for handling minorities within their territories. There is the policy of assimilation which requires minorities to discard their indigenous languages and boundary markers. Alternatively, the state may favour a policy of domination, which usually involves segregation on the basis of ethnicity. Since assimilation may also involve domination, we need to treat Eriksen's division cautiously. Jones (2000, p.431) explains how the 1847 Report into the state of education in Wales advocated the total immersion method of language teaching that precluded the use of Welsh in schools. He further explains how over the years the 'Welsh Not' inscription came to symbolise 'the coercion of the Welsh people by an alien, colonial power intent on the subjugation of a nation's language, and, by implication, its soul' (2000, p.439). I suggest that some would view this policy as being dually influenced by assimilation and domination.

Eriksen (1993, p.123) also claims that the state may transcend ethnic nationalist ideology and embrace an ideology of multiculturalism, to manage minorities within its territory. These various strategies are discussed in greater depth in 2.2.2, but they all illustrate that the minority is defined in relation to the state or nation-state as numerous sociolinguists explain, including de Varennes (1999, p.17), Shohamy (2006, pp.25-27), Henrard (2003, p.40), Nic Craith (2003, p.59) and Miall (1994, p.112) etc. Lyotard (1997, p.5) however argues that multinational corporations tend to jeopardise the stability of the nation-state. The impact of globalisation on the minority language is discussed in much greater detail in sub-sections 2.5 and 2.6. However, I argue here that it is mistaken to define the linguistic minority solely in relation to the nation-state. Having considered how the term minority might be defined from the perspective of postmodernism, I now focus on whether characteristics and trends associated with postmodernism are supportive of minority language maintenance.

2.2: The Minority Language & Diversity

Phillipson (2003, p.177) advocates the conservation and intensification of cultural diversity and creativity to facilitate the survival of minority languages. As highlighted in 1.1.4, Laitin and Reich (2003, p.80) maintain that linguistic diversity is a 'social

fact' that raises significant questions about how to tackle the issue of language justice. Here, I specifically consider whether postmodernism's position on diversity is supportive of minority language maintenance.

2.2.1: The European Charter's Promotion of Exclusive Diversity

The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (ECRML) - formulated by the Council of Europe (CoE) – is an institution responsible for the promotion of exclusive diversity. This charter is concerned with those non-official languages traditionally spoken within a particular region of a nation-state by citizens of that state who may be distinguished as a minority group. However, excluded from its terms of reference are the languages of migrants and non-ethnic Europeans, which prompts Nic Craith (2003, p.59) to claim that the actual scale of cultural and linguistic diversity in Europe is largely overlooked. As a consequence of this exclusion, I maintain that this charter promotes exclusive diversity, which is at variance with postmodern theory that supports unconditional diversity. I do not suggest though that the CoE is consciously aware of its stance in relation to postmodern theory.

Extra and Gorter (2001) recognise that there is much variation in terms of both the perception and treatment of regional minority (RM) and immigrant minority (IM) languages. European public discourse invariably praises national languages and RMs as constituent elements of cultural identity (Extra & Gorter, 2001, p.7). They are sometimes granted extensive legal protection and served by trenchant language policies. Conversely, this discourse dismisses IM languages and cultures as impediments to integration. They receive little formal assistance to the extent that their existence is sometimes not even recognised (Extra & Gorter, 2001, p.2). This emphasises how Europe's linguistic diversity is, as Nic Craith (2003, p.59) indicates, devoid of 'parity of esteem'. It is an exclusive diversity that fails to recognise and assist all language groups.

Kroon and Vallen (1995, pp.6-7) note that the majority of the Netherlands' immigrant population – people from Turkey, Morocco, and the Moluccas etc. - have socio-cultural backgrounds that contrast sharply with those of the native Dutch population. Consequently, these immigrants encounter significant difficulties regarding participation in various social settings. Significantly, it is to this socio-cultural

subgroup that the term ‘ethnic minorities’ is applied. In contrast, the term is not applied to the other minority immigrant subgroup comprising people from Western or other industrialised societies whose socio-cultural backgrounds are perceived to be very similar to those of the native Dutch population (Kroon & Vallen, 1995, p.7). It is the majority immigrant group - in respect to numerical size - which finds itself the more linguistically disadvantaged in this European country. Hence, not only are regional minority (RM) languages perceived and treated differently to immigrant minority (IM) languages but also differences exist in respect to the perception and treatment of the various immigrant minority languages. This, I argue, highlights further how an exclusive rather an inclusive diversity reigns in Europe.

Cheesman (2001, p.152) contrasts the marginalised, indigenous, autochthonous languages (‘old’ minority languages) in receipt of protection and promotion from the European Union (EU) with the marginalised, immigrant, allochthonous or diaspora languages (‘new’ minority languages). The European Charter of 1992 legislates for the protection of stateless minority languages such as Catalan, Breton and - the central focus of this thesis - Welsh. It also legislates for state languages used in longstanding extraterritorial communities located in adjacent states such as Danish, Finnish and German. The primary aim of the legislation is the maintenance of a linguistic diversity that accords with the ‘eurocratic principle of (subnational) regional autonomy’ (Cheesman, 2001, p.152). The allotment of autonomy to the regions is, I consider, reflective of the postmodern ideal of power being granted to those operating either beneath or beyond the national level.

However, the charter opposes the unconditional application of the concept of diversity, stipulating that, in the case of all languages, ‘the measure of ancient territorial continuity’ has to be recognised (Cheesman, 2001, p.152). From a postmodern perspective, this measure is objectionable because it places too great an emphasis on, what May (2001, p.57) regards as ‘primordial ties and the weight of history’. Equally, it is unacceptable because it favours ‘old’ over ‘new’ minorities irrespective of context. I argue that the EU’s conditional, exclusive diversity does little to arrest minority language shift amongst IM languages. I also argue that the unconditional, inclusive diversity - closely associated with a postmodern outlook – supports neither the maintenance of the RM language before its IM counterpart nor

vice versa. Also relevant to minority language conservation is the issue of assimilation.

2.2.2: Support for the Assimilation Trend

The establishment of new states in post Cold War Europe has often given rise to national and ethnic revivals (Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia etc). Packer (2003, p.86) notes how this has increasingly required the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) to confront the issue of diversity in respect to linguistic minorities. In response to this realignment of the map of Europe, the OSCE supports the objective of 'integrating diversity', which is based on the 'simultaneous maintenance of different identities and the promotion of social integration' (Packer, 2003, p.86). In accordance with postmodernism, this organisation advocates a pluralist, multicultural model of societal organisation underpinned by the principle of non-discrimination. The OSCE believes this model is more likely to protect the minority language from language shift than the alternative assimilationist model.

O'Reilly (2001, p.8) claims the modernist/nationalist inspired logic that each language group should signify a nation, each nation should have its own state, and each state ought to have only one language, renders stateless languages redundant. Speakers of minority languages are required either to submit to assimilation into the dominant language and culture or to tender a claim to nationhood in their own right, to ensure the homogeneity of each nation-state. In 3.6.1, I consider how the transition of Wales into a nation-state may impact the fortunes of the Welsh language. O'Reilly (2001, p.9) further claims that the modernist/nationalist inspired logic inspired the growth of the market for minority language rights literature (see 1.1.3 & 1.1.4) that seeks to offer protection to those languages facing a combination of neglect or enmity. From O'Reilly's viewpoint, the theory of modernism is supportive of assimilation whereas the theory of postmodernism is sympathetic towards multiculturalism. I accept the linkage of modernism and assimilation, but wish to reflect on the association of postmodernism with the multicultural trend.

Huss (2001, p.138) explains how Sweden has moved from a model of assimilation to a multiculturalist model, which not only recognises but also actively embraces cultural diversity. This Scandinavian country may be held as a paradigm of achievable

and desirable multiculturalism. However, not all linguistic minorities embrace the multicultural model. For instance, Pupavic (2003, p.149) states that ethnic Serbs in Croatia are entitled to Serbian language classes in Croatian schools; yet, on the whole these classes tend not to take place, which has prompted much condemnation from various campaigners for human rights, including Amnesty International and the Helsinki Committee. Some teachers express reservations about their public identification as ethnic Serbs following their assignment to Serbian language and culture classes (Pupavic, 2003, p.151). At the same time, ordinary ethnic Serbs simply desire to be viewed as ordinary Croatian citizens, and thus wish for no minority language provision. This case illustrates how the implementation of the multicultural model based on unconditional promotion of linguistic diversity is not universally achievable because not all linguistic minorities believe such a model is desirable.

There are other cases like it, but with different circumstances, e.g. Latinos in California voting for the withdrawal of bilingual education. Mora (2000, [www]) reports that the endorsement of Proposition 227 by 61% of California's voters basically denied bilingual education to Latino English learners in the state's public schools. According to Decker (1998, [www]), a staff writer with the *Los Angeles Times*, opponents of the proposition had 'counted on unified opposition' from Latinos. Nevertheless, most Latino voters endorsed the replacement of bilingual education with English-language immersion programmes. Boxall (1998, [www]) claims that these voters who value English as pivotal to 'success and assimilation' believe that such programmes 'worked for previous generations and could work for this one too'. She also claims that many Latinos, along with members of other ethnic groups, think that since their education system struggles to provide students with basics such as textbooks and lockers, bilingual instruction is unaffordable.

The postmodernist Jacques Derrida (1996, p.30) questions whether it may be desirable to abandon a language for the sake of protecting our future. 'What if, in order to save some humans lost in their language, in order to deliver the humans themselves, at the expense of their language, it was better to renounce the language…?' Required to dispense with their idiom for survival or an improved existence, individuals acquire the language 'of the masters, of capital and machines' (Derrida, 1996, p.30). Thus, I suggest that the postmodernist Derrida seems to value

pragmatic assimilation over idealistic multiculturalism. He is prepared to abandon a language, quite possibly a minority language, and accept another language in its place, quite possibly a global language. The reason for this abandonment: economic advantage. I believe Derrida's argument further illustrates how the notion of postmodernism as the defender of multiculturalism and the opponent of assimilation should not be presumed. However, it is possible that French Republicanism rather than postmodernism inspires this philosopher's argument. From the French Republican perspective, it is preferable to champion one single language to counteract the potentially divisive and disempowering effects of multiculturalism.

Argentina serves as an example of the domination of the assimilationist over the multiculturalist model of integration. A relatively homogenous contemporary nation-state, Hamel (2003, p.119) suggests that it owes its homogeneity to the swift and peaceful cultural and linguistic assimilation of European immigrants, primarily in the last decade of the 19th and first decade of the 20th century. He explains how from the time of the country's independence in 1810 onwards, successive Argentinean governments have managed to ensure the dominance of Spanish monolingualism. They have done so in spite of the presence of an indigenous Indian population in the South as well as a sizeable Italian immigrant community, which at one point in the last century amounted to 32% of Buenos Aires' total population. Following the demise of the military dictatorship in 1983, the Indian population, which collectively speaks twenty-five languages, were granted some rights, particularly in the area of education; yet this minority group does not figure in an Argentinean identity (2003, p.119).

In comparison with other nationalities in South America, the Argentineans have a unique national identity based on the main European cultures and monolingualism in the form of an Argentine variety of Spanish (Hamel, 2003, p.119). The case of Argentina illustrates how modernism, supportive of assimilation for the creation of a homogenous nation state, remains relevant in postmodernity, as first indicated in this thesis' Introduction. From the perspective of postmodernism, Argentina's assimilation of minority language speakers into the Spanish language may deserve criticism because such a strategy results in the suppression of heterogeneity inside this particular nation-state. However, from the perspective of this theoretical framework

that puts such emphasis on plurality, it is also fitting that both approaches to integration are seen among the world's numerous nation-states rather than the multiculturalist approach alone. This sub-section has explained how postmodernism's position on multiculturalism is not absolute, which compounds the difficulty of determining whether postmodernism's disposition towards diversity is more supportive of minority language maintenance or shift. To ascertain whether the theoretical framework of postmodernism is supportive of minority language maintenance, there is however a need to move beyond an analysis of diversity.

2.3: The Minority Language & Discourse

Chambers (1990, p.89) suggests that postmodern life may be likened to 'a desert without coordinates', where we are left to navigate unaided. However, I suggest that the circulation of discourse in contemporary society ensures that this is not the case. Danaher et al. (2000, p31) explain how Michel Foucault, a cultural theorist with a recognised affiliation to postmodernism, insists that 'thoughts and actions are influenced, regulated and to some extent controlled by …different discourses'. Fairclough (2003, p.64) claims that discourse ought not to be seen as merely a practice of 'representing the world, but of signifying the world, constituting and constructing the world in meaning'. He also claims that discourse may be viewed as a political practice, which 'establishes, sustains and changes power relations, and the collective entities (classes, blocs, communities, groups) between which power relations obtain' (2003, p.67). Wright (2004, p.170), however, is more cautious about the role of discourse in the establishment and conservation of power relations between speakers. She believes power is constituted not through discourse alone but through a complex relationship between force, money and discourse (2004, p.170). Despite Wright's caution, I suggest that discourse – a central postmodern concern – influences thinking about minority languages.

2.3.1: The 'Regime of Truth'& Valorisation of Emancipatory Discourse

Foucault (1980, p.131) argues that every society boasts a 'regime of truth', which determines the types of discourse considered to be worthy of acceptance and authorisation. Every society confers status on those officially authorised to proclaim what it is precisely that constitutes the truth (Foucault, 1980, p.131). Each nation-state

has its own official discourse reserved for the minority language(s) within its geographical borders. It sees this official discourse as a means to protect and bolster its own 'regime of truth'. Wales, though not formally recognised as a nation-state, is no different in terms of how its institutions circulate official discourses to promote bilingualism in the region (see 3.3.3). I suggest that officially sanctioned discourse is likely to be challenged by contradictory discourses accessible to and accessed by the nation-state's citizens. For example, the Spanish government's official discourse on the Basque language is to be challenged and resisted by contradictory discourses circulating in two autonomous regions inside Spain (the Basque Autonomous Community or BAC and Navarre) (Cenoz, 2001, p.45).

Barker & Galasinski (2001, p.123) discuss how powerful ethnic groups construct discourses to marginalise other less powerful groups. These discourses may well belong to, what Fairclough (2003, p.48) defines as, the code model of discourse, which prescribes discursive norms in a highly regimented manner. Postmodernism however espouses, what Fairclough (2003, p95) refers to as, the mosaic model of discourse, which welcomes the fragmentation of discursive norms with the result that there is 'greater variability of discursive practice'. This hints at a blurring of the boundary between who speaks with authority and who should remain silent, which means that language planners and linguists are far from the only ones authorised to voice opinions on a particular minority language. A 'close associate' of the mosaic model of discourse is emancipatory discourse, whose construction and transmission, according to Janks and Ivanic (1992, p.307), stems from an understanding that 'underdogs need liberation'. It has coincided with the conferment of greater rights on minority language speakers.

De Varennes (1999, pp.117-118) states however that no individual or group has 'an unqualified right' to use a minority language under present international law, even though states that suppress or attempt to suppress the use of a minority language (or a majority language) in private activities can face legal action. I suggest that emancipatory discourse will appeal to the minority language speaker who has been dispossessed of the freedom to express ideas and opinions in a language form of their own choice. Such discourse may militate for minority language maintenance, but Best & Kellner (1997, p.272) dismiss any possibility of an emancipatory transformation in

the postmodern, claiming that we are 'stranded at the end of history, paralysed and frozen'. This suggests that while the minority language speaker may valorise emancipatory discourse, its capacity to effect their emancipation is highly questionable.

2.3.2: Victims in Discourse

Malpas (2005, p.98) states that while the idea of a universal, continuous history is promoted in the modern era, the idea of 'multiple, conflicting, "finite" histories is championed in the postmodern. To illustrate the postmodern position on history, it is appropriate to consider Gal's (2006) research into the status of Estonian speakers in Estonia during two different time frames. She claims that one prominent discourse (supposedly endorsed by the Estonian-speaking population) from the finite Soviet era suggests that Estonian speakers are the oppressed group as their language is deprived of official status. In contrast, a subsequent discourse of similar prominence (supposedly championed by the Russian-speaking population) from the finite post-Soviet epoch suggests that Russian speakers are marginalised because post-Soviet language laws in Estonia mandate the use of Estonian for many everyday and official transactions (2006, p.23). In response to these two conflicting, finite histories, Gal (2006, p.23) states that 'who counts as a victim and object of discrimination depends on when you start the narrative'. *Narrative* here could be quite easily substituted for *discourse*. I argue each minority language group would prefer to be portrayed as the victim or object of discrimination in discourse, unambiguously and indefinitely, to assist the maintenance of their minority language.

Individuals may of course interpret differently the victims and villains in any discourse about linguistic minorities. Blommaert (2005, p.134) acknowledges that the perspective of a speaker from country A will invariably diverge from that of a speaker from country B since the point from which they speak is arrived at from different histories. People within the same country also differ in respect to their histories too, as is the case in Wales (the focus of chapter 3) and Canada for instance. Nelde (1995, p.68) discusses how the Canadian government passed Law 101, which prohibited the use of English within much of the public arena in Quebec to reduce language conflict. One person may subscribe to a discourse that interprets the French speakers as the victims of oppression while another may endorse an alternative discourse that

represents these same speakers as the villains. All minority language activists and/or speakers need to recognise that any interpretation of victimisation is subjective. It is now apt to consider whether nationalist discourse is liable to help or hinder the conservation of the minority language.

2.3.3: Strains of Nationalist Discourse

Nationalist discourse is mobilised in postmodernity, either to support or oppose linguistic minorities within any particular national territory. Wright (2000, p.11) explains how the postmodernist dismisses nationalism as a 'cultural construct', and views history, myth and symbol as inventions to serve the conservation of a 'spurious identity'. For the attainment of power, the nationalist is prepared to display, what Edwards (1985, p.44) refers to as, 'an indifference to reality', and is liable to engage in 'historical manipulation and selectiveness'. Jones and Fowler (2008, p.207) claim that 'postmodern ideas underpin social constructivist accounts of nationalism'. According to them, a multitude of actors construct and circulate nationalist discourses in the social world, which results in the 'variegated, plural and contested character of nationalism' (2008, p.207). It is preferable to think in terms of nationalisms rather than a single theory or metanarrative of nationalism that structures people's lives. Similarly, it is also preferable to conceive of nationalist discourses with divergent objectives than a single, uniform nationalist discourse.

Phillipson (2003, p.41) claims that one strain of nationalist discourse is characterised by the suppression of minority languages within a state's borders. This strain triggers language shift, which, according to Gal (1979, p.2), is traditionally 'a sign of linguistic and cultural assimilation to a national majority'. I designate this particular strain 'nationalist majority-language' discourse, which promotes assimilation rather than multilingualism as the best strategy for integration. For instance, Fenyvesi (1998, p.157) indicates that for the first time in Hungary's recent history the country's minorities have received some form of legal protection for their cultural and linguistic traditions. Nonetheless, they find themselves at 'a rather advanced stage of assimilation' (1998, p.157). I suggest this assimilationist tendency in Hungary may be attributed to the articulation of a 'nationalist majority-language' discourse hostile to minority languages within its borders.

A rival strain of nationalist discourse is also in circulation, which champions the maintenance and promotion of the minority language and opposes the assimilation of minority language speakers. Like its counterpart above, this 'nationalist minority-language' discourse may also serve as an umbrella for a clutch of other discourses with broadly similar objectives. O'Reilly (2001, p.89) views Northern Ireland's decolonising discourse as 'highly politicised and aggressively nationalist' since it invokes language as a central means to reunify the two Irelands and to achieve the primary goal of independence from Britain. It may, I suggest, also be identified as one discourse affiliated to the category of 'nationalist minority-language' discourse. Basically, I argue that the first strain, the 'nationalist majority-language' discourse, might be invoked to encourage minority language shift, while the second, the 'nationalist minority-language' discourse, might be mobilised to assist minority language maintenance. Having discussed political discourse above, in the following section I want to consider whether postmodern political forms or trends are supportive of minority language maintenance.

2.4: The Minority Language & Postmodern Politics

As indicated in the Introduction, Hutcheon (2002, p.2) suggests that politics and postmodernism 'have made curious, if inevitable, bedfellows'. Connor (2004, p.3) highlights how postmodern theory is sensitive to changes within the spheres of economics, social life and politics. It is fitting to consider postmodern politics in the context of minority language concerns. O'Reilly (2001, p.9) claims that the term minority, a political construct spawned by nationalist ideology, refers to a group engaged in some form of (overt or covert) political struggle for greater political recognition or against political discrimination. I now consider how some postmodern political forms impact or have the potential to impact the conservation of the minority language.

2.4.1: Dissent, Seduction & the Focus on the Local

Miall (1994, p.114) explains that states are now mandated to offer legal protection to linguistic minorities engaged in political struggle for the acquisition of greater linguistic rights or the maintenance of existing ones. With specific regard to Europe, the current legal order obliges states to implement measures to safeguard the rights

and practices of their own minorities (Miall, 1994, p.114). The British Government for instance approved the 1993 Welsh Language Act to protect and promote the Welsh language in Wales (Ager, 2003, p.59; May, 2001, p.263). However, despite legislation being enacted across Europe, the best way to achieve language justice for linguistic minorities is still a pressing concern for some minority group members and linguists alike. Laitin and Reich (2003, p.80) consider some contemporary political approaches to linguistic justice: For a critique of them, see 1.1.4.

Consistent with postmodernism's advocacy of pluralism, postmodern politics has no single form but various forms. Best & Kellner (1997, p.271) suggest that one postmodern political form is committed to dissent, and even nihilism. The dissent itself is unconditional to the extent that it follows the maxim 'dissent in principle' and 'dissent from everything possible', as Spencer (1999, p.162) claims. The linguistic minority aggrieved about the absence of linguistic rights and/or alarmed at the prospect of language loss may certainly invoke postmodernism as justification for protest. However, from a postmodern perspective, the linguistic majority is similarly permitted to embrace dissent - and even nihilism (theoretically at least) – as a strategy to impede a minority's language demands, which serves to deny the stability necessary for the maintenance of a minority language.

Critical of modernism's utopian political visions, another form of postmodern politics emerges that focuses more intently on local issues and everyday life than dissent and nihilism. Best & Kellner (1997, p.271) claim that this form is indicative of the transition from a modern macropolitics to a postmodern micropolitics. Its supporters would wish for any political interventions to be determined at the local rather than national level. Concerning minority languages, I suggest there would need to be an extensive assessment of the linguistic practices identified within each respective local community, prior to any political interventions. I also suggest this form requires that the assessment should involve input from local people as it is their everyday lives that are most directly affected by any political intervention aimed at regulating linguistic behaviour within their community. In my opinion this serves as further justification for Chapter 4's case study on Welsh language use in Newport. We need to hear what local people think about the WAG's national bilingual plan. Recognised for an accent on realism and pragmatism, this trend within postmodern politics opposes the viewing

of local concerns such as minority language maintenance from a perspective of idealism.

My understanding is that this form of postmodern politics, as with the previous one, does not favour the (linguistic) minority over the (linguistic) majority. It simply values local political activity and opposes national political exclusion. For a deeper interrogation of postmodernism's alignment with pragmatism vis-à-vis language policy and planning (LPP), see 1.2. This form of postmodern politics, I argue, may be an aid or an obstacle to minority language maintenance depending on the context of situation. The maintenance or abandonment of any given minority language is always for local people to determine since central to this form of postmodern politics is the participation of the locals in the political decision-making process. However, Best & Kellner (1997, p.272) state that the individual is compelled to succumb to the dual phenomena of 'inertia and indifference' in postmodernity. Thus, I suggest that locals may be inert and indifferent towards any given minority language, which therefore militates against minority language maintenance.

Modern politics exists alongside postmodern politics in the era of postmodernity; they are also quite similar in that both seek resolutions to issues of inequality and redistribution (Bauman, 2004, p.245). The former focuses on the inequality and redistribution of wealth, which is still relevant in the era of postmodernity, whereas the latter concentrates on the issue of inequality within the sphere of human rights (Bauman, 2004, p.245), which has implications for speakers of minority languages. From a postmodern perspective, those deprived of rights should be granted them but not to the disadvantage of others. An individual is entitled to speak the minority language of their choice provided that this does not infringe upon the linguistic rights of other speakers. Bauman (2004, p.246) also discusses two distinct forms of postmodern politics, namely the politics of seduction and the politics of fear. The first refers to how specific agencies attempt to seduce the public with the promise of social advancement if they decide to consume a particular product, engage with a particular service or embrace a particular type of conduct. The second form, the politics of fear is a direct effect of the politics of seduction: essentially, the public begins to fear that the seducers, i.e., the experts in the relevant agencies, are perhaps not to be trusted since what they promise is not essential, realisable and/or true.

The politics of seduction and fear resonates with LPP: for instance, language policymakers and planners may seduce certain individuals with the promise that if they are prepared to commit to the learning and using of a given minority language, greater employment opportunities will ensue. However, after a finite period of time, these same individuals will become increasingly alarmed about the inability of the 'experts' to provide that which they had been promised. This scenario has particular resonance for LPP in Wales, where the prospect of greater career options may seduce some people into learning Welsh. Following this however, they will become increasingly fearful that the overwhelming majority of workers in Wales continue to interact through the medium of English alone. The number of jobs in Wales where a high degree of productive Welsh language competence is essential, not merely desirable, must increase to motivate and maintain the motivation of new learners. Bauman (2004, p.247) suggests that postmodern politics is primarily about the 'reallocation of attention'. Various official agencies and lone dissenters certainly circulate discourses on the Welsh language to focus and refocus the public's attention on the WAG's bilingual objective, as indicated in 3.0.

2.4.2: The Criticism of Identity Politics

Emerging in the 1970s and escalating in the following decades, identity politics refers to the mobilisation of groups on the basis of members' collective identities rather than members' beliefs and interests (Best & Kellner, 1997; Kenny, 2004 and Hekman, 2004). Those involved in this form of politics attack institutions they perceive to be responsible for the marginalisation and inferiorisation of the groups to which they belong, e.g. women, blacks and linguistic minorities. Supporters of this political form consider it to be 'a permanent and positive feature of our political life' (Hekman, 2004, p.1). Identity politics aligns itself to postmodern theory due to what Best & Kellner (1997, p.274) describe as a shared opposition to modern reductionism and abstract universalism. Notwithstanding the unity between the two theories, I argue that their relationship is less intimate in another respect.

Best & Kellner (1997, p.274) believe that essentialism is found in many types of identity politics, where gender, race, sexual preference or even language is distinguished as the constituent element of identity. However, Harvey (1989, p.285)

explains that the transition from Fordism to flexible accumulation[2] has resulted in the rapid acceleration in production turnover time, as well as in exchange and consumption. The 'throw-away' society in which we live militates against stability and permanence: an individual or group may consume any identity marker, including a national language, with unparalleled ardour but exchange it with unrivalled haste. Laitin & Reich (2003, p.95) acknowledge that any language has the capacity to serve merely as a consumptive rather than a constituent marker of identity. May (2001, p.31) suggests that specific cultural attributes such as languages 'may vary in salience, may be constructed or reconstructed, and may even be discarded by an ethnic group'. From the perspective of identity politics, the minority language is an essential indicator of a national minority's identity. In contrast, from the perspective of postmodernism, the salience of any minority language to any linguistic minority is likely to fluctuate across time and space. I believe that postmodernism is likely to frustrate advocates of minority language maintenance because it opposes the argument that a minority language is an essential component of identity. Wodak et al. (1999, p.11) appear to represent postmodern theory when they claim that the notion of identity 'never signifies anything static, unchanging, or substantial'. The goal of minority language conservationists is nevertheless best served if the minority language in question is unequivocally esteemed as an essential constituent of identity; anything less may result in some degree of minority language shift.

Identity politics attracts criticism for its tendency to value the collective over the personal identity, which is contrary to postmodern theory's valorisation of the individual. The champions of the collective identity, a key component of identity politics, also tend to overstate the differences and understate the commonalities between groups, with the result that 'the politics of identity becomes the politics of conflict', as Parekh (2008, p.37) indicates. Champions of a specific type of collective identity, the national identity, exaggerate differences between the cultures of the Catalans and Castilians or the Bretons and the French etc. With regard to the UK, the Welsh language provides an important means for some in Wales not only to identify themselves as Welsh but also to differentiate themselves from, and even to abuse, the English. These individuals may choose to exploit the language as an indicator of

[2] According to Harvey (1989, p.147), flexible accumulation refers to flexibility in relation to labour processes, labour markets, products, as well as patterns of consumption.

difference and a site of conflict, yet choose to ignore that the popularity of Beyonce, Lady Gaga and Oasis, the appetite for Happy Meals, Kentucky Fried Chicken and full English breakfasts, the interest in Eastenders, Emmerdale and Coronation Street, the reliance on Asda, Sainsburys, Tesco and Waitrose and the support for the Premier League's 'Big Four' is principally the same in both England and Wales.

Parekh (2008, p.36) claims that identity politics promotes the view that only those who share an identity are 'entitled, and even qualified, to speak for it'. From a postmodern perspective, I suggest that such a restriction is objectionable: it is as acceptable for men to speak for women as it is for women to do likewise. Similarly, from a postmodern perspective, it is not necessary to be a member of a linguistic minority to speak for that social group. It is not necessary to be a member of the Breton minority in France (Timm, 2001), the Irish-speaking minority in Ireland (Paulston, 1994 & O'Reilly, 2001), the Basque minorities in France and Spain (Cenoz, 2001), the Armenian, Turkish and Greek minorities in Romania (Jordan, 1998) or the Dutch minority in Belgium (Nelde, 1995) etc. to speak for them. It is also irrelevant whether what is articulated helps or hinders the protection of the minority language in question.

2.4.3: The Political Exploitation of Nostalgia

The potential of nostalgia to serve the political goal of those involved in minority language maintenance requires critical interrogation from the standpoint of postmodernism. Trigg (2006, p.54) explains that *nostalgia* originates from the Greek words *nostos* and *algos*, which translate as 'to return home' and 'pain' respectively. I suggest that feelings of nostalgia among minority language speakers may be attributed to their desire 'to return home' to a place where minority language speech communities prosper and where the 'pain' of language shift is removed. Trigg (2006, p.54) also explains that nostalgia has both a temporal and spatial dimension, adding that 'a temporal loss, unlike a spatial loss, can never be returned to or regained'. Irrespective of the intensity of the nostalgic feelings, the linguistic minority cannot transport itself to a previous historic era when the minority language in question flourished. Due to the impossibility of any restoration or revitalisation of a temporal loss, I argue nostalgia's potential to assist minority language maintenance in general, and the maintenance of the Welsh language in particular, recedes.

In *The life and times of postmodernity*, Tester (1993, p.64) claims that nostalgia results from a recognition that the present is in some way deficient. He also claims nostalgia in postmodernity is reduced to nothing but a style or an aesthetic choice (1993, p.78). I argue that linguistic minorities and their followers cannot exploit nostalgic sentiment as an effective enduring solution for defying minority language shift and loss. Nostalgia may prompt us to 'wear' the minority language, but we will only do so until a new style emerges. Linguistic minorities and their supporters can perhaps effectively manipulate nostalgic emotion as a provisional solution for preventing the demise of a minority language. However, no solution can actually be anything other than provisional in a cultural epoch characterised by transience. The phenomenon of transience is so important that I devote a whole section (3.6) to its discussion in the context of Welsh bilingualism.

The nostalgia that pervades postmodern culture endangers the vulnerable individual in so far as their nostalgic yearnings could culminate in neurosis. Lyon (1999, p.61) corroborates this, suggesting that 'nostalgia for past stable, authoritative realities could end in neurosis'. The individual with a postmodern disposition is liable to find liberty in the disorientation of the present. However, the individual with a nationalist outlook may surrender to nostalgia in an attempt to escape such disorientation, even though they cannot really do so. What may ensue at best is, that which de Certeau (1997, p.71) refers to as, 'a brutal return' to local tradition. I suggest that the return is associated with brutality since it involves the restitution of something that has subsequently become foreign. Inspired by nostalgia, the minority language activist seeks a return to a place - and time, which is of course impossible – where their minority language experienced relative prosperity. Nevertheless, the minority language in question has in the meantime become a 'foreign' language to many of the population there. This could perhaps lead to the minority language activist developing a neurosis, which in turn could hamper their political efforts to protect their minority language from erosion. In order to understand further whether characteristics and trends associated with postmodernism are supportive of minority language maintenance, I now consider the field of economics.

2.5: The Minority Language & Economic Advancement

One of the most significant trends witnessed in postmodernity is economic globalisation, which sees the national economy decline in significance as the global economy continues to gather momentum. Rannut (1999, p.100) believes that a distinct correlation exists between language and the economic fortunes of its speakers. This section considers whether economic globalisation is supportive of minority language maintenance.

2.5.1: English & Economic Advantage

Wright (2004, p.166) claims that critical sociolinguists seek to expose how the elite uses its hegemony to present language policies and practices as 'inevitable'. I appreciate that these 'inevitable' policies and practices are frequently intended to advance a majority language and simultaneously suppress a minority language. However, the elites in the centre are not the only ones to be involved in hegemonic control. The elites in the periphery acting on behalf of minority languages are also liable to do so. According to Hannerz (1996, p.60), the peripheral elites propagate a counter-hegemony, which attacks all that is transmitted from 'a distant centre'. In terms of postmodernism, it is appropriate to oppose a counter-hegemony that attempts to deprive citizens on the periphery of the social and economic benefits to be derived from, what Hannerz (1996, p.60) describes as, 'alien cultural flows'. The individual or group is free to embrace any cultural flow, and that includes English, regardless of whether doing so endangers global linguistic diversity and/or the maintenance of a specific minority language. In 3.4.2, I specifically focus on the Welsh-speaking peripheral elite in the context of bilingual Wales.

After reflection on the potential of their linguistic code to facilitate economic advancement, the minority language speaker may resolve to renounce their minority language whose economic appeal and reach is greatly eclipsed by a majority language competitor. Edwards (2003, p.37) suggests that 'factors like linguistic practicality, communicative efficiency, social mobility, economic advancement' are increasingly equated with large languages. Aitchison & Carter (2004, p.133) claim that language shift invariably results from a major world language or a more powerful language associated with economic advantage and/or political and social power encroaching

upon a [3]lesser-used language. English, with its unrivalled economic supremacy and social status (Bruthiaux, 2003, p.18), I recognise, is often held as the language most responsible for minority language shift.

The trend for combination among nation-states in postmodernity consolidates and intensifies the global command of English. Spybey (1996, p.69) claims the internationalisation of economic activity may pose a challenge to the sovereignty of nation-states, which consequently 'tend towards combination' so that the scale of political organisation may emulate the scale of economic globalisation. According to Spybey (1996, p.69), a global triad has emerged that comprises the European Union, the North American Free Trade Area and East Asia. Owing to the presence of large-scale unified geographical zones, minority language inhabitants may be more prepared to renounce or at least neglect their indigenous code for the promise of economic advancement via English. This trend for formal alliances between nation-states benefits the global language English and militates against minority language maintenance.

2.5.2: Repression & Postmigration Language Maintenance

Some minorities become more conscious of the forces of repression after experiencing economic advancement. Until such a point, de Certeau (1997, p.70) claims these forces remain largely invisible to them, but, thereafter, become identifiable as impediments to autonomy. Following their entry into previously inaccessible economic structures, some minorities witness the recession and occasional extinction of their traditional points of reference, namely, family, customs and notably language (de Certeau, 1997, p.71); consequently, they struggle for the conservation of these reference points. In contrast to the renunciation of a minority language in anticipation of economic advancement, the minority speaker, I argue, may seek to maintain their minority tongue following the experience of such advancement. This may be applicable to the situation in Wales where a Welsh-speaking elite that has experienced economic advancement courtesy of the English language becomes

[3] A lesser-used language is a substitute term for a minority language. O'Reilly (2001, p.9) explains that the term minority may be deemed oppressive in that it connotes 'deviance from the norm or inadequacy'. This oppression may prompt the employment of the replacement term 'lesser-used' rather than minority language. However, O' Reilly (2001, p.9) also explains that any decision not to employ the term minority may also be regarded as oppressive if the relevant group identifies itself as such.

increasingly more aware of what it regards as forces of repression negatively impacting the fortunes of the Welsh language.

Alternatively, deprived of any prospect of economic advancement through participation in the global economy, some minorities may concentrate on the maintenance of their minority language in the face of its impending loss to a predatory global language such as English. With respect to the Spanish minority group in the US, their retention of Spanish, I suggest, may be in part explained by their awareness of being a minority excluded from the economic benefits the country offers many of its citizens. Molesky (1988, p.61) claims this exclusion engenders an exceptional determination among the Spanish minority group to resist the trend for mother tongue loss to the English-speaking world. Hence, not only the experience of economic advancement but also the lack of any prospect of experiencing such advancement can cause a minority group, or certainly members of that group, to struggle purposefully for the maintenance of their minority language.

Monica Heller (1999, pp.4-5) claims that linguistic minorities are increasingly prepared to exploit their own linguistic and cultural resources so that they might benefit economically from the opportunities the globalised world presents. Cheesman (2001, p.155) claims economic globalisation offers, what he describes as, 'heritage bilinguals' the opportunity to enter and exploit numerous markets in 'ancestral countries' after migration. According to him, these bilinguals may seek to maintain and revitalise community and ancestral languages to cultivate 'hybrid and resistant minoritarian identities' (2001, p.155). They may also do so, I argue, because postmigration language maintenance offers them the prospect of economic advancement. The conservation of these languages, Cheesman (2001, p.155) explains, serves to foster co-ethnic trust, which is a vital commodity for the successful penetration of niche markets.

Paulston (1994, p.83) indicates that an effective bilingual society may be improbable given that it is usual for the subordinate group to shift to the language of the dominant group whenever groups enter into prolonged contact within the geographical confines of one nation. Nonetheless, the presence of 'heritage bilinguals' operating at the supranational level suggests bilingualism is a valuable resource that facilitates

economic advancement. These specific bilinguals certainly do not constitute the only minority grouping to avail itself of the economic potential bilingualism affords. I argue that their activity does however emphasise further how minority language maintenance, and in particular postmigration language maintenance, is not necessarily inconsistent with economic advancement. Cheesman (2001, p.156) notes how state policymakers' current willingness to treat minority language skills as an economic resource deserved of exploitation aids postmigration language maintenance. I also suggest that policymakers already promote minority language skills helpful for the penetration of niche markets as well as for entry into mainstream markets. Not only is the prospect of economic advancement relevant to the issue of minority language maintenance so also is the penetrative strength of the televisual media.

2.6: The Minority Language & the Televisual Media

Huss (2001, p.148) declares that a minority language can only survive if it has a significant presence in two specific domains: fictional literature and the mass media. In this sub-section it is appropriate to consider whether the development of the global media, and the global televisual media in particular, is supportive of minority language maintenance. I also firmly believe that it is very necessary to focus on the Welsh televisual media, in particular S4C (*Sianel Pedwar Cymru*), in the following chapter, to determine the likelihood of a truly bilingual Wales. It is for that reason that ideas such as the decline of the national media and the greater capacity for movement (physical and virtual) in postmodernity are discussed again in chapter 3, but this time specifically in relation to Welsh Channel 4's ability to influence bilingualism in Wales.

2.6.1: The Decline of the National Televisual Media

According to Kramsch (1998, p.10), culture is about participation in a discourse community that accesses a common social space and history, as well as 'common imaginings'. Wright (2000, pp.23-24) claims it is through the propagation of texts – through the medium of film, book, television and/ or radio – that a sense of collective belonging may be shaped and consolidated within a nation. She also notes that flags, royal and presidential families, armies, and sports teams etc. also assist the imagining of a cohesive national community. Phillipson (2003, p.42) maintains that our national

identities ‘rework the collective memory of historical events, mythical or real, and present-day symbols and imagery’. The postmodern philosopher Baudrillard (2002, p.11) suggests that in contemporary culture we must be able to ‘plug into’ an ‘instant memory’. I suggest that the national media is required to provide its viewers with an ‘instant memory’ of the nation; however, its capacity to do this has arguably diminished in the era of globalisation, which has implications for minority language maintenance.

Hannerz (1996, p.88) claims the nation may be less valued nowadays, even devalued, as a ‘source of cultural resonance’, and the global televisual media may be held as partially responsible for such a circumstance. With the advent of new technologies that render national broadcasting controls obsolescent, Wright (2000, p.97) observes a trend for events to be experienced collectively across the globe rather than nationally. Each minority language therefore, I recognise, does not simply have to compete for media recognition and representation with other languages (some of which may be classified as minority languages) within one national territory. Instead each has to contend with a global media that may in theory engage an infinite number of languages. However, the global media in reality tends to employ one or more of a small group of major languages whose social and economic appeal is much greater than that of any minority language. In addition to the routine employment of English for the transnational transmission of events, the global media communicates via other powerful languages such as Spanish and French. Basically, I argue that the global media’s eclipsing of its national counterpart adversely affects the prospects of any minority language. A nation-state may appeal to its national media for help in protecting the minority language(s) within its borders. However, the national media’s potential to support the minority language has diminished with the advent and growth of the global media.

Morley (2000, p.9) declares that the postmodern age is synonymous with an increase in actual physical mobility. He also recognises that due to a superabundance of mass media images, this age has witnessed many persons acquiring a heightened awareness of the possibility of movement (2000, p.9). Such persons can nowadays travel to remote locations whilst remaining within the security of their homes. Due to the media, they are granted the option to ‘simultaneously stay home and go places’

(Morley, 2000, p.9). This capacity to 'go places' may however undermine a previously shared feeling of deep historical rootedness among minority groups as they submit to, what Hannerz (1996, p.89) refers to as, an 'intense experience of discontinuity and rupture'. Edwards (2003, p.37) also identifies the emergence of a dichotomy featuring 'roots and options'. The minority language, I suggest, is aligned with the former 'roots' while conversely today's electronic global media is closely allied with the latter 'options', owing to its ability to transcend national boundaries and to familiarise destinations far from 'home'.

Fundamentally, 'options' realisable via the global televisual media in postmodernity are more inclined to inspire minority language shift than maintenance: 'options' render minority languages unable to sustain territorial power bases. In support of this argument, Aitchison & Carter (2004, p.135) claim that the conditions of the contemporary world counteract the capacity of lesser-used language communities to sustain a territorial power base. In the past, isolation ensured that penetration of either a national or regional base by a more powerful language was restricted. However, according to these academics, such restriction 'has been undermined by the technology and mobility of the post-modern world' (2004, p.135). A symptom of the postmodern flow, the global media, I argue, has the reach and appeal to enter both national and regional territories, subsequently inducing citizens to 'go places' and thereby disrupting minority language practices. Thus, physical and cultural isolation can no longer be utilised as a strategy on the part of the minority to shield its language from potential shift.

2.6.2: Assistance from the Televisual Media

Empowered by the latest electronic technologies, the media might be viewed as the catalyst in the creation of a global village. It might be instrumental in enabling individuals to leave the confines of their own homes, to 'go places', physically and virtually. Despite this, minority language advocates and activists still regard the minority language's employment and coverage within the national media as central to its conservation. This suggests that the global media in the postmodern has not completely, even if it has partially, subsumed its national counterpart. The national media, I maintain, would not be discussed at such length in minority language literature, should its potential to influence the status of linguistic minorities be so

negligible. For example, Huss (2001, p.149) comments on how the relatively widespread employment of Sweden Finnish in the national media in Sweden is a result of a concerted campaign to cultivate this particular minority tongue from the seventies onwards. Jordan (1998, p.205) states that the demise of communism has coincided with Romania's national television and broadcasting corporation resuming nationwide transmission of programmes in Hungarian and German for the respective minority ethnic populations. He also states that Romania's regional programming for other ethnic minorities has expanded since the late eighties (1998, p.215).

Concerning the case of Gaelic in Scotland, television has been cited as one of the primary reasons for its linguistic decline. Robertson (2001, p.83) claims that the Gaelic language is an 'intrinsic part' of Scotland's culture and identity. Once widely spoken, Gaelic is now predominantly located in peripheral parts of the Western seaboard and its speakers comprise merely 1.4% of the total Scottish population of 5,000,000 (Robertson, 2001, p.85). To cater for predominantly monolingual English-speaking audiences, the Scottish television networks devote most of their resources to English language programming. However, as a result of a highly successful lobbying campaign, the 1990 Broadcast Act approved the establishment of a Gaelic Television Fund, which allowed the transmission of additional hours of Gaelic programming each year (Robertson, 2001, p.89). I suggest there would have been no lobbying campaign, if the national televisual media had not been seen as integral to the maintenance of Gaelic. Basically, the national televisual media still has the capacity to assist the protection of minority languages in the postmodern age.

The global media has also been pivotal to postmigration language maintenance - as discussed earlier in 2.5.3 from an economic perspective. According to Cheesman (2001, p.154), the globalisation of communication greatly assists the conservation of languages in diaspora. He claims increasing numbers of people from dispersed linguistic communities are able to access the language and culture of their respective mother countries because of the cheaper cost (in real terms) of travel, particularly air travel and a relative reduction in the cost of phone calls (2001, p.155). They are also able to retain contact with the language and culture of their respective mother countries because of the relentless growth of satellite/cable television and the revolutionary impact of the Internet (Cheesman, 2001, p.155).

The invasive technologies that defy national boundaries have also proved to be an invaluable aid to those linguistic minorities experiencing linguistic discrimination from a larger and/or more powerful language group occupying the same nation-state. For example, Hassanpour (1999, p.235) explains how the pro-Kurdish, non-state satellite broadcaster Med-TV accords language rights to the Kurdish minorities in Turkey where the state deprives them of such rights. Broadcasting to Europe, North Africa and the Middle East from Eutelsat via an uplink in London (Parkins, 1997 [www]), Med-TV illustrates how the transnationalisation of the televisual media can facilitate minority language maintenance.

2.7: Conclusion

Here I have shown that characteristics and trends associated with postmodernism may be used to construct some arguments that support, as well as other arguments that oppose, minority language maintenance. It is thus mistaken to claim that arguments associated with postmodern theory are unequivocally supportive or unsupportive of minority language maintenance. What makes some arguments more or less compelling than others is inevitably subjective. In accordance with postmodernism's advocacy of 'the death of the author', the reader is just as entitled as the author (if not more so), to determine the most compelling arguments from the preceding discussion. I argue however that for the most part the expansion of the global televisual media along with the strength of the global economy severely hampers the conservation of minority languages: significantly, both these spheres facilitate and encourage the global reach of English whose curtailment, from a postmodern perspective, is neither desirable nor practicable. Equally, from the perspective of postmodernism, it is appropriate to conceive of resistance as unconditional, which suggests to me that it is perfectly acceptable for the majority to oppose the objective of minority language maintenance. This social theory's advocacy of plurality can also be interpreted as unhelpful to the protection of minority languages: the circulation of multiple, contradictory discourses on linguistic minorities means it is more difficult for language planners to convince the public that any minority language can and deserves to be saved from displacement and ultimate death.

I have shown that it is perhaps important to consider one characteristic or trend associated with postmodernism alongside another, in order to undertake a richer analysis of minority language maintenance. Postmodern theory may valorise diversity and a multiculturalist approach to integration, yet it also valorises pragmatism. In certain contexts this theory may thus be employed to justify an assimilationist approach to integration, even though such an approach may adversely affect minority language maintenance. Likewise, postmodern theory may champion diversity but it also champions opposition to hierarchies. This suggests that postmodern theory may be invoked to oppose the diversity that the EU promotes in relation to minority languages on account of the exclusiveness of such diversity. It is appropriate to understand postmodern politics as comprising multiple and disparate forms rather than a single unified, coherent form. To support or oppose minority language maintenance, the sociolinguist can invoke one or more of postmodernism's many political forms such as the politics of inequality, the politics of dissent, the politics of seduction, the politics of fear, the politics of the local and the politics of identity. Finally, with reference to postmodern theory, I have problematised the 'objective' definition of *minority*, even though others nonetheless still define the concept 'objectively'. It is now apt to move to a critical examination of one specific minority language, Welsh, in the following chapter.

3: The Welsh Language & Language Policy in Wales

3.0: Introduction

In chapter 3, I unite language policy (the focus of the first chapter) and minority languages (the central concern of the second chapter) through undertaking an analysis of a specific case study, Wales. Here I consider the following research question: through close reference to the theory of postmodernism, is the WAG's vision of a truly bilingual Wales achievable? Pennycook (2006, p.60) claims that regardless of its pretension and vagueness, 'there are sufficiently serious ideas within the discursive field of postmodernism to warrant a discussion of its implications for language policy'. However, I have encountered no significant discussion about the Welsh language and/or language policy that engages arguments connected explicitly with postmodernism, which helps to illustrate the importance of my research question. I am not only a commentator on but also a recipient of the Welsh Assembly Government's (WAG) language policy: I presently reside and work for much of the year in Newport, which is the focus of chapter 4.

In 2003 the WAG published its national plan for a bilingual Wales in a document entitled *Iaith Pawb: A National Action Plan for a Bilingual Wales*. The document states that the Welsh language 'is an integral part of our national identity. The Welsh language is an essential and enduring component in the history, culture and social fabric of our nation. We must respect that inheritance and work to ensure that it is not lost for future generations' (2003, p.1). The document recognises that successive UK governments over the past four decades have enacted legislation and implemented policies that have raised 'the profile and status of the [Welsh] language in public life and in public consciousness' (2003, p.1). Despite this, it also states that 'further positive action on behalf of the Welsh language is needed and justified; English, as the dominant majority language does not need such institutional support' (2003, p.9). Accordingly, the document (2003, p.11) states that 'our goal is a bold one': the mere stabilisation of the number and percentage of Welsh speakers has been superseded by a desire for 'a sustained increase' in that number and percentage. It refers to the WAG's intention 'to look beyond mere numbers of people who can speak Welsh'.

According to the 2001 Census, 21% of the population of Wales aged 3 and over can speak Welsh, which is a slight increase from 1991, as indicated in Figure 1 below.

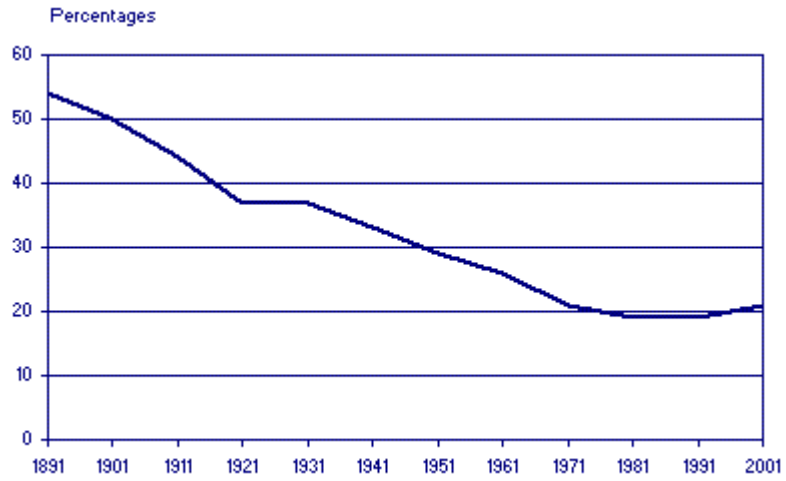

Figure 1: Percentage of people aged 3 and over able to speak Welsh between 1891 and 2001
(Office for National Statistics, 2011, [www])

Iaith Pawb: A National Action Plan for a Bilingual Wales explains that the WAG's objective is for Wales to be 'a truly bilingual nation'. It defines 'a truly bilingual nation' as 'a country where people can choose to live their lives through the medium of either Welsh or English' (WAG, 2003, p.11). This definition does not differentiate between a nation and a country, which is further evidenced when the document finishes with the statement 'working together, we can create a truly bilingual Wales' (WAG, 2003, p.53). From the Welsh National Assembly's perspective, *Wales*, I suggest, could be substituted for *nation* or *country*. The WAG's bilingual objective endures in 2009, six years after the introduction of its action plan. It claims, 'we want people to have the opportunity to use Welsh in every area of daily life' (2009b, [www]). It also claims that, 'Our long-term vision is for a truly bilingual nation: where if you speak Welsh you should be able to communicate freely and unhindered in Welsh, at home, in school, in the bank, at the doctor's surgery. If you choose to speak in English you should have exactly the same opportunities. No more, no less'(2009b, [www]).

The phrase ‘truly bilingual’ appears highly significant, consistently featuring not only in the *Iaith Pawb: A National Action Plan for a Bilingual Wales* but other documents also issued by the WAG including *Welsh Language Scheme* (2006), *and Good Health: An Introduction to language awareness in healthcare* (date unknown) as well as *The Future of Welsh – A Strategic Plan* (2005) and *Annual Review* (2007) issued through its own agency the Welsh Language Board. As indicated above, the phrase also currently features on the Welsh Assembly Government’s official website, which serves to show how its relevance endures. It is also cited in studies such as Bishop et al. (2005) and Coupland et al. (2005), both of which are discussed in this chapter. Given this chapter’s research question, it is imperative that I provide my interpretation of what the WAG means by the phrase ‘truly bilingual’.

As I understand it, the WAG’s vision of a ‘truly bilingual’ nation does not require everyone living or working in Wales to be a Welsh speaker. It does not require a Welsh speaker to be equally proficient in both Welsh and English. It does not require a Welsh speaker to use the Welsh language ahead of English (or any other language). However, this vision does require that wherever an individual is able to speak English they will be able to speak Welsh in the future. The WAG wants people to be able to use Welsh ‘in every area of daily life’, in places of work and leisure, in the street and in the home etc, which suggests that the vision is about the normalisation of the Welsh language. From their perspective, it will be normal for any patient to discuss a diagnosis with their doctor or any customer to complete a financial transaction with a bank employee in Wales via the medium of Welsh. There are automated announcements in Welsh to manage the flow of human traffic on train platforms and in post office queues, as well as an abundance of bilingual signs and texts. However, this alone does not constitute the realisation of the WAG’s truly bilingual vision.

The government makes reference to the boldness of its bilingual goal, as stated above, which means, I suggest, a substantial increase in spoken Welsh language communication across Wales. I determine that a ‘truly bilingual’ Wales is one where the use of the two languages in private and public is genuinely the norm throughout the country. Residents, workers and visitors to the cities, towns and villages of Wales will clearly recognise that Welsh is a living language as they encounter some people choosing ‘to live their lives’ through the medium of Welsh in all parts of the land. To

achieve the objective of ‘a truly bilingual’ nation, there has to be a significant increase in the numbers of Welsh language users, both in terms of those persons eager to use the language and those others able to do so on request.

Having already established that ‘a truly bilingual’ *Wales* refers to a *country* or *nation* from the perspective of the Welsh Assembly, it is necessary to consider further terms. I do not refer to Wales as a *nation-state* but as a *nation*. As well as *country* and *nation*, I also use the terms *region* and *principality* to designate Wales. I justify this on the grounds that Wales is distinguished as a *region* of the United Kingdom and a *principality*. Although I use the terms *Wales* and *nation* as synonyms, I recognise that not all those who live in this geographic zone in the west of Great Britain affiliate with the *country* Wales or the Welsh *nation*. Basically, not all those who live within the borders of Wales self-identify as Welsh although the majority do (see Coupland et al. 2006). Similarly, some people who live outside of these borders – whether short- or long-term – identify themselves as Welsh and thereby align themselves with the *country* Wales or the Welsh *nation. Collins Cobuild* (1992, p.956) uses *national* to denote ‘things that involve or relate to the whole of a country or nation’. In accordance with this definition, I use *national* to refer solely to the whole of Wales or the Welsh nation, and the term *national identity* to denote a Welsh rather than a British identity.

I employ the term *nationalist* broadly and disinterestedly to refer to an individual who wants independence for Wales and/or greater devolution of power to the Welsh National Assembly. This individual on the one hand may have no formal political affiliation whereas on the other he may belong to Plaid Cymru (The Party of Wales) or a nationalist pressure group such as Cymdeithas yr Iaith (Welsh Language Society). All within Plaid Cymru are Welsh nationalists, yet my definition of a nationalist extends to include politicians of other parties. For instance, I consider some Labour, Liberal Democrat and Conservative politicians in the Welsh Assembly Government to have some *nationalist* sympathies and therefore to be worthy of the designation *nationalist*. I also suggest that *nationalists* endorse the promotion of the Welsh Language, but not all Welsh speakers are necessarily *nationalists*.

I also use the terms *language/ethnic nationalism* and *civic/institutional nationalism* to differentiate two strands of *nationalism* evident in *nationalist Wales.* I preface the noun *nationalist* with the adjective *institutional* to refer specifically to someone who endorses the strand of *nationalism* that underplays the importance of the Welsh language to the task of nation building. I sometimes employ the expression *monolingual English speaker* to aid differentiation of a non-Welsh speaker from a Welsh speaker. I am aware however of the limitation of that expression: an absence of Welsh language skills does not equate to monolingualism. The *monolingual English speaker* may quite feasibly have proficient Spanish or French language skills etc. It is also important to identify this limitation in respect to Wales' immigrant population from the Indian subcontinent.

In order to address the research question ('through close reference to the theory of postmodernism, is the WAG's vision of a "truly bilingual" Wales achievable?') I divide the rest of Chapter 3 into seven sub-sections. I consider the question in respect to the following central postmodern concerns: identity (3.1), unity (3.2), discourse (3.3), resistance (3.4), performance (3.5), transience (3.6) and the televisual media (3.7).

3.1: The Welsh Language & Identity

In his book *Impossible Exchange*, the postmodernist writer Jean Baudrillard (2001, p.52) defines identity as 'a dream that is pathetically absurd', adding that 'you dream of being yourself when you have nothing better to do. You dream of yourself and gaining recognition when you have lost all singularity'. This implies that the current high level of interest in the minority language within Wales might be attributable to certain sections of the populace focusing on their Welsh identity due to a concern that they have lost everything singular about themselves and/or that they have nothing better to do. However, not surprisingly, those accused of doing so would refute such an accusation. Baudrillard (2001, p.52) also claims identity 'is linked to security', and the Welsh person may see the Welsh language as a means of making their Welsh identity more secure. It is important to acknowledge that the significance of the Welsh language to Welsh identity is a very broad topic that cannot possibly be fully covered within what is a relatively short sub-chapter. Despite this, here I use arguments

relating to the central postmodern concern of identity to help me determine whether the Welsh Assembly Government's vision of a truly bilingual Wales is achievable.

3.1.1: The Fight for Identity

For some within Wales, the loss of Welsh amounts to the loss of a Welsh identity. Consequently, they battle resolutely to defend their language and, simultaneously, their cherished national identity. Bauman (2007, p.77) advises that identity 'comes to life only in the tumult of battle; it falls asleep and silent the moment the noise of the battle dies down'. In Wales 'the noise of the battle' fought over the importance of the Welsh language to a Welsh identity shows no signs of dying down soon. Aitchison & Carter (2004, p.141) claim that only the Welsh language and its literary culture differentiates a Welsh person from a provincial English person. According to them, language epitomises Welshness, rather than, for example, certain features associated with the South Wales mining valleys. From their standpoint, 'the closeness of the communities, the radicalism of the politics, the nonconformity, the distinctive choral tradition, even the commitment to rugby football – are not of anything distinctively Welsh, but of societies distinctively industrial'. This leads them to claim that it is possible to witness each of these features in industrial communities within the north of England (Aitchison & Carter, 2004, p.142). Others object to their viewpoint as evidenced in a web article entitled 'Too much Welsh language support' by Innes Bowen (2007 [www]), the producer of the Radio 4 programme *Hecklers.* She explained that some people in Wales railed against Welsh language promotion on the basis that it assists the cultivation of 'a new ruling class' of Welsh speakers, which rebukes non-Welsh speakers for 'not being fully Welsh'. It seems to me that the persistent battle over the definition of a Welsh identity hampers the attainment of a truly bilingual Wales. The majority population in Wales that defines itself as Welsh must be largely united behind the language if the WAG's bilingual policy is to be successful.

Baudrillard (2001, p.52) states that 'today we no longer fight for sovereignty or for glory, but for identity', thus emphasising the significance of identity in the postmodern era. I suggest however that it is mistaken to believe that the fights for sovereignty and glory have been superseded by the fight for identity: all three fights exist and are complexly interrelated in the postmodern age. Concerning Wales, some

Welsh language supporters and/or activists fight for sovereignty as a necessary prelude to the fight for their linguistic identity. They do so through alignment with the 'Yes' for devolution campaign, through influence within the National Assembly, and through support for and involvement in the Welsh Language Board (Bwrdd yr Iaith Gymraeg) or Cymdeithas Yr Iaith etc. Alternatively, other supporters and/or activists fight for an identity that is based largely on the minority language as a means of achieving their desired sovereignty.

I also suggest that some pro-Welsh language campaigners embark on their fights for identity and sovereignty aware of the potential glory (no matter how trivial) awaiting them. For example, Saunders Lewis, the first President of Plaid Cymru, was jailed at the Old Bailey in 1936 for carrying out an arson attack on a British government-owned bombing school sited on the Lleyn Peninsula (BBC 2 Wales, 2008 Part 5: *On The Brink*). In an interview in 1960 he declared, 'all my life I've had a burning desire to change the history of Wales, to make Welsh-speaking Wales a mighty force in the modern world and I failed totally' (BBC 2 Wales, 2008 Part 5: *On The Brink*). In 1980, Gwynfor Evans, the then President of Plaid Cymru, announced his intention to starve himself to death unless the Conservative Party agreed to grant Wales its own Welsh language television channel. He proclaimed, 'my fate depends on the government. If the government decides to allow me to die, then that's its responsibility' (BBC 2 Wales, 2008 Part 6: *Future Tense*). I allege the actions of both presidents – which attracted support and criticism in equal measure - may have been partly motivated by the dual concerns of identity and sovereignty, but also partly inspired by the promise of glory.

The minority language fight - conducted primarily by nationalists - is not only about identity but also sovereignty and possibly even glory. Plaid Cymru, the Party of Wales, seeks to replace the National Assembly with a Parliament for Wales. Also, the party declares that in the future, it 'aims to secure independence for Wales within Europe' (Plaid Cymru, 2009a [www]). In addition to this, nationalist Plaid Cymru is at the forefront of the revitalisation of Welsh in Wales, describing the language as 'crucial for our identity and a national treasure which needs to be safeguarded and promoted' (Plaid Cymru, 2009b [www]). However, the association of the Welsh language with the nationalist struggle for self-determination reduces the likelihood of

the emergence of a truly bilingual Wales. According to Spencer (1999), Grenz (1996) and Lemert (1997), scepticism is a salient characteristic of postmodernity. Large sections of the Welsh public remain decidedly sceptical about the merit of Plaid Cymru's and other nationalists' committed advocacy of independence. Thus, to effectuate a truly bilingual Wales, those involved in Welsh LPP need to distinguish the promotion of the Welsh language from the promotion of a nationalist political agenda. C.H. Williams (2008, p.178) alludes to this through the claim that 'astute interpreters' recognise how discourse that makes too intimate an association between minority language revitalisation and nationalist rhetoric can impede rather than assist the minority's struggle (See 3.3.2).

3.1.2: The Commodification of the Welsh Language

Jencks (1996, p.61) states that we now have the opportunity to inhabit 'successive worlds as we tire of each one's qualities'. Similarly, Bauman (2007, p.29) states that 'in our liquid modern times, when the free-floating, unencumbered individual is the popular hero, "being fixed" – being "identified" inflexibly and without retreat – gets an increasingly bad press'. From the above, I deduce that in the age of globalisation the individual is positively regarded for inhabiting multiple worlds, in which they acquire, maintain and abandon elements of their identity as they wish. The habitation of multiple worlds is likely to lead the individual in Wales to view and treat the minority language as an unessential element of their identity. This accords with postmodern thought, which N. Thompson (2003, p.61) praises for its 'thoroughgoing rejection of essentialism'. In fact, a central theme of this thesis is postmodernism's criticism of essentialism, as evidenced in 2.4.2. If the Welsh do not respect the minority language as an essential element of their identity, I suggest that the probability of a truly bilingual Wales recedes. I also suggest that the Welsh language may be regarded as a commodity that anyone who desires a Welsh identity may consume – this too has implications for the WAG's bilingual objective.

Denzin (1992, p.151) claims that the postmodern current transforms everything into a commodity to be sold in contemporary culture. Harvey (1989, p.303) similarly claims that the conservation of tradition amounts to the commodification of tradition in postmodernity. In 'Globalisation, advertising and language choice', Bishop et al. (2005, p.343) use a 150-year sample of consumer ads from a North American Welsh

community newspaper, *Y Drych* [*The Mirror*], to examine the shifting values assigned both to the Welsh language and to the general category of Welshness. The early advertisements featured Welsh as the normative code, but following the Anglicisation of the paper, these researchers claim that the language has become 'a display resource' and 'a marketable commodity in its own right' (2005, p.343). They also acknowledge that the Welsh language and Wales itself are similarly marketed to indigenous Welsh people. I agree that the minority language is exploited as 'a display resource' and 'a marketable commodity in its own right' in Wales. For instance, large building companies value the language as a commodity that can aid the selling of their new home developments. Purchasing a home on a Welsh-named development is a way of purchasing a Welsh identity for some domiciled in Wales as it is for others from outside of the area.

Previous barriers to group membership have been dismantled in the contemporary global world. According to Bishop et al (2005, p.374), 'a place in the 'Welsh ingroup' in this [global] economy is not restricted to a specific local community or defined by history and cultural continuity'; anyone can consolidate or even acquire their place through the market. Hence, the display of the Welsh language in advertisements and the advertising of Welsh as, what Bishop et al. (2005, p.343) designate, 'a purchasable competence' in an American newspaper may result in some Americans acquiring a greater affinity with Wales and cultivating Welsh identities. In addition, the marketing of the Welsh language in Wales may increase some citizens' level of affiliation to all things Welsh and thereby contribute positively to the development of their Welsh identities. However, in my view, this will not appreciably help the WAG effectuate a truly bilingual Wales. Bishop et al (2005, p.375) also recognise that 'the reformatting of a national language as an iconic resource in commercial arenas is painful'. From their viewpoint, such a practice is clearly inconsistent with the rhetoric of a truly bilingual Wales.

3.2: The Welsh Language & National Unity

In this section, I rely on arguments relating to another central postmodern concern, unity, to help me reach a conclusion about the achievability of a truly bilingual Wales.

3.2.1: An Imagined and Divided Community

In the postmodern age the notion of community has assumed a greater significance: Bauman (1999, p.46) in fact defines postmodernity as 'the age of community' while Delanty (2000, p.120) suggests community is becoming the 'universal ideology' of the present. The Welsh Republican Manifesto (1950, [www]) states that 'the Welsh nation is essentially a community of the common people' and such a statement alludes to the unity in Wales. Similarly, Plaid Cymru (2007, [www]) proclaims that Wales is 'a community of communities', and such a proclamation also refers to the unity in Wales, even if it is a unity underpinned by diversity. From these nationalist perspectives, the use of the term community is intended to incite a feeling of togetherness and pride among the citizens of the Welsh nation. It would be false though to suggest that nationalists alone conceive of Wales as a community. The WAG (2009a, [www]), where Labour is the dominant party, launched the *All Wales Community Cohesion Strategy,* which aims 'to enable different groups of people to get on well with each other'. I can appreciate that the employment of the term community may serve to promote unity among members of the Welsh nation. However, importantly, postmodern theory endorses Anderson's argument (2006, p.6) that the nation is an 'imagined community'.

People in Wales do imagine themselves as belonging to a Welsh community and/or nation. Moreover, all they can do is imagine because that is - and can only ever be - the one option available to them. I do not claim that postmodernism is the first or only theory to compare the nation to an 'imagined' community. I do nonetheless claim that through merely highlighting the idea of the nation being an 'imagined community', the unity of any given nation may decline. If an individual or group is invited to contemplate and accept their nation as 'an imagined community', what was once real and important to them may become less real and less important to them. Solidarity, togetherness and unity are nothing but abstract concepts circulated in discourse. Wright (2000, p.25) indicates that there are 'different strengths of imagining'. In respect to Wales, I argue that some Welsh citizens cannot imagine the Welsh nation with the same strength as others, possibly due to being unable to conceive of that nation as anything but 'imagined'. An understanding of the Welsh nation as 'an imagined community' and the existence of 'different strengths of imagining' of that

Welsh nation/community decrease the unity in Wales and thus reduce the likelihood of a truly bilingual Wales.

The Welsh nation is not only an imagined but also a divided community. To highlight its division, I wish to consider colonialism and postcolonialism. Khleif (1978, p.112) asserts that the Welsh very much regard their socio-political situation as one of internal colonialism on account of 'forced entry (conquest), cultural destruction (linguistic suppression), and administration from the outside (socio-economic control by London)'. They consider themselves 'subjects in the original, not merely citizenship sense of the word' (Khleif, 1978, p.113). Thirty years on Khleif's claim about 'administration from the outside' is no longer so relevant following the establishment of the National Assembly. However, Cymuned (Welsh for community), a Welsh nationalist or anti-colonialist pressure group, is still concerned with the issue of colonialism. In particular, this group complains about the colonisation of Welsh-speaking communities by the English but does concede that not all of this nation's people are colonisers (2003a, [www]). Cymuned (2003a, p.28 [www]) states in fact that 'colonialism, and those who support it, are an insult to anti-colonialist English people and they bring disgrace upon the whole English nation'.

Khleif (1978, p.114) considers that internal colonialism – a concept first introduced to designate the relation between White and Black Southerners in America's South – has been instrumental in the creation of a 'torn consciousness' in Wales: some view the minority language as integral to their Welshness while others do not. It is not the case that all in Wales who view the Welsh language in positive terms, speakers and/or supporters, view England as a colonial power as Cymuned advocate. However, colonialism, or more specifically 'internal colonialism', is a factor that has contributed to a 'torn consciousness' in Wales that ensures the Welsh community remains divided. Contrary to the anti-English position adopted above, in a debate about racism in Welsh politics, L. Smith (2002, [www]), Labour MP for Blaenau Gwent and critic of the promotion of the Welsh language, stated that his father who had come to Wales from England 'never learned the Welsh language, but that did not make him any less a part of Wales… the nationalists have always seen conspiracies everywhere to destroy the Welsh tradition and nation, and almost invariably they are the fault of the English'. Finding favour with some people in the Welsh community,

Smith's view illustrates how Khleif's notion of 'torn consciousness' remains relevant in contemporary Wales, or, what is referred to as, postcolonial Wales following the establishment of Welsh National Assembly.

Chris Williams (2005, pp.6-7) however believes that to describe contemporary Wales as post-colonial is unreasonable because it was certainly not an English colony from the 16th century onwards, if it had ever been at all. Following the Acts of Union, 1536 and 1543, prior distinctions between the two countries disappeared. For instance, since this time, the Welsh were afforded the same voting rights as the English while migration and settlement between the two countries has been free from restriction. To support the argument that Wales was not a colony of England, Chris Williams (2005, p.7) points out that the Welsh were active agents as opposed to passive subjects in the expansion of the British Empire. As missionaries and colonists they participated enthusiastically in various imperial projects and, as soldiers, they 'responded jingoistically' to the Boer War. He further defends his position by situating Wales in a comparative framework. This allows him to argue that it is 'self-indulgent and potentially offensive' to draw parallels between on the one hand Wales and, on the other, the non-White colonies of either the British Empire or the empires of other major European countries such as Spain, France and Portugal (Chris Williams, 2005, p10). It becomes apparent that the Welsh have not experienced colonisation and decolonisation when we consider the extent to which such conditions both impacted and continue to impact the lives of entire populations of Third World countries. The Welsh after all were slave owners rather than slaves.

Boyne & Rattansi (1990, p.39) claim that postmodernism delights in 'unmasking imaginary unities', which suggests that this theory may be cited as justification for identifying the lack of unity in the Welsh community concerning the country's colonial past. The position of Cymuned is certainly not without support in Wales, particularly, but not exclusively, among Welsh speakers I would argue. Moreover, the emotive issue of colonisation divides opinion within Wales, which, from my perspective, hinders rather than assists the WAG in its efforts to increase bilingualism in the area. In the above text, 'Problematizing Wales: An Exploration in Historiography and Postcoloniality', Chris Williams (2005), as indicated, explains why precisely it is not reasonable to refer to contemporary Wales as post-colonial. He

also argues that it is useful to conceive of a postcolonial Wales, which is something I discuss in 3.5.3. Next we consider the impact of cosmopolitanism on the WAG's vision of bilingualism.

3.2.2: Cosmopolitanism & the Welsh Capital

The existence of cosmopolitan populations in urban south east Wales has resonance for the WAG's bilingual plans. Eagleton (2000, p.76) claims that a designated postmodern space is distinguished by hybridity rather than unity, which, from his viewpoint, is reflective of a central tenet of postmodernism: cosmopolitanism. He adds that cosmopolitan culture transgresses national boundaries in the same way as financial capital and multinational corporations (2000, p.76). With respect to Wales, large cities in the south east of the region consist of cosmopolitan populations who are either mainly or partly influenced by the cultures of countries other than Wales. As a consequence, it is quite feasible that a sizeable proportion of people in these cities would not be as committed to the learning and using of the national language Welsh as the WAG requires for its bilingual vision to come to fruition. More extensive research however needs to be undertaken to determine how cosmopolitanism impacts the survival prospects of Welsh. Here I briefly discuss how cosmopolitan Cardiff, the capital of Wales, affects the advancement of the minority language.

Situated in south east Wales and one of the region's largest urban areas, Cardiff hosts a range of administrative, cultural and educational activities which have been closely associated with the Welsh language in both former and present times. Either in the heart of the city or on its periphery, the following institutions are located: the National Museum of Wales, the Welsh Folk Museum, the Welsh Office, the headquarters of the Welsh television station (S4C) along with the controversial Welsh National Assembly etc. In addition to these prominent institutions, Cardiff has a number of Welsh medium schools, sees Welsh taught throughout all the English-medium schools in the area, and has a multitude of bilingual road signs, public notices and administrative forms. More than twenty years previously, Coupland (1988, p.40) suggested that 'Cardiff has some of the trappings of a fully bilingual community', but they do not make Cardiff 'a fully bilingual community' since 'the Welsh language is rarely heard on the streets in Cardiff'. Its relative absence, I attribute in part to cosmopolitanism. The cosmopolitan nature of Cardiff results in the world's premier

lingua franca, English, together with myriad other languages, limiting the employment of Welsh in informal conversational exchanges. Likewise, the cosmopolitan nature of the capital city lessens the likelihood of a truly bilingual Wales.

According to Carter (2010, pp.119-122), France and England can boast primate cities in Paris and London respectively, yet Wales has no such equivalent: Cardiff is not a primate city since for much of its history it has been neither the most economically powerful city in the region nor the embodiment of authentic Welsh culture: Cardiff may have become the capital of Wales in 1955, but it has never been the capital of the Welsh. More concerned with developing an international profile than embodying Welsh cultural values, the city rejected devolution in the 1997 referendum, which is something Welsh Wales has passionately desired since the time of Owen Glendower. Equally, it is difficult to argue that cosmopolitan Cardiff is a primate city on account of its relatively small percentage of Welsh speakers throughout the twentieth century. In 1901, 8.1% of the city's population were Welsh speakers while in 2001, 11.1% were categorised as such, with frequent and sustained dips in the intervening years (Carter, 2010, p.123). However, to assist the bilingual objective, I suggest that Wales needs a primate city, which can serve as a model of good bilingual practice for other cities, towns and villages in the region to emulate. Convinced that Cardiff is no primate city, Carter (2010, p.126) nonetheless concedes that the metropolis has a more intimate relationship with the language of Wales than ever before as a result of its concentration of in-migrant Welsh speakers in high profile positions. So as to further appreciate the division and disunity in Wales, the following section considers both the nationalist movement and nationalism.

3.2.3: The Nationalist Movement & Two Strands of Nationalism

Jones and Fowler (2008, p172) claim that the nationalist movement in Wales is 'inherently fractured from within' due to the existence of a plurality of nationalist organisations that promote their own nationalist agendas. In 2001, the establishment of Cymuned sent 'shockwaves' throughout the whole of the Welsh nationalist movement. Critical of Welsh nationalist politics' ever-increasing concentration on civic issues, this pressure group immediately distanced itself from other nationalist organisations such as Plaid Cymru and Cymdeithas Yr Iaith (Jones & Fowler 2008,

p.178). Owing to its focus on Y Fro Gymraeg (Welsh heartland), Cymuned attracts criticism from nationalist opponents for being xenophobic, reactionary and determined to promote a 'ghettoised version of Wales and Welshness' (Jones & Fowler 2008, p.187). In contrast, Plaid Cymru propagates economic and electoral discourses that target the whole of the Welsh electorate while Cymdeithas Yr Iaith (Welsh Language Society) concerns itself with the fate of the language throughout the country (Jones and Fowler, 2008, p.172). Figure 2 below estimates the percentage of people aged 3 and over that can speak Welsh in the electoral divisions of Wales in 2001. The various shadings of red constitute the Welsh-speaking heartland (Y Fro Gymraeg).

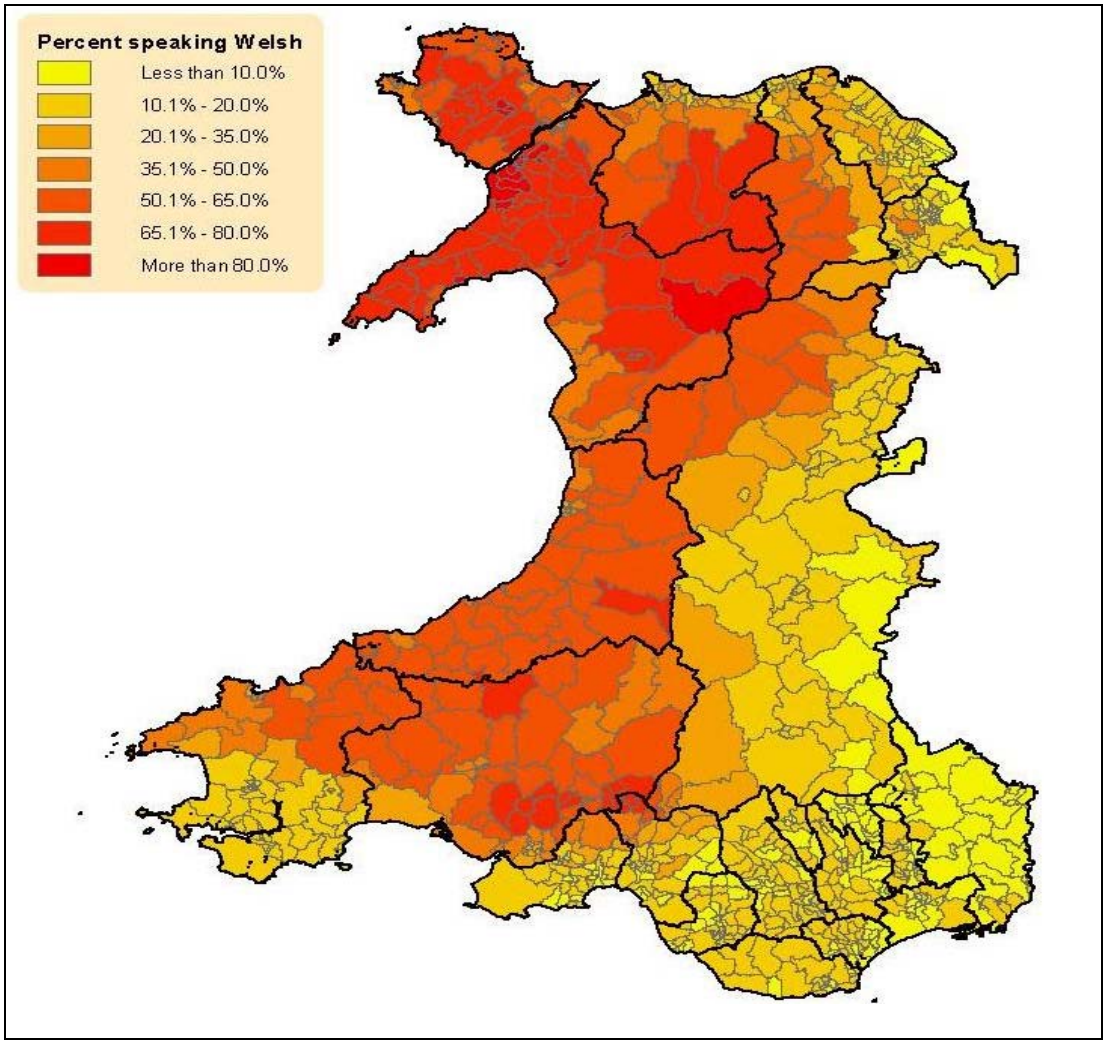

Figure 2: Percentage of people aged 3 and over that can speak Welsh in the electoral divisions of Wales in 2001 (Welsh Language Board, 2003, [www])

Cymuned defines Wales as the Welsh heartland (although its leadership deny this on occasions), whereas these other nationalist organisations – despite some political differences - define Wales in terms of the whole of its designated territorial space. According to Jones and Fowler (2008, pp.168-169), national territories are 'mutable and highly contested social constructs'. Cymuned, Cymdeithas Yr Iaith and Plaid Cymru all make significant contributions to the direction and success of language policy in Wales. However, they differ in their imagining of the nation's geographical borders, which means that scale is an important factor in discussions about the achievability of a truly bilingual Wales. Jones and Fowler (2008, p.185) also claim that Cymuned views the Welsh heartland as a territorial space with fluid rather than fixed boundaries owing to the in-migration of English speakers and the out-migration of Welsh speakers. Furthermore, to highlight the lack of unity in the nationalist movement in Wales, it is important to appreciate that a nationalist movement such as Cymuned is not immune to internal division. Jones & Fowler (2008, p187) state that its more intellectual wing is located in Aberystwyth, with its more practical and organic wing to be found in parts of north and west Wales. Such division may render it more difficult for the pressure group to influence language policy to its maximum effect.

The presence of two strands of nationalism in Wales, ethnic nationalism and civic or institutional nationalism, is also indicative of the lack of unity in the region in the postmodern age. Plaid Cymru (Welsh National Party), language activists from Cymdeithas Yr Iaith and supporters of the minority tongue in the media and academia etc. promote a nationalist agenda that emphasises the Welsh language. Their ambition is to make Wales more uniform through the creation of a fully bilingual or, in the extreme, a Welsh-speaking monolingual nation. They align themselves with ethnic nationalism, which is a strand of nationalism firmly based around language to the extent that it is sometimes simply referred to as language nationalism. C.H. Williams (1982, p.148) explains how such language nationalism is not exclusive to Wales, but is 'a common feature of minority group ideology' as evidenced by the intentions and actions of the Quebecois and Basques etc, who have 'politicised their respective tongues'. The Welsh language has been politicised for centuries, but following the Welsh Language Act of 1993, and particularly devolution in 1997, it appears that the minority tongue has become a major political concern in the Principality.

However, civic/institutional nationalism - the alternative to the ethnic/language nationalism - definitely does not prioritise the minority tongue, much to the consternation of language campaigners. Aitchison & Carter (2000, p.156) claim that advocates of institutional nationalism maintain that 'to ensure a real measure of unity' within the land, the optimal strategy is not to champion a divisive language presently spoken by 'less than a fifth of the population'. Rather, from the standpoint of these institutional nationalists, it is best to promote 'firm adherence to a growing panoply of institutions' – the University of Wales, the National Museum of Wales etc. as well as the National Assembly of Wales. Aitchison & Carter (2000, p.156) fear that if these various institutions do succeed in projecting a sufficiently appealing representation of Welshness, then it is quite feasible that the language would be 'relegated to a secondary role and eventually an anachronistic one, the symbol of the past rather than the future'. Likewise, Phillips (2005, p.105) refers to the foundation of the National Assembly as 'a momentous milestone' in the history of the Welsh language. However, he fears that Welsh people may see this institution as such an important focus for their national identity that they abandon the language (2005, p.109). This prompts him to advise the Welsh-language movement 'to keep its wits about it' in the immediate future to prevent the language becoming 'an ornament to be admired now and again' (2005, p.110). He also indicates that Wales should carefully consider the case of Ireland, which to some extent neglected its native language and culture after gaining self-determination.

The WLB is determined that the Welsh language should not suffer such a fate. It also appears that language planners on the island of Ireland are equally committed to the preservation of indigenous minority languages across the whole of that particular geographic space. Williams (2009, pp.57-60) states that the British-Irish Agreement 1999 saw the establishment of a joint Irish-Ulster-Scots Implementation Body with two agencies (rather than one), so as to minimise cross-community resistance: Foras na Gaeilge is tasked with increasing the use of Irish in everyday life on both sides of the border, while Tha Boord o Ulster-Scotch is given the remit to encourage the use of Ullans and to raise awareness of Ulster-Scots cultural issues within the same territorial space. The former primarily serves the South and the nationalist community of the North, with the latter focusing its operations on the unionist community of the North. With regard to Wales, the primary concern of this chapter, both strands of

nationalism – ethnic and institutional – essentially promise national unity through the promotion and suppression of the language respectively, yet that promised unity can never materialise as long as the two strands remain in competition. Crucially, institutional nationalism is a threat to the achievement of a truly bilingual Wales: advocates of this strand hold the Welsh language as peripheral or even detrimental to their objective of national unity.

3.2.4: Coupland & 'One Wales'

The previous three sub-sections indicate that there is a lack of a national unity in Wales, but Coupland et al (2006a) have conducted research that suggests the contrary. It is appropriate to consider this research because postmodernism, according to Jencks (1996, pp.60-61), champions openness, inclusion and heterogeneity. In 'One Wales? Reassessing Diversity in Welsh Ethnolinguistic Identification', Coupland et al (2006a, p.1) analysed data drawn from a survey of 777 adult informants living in different parts of Wales. In respect to self-ascribed ethnic labelling, it was identified that 'almost all areas of Wales have clear majorities of Welsh-self-labelling informants (predominantly in the range 60-80 per cent)'. According to their data, only in Denbighshire and Flintshire is the designation 'British' marginally more popular among the informants than the designation 'Welsh' (Coupland et al, 2006a, p.17).

They found that Welsh people across all the various geographical regions of Wales communicate very high levels of affiliation to Wales. They also found that 'levels of self-reported competence in Welsh do not predict subjective Welshness'. According to Coupland et al (2006a, p.22), this indicates there is no intimate association between the extent of a person's Welsh language proficiency and the strength of their Welsh identity; yet, they feel it would be wrong to deny any association between the two factors. Those born outside of Wales revealed themselves to be less inclined to feel Welsh, to feel Wales is their home, to have ethnic Welsh pride and particularly to let others know they are Welsh than those born inside. Despite this, Coupland et al (2006a, p.23) reject any inference that an 'outsiders/insiders' category distinction is reflective of 'very low Welshness' versus 'very high Welshness'. Those born outside Wales but have lived in the region for a significant period of time 'tend to assume moderate levels of cultural identification and affiliation' (Coupland et al, 2006a, p.23). The survey also revealed age to be an important factor in respect to levels of

Welshness. ‘Among younger adults, there is a significant tendency to record a somewhat *less strong* sense of affiliative Welshness’ (Coupland et al, 2006a, p.23).

Coupland et al (2006a, p.24) conclude that since neither geographic location within Wales nor Welsh-language competence can be cited as a means of predicting affiliative Welshness, on the basis of ethnic identity and affiliation to Wales, there is ‘one Wales’. Such a conclusion, they claim, undermines the appropriateness of Balsam’s (1985) different categories of Welshness. His ‘three-Wales model’ consists of ‘Y Fro Gymraeg’ (Welsh-identifying, Welsh-speaking Wales); ‘Welsh Wales’ (Welsh-identifying, non-Welsh-speaking Wales) and ‘British Wales’ (‘British-identifying and non-Welsh-speaking Wales) (Coupland et al, 2006a, p.6). Coupland et al (2006a, p.24) believe that such a classificatory system is wrong on the grounds that it is ‘inconsistent’ with their data. They also question whether this system was appropriate at the time of inception since it implies that ‘some formations of Welshness, and even some parts of Wales itself, are less legitimate than others’ (2006a, p.24). Boyne & Rattansi (1990, p.39) refer to postmodernism’s delight in the ‘unmasking of imaginary unities’ while conversely Coupland et al. perhaps derive satisfaction from the unmasking of imaginary divisions. These researchers do nonetheless concede that Balsom’s ‘three-Wales model’ has remained relevant because it provides ‘a measure of empirical support’ for cultural categories that continue to be ‘quite widely imagined’ in Wales (2006a, p.24).

Coupland et al’s (2006a) criticism of Balsom’s ‘three-Wales model’ deserves further scrutiny. Their informants’ responses were initially appraised against the twenty-two current unitary authorities of Wales; yet, these researchers admit that ‘in some cases we did not have enough participants from a particular authority. In these cases two or more authorities were combined to produce fourteen regions’. The combinations were Gwynedd and Anglesey, Denbighshire and Flintshire, Swansea and Neath/Port Talbot, the Vale of Glamorgan and Bridgend as well as Newport and Monmouthshire. I suggest that any conclusion about the existence of ‘one Wales’ would have been more valid if data from twenty-two rather than fourteen groups had been compared. They needed to engage sufficient numbers of informants from all twenty-two authorities if they wished to challenge the Balsom model. Further, I wish to consider possible limitations with one of their combinations. There were only 46 informants

for Newport & Monmouthshire with a combined population of approximately 230,000 while Cardiff had 137 for a population of approximately 290,000.

From a geographic perspective, it may be appropriate to unite Newport (population around 150,000) and Monmouthshire (population around 80,000). However, Newport is predominantly an urban area while Monmouthshire is chiefly rural and a home to four Young Farmers' clubs in Abergavenny, Crucorney, Raglan and Usk (*Wales Young Farmers*, 2007, [www]), whose members may have a stronger affiliation to Wales than the average resident in either of the authorities that form the combined regions. The Welsh Language Board's Annual Review 06/07 (2007, p.10) disclosed how grants had been awarded to several counties' Young Farmers' Clubs 'to increase social opportunities for young people to use the Welsh language'. Coupland et al (2006a, p.10) indicate that 'a good range of occupational and non-working groups are represented in the sample', but fail to identify the number of informants each authority contributes to the combined region. Consequently, it is possible that most of the 46 informants were from Monmouthshire and a disproportionately large number of them were members or had links with one of the above Young Farmers' Clubs for example. In general, however, I recognise that Newport (the central focus of Chapter 4) and Monmouthshire are typically held as the most Anglicised areas of Wales. Also, the combined Newport & Monmouthshire region was one of only two regions where none of the informants opted to complete the researchers' questionnaire in Welsh.

Coupland et al's (2006a) conclusion that there is 'one Wales' may be justified; yet, much more research has to be conducted to test the validity of Balsom's 'three-Wales model'. I believe that while people in Wales may not know of Balsom, they do nonetheless refer to his classificatory system. Significantly, even though Coupland et al (2006a) find that national unity is a feature of Wales, their finding does not necessarily mean a truly bilingual Wales is achievable. In fact, these researchers (2006a, p.22) identify that 'levels of self-reported competence in Welsh do not predict subjective Welshness'. I interpret this to mean that from a Welsh person's perspective, you do not have to speak Welsh to feel Welsh. Earlier in this sub-chapter, I argue that a lack of national unity in Wales militates against the attainment of a bilingual nation. It is necessary to consider this argument in respect of Coupland et

al.'s (2006a) argument that a high degree of national unity in Wales is not supportive of a truly bilingual Wales.

The ethnic/language nationalism strand alone is able to induce and maintain the type of national unity conducive to the realisation of a 'bilingual Wales'. In 3.2.3, I argue that the presence of the two strands of nationalism is liable to thwart the efforts of language planners aspiring to effectuate a genuinely bilingual nation. I do not indicate though which strand has the greater appeal in contemporary Wales. However, from Coupland et al's (2006a) research, the appeal of civic/institutional nationalism seems to exceed that of language/ethnic nationalism. I do not suggest that the people of Wales consciously commit themselves to either of these strands. I do however appreciate the viewpoint that Welsh language competence is no longer an essential aspect for being and feeling a part of the post-devolution 'One Wales' that has its own national government, national education system and national sports facilities. It could also be argued that Welsh language competence was not fundamental to being and feeling a part of pre-devolution Wales either, particularly if we consider the field of Anglo-Welsh literature and art. However, I urge caution here because some non-Welsh speakers view the language as a barrier to full participation in present-day Welsh life, much as they did prior to the Millennium.

3.3: The Welsh Language & Discourse

The WAG only legitimises discourse(s) it considers supportive of its bilingual language policy, which illustrates how discourse, as Fairclough (1992, p.9) claims, is a 'powerful covert mechanism of domination'. That the WAG only legitimises discourse(s) sympathetic to its bilingual objective chimes with Kramsch's (1998, p.9) claim that national cultures 'resonate with the voices of the powerful, and are filled with the silences of the powerless'. In this section, I use arguments relating to a principal characteristic of postmodernism, discourse, to provide further insight into the achievability of a truly bilingual Wales.

3.3.1: The Ideology of Nationalism

All discourses, as postmodernism indicates, are informed by ideologies, and pro-Welsh language discourses are no exception. Plaid Cymru, the Welsh Nationalist

Party, are the second largest party in the National Assembly and following the 2007 Welsh Assembly election have entered into a power sharing agreement with the Welsh Labour Party. In addition to seeking 'full national status for Wales within the European Union', Plaid Cymru (2008, [www]) state on their official website that their aim is to 'create a bilingual society by promoting the revival of the Welsh language'. Due to their current position of power, Plaid Cymru's politicians are able to directly influence language policy in Wales more than ever before.

Aside from the political parties, organisations such as Merched y Wawr (national women's institute), Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin (a movement for the formation and support of Welsh medium nursery groups) and a series of Welsh language pressure groups such as Cymdeithas Yr Iaith and Cymuned also circulate unofficial pro-Welsh language discourses underpinned by the ideology of nationalism. Hunter (date unknown, [www]) claims Cymuned is 'a pressure group that campaigns for one of the most essential of human rights: the right of minorities to exist and to continue to exist. This is the basis of our campaigns for the Welsh-speaking minority of Wales'. The political party Plaid Cymru along with these pressure groups, I suggest, circulate pro-Welsh discourses significantly based on the ideology of nationalism. Such discourses have been successful in helping to increase the numbers of Welsh speakers in Wales and beyond. Some people are persuaded through contact with these discourses that the Welsh language has, as Baker (1992, p.110) indicates, 'utilitarian value and functional vitality'.

However, nationalist discourses tend to encourage antipathy towards the English language and the English. In an appeal for greater protection for the Welsh language, Professor Harold Carter (BBC News, 2001 [www]), an Aberystwyth University lecturer, emotively warned of 'a global trend towards a world where everyone speaks English and drinks *Coca Cola*'. Besides this, the BBC News (2007a, [www]) reported that the travel agent Thomas Cook received scathing criticism from some nationalists for daring to suggest that all their staff should speak English when discussing work-related matters at work. Their justification for such a position was that they wanted to ensure 'clear communication at all times' and wanted to be respectful to those team members who do not speak other languages. Nonetheless, some nationalists still

circulated pro-Welsh language discourses criticising the company's English-only policy.

A postmodern approach to this language dispute is liable to favour Thomas Cook's English-only policy as the only practical means of ensuring efficient communication in the workplace, even though this policy deprives a Welsh speaker of the opportunity of using their minority language in a public domain. Phillips (2005, p.107) claims that the Welsh language presently enjoys 'colossal good will[4] and growing support' from non-Welsh speakers. Despite this, I claim that Welsh nationalist discourses alienate a sizeable proportion of the non-Welsh speaking population whose learning of Welsh or simply good will towards and support for the language is integral to the growth of bilingualism in the region. It is worth noting however that criticism of Thomas Cook's language policy did not come merely from Welsh nationalists. Chris Myant, the Director of the Commission for Racial Equality, claimed that the travel agent's policy 'was quite probably in breach of the Race Relations Act', adding that 'it's somewhat silly. It's not something that will work in the workplace' (BBC News, 2007b, [www]).

Many pro-Welsh language discourses fuelled by nationalist ideologies are not merely critical of the English language but also of the English as a national group who, in the extreme, are branded colonisers and closely associated with the policy of linguistic imperialism. Raymond Williams (2003, p.17), for instance, highlights the 'learned perspective of England', indicating that this perspective is derived from a narrow and rudimentary understanding of prominent politicians, the dominant social class, the Jubilee and Coronation, London and the 'Home Counties' etc. This understanding overlooks the attitudes and behaviour of the vast majority of the actual English who as a social group comprise diverse minorities. Despite this, some members of the Welsh group assimilate notions of inclusion and exclusion, which may cause them to become intolerant of and to think irrationally about both their English neighbours in England and English immigrants in Wales. Wicker (1997, p.22) notes the link between the 'hermetically sealed' we-group and notions of 'exclusion, affective ties, intolerance, and ultimately, irrationality'. Some members of the Welsh we-group may assimilate

[4] Phillips (2005, p.107) makes his claim on the basis of a study conducted by Beaufort Research in 2000 on behalf of the Welsh Language Board

negative notions of the English, which in turn may aid the cause of nationalist independence campaigners and stimulate greater interest in, for example, Wales/England rugby internationals. However, ultimately, the assimilation of negative notions about the English militates against the achievement of a truly bilingual Wales. Welsh nationalist discourse is typically divisive, yet all groups in Wales, including the English immigrant population, need to embrace the WAG's initiatives to make bilingualism the norm throughout the land.

Pro-Welsh language discourses derived from nationalist ideologies tend to value tradition over choice, which is oppositional to the principles of postmodernism. Rannut (1999, p.100) explains how language can be viewed as 'a natural symbol of inherent group rights' (2.2). Alert to this, many nationalists promote Welsh language competence as a means for citizens, inside and outside of the Principality, to confirm their allegiance to and membership of the ethnic group, the Welsh. Unlike postmodernism which sees history as comprising a series of fragmented, often conflicting, fictional narratives, nationalism, as May (2001, p.57) testifies, emphasises 'the weight of history'. From a nationalist perspective, a Welsh person's renunciation of the Welsh language amounts to a betrayal of their nation's primordial culture and a relinquishment of 'inherent group rights' protected throughout history by successive generations in the face of the constant threat of English imperialism.

Leonard (2000, p.29) claims that from the standpoint of postmodernism a defence or celebration of diversity does not mean that 'no change can take place, or that 'tradition rules over choice'. Aitchison & Carter (2004, p.142) argue that one of the key aspects in any ethnic identity is a body of literature accumulated over centuries that preserves myths and traditions. From their standpoint, if a person living in Wales is only able to read English, 'the basic orientation will be toward the identity symbolised by that language rather than to a Welshness derived from a Welsh literary heritage' (2004, p.142). However, from a postmodern perspective, individuals in Wales (or elsewhere) may resolve to embrace or reject 'a Welshness derived from a Welsh literary heritage'. Were they to think this heritage had little bearing on their present-day lives, they should reject it knowing that tradition is subordinate to choice.

Edwards (2008, Part 3: Brought to Book) explained how Edward Williams (more commonly known as Iolo Morganwygg) held a druid ceremony on Primrose Hill in London during the 1790s. This ceremony was to provide the basis and inspiration for the establishment of Eisteddfoddau from the 1860s onwards in Wales. He further claimed that being part of a tradition that supposedly stretched back thousands of years made the people in Wales 'feel good about themselves and their language'. Once more, from a postmodern perspective, no one in Wales is obliged to continue the tradition of speaking Welsh because a cultural event may have once made other people in Wales (forefathers in some cases) 'feel good about themselves and their language'. Should the citizens of Wales prioritise choice over tradition in respect to the Welsh language, they limit the capacity of nationalist discourses to aid the attainment of a truly bilingual Wales.

It is beyond the scope of this thesis to undertake a comprehensive examination of the nature and extent of each political party and/or relevant organisation's nationalism. However, it is appropriate to acknowledge that nationalist discourses are not homogenous. They may be more influenced by either ethnic or institutional nationalism, as stated earlier, but equally they may range from the mild to the extreme. Also nationalism in general and Welsh nationalism in particular can be a positive factor in many people's lives, inspiring pride in oneself rather than animosity towards another. All nationalist discourses do not encourage division between the Welsh and English through the propagation of negative stereotypes concerning the latter's language and character. It is also mistaken to suggest that the provision of choice results in the rejection of tradition.

Some people in Wales actively choose to maintain Welsh cultural traditions. In respect to Eisteddfodau (competitive cultural festivals), C.H. Williams (2005, p.92) claims that a vibrant network of them still provides a platform for various school- and community-based performances in music, poetry, art and drama etc. The Eisteddfod system has successfully served as 'a champion for Welsh-language rights' and 'a vehicle for national culture' throughout the twentieth century and continues to do so today. He further claims that the Urdd (Welsh League of Youth) has also modernised its image through the provision of additional activities such as go-carting, discos, tenpin bowling and surfing - all of which take place through the medium of Welsh

(2005, p.92). It is also appropriate to acknowledge that nationalists in Wales may of course affiliate themselves with any of the major political parties, not only Plaid Cymru - as might have been implied in the chapter's introduction. Nationalists certainly value traditional Welsh culture but they would argue that they are not merely nostalgic for a bygone culture epoch. From their standpoint, they also endorse an ideology – either in full or part – that can materially enhance the lives of all people domiciled in 21st century Wales.

3.3.2: The Concepts of Inclusivity and Democratic Pluralism

Some Welsh nationalists via their pro-Welsh language discourse promote the instrumental value of Welsh, stressing how it can assist an individual's educational development and enhance an individual's career prospects – such promotion can and does of course lead to an increase in the number of Welsh learners. However, because of bilingual speakers' proficiency with both English and Welsh, the latter's use in public domains becomes, as Ager (2001, p.33) reports, a 'statement of ideology rather than a practical means of communication'. Likewise, the nationalist pro-Welsh language discourse appears a little too celebratory for some of the majority non-Welsh-speaking population. C. H. Williams (2008, p.178) suggests that the public discourse on minority cultural rights is 'often too quick to celebrate the gains and virtues of minorities within a pluralist democracy'. In his view, this tends 'to boost the ego of the already fragile minority' whilst leaving 'many within the majority underwhelmed'. He further suggests that 'some astute interpreters of the minority's predicament' believe that rather than highlight nationalist orthodoxies the discourse on minority cultural rights should emphasise the concepts of inclusivity and democratic pluralism (2008, p.178) – which, I recognise, as fundamental principles of postmodernism.

The ideology of democratic pluralism is about respect for differences and dialogue between cultural groups. It could be invoked to encourage respect for linguistic differences and dialogue between Welsh and non-Welsh speakers. It may be cited to justify the circulation of a plurality of discourses on any subject in any given space. Thus, discourses supportive of the Welsh language as an integral aspect of national identity would justifiably compete with discourses favouring civic nationalism as a means to distinguish Wales, discourses that endorse the 1888 *Encyclopaedia*

Britannica entry, 'For Wales, see England', as stated in Paterson & Jones (1999, p.171), along with discourses that demand the focus in Wales switches from bilingualism to multilingualism to accommodate the multilingual realities of the country's major cities and others too. Fairclough (2003, p220) aligns postmodernism to the mosaic model of discourse (2.3.4), which welcomes 'greater variability of discursive practice'. This suggests that the boundary between who speaks with authority and who remains silent would be removed. From the standpoint of democratic pluralism, the issuers of pro-Welsh language discourses ought not to suppress the circulation of alternative discourses, irrespective of their opposition to the minority language. However, the WAG only approves of discourses that encourage large numbers of the monolingual English population to 'see the light' and convert to bilingualism.

Brooks (2009, p.1) claims that the political elite in Wales invokes the rhetoric of inclusivity[5] to associate minority language discourse with ethnic nationalism and majority language discourse with civic nationalism. Many in positions of power view the minority language discourse as 'exclusive, monocultural and intolerant' but the majority language discourse as 'inclusive, multicultural and open'. According to Brooks (2009, p.1), the term inclusivity first appeared in Wales in the pre-devolution debates when the Labour Party argued that the proposed Assembly had 'to include an element of proportionality in its electoral system' (2009, p.2). However, the term only began to symbolise 'antipathy towards exclusive language-based identities' after the establishment of that institution (2009, p.3). Champions of civic nationalism blamed the narrowness of the devolution result on too close an association between the Welsh language and a Welsh identity, welcoming the discourse of civic inclusivity as a means of marginalizing the Welsh-speaking minority group.

The politics of inclusion has yielded positive outcomes for ethnic minorities in Wales: it has increased acceptance of black and Asian identities as Welsh identities and enabled greater political representation of ethnic minorities (Brooks, 2009, p.6). However, the concept of inclusivity is used to link the Welsh language agenda,

[5] According to Brooks (2009, p.8), the discourse of inclusivity has its origins in 18th century Enlightenment rhetoric, where the majority language is viewed as 'rational and universal' while its minority counterpart is seen as 'emotional and insular'.

nationalism and ethnocultural intolerance, and is thereby responsible for changing attitudes towards the Welsh language. From the 1960s to the 1980s, there was public sympathy in Wales and beyond for the Welsh language struggle. After this time, such sympathy decreased due to the currency of a more critical discourse that claims the minority language is 'exclusive and resistant to diversity' (Brooks, 2009, p.7). From his perspective, it is 'empirically incorrect' though to suggest that Welsh in Wales is only spoken by the ethnically Welsh (2009, p.8). More research in the area of Welsh language usage and ethnicity is required; nevertheless, I agree that the ethnically Welsh are not the sole users of Welsh in the Principality.

In early 20th century Wales, Brooks (2009, p.8) argues that socialism was instrumental in the conception of English as the language of 'internationalism and rationalism' and the conception of Welsh as a 'patois of parochialism' (2009, p.8). In today's post-devolution Wales, civic nationalism serves as 'cover for the continued hegemony of the English language', even if this particular strand of nationalism accepts Welsh language cultural autonomy in a limited number of fields and expresses a modicum of support for the bilingual objective (2009, p.10). Brooks (2009, p.12) believes the discourse of inclusivity has been circulated in Wales as a means of reducing minority language space. For instance, certain Wales-based Westminster politicians consider the current decline of S4C to be an opportunity for the Welsh language broadcaster to provide more English language programming. He also claims that the purpose of the inclusivity discourse is to exclude from the political arena radical viewpoints that demand more state support for the Welsh language. From the above arguments I infer that the concept of inclusivity that frequently features in post-devolution discourses in Wales obstructs the minority Welsh language community in its efforts to protect and promote its minority language.

3.3.3: The Significance of Intertextuality

The Welsh Assembly Government, which Foucault (1980, p.131) would designate a 'regime of truth' (2.3.1), legitimates specific discourses on the Welsh language. Such discourses are always accompanied by frames that limit that which can be expressed and equally that which can be true. Discursive frames are undoubtedly necessary so that we may make sense of the world. However, as Fox (1999, p.29) indicates, they also 'exclude the chaotic and the unacceptable' and are consequently 'implicated in

power and control'. It is the measured framing of discourses on the Welsh language by the WAG and prominent agencies supportive of its vision that has helped raise the profile of the language and has helped increase the extent of bilingualism in the region. Nevertheless, the framing of any discourse fails to completely control oppositional arguments due to the influence of intertextuality, a key characteristic of postmodernism. According to Brooker (2002, p.123), intertextuality is a term that suggests individual texts 'are inescapably related to other texts' (Branston & Stafford, 2002, p.395) (O'Sullivan et al., 2003, p.36). Through reference to a report entitled *Welsh in the Health Service: The Scope, Nature and Adequacy of Welsh Language Provision in the National Health Service in Wales* (authored by Andrew Misell (2000), commissioned by the Welsh Consumer Council and endorsed by the Welsh Language Board), I wish to illustrate how the phenomenon of intertextuality renders it more difficult for any Welsh language supporter to control meaning through the imposition of frames around their discourse.

The report contains a pro-Welsh language discourse that strongly advocates an increased bilingual provision in all of the region's health care bodies. The discourse is clearly framed to exclude 'unacceptable' arguments found within other discourses. Firstly, for instance, it denies that the Welsh language is still a controversial subject. 'In spite of the best efforts of some of the language's most zealous supporters, and some of its harshest detractors to reignite the flames of political controversy, the language question is no longer the hot potato it was for so many years' (Misell, 2000, p.11). However, another discourse will suggest otherwise, namely that the Welsh language is still mired in controversy and still liable to divide opinion. Secondly, for example, the discourse objects that 'a substantial number' of medical practitioners in many parts of Wales continue to advise some parents not to speak Welsh to children with recognised special educational needs 'for fear of further disadvantaging them' (Misell, 2000, p.31). Once more, an alternative discourse will argue that monolingual English-speaking children with special educational needs who are mandated to learn Welsh in accordance with the Welsh Assembly Government's bilingual policy encounter (often severe) difficulty in learning their mother tongue.

The circulation of a carefully framed discourse may grant those in power greater influence over their subjects' thinking. However, intertextuality makes it impossible

for any individual or organisation to have absolute control over another's ideas and opinions. Irrespective of the rigidity of the frames, the 'truthful' arguments contained within preferred, authorised discourse *A* refer to 'unacceptable' arguments included within discourse *B*, *C* and *D* etc. Individual texts are, as I highlight above, 'inescapably related to other texts' (Brooker, 2002, p.123). Thus, pro-Welsh language texts or discourses with Welsh Assembly Government backing unavoidably allude to other texts or discourses, which may to some degree oppose the language policy the institution currently implements. Lyotard (1997, p.17) states that the constraints institutions impose on possible 'language moves' are 'never established once and for all'. One reason that constraints on potential 'language moves' are never irreversibly determined is the inevitable relationship between texts, i.e. intertextuality. I argue that the attainment of a truly bilingual Wales is hampered rather than helped by intertextuality, that key characteristic of postmodernism. Legitimised discourses such as *Welsh in the Health Service* may be framed but their arguments unavoidably refer to those of other discourses, some of which are liable to be less sympathetic to the bilingual struggle.

3.4: The Welsh Language & Resistance

Language policymakers and planners operating in the Principality since the Devolution Referendum of 1979 have observed increasing numbers of Welsh language learners. According to Aaron (2003, p.15), this may be attributed to Welsh people's 'resistant response' to the economic threat that surfaced in the mid 1980s, one that was supposedly so serious that the survival of the Welsh language was actually once more endangered. Baldwin et al (1999, p.258) define resistance as a 'counter-power', which is always liable to surface in response to the articulation of power. I argue therefore that resistance is not the preserve of minority language speakers or minority language groups. The minority language speaker has to anticipate the resistance or 'counter-power' of the majority language group. In this sub-section, I use arguments relating to a primary aspect of postmodernism, resistance, to assist me in my task of establishing whether the Welsh Assembly Government's vision of a truly bilingual Wales is achievable.

3.4.1: The Rights of the Majority and Minority

The struggle embarked upon by some members of the Welsh-speaking minority population to defend and advance the status of the Welsh language against the perceived threat of English is not the only form of resistance in postmodern Wales. Sections of the monolingual English-speaking population are always likely to resist the implementation of language policies aimed at the furtherance of the Welsh language. This, I maintain, illustrates how in the postmodern age language planners may not be able to regulate a country's linguistic landscape in the way they intend. Shohamy (2006, p.51) corroborates this argument, declaring that language planners ought to concede that in most cases they simply cannot 'control the language scenes of a country'. Some groups, in her opinion, will always follow their own language agenda and 'resist from bottom-up' a language policy inaugurated from top-down. Such bottom-up resistance takes place in Wales where a monolingual majority resists the instigation of language policies serving the interests of a bilingual minority. The resistance may for instance entail the shredding of all Welsh language forms or the positioning of television aerials to receive a signal from an English rather than a Welsh transmitter so that *Channel 4* rather than *S4C* is viewed.

Ager (2003, p.59) states that groups supportive of the Welsh language may encounter 'marked resistance' from monolingual English speakers forced to interact with the minority language against their wishes. He also identifies a link between this 'marked resistance' and the issue of human rights: minority-language activists are sometimes criticised for being more oppressive than members of the dominant majority group (2003, p.59). In the late 1970s the militant Welsh nationalist group, the Sons of Glendower[6], launched an arson campaign to destroy English-owned holiday homes. According to Carter (*The Guardian*, 2004), 'nearly 300 properties were damaged in a campaign which began in December 1979. In the first wave of attacks, eight English-owned holiday homes were destroyed within a month, a figure that would rise to more than 200 within the next 10 years'. Ager (2001, p.33) explains how the issue of migration underlines the ideological nature of language maintenance: the language activists would, rather undemocratically, prefer Welsh speakers to remain in Wales and non-Welsh speakers to remain outside its borders, especially those with small

[6] Note the Welsh translation of Owen Glendower is Owain Glyndwr. Glendower is a Welsh prince from the Middle Ages, who some in Wales revere.

children unwilling to support Welsh-medium education. The Sons of Glendower would justify its resistance on the basis that English immigration is a threat to the survival of the Welsh language. However, its confrontational, oppressive strategy may also be interpreted as an infringement of an English person's right to liberty, and therefore the majority's resistance to this organisation is itself justifiable.

Roddick (2007, p.90) understands that the WAG aspires to create a truly bilingual nation, where 'people can choose to live their lives through the medium of both Welsh and English', but warns that choice is 'an empty privilege if there is not a right to exercise it' (2007, p.91). Some within Wales may counter that in addition to Welsh speakers, the monolingual English-speaking Welsh, the English themselves, along with the speakers of all the languages that help make Wales a multilingual country, have rights too. In a report entitled 'Tongue tied' for Radio 4's *Analysis* programme, Mukul Devichand (2007, [www]) interviewed several public sector employees who were critical of language policies in the workplace but fearful of making their criticisms public, as I first noted in the thesis' Introduction. The perception among some of the non-Welsh speaking population in Wales, I suggest, is that if two candidates apply for a post, the Welsh speaker will be successful, even when their qualifications and experience are clearly inferior to the non-Welsh speaker's. It is only right that non-Welsh speakers resist what they perceive to be an infringement of their rights. Devichand (2007, [www]) also interviewed a bilingual public sector employee who expressed concern about the unfair promotion of Welsh in the workplace. This exemplifies how it would be mistaken to assume all minority language speakers are also minority language activists.

Spencer (1999, p.162) considers a main characteristic of postmodernism to be 'dissent in principle' and 'dissent from everything possible'. Agnes Heller (1993, p.503) substantiates this, suggesting that the 'anything goes' maxim that so distinguishes postmodernity is to be interpreted as 'you may rebel against anything you want to rebel against but let me rebel against the particular thing I want to rebel against'. From a postmodern perspective, everyone has the right to resist anything they so choose. With regard to Wales, members of the bilingual minority are entitled to resist Welsh language shift while members of the monolingual English-speaking majority are likewise entitled to oppose Welsh language promotion. Their entitlement aside,

they do actually resist the promotion of the Welsh language, sometimes in response to oppressive acts undertaken by minority language activists. Similarly, supporters of Welsh language activism advocate resistance to what they consider to be the unjust representation of the minority language in discourse.

Brooks (2006, p.141), a former Cymuned leader, criticises the use of the 'racist nationalist' idiom in contemporary Wales to discredit and ostracise Welsh language activists. Its origins can be traced to the formation of Plaid Cymru in the 1920s, and even to the eighteenth century Enlightenment, when minority nations and minority languages were held as both irrational. The Enlightenment period gave rise to the socialist ideal of equality, which required a common language and a common culture to flourish. Much cherished by elements of the Labour Party, this ideal implies that a minority language such as Welsh is 'elitist, divisive, exclusive', and, crucially, being ethnic rather than civic, it can be associated with racism and fascism (Brooks, 2006, p.142). The present-day association of language activism with racism is a direct result of activists' concern for English migration into Welsh-speaking communities. Opponents of language activism believe the campaign for the protection of these communities is infused with 'anti-English sentiment'. However, Brooks (2006, p.141) claims that, 'in truth, there is no evidence that either the English or the English language face nationalist-led discrimination in Wales'. In my opinion, such a claim requires moderation: I am certainly not convinced that no Welsh nationalist has ever discriminated against the English or the English language.

Brooks (2006, p.146) attacks the Labour Party for its purposeful propagation of the 'racist nationalist' discourse to thwart the political rise of Plaid Cymru in the early years of the Welsh Assembly when Welsh nationalism threatened the supremacy of unionism in Wales. The Welsh Mirror assisted Labour in disseminating the idiom of the 'racist-nationalist' bogeyman. The tabloid specifically referred to language activists as 'language loonies or 'language nutters', who should be driven out of Wales. It also dismissed the Welsh language as 'a secret code' and the Eisteddfod as the 'festival of fear and hatred' (Brooks, 2006, p.152). He also identifies academia, in particular the disciplines of political science and sociology, as responsible for the perpetuation of the 'racist-nationalist' idiom. Many Welsh academics cannot use Welsh-language primary and secondary sources because they are unable to read

Welsh. This inability compels them to gain an understanding of the 'racist-nationalist' idiom from English-language newspaper articles (2006, p.154). According to Brooks (2006, p.154), these academics do not subject the idiom to a rigorous academic analysis but accept it as a 'neutral reflection' of the public's attitude towards Welsh language activism. He is supportive however of the 48 Welsh-speaking academics in the University of Wales who signed a declaration that condemned Welsh Labour's manipulation of the 'race language' discourse in a debate about the rights of Welsh-speakers (2006,p.151).

I suggest that language activists, and Welsh speakers in general, understandably offer resistance to the circulation of the 'racist nationalist' discourse. It is completely unfair to label an entire social group racist on the basis of a small number of statements that are susceptible to misinterpretation. According to Brooks (2006, p.160), there is a need to resist the 'racist-nationalist' idiom since to leave it 'intact and unchallenged is to handicap, perhaps fatally, language activism as a serious lobby in Welsh politics' (Brooks, 2006, p.160). I suggest that the above discussion also serves to highlight further how contemporary Wales is characterised by resistance and division. The success of the bilingual project greatly depends on the mutual trust and co-operation between the WAG's coalition partners. However, Labour Party AMs (Assembly Members) and their counterparts in Plaid Cymru are unlikely to work together as efficiently as would have been the case if the former had not championed discourses that associate the latter with racism. It is important to acknowledge that those academics Brooks censoriously criticises for making groundless accusations of racism are liable to dispute such criticism. Nevertheless, his text, I suggest, is valuable for raising awareness of a division that exists in Welsh academia between (non-Welsh speaking) defenders and (Welsh-speaking) opponents of the 'racist nationalist' idiom. I argue that a difference of opinion among Welsh academics over the issue of racist nationalism is unhelpful to the WAG's bilingual ambition.

3.4.2: The Welsh-speaking peripheral Elite

The Welsh-speaking peripheral elite (the minority elite) initiates and manipulates the resistance of the minority Welsh-speaking population. The Welsh-speaking minority population is just as entitled to engage in resistance to protect its presence in the private and public domains as members of any other ethnic group on the periphery, as

indicated above. Hannerz (1996, p.60) claims that peripheral elites strive to underline the centre/periphery division and to influence the masses of the periphery whose loyalty to local tradition is usually persistent. An amalgam of prominent figures in the media and arts, politicians and academics sympathetic to the promotion of Welsh constitute the peripheral elite in Wales, which is somewhat derogatorily referred to as crachach or the *Taffia*. They live in Cardiff, specifically the electoral districts of Pontcanna or Whitchurch, the Vale of Glamorgan or the Usk Valley; take weekend breaks in Solva, Llandeilo or Newport (Pembrokeshire) – not to be confused with the city under discussion in the following chapter; watch Wales play rugby from corporate hospitality or debenture seats and insist their offspring receive a Welsh-medium education (BBC News, 2006, [www]).

The Welsh-speaking elite rose to prominence in Wales as a result of the process of deindustrialisation, which refers to the replacement of the traditional heavy industries of coal, iron and steel with new employment opportunities in the service sector, bureaucracy and the media (Carter, 2010, pp.91-92). Significantly, from the 1980s onwards, increasing numbers of well-educated Welsh speakers were able to secure positions of influence in Welsh society; whereas in the past they would have been forced to move to England and beyond, now for the first they were able to stay in their homeland. This led to the creation of a Welsh-speaking bourgeoisie, which desperately wanted its children to be educated through the medium of Welsh and to be able to use the language in the public domain. Predominantly based in Cardiff where the language was scarcely used, the new elite began to lobby for increased Welsh language provision. Meanwhile, once dismissed as oddities, many of the language activists of the 1960s had matured into respected members of the Welsh establishment with sufficient power to direct language policy for the first time. The creation of the Welsh National Assembly following devolution in 1997 enabled them to set and advance a pro-Welsh language agenda with the support of the vast majority of Assembly members across the political parties.

The media also plays a crucial role in setting and presenting the agenda in Wales as it does throughout the world of course. The Welsh-speaking elite dominates the media in Wales so it is hardly surprising that the focus on the Welsh language is so consistent and ubiquitous. Carter (2010, p.92) explains that the Welsh-speaking

bourgeoisie has ‘a significant role in the decision-making echelons of the media’, which means it is able ‘to insert the language into the agenda of matters of public importance’. After deciding on the matters that warrant the public’s attention, the media then determines how such matters are to be presented. Carter (2010, p.92) claims that neither trivial nor important matters are presented in an objective manner because of their unavoidable refraction through presenters. In terms of Wales, Welsh-speaking presenters do not present matters relating to the Welsh language in an unbiased, neutral manner, irrespective of whether an English or a Welsh language broadcaster employs them. It is for this reason that the once popular view of the Welsh language as an anachronism, as an unwelcome remnant of a bygone age, has no currency in contemporary Wales. For a further discussion of the media’s capacity to assist the realisation of the bilingual objective, see 3.7.

The presence of this powerful peripheral elite in the region ensures the promotion of the Welsh language irrespective of the wishes of the non-Welsh speaking population, which may be regarded as a majority purely in numerical terms. Fishman (2000, p.131) claims that language planning may be hailed as a means to address past wrongs but those involved tend to have class, ethnic, political and religious interests likely to benefit from engagement in such activity. Minority authorities invoke a range of arguments to justify the language planning undertaken to their constituencies, but all of them act in accordance with self-interest (Fishman, 2000, p.131). In respect to Wales, members of the Welsh-speaking elite may appeal to minority cultural rights, attack what they perceive to be English colonialism and/or excite nationalist feelings, so as to defend the Welsh language, but they do so out of self-interest. Postmodernism, according to Webster (2006, pp.233-234), opposes ‘anything that smacks of arrangements ordered by groups – planners, bureaucrats, politicians – who claim an authority (of expertise, of higher knowledge, of “truth”) to impose their favoured “rationalities” on others’.

From a postmodern perspective, the Welsh-speaking peripheral elite, which occupies a position of power disproportionate to its size, cannot rightfully impose its rationality on the people of Wales in order to normalise bilingualism there. This peripheral elite implements numerous pro-Welsh policies to halt the decline of its cherished minority language; yet, postmodernism could be invoked to sanction resistance to such policies

on the basis that the elite does not have greater expertise or knowledge about the language situation in Wales than the rest of the 'non-expert' citizens resident in the region. From a postmodern perspective, no one is in possession of a single, incontestable truth, which means that the truth the peripheral Welsh-speaking elite in Wales imparts about the value of bilingualism is subjective and contestable. An attack on the authority of the peripheral cultural elite, I believe, reduces the probability of a truly bilingual Wales. It is perhaps unfair though to overlook the autonomy of Welsh speakers, as the above argument appears to do. Some Welsh speakers may align themselves with the Welsh-speaking peripheral elite through choice not manipulation. This elite clearly shows great commitment to the bilingual vision, but the entire population of Wales does not share that same level of commitment.

3.4.3: Indifference among the Population of Wales

Best & Kellner (1997, p.272) claim that one form of postmodern politics portrays the individual as 'paralysed and frozen' and obliged to submit to the dual phenomena of 'inertia and indifference' (2.4.1). This form that sees the individual yield to 'inertia and indifference' resonates in Wales, both with regard to the devolution vote of the late 1990s and the subsequent implementation of language policy in the region. According to Jones & Trystan (1999, p.73), the Welsh Referendum Survey that followed the 1997 Welsh referendum vote on the creation of a National Assembly for Wales declared that those who identified themselves as Welsh above all else were both more inclined to vote in favour of the establishment of an assembly and more liable simply to cast their votes in the referendum. This implies that those who did not classify themselves as Welsh first and foremost, but British, English or European, for instance, were less disposed to vote for the foundation of this institution and less likely to participate in the election.

Curtice (1999, p.131) argues that the devolution referendum did not announce the 'settled will' of the electorate in Wales; rather it simply highlighted how many opposed to the transference of power from central to local government had been reluctant to turn out. I suggest that this substantial group revealed itself to be indifferent towards the whole political process and through indifference it manifested its resistance. Similarly, Jones and Trystan (1999, p.29) state that 'lack of interest was the most often cited reason for non-voting' in the first Assembly election of 1999 after

devolution, where a 45.9 % turnout was recorded (Jones & Trystan, 1999, p.20). Welsh Assembly members suggest that the level of support for devolved government in Wales has significantly increased in the years following the referendum vote of more than a decade ago. However, voter turnout in the Assembly elections of 1999, 2003 and 2007 has been significantly lower than the 50% for that referendum vote in the early months of New Labour (Screen, 2007 [www]).

The Welsh Assembly Government has formulated *A National Action Plan for a Bilingual Wales*, in which its commitment to the Welsh language is unequivocally articulated. In particular, the institution claims that 'we consider the Welsh language to be integral to the identity of our nation and we shall continue to do all we can to promote its well being' (Welsh Assembly Government, 2003, p.9). It also expresses a desire (as indicated in 3.0) 'to see a sustained increase in both the number and percentage of people able to speak Welsh' (2003, p.11). The WAG (2003, p.53) adds that there is undoubtedly 'a positive future for the language if the people of Wales embrace our vision'. However, as I first indicated in 1.1.1, declared language policies tend to be indicative of 'intentions' and 'nice words' as opposed to practice, (Shohamy, 2006, p.68). The Welsh National Assembly's 'intentions' and 'nice words' expressed in pursuit of a truly bilingual Wales are unlikely to be translated into practice because of the resistance - which manifests itself in the form of indifference – of substantial numbers of individuals residing in the region. According to C.H. Williams (2005, p.92), 'the legitimacy and social acceptance of Welsh-English bilingualism is rarely seriously challenged today'. I accept there may be no collective, co-ordinated and public challenge to bilingualism; nonetheless, indifference inspires a significant amount of individual, random and private resistance to the WAG's bilingual objective.

3.4.4: Cymdeithas yr Iaith & the Rise of the Single Issue Movement

Aitchison & Carter (1994, p.71) claim that, 'if universal movements of modern times have been generally threatening to the [Welsh] language, the nature of the postmodern world can be considered as very different'. They also state that the western world is notable for 'the decline of large scale continuities and a break down into movements and ideas which are far more ragged and less dominated by overriding notions' (1994, p.71). Such a statement chimes with at least two pertinent features of postmodernism,

namely the occurrence of fragmentation and the rejection of the metanarrative (Webster, 2006, pp.232 & 240). Aitchison & Carter (1994, p.71) also suggest that this 'break down' may well spawn the single-issue fanatic, who dedicates their energies exclusively to a single issue 'not necessarily related to any standard or coherent philosophy'. Crucially, they propose that the Welsh Language Society may be held as one of the first the single-issue organisations. Postmodernity has certainly coincided with the rise of single-issue politics; yet, I suggest that Cymdeithas yr Iaith (Welsh Language Society) ought not be viewed as a single-issue organisation.

From a nationalist perspective, the society's members justly engaged in resistance to an English imperialism responsible for the substantial destruction of Welsh culture and the centrepiece of that culture, the Welsh language. Without their determination to resist what Phillipson (2003, p.16) refers to as the 'narcotic power' of English (1.1.2), Welsh may have ceased to be anything but a dead language. G. Williams et al (1978, p.194) suggest that the agitation of Cwmdeithas yr Iaith had a twofold effect: not only was attention more sharply focused on the language issue but also there was an increase in the amount of employment domains demanding a Welsh-language qualification. G.A. Williams (1985, p.288) discusses how the younger members and associates of Cymdeithas yr Iaith once 'stormed all over Wales, staging sit-ins, wrecking TV masts [and] generally making life hell for any kind of official'. Guided by the coherent philosophy of nationalism, the Welsh Language Society concerns itself with the language issue in conjunction with a range of factors impacting upon the country's cultural life.

During the 1970s, the acquisition of second homes in Wales in tandem with the increase in inward migration starkly illustrated for some the importance of physical planning for the protection of Welsh-speaking communities. In response to this concern, *The Council for the Welsh Language's* report, published in 1978, declared that 'the Welsh language and culture associated with it should be given special consideration in planning in Wales' (Aitchison and Carter, 2000, p.149). Throughout this decade the supposed 'single-issue organisation' Cymdeithas yr Iaith did not focus exclusively on the Welsh language but actively involved itself with the matter of planning. Its involvement in planning has in fact continued to the present day. According to Gareth Morgan (*The Western Mail,* 6/3/2004, cited in Welsh Language

Society, 2004, [www]), 'Last summer [2003] Cymdeithas distributed the *Declaration for the Future of the Communities of Wales* in a bid to gather national support for its demands in terms of housing'. The group endeavours to protect Welsh people 'from an influx of homeowners from outside the area' and to keep housing affordable. Aitchison & Carter (1994) may claim that the organisation's single concern is the Welsh language and its involvement in issues such as planning, education and the media is merely an inevitable corollary of that concern. Nevertheless, I argue that Cymdeithas yr Iaith is an organisation whose primary motivation is political rather than linguistic as it interweaves language with a host of other core issues.

3.5: The Welsh Language & Performance

C.H. Williams (2005, p.54) claims that Welsh society is distinguished by a unilingual majority and a bilingual minority, with the latter slowly benefiting from being formally recognised by the state. Despite this, he cautions that the Welsh language has to struggle for recognition as an essential language within its own national territorial boundaries (2005, p.54) because during the twentieth century it ceased to be a popular medium of communication in most parts of Wales. In this sub-chapter, I use arguments relating to a primary attribute of postmodernism, namely performance, in order to investigate further the achievability a truly bilingual Wales. I refer to two recent studies undertaken by Nikolas Coupland et al at the Centre for Language and Communication Research at Cardiff University as part of a five-year research programme on language and global communication: 'Imagining Wales and the Welsh Language: Ethnolinguistic Subjectivities and Demographic Flow' (2006b) and 'Affiliation, Engagement, Language Use and Vitality: Secondary School Students' Subjective Orientations to Welsh and Welshness' (2005).

3.5.1: The Classification of the Welsh Speaker

A postmodern approach to language policy involves a rejection of the argument that languages exist independent of social interaction. I do not argue that such a position is unique to postmodernism; however, it is associated with this social theory and has relevance for language policymakers aspiring to effectuate a truly bilingual Wales. Pennycook (2006, p.67) states that postmodernism advocates 'an anti-foundationalist view of language as an emergent property of social interaction', which, I infer,

requires the group/individual to perform with their language. Thus, the ubiquitous presence of bilingual signage along with the production of forms in English and Welsh for instance does not compensate for people's direct participation in performances conducted through the medium of Welsh. Such performances alone provide evidence of the minority language's existence since the mere presence of Welsh words on forms and on signs does not necessitate social interaction. Conversely, shredding forms and/or ignoring signs of course could be seen to involve some degree of social interaction, yet, such activity does not render Welsh a living language in the postmodern age.

The sociolinguist involved in Welsh LPP, I argue, ought to reflect on the notion of performance because of its distinct relevance to the establishment of individual and/or group identity. Blommaert (2005, p.205) asserts that it would be preferable to 'start from a performance perspective which emphasises that identity categories have to be enacted and performed in order to be socially salient'. This suggests the identity category, Welsh speaker, only retains its social salience through enactment. Should a Welsh speaker only be categorised as such if they actually perform with the language rather than merely claim to have the facility to do so? Opponents of the minority language may invoke the criterion of performance for the categorisation of a Welsh speaker. They could complain that statistical evidence indicating numbers of persons claiming to be able to speak the language in Wales does not equate to numbers of persons performing with the language. Likewise, some supporters of the Welsh language may also cite performance as a key criterion for the classification of a Welsh speaker. They could argue that those who claim to be equipped with the linguistic skills to perform but do not actually do so are not deserved of the appellation Welsh speaker.

The classification of a Welsh speaker solely on the basis of Welsh language usage has resonance for the realisation of a truly bilingual Wales. Such a classification could inspire those proficient in Welsh to make sure they perform with the language in public domains. Otherwise, despite their latent linguistic ability, they risk other people not categorising them as Welsh speakers. Equally, it might encourage those who have limited Welsh language ability to improve their linguistic skills so that they too could perform with the language and class themselves as Welsh speakers; this would be

similarly helpful to the achievement of a bilingual nation. Alternatively, the performance criterion may make some in Wales more inclined to self-identify as non-Welsh speakers, which militates against a truly bilingual Wales. The WAG relies on increasing numbers of people identifying as Welsh speakers in order to create the impression that their bold vision is realisable. It can cite statistics indicating increases in the numbers of Welsh speakers as tangible evidence of progress towards the realisation of a bilingual Wales.

3.5.2: Welsh Language Services in Public Sector Organisations

Public sector organisations are obliged to formulate and implement their own schemes for the minority language. However, the mere provision of Welsh language schemes is patently insufficient. It is worth reiterating that the predominant characteristic of postmodern culture is quite simply that 'everything performs' (Auslander, 2004, p.98), as indicated in 1.2. What therefore matters is how the employers, employees, clients, customers etc. of organisations perform with the Welsh language. Regarding the thousands of customers of the many public sector organisations operating throughout the land, I suggest an overwhelming majority wish to perform exclusively with the English language in their various communicative exchanges. The Welsh current affairs programme *Dragon's Eye* on BBC1 Wales (2008) reported that the number of customers accessing the Welsh language services of major public organisations constitutes on average around 1% of the Welsh population. Specifically the programme stated that the Welsh building society The Principality saw 1% of its customers 'request correspondence through the medium of Welsh', while Barclays Bank's dedicated Welsh language phone service was accessed by 0.25% of the Welsh public. Arriva Trains Wales similarly announced that 'less than 1% of the people who call the company want to speak to them in Welsh' (BBC 1 Wales, 2008).

The Welsh Language Board (WLB) attributes this lack of engagement with Welsh language services to inadequate advertising on the part of these public sector organisations and to a general difficulty of access. In contrast, the Welsh CBI argues that a lack of demand accounts for the extremely limited use of these services. Regardless of the reasons, the population of Wales at present undertakes very few transactions with public sector organisations through the medium of Welsh. Fundamentally, there needs to be an increase in the number of Welsh language

performances involving public sector organisations if the WAG's bilingual vision is to be achieved. According to C.H. Williams (2004, p.22), the Welsh Language Board believes that marketing, rather than more legislation, is the best way to support the use of Welsh in the private sector. It specifically highlights the merits of promotional campaigns for increasing the provision of Welsh language services in diverse areas such as banking, retailing, sport and leisure. C.H. Williams (2004, p.22) however claims that detractors are likely to criticise the Board for representing 'a thin patina of bilingualism' and for failing to honour the rights of both Welsh-speaking workers and customers. This suggests that greater regulation of the private sector – in the form of a second Welsh Language Act - is perhaps necessary, to respect Welsh speakers' rights and to assist the creation of a fully bilingual Wales.

In 'From Act to Action in Wales', C.H. Williams (2010) claims that the current Welsh Language Act 1993 has resulted in an increase in the provision of bilingual services within public sector companies: 'The language agenda is now part of the routine development of the public sector' (2010, p.45). He attributes this increase to the introduction of Welsh Language Schemes (WLS), which the Act requires public sector companies to prepare and submit to the Welsh Language Board for approval. However, he argues for additional legislation to ensure weaknesses in the existing system are addressed. For example, he advocates a rights-based approach where the individual rights of Welsh speakers are enshrined in law – this would complement rather than replace the Welsh Language schemes (2010, p.41). He expresses concern that under the current legislation the Welsh Language Board does not have the authority to insist on the implementation of WLS. Of similar concern is the fact that Crown bodies are not legally obliged to prepare Welsh language schemes (2010, p.53). The 1993 Act stipulates that 'Welsh and English should be treated on the basis of equality'. However, C.H. Williams (2010, p.53) notes that the stipulation continues 'as far as appropriate under the circumstances and as is reasonably practical', which from his perspective is unfortunate because it enables some public sector companies to avoid implementing WLS and fulfilling their responsibilities to Welsh speakers.

This former member of the Welsh Language Board would very much like the citizens of Wales to make much greater use of the Welsh language services that public sector companies currently provide and to campaign for additional services as well. He

certainly supports calls for new legislation to improve the range of bilingual services on offer, but concedes that 'deep structural problems' in the Welsh education system mean that workers and customers alike are not equipped with the necessary Welsh language skills to use existing services to the extent the language planners desire (2010, p.59). For its analysis of the effectiveness of the Welsh Language Act, 'From Act to Action in Wales' relies on two studies conducted in the past five years. The first collects its data from five local authorities: Conwy, Gwynedd, Carmarthen, Caerphilly and Cardiff, along with three public bodies: North Wales Police, Carmarthen Health Board and Pembroke National Park Authority. The second draws its data from six areas: Cardigan, Amlwch, Bangor, Machynlleth, Ruthin and Ammanford (2010, pp. 44 & 54). In my view however, it would have been preferable if one or both of the studies had featured a greater number of local authorities or areas where Welsh is not so widely spoken, e.g. Monmouthshire, with the towns of Monmouth and Chepstow, Newport or Wrexham, to offset the apparent focus on Welsh-speaking Wales. The second study in particular focuses exclusively on rural, quintessentially Welsh-speaking towns.

3.5.3: Postcolonialism & Contemporary Wales

Principally concerned with issues and effects arising from the global spread of English, Pennycook's (2000b, p.116) *postcolonial performativity view* has relevance for contemporary language use in Wales. This view encourages academic researchers to consider the hugely significant matter of context. With respect to the Principality, the complexities surrounding the employment of English and Welsh may only be understood through a comprehensive interrogation of a diverse range of linguistic contexts throughout the land. Pennycook (2000b, p.118) acknowledges that from the standpoint of *postcolonial performativity* the 'cultural baggage' associated with English will 'always be changed, resisted, twisted into other possibilities'. Many in Wales resist what they consider to be the nationalist propaganda that associates the global language with imperialism. Instead they prefer to conceive of English as a modernising force liable to facilitate social mobility and able to grant instant and prolonged access to popular culture. This helps to explain why performances via the English language greatly outweigh performances through the medium of Welsh. I argue that the conception of English as a modernising rather than a reactionary force may impede the advancement of the Welsh language.

It is a mistake to think that the people of Wales perform with either the indigenous minority language Welsh or the foreign majority language English. Wales has no single indigenous language to be utilised for communicative performance; rather it hosts at least two. In line with the *postcolonial performativity* view, the English language has been appropriated and adapted in Wales to the extent that various dialectal forms of English are in circulation. Following its appropriation and adaptation, most Welsh people do not regard English as a foreign language but their own language, as much as, and sometimes more than, the Celtic tongue whose employment is restricted to particular domains. Most Welsh nationals perform with a variety or varieties of the English language they feel belongs to them, which means they are less inclined to maintain or acquire Welsh. Since they already perform with one language they perceive as belonging to them, they are less motivated to own and perform with another, Welsh.

Chris Williams (2005, p12) believes that through the application of postcolonial theory, which focuses on the concerns of marginality and cultural difference, we have the potential to understand all countries more deeply, including those that are not former colonies. Thus, he uses three concepts: ambivalence, hybridity and postnationality that inform postcolonialism to illuminate our understanding of contemporary Wales (2005, p13). Such concepts also resonate with postmodernism, which highlights how the two theories overlap. In respect to the first concept ambivalence, the relationship between the coloniser and coloniser is ambivalent because it is characterised by a mixture of repulsion and attraction. Some people in Wales are repulsed by England and its attendant culture, while many have great admiration for all things English, which is illustrated by the strength of anti-Welsh nationalist feeling, the rejection of devolution in 1979 and the stronger than anticipated opposition to the devolvement of power twenty years later. Chris Williams (2005, p.13) therefore claims that there is a need to consider not only the geographical borderland but also the affective borderland between England and Wales. Those in Wales who live far from the geographic border between the two countries can still have deep affection for England, which I suggest has relevance for the realisation of the WAG's bilingual policy.

Chris Williams (2005, p14) employs the term hybridity to explain how migration, settlement and intermarriage problematise the existence of an authentic Welsh ethnic identity. He notes that traditionally only those texts concerned with Welsh language maintenance tend to concentrate on English inward migration. Only a discernible minority in industrial South Wales for a very short time, the English settled relatively peacefully in the area and mixed ethnically with the indigenous Welsh. It is now appropriate to switch the focus of the discussion from the English to other migrant groups whose presence helps to make Wales a multicultural nation, even though it tends not to be formally recognised as such. According to Chris Williams, most Welsh intellectuals concern themselves with championing the achievements of the Welsh nation whilst purposefully ignoring the fuzziness of Wales' borders and its history of multicultural experiences. There are however significant migrant groups in Wales whose mother tongue may not be English or Welsh.

Following the disintegration of the British Empire various black and minority ethnic (BME) groups settled in Welsh cities such as Cardiff and Swansea, along with Newport, even if there is some debate as to whether this city was located in Wales, England or Monmouthshire prior to 1974 – see chapter 4 for greater consideration of this particular debate. According to Charlotte Williams and Paul Chaney (2001, p.80), Cardiff has a long-established Afro-Caribbean community and a growing Somali one, while Swansea and Newport are home to sizeable Bangladeshi and Pakistani communities respectively. These researchers claim however that the nationalist appeal of the Welsh National Assembly alienated members of the BME community prior to the 1999 Assembly election. Their alienation was only heightened by the absence of BME assembly members after the election result (2001, pp.87-88), and, even now, after the latest assembly election in 2007, there is, as B. Smith (2008, [www]) indicates, only one minority-ethnic AM (assembly member), Pakistan-born Mohammad Asghar. Initially a Plaid Cymru AM for South Wales East, he subsequently defected to sit as a Conservative AM for the same constituency.

It is appropriate to reflect on the BME community's understanding of Welshness in relation to the WAG's bilingual vision. Charlotte Williams and Paul Chaney (2001, p.89) state that 'in both minority and majority communities the dominant conceptions of Welshness are those that conform to the formula: "Welsh equals white" and at

times “Welsh equals Welsh-speaking”. Concerning this formula, I firstly deduce that non-white, non-Welsh speakers resident in Wales affiliate less strongly to dominant definitions of Welshness than their white, Welsh-speaking counterparts. Concerning this formula, I secondly claim that it is a barrier to inclusiveness, which, according to Hallward (2000, [www]), is a characteristic postmodern discourse valorises. Following the first election of 1999, political representatives of the Welsh National Assembly pondered how to get inclusiveness ‘back on track’ after recognising that a substantial proportion of the BME community felt unable to engage with the political process in Wales (Charlotte Williams and Paul Chaney, 2001, p.95).

The presence of speakers of Urdu, Punjabi, Bengali and Arabic etc. serves to illustrate how Wales is a multilingual land. In addition to their native languages, the majority of these speakers perform with the English language, which is thereby ‘changed, resisted, twisted into other possibilities’, as Pennycook (2000b, p.118) claims. The majority of them, therefore, are already bilingual within a multilingual, postcolonial setting. So as to facilitate a more inclusive Wales, the WAG may have to contemplate abandoning its existing objective of a truly bilingual Wales, where speakers can choose to live their lives through the medium of English or Welsh. Instead, it may adopt a new strategy of encouraging the growth of a bilingualism that involves speakers performing with English plus another language of their choice. This strategy would perhaps better reflect the multilingual reality of postmodern Wales. As well as BME communities – the focus of this section – Wales hosts a number of other communities such as Italian, Polish, Chinese and Romanian etc. This underlines how the region, like many others in the UK, is home to a multitude of languages and how the WAG’s current bilingual policy is an obstacle to inclusiveness.

The third concept associated with postcolonialism that Chris Williams (2005, p15) advances is postnationality. This concept enables us to question the relevance of national identity, either in its singular form (Welsh, Irish etc) or its hyphenated form (Anglo-Welsh, English-speaking Welsh etc.) at a time when the significance of the nation-state is arguably in decline. It is possible both to abandon the rhetoric of Welshness and to understand identity in more sophisticated and fluid terms thanks to postnationality. According to Chris Williams (2005, p.17), Wales will produce a future only desirable to a minority of its citizens unless it carefully considers ‘the

ambiguities and complexities' that make the national project so difficult to deliver. Despite the relevance of postnationality to identity formation, I believe that the WAG is unlikely to embrace this concept and accordingly moderate its plan for a truly bilingual nation, even though such a plan appeals to only a minority of the population it serves.

3.5.4: The Ceremonial Use of Welsh

Auslander (2004, p.99) claims that the 'postmodern turn' requires objects of study to be mainly viewed 'in performance terms'. To examine the Welsh language from the standpoint of performance, focusing on both its ceremonial use and its interactional use, I rely heavily on two recent studies undertaken by Nicholas Coupland et al. In the first study, 'Imagining Wales and the Welsh Language: Ethnolinguistic Subjectivities and Demographic Flow', Coupland et al. (2006b, p.351) interviewed approximately 2,000 individuals with links to Wales in order to collect data relating to Welsh social identities and affiliation, engagement with Welsh cultural practices, perceptions of the ethnolinguistic vitality of Welsh and views on domain priorities for the language. They examined the data primarily in respect to flow-groups that comprised participants with 'different patterns of lived history inside and outside of Wales' and in relation to groups whose participants reported different levels of Welsh language competence. The flow-groups were as follows: *Welsh inside Wales* (IW), *Returning émigrés* (REs), *Long-term in-migrants* (LTIs), *Short-term in-migrants* (STIs), *Long-term émigrés* (LTEs) and *Welsh-linked outside Wales* (OW).

Coupland et al (2006b, p.371) claim that all flow-groups 'endorse the importance of Welsh in ceremonial cultural domains, and they give this more priority than they afford to other domains'. These researchers note that ceremonial use is becoming 'an important dimension of how minority languages are perceived, valued and positioned'. Consequently, they criticise the current bilingual policy in Wales, which intends to establish Welsh as a 'living language' in 'a truly bilingual Wales'. This policy, they note, 'imagines Welsh and English existing as coequal codes across all social domains' and competent bilinguals will be able to make a 'choice' about the language they use in any given communicational exchange. However, while they recognise that the ceremonial use of Welsh may be 'a means of engaging with the language as a form of cultural display', in their view, it does not require 'high levels

of productive competence or indeed use in the conventional sense'. Further, these researchers find that 'prioritising Welsh for use in families, as all groups do in our data to a considerable extent, may imply use "by others" rather than usage "by us" (Coupland et al, 2006b, pp.371-372).

Concerning this first study, individuals with links to Wales are very supportive of the ceremonial use of Welsh in cultural domains - the singing of Welsh hymns in chapels and the reading of Welsh verse at Eisteddfods etc. - but are less so of Welsh language performances featuring in other domains. However, in order to transform Wales into a bilingual society, the people of Wales would need to support communicative tasks being performed in Welsh in all domains without exception. Coupland et al's (2006b) study found that the ceremonial use of Welsh does not require any individual with links to Wales to have 'a high level of productive competence'. That an individual is not obliged to be a competent speaker of the language means they will not be in a position to make a choice about whether they use Welsh or English in any given interaction. They simply have to perform all communicative tasks through the medium of English, which, as the researchers themselves intimate, reduces the likelihood of a truly bilingual Wales.

Similarly, all the different flow-groups may believe that it is a priority for families to use the Welsh language; yet, they may not attach the same importance to its use within their own families. From this, I deduce that the revitalisation of the Welsh language is generally viewed as important, but ultimately it is someone else's responsibility. C. H. Williams (2008, p.365) claims that the Welsh language is widely acknowledged as a symbol of nationhood in Wales. However, he warns that 'many English-speaking citizens of Wales want just enough linguistic revitalisation to secure their claim to nationhood, and to remind newcomers of the fact, but not so much revitalisation that they would actually have to change their language repertoire or use' (2008, p.366). The groups' position on Welsh language usage within the family is at variance with the WAG's (2003, p.53) argument that the survival of Welsh 'ultimately depends on individuals taking ownership of their language'. All families, I suggest, need to own and perform with their language to render the attainment of a truly bilingual Wales possible**.**

In the second study, 'Affiliation, Engagement, Language Use and Vitality: Secondary School Students' Subjective Orientations to Welsh and Welshness', Coupland et al (2005, p.1) assessed the attitudes of a total of 229 secondary school students around 16 years of age towards Welsh language use. They found that the students viewed the ceremonial use of Welsh differently from the interactional use of the language. In fact, students across all four schools in the sample felt strongly that Welsh should feature in songs, ceremonies, names etc, but they were less committed to its interactional use. However, Coupland et al (2005, p.16) point out that school membership and language competence influenced students' commitment to the interactional use of Welsh. Students from Gwynedd (Welsh-speaking heartland) together with other students belonging to the two highest Welsh competence categories believed that Welsh ought 'to feature in the home and the workplace', whereas all remaining subgroups conveyed 'varying degrees of negativity' (Coupland et al, 2005, p.16).

The findings of the second study relate closely to those of the first in that attitudes towards Welsh language usage once more vary according to domain. It was found that there was undeniably less commitment to the interactional than the ceremonial use of Welsh among the students, with some actually rather negative about the use of Welsh anywhere other than in ceremonies. This suggests that it would be wrong to assume that the younger generation can be relied upon to employ the language in the home and at work etc. In one respect, this finding is likely to be particularly depressing for the language policymakers and planners who appreciate that the younger generation collectively has to embrace and perform with the language across all domains if Wales is to be differentiated as a genuinely bilingual land. However, in another respect, those involved with Welsh LPP can reason that a truly bilingual Wales is certainly achievable because there is a distinct correlation between the students most committed to the interactional use of Welsh and the most competent users of the language. From their standpoint, all that is necessary is an increase in young persons' Welsh language competence and greater commitment to the interactional use of the minority language will follow.

C.H. Williams (2004, p.16) claims that the success of the National Action Plan for a bilingual Wales is dependent on 'innovative thinking' within the sphere of education.

However, he fears that the aims of Iaith Pawb (National Action Plan) may not be realised due to the absence of a coherent strategy to effectuate the necessary educational reforms. In his view, there is clear need for the establishment of additional bilingual schools and the enhancement of the Welsh L2 sector, as well as the learning of subjects other than Welsh through the medium of Welsh. C.H. Williams (2004, p.17) welcomes Iaith Pawb's proposal for selected subjects in English-medium schools to be taught through the medium of Welsh, as this would help many pupils from the majority-language population to improve their bilingual skills. He cautions though that such a proposal may prove ineffectual unless there is improved teacher training, an increased emphasis on resource development and in-school Welsh-medium support (2004, p.18). The education sector is expected to stimulate the growth in Welsh speakers to realise a bilingual Wales; thus, there is a definite need to address the significant weaknesses within Iaith Pawb's educational strategy.

The focus now shifts from the concept of performance to the concept of transience.

3.6: The Welsh Language & Transience

Wright (2000, p.96) claims 'availability, fragmentation, chaos, ephemerality and discontinuity' define the postmodern era. In this section, I use arguments associated with a principal element of postmodernism, transience, to assist my objective of discovering whether the WAG's vision of a truly bilingual Wales is attainable.

3.6.1: The Temporariness of the Welsh Nation-State

Since the establishment of the National Assembly some additional powers have been devolved from Westminster to Cardiff. The Welsh Assembly Government comprising Labour and Plaid Cymru Assembly Members also won a referendum on March 3 2011 to garner even more powers for this fledgling political institution. 63.5% voted *yes* while 36.5 voted *no* with a turnout of 35.4% (BBC News 2011, [www]). According to the Welsh historian, J. Davies (2007, p.709), with an assembly and an executive in the form of the Welsh Office, Wales is 'in possession of the characteristics of a fledgling nation-state'. If Wales is recognised at some future point as a Welsh-nation state, the likelihood of a truly bilingual Wales may increase. Were

such a constitutional change to transpire, the political influence of Plaid Cymru would escalate. The commitment of its political representatives to the promotion of the Welsh language is unyielding and enduring. Alternatively, the emergence of Wales as a nation-state may cause sufficient disquiet among sections of the population in Wales that 'the good will' for the language, to which politicians and academics both refer, is lost.

However, in a cultural age characterised by the condition of transience, it is perhaps mistaken to assume the stability of any nation-state. Owing to the presence of the global media, the arrival of international organisations and the abundance of transnational corporations, Rannut (1999, pp.99-100) claims that the nation-state has proved to be a 'temporary solution' for the organisation and regulation of peoples. This may have future implications for Wales, but at present this particular region of the UK cannot be classed as a nation-state. Aitchison & Carter (2004, p.141) claim that 'Wales has never had a true political unity', with the result that 'none of the trappings of modern identity in the legal or governmental context of the nation state ever developed'. Similarly, Aaron (2003, p.14) views Wales as a stateless nation, believing that the Welsh National Curriculum should focus more on other struggles undertaken by stateless nations to protect their minority languages and cultures: this would provide the Welsh with more strategies to aid survival in a 'despite culture' (Aaron, 2003, p.14). Thus, we may presently view Wales as a nation rather than a nation-state; after all, the Welsh Assembly Government uses the term 'a truly bilingual nation' to mean a 'truly bilingual' Wales in its official documents, as indicated in the chapter's introduction. A.D. Smith (1996, p.5) claims that the cultural era of postmodernity is inevitably destined to fade, whilst nations are to 'remain as the bedrock of human society'.

The transience that permeates postmodernity may indeed occasion the dissolution of this cultural era. However, an alternative argument is the nation itself has or is showing signs of yielding to the omnipotence of transience with the result that political influence at the national level has or is being eclipsed by that at the global and local level. Klages (2003, [www]) suggests that a motto for postmodern politics could well be 'think globally, act locally - and don't worry about any grand scheme or master plan'. An emphasis on the local at the expense of the national could mean that

each of the current twenty-two unitary authorities of Wales would be responsible for the formulation and implementation of its own bilingual policy. It is likely, I argue, that the extent and quality of the provision of Welsh language services would vary between the different authorities, making the objective of true bilingualism for the Welsh nation less realistic. Morris & G. Williams (2000, p.107) suggest that the social theory modernism encouraged the denigration of everything that opposed the order of the state e.g. minority languages and stateless nations. I argue that postmodernism's emphasis on decision-making at the global and local levels also makes it difficult for academics implicated in Welsh LPP to invoke this social theory as a means of supporting the Welsh nation or its national bilingual project.

3.6.2: Commitment to Welsh Language Policy

Language policy may be a primary concern for the Welsh Assembly Government in the early years of the 21st century. Its significance has increased following the Welsh Language Act of 1993, which was passed by John Major's Conservative government, and the success of the *Yes*–for-devolution campaign, which was supported by Tony Blair's Labour Party and resulted in the foundation of the above institution. Nevertheless, a Welsh language policy was far from a priority within the region during the early 1970s. At this time, the major political parties were reluctant to endorse any language policy geared towards the promotion of Welsh in Wales for fear of alienating the English monoglots. Even Plaid Cymru whose MPs and members were predominantly Welsh speakers, according to Betts (1976, p.159), did not have 'a policy at all worth the name'. That the Party of Wales had no significant Welsh language policy only three decades ago highlights how language policy itself is very much vulnerable to the transience that so characterises postmodernity. This political party is a driving force behind present-day language policy, working with the Welsh Language Board and Cymdeithas yr Iaith (Welsh Language Society) to help make the vision of a truly bilingual Wales a reality. The nationalists are not alone in their changing commitment to a formal Welsh language policy.

In the early 1970s, Labour's view of the language as 'a potential threat' to non-speakers found support with its English monoglot activists, according to Betts (1976, p.161). Its older leadership often English by ancestry and its left-wingers internationalist in outlook considered the language to be 'a dying relic of a past best

forgotten' (Betts, 1976, p.161). Thus, around thirty-five years ago, the Labour party - like Plaid, its former rival yet now partner in Welsh Assembly government - demonstrated a reluctance to commit itself to the matter of language policy. However, as the dominant party of the WAG, Labour is now central to the formulation and imposition of language policy for Wales. Similarly, the Conservative Party once considered the language to be nothing but 'a rural patois' that impeded the twin goals of wealth acquisition and social advancement (Carter, 2010, p.90). Nevertheless, since the establishment of the assembly, this party has also committed itself to the bilingual policy of the coalition government. Shohamy (2006, p.45) claims that language policy serves as 'a manipulative tool in the continuous battle between different ideologies'. The WAG's current language policy illustrates the dominant influence of a nationalist ideology in contemporary Wales. In the recent past, this particular ideology was less influential in that part of the United Kingdom and, what is more, might also be in the (near) future too. The transience that permeates postmodernity might provoke a reassessment of the current nationalist-inspired Welsh language policy with the result that a truly bilingual Wales ceases to be an objective.

Although such a reassessment might not happen, it is perhaps worth noting the emergence of *True Wales*, a recently established cross-party campaign group (2008) opposed to the devolution of primary law making powers to the National Assembly for Wales (True Wales, 2009, [www]). It aims to present the case against autonomy for the National Assembly for Wales to the Welsh public and to lobby both the Welsh Assembly and the UK governments to hold a referendum about Wales' constitutional future. The organisation is critical of what it refers to as 'nationalist Wales'. In its vision statement, *True Wales* (2009 [www]) declares:

> Our Wales is a beautiful, diverse country which belongs to all who live here. There are many visions of "Welshness", all to be respected and celebrated. We believe in equality and fairness for all citizens, regardless of linguistic preference, ethnicity, faith, political persuasion or gender. There is no place for discrimination or prejudice against any group or country. We value all the settlers who have contributed to our cultural diversity and our shared heritage within the UK.

Should the influence of this organisation grow, the WAG might have to reassess its vision of a truly bilingual Wales. However, despite expressing some misgivings about

Iaith Pawb, C.H. Williams (2004, p.15) is cautiously optimistic that a raft of Welsh language initiatives will facilitate the long-term growth of bilingualism in Wales, citing 'a significant cross-party consensus' as a primary reason for that optimism. He contrasts the 'clear and consistent' language policy of the Welsh Assembly Government with the ad hoc language policies of previous administrations that came into being as a result of a combination of social pressure, the impulsive thinking of Secretaries of State and the determination of a select group of influential civil servants and government advisers (2004, p.15). The current language policy, according to Williams (2004, p.24), is intelligible to the average citizen and capable of creating an inclusive bilingual society, whose members collectively dismiss the old argument that the Welsh language belongs exclusively to a diminishing minority.

3.6.3: Long-term Language Planning

In a postmodern era defined by transience, it is very difficult for the language planner to plan for the long-term because, as Bauman (2007, p.68) claims, 'long-term commitments and obligations indeed appear meaningless'. Thus, from a postmodern viewpoint, the Welsh language learner may be prepared to make only a short-term commitment to the learning of the minority language. It is possible they expect to acquire Welsh language competence relatively quickly - irrespective of the linguistic and social reasons why this is not often possible. However, failure to do so soon leads them to abandon their ambition to become competent in Welsh, which is harmful to the prospects of a truly bilingual Wales. Alternatively, the L2 Welsh language learner may acquire Welsh language competence – whether as a result of instruction in school or attendance of an adult course in the community etc. – but have no opportunity to use that language outside of the classroom. Gunther (2000, p.246) notes that an L1 lexicon contains a considerable number of rare and passive words while those in an L2 lexicon are frequently monostylistic. The former also includes slang and idiom whereas the latter is devoid of such expressions. After the native speaker learns and uses the L1 language for a number of years, they hardly ever forget it. In contrast, the non-native speaker easily forgets the L2 language, which requires continual use if it is to be maintained (Gunther, 2000, p.246). Thus, the language planner operating in Wales cannot plan long-term for the realisation of a truly bilingual Wales because the L2 learner's Welsh Language competence is transient if there exists no opportunity for use of the language.

Language planners aspire to effectuate a truly bilingual Wales through acquisition planning, which entails the expansion of Welsh medium education, the provision of Welsh language courses for adults in the community etc. The Welsh Assembly Government (2003, p.11) anticipates that acquisition planning will enable people 'to choose to live their lives through the medium of either Welsh or English' (as identified in 3.0). These language planners also concern themselves with status planning, which involves the erection of bilingual signs and the publication of bilingual documents. The WAG intends that status planning will ensure 'the presence of the two languages is a visible and audible source of pride and strength to us all'. Ager (2003, p.163) notes that language planning in Wales has been inclined to focus both on status planning, particularly in terms of promoting the language's use in higher domains, and on acquisition planning. However, he also notes that the Welsh Language Board - which the Conservative Party established as part of its language policy for Wales in 1988 (Aitchison and Carter, 2000, p.150) - only began to attend to corpus planning as a whole in 2001. Cultural nationalists strive to preserve the language 'untouched', especially by English. Nevertheless, as Ager (2003, p.163) recognises, the language has to allow new learners – young ones in particular – 'to devise and use new vocabulary for new things and concepts'. A truly bilingual Wales may be unattainable, I suggest, unless the young Welsh speaker is able to incorporate new words into his written and oral communication, even loan words from English. They may only be permitted to do so if the Welsh language corpus is at any given time viewed as transient, as subject to alteration.

A further problem with long-term planning for a truly bilingual Wales is that the various town councils across the country have to commit long-term to the provision of a Welsh language scheme. It is perhaps unsurprising that not all councils are willing to make that commitment. The journalist Mark Hannaby (*The Politics Show Wales*, [www]) reported that the majority of town councillors in Milford Haven, South Pembrokeshire, wanted to opt out of producing a Welsh language scheme. Like all councils in Wales, Milford Haven is mandated to provide such a scheme in accordance with the Welsh Language Act 1993. This town in 'Little England beyond Wales' is legally obligated to ensure both Welsh and English are represented equally on all signs and documents. However, Independent councillor Eric Harries (*The Politics Show Wales*, [www]) argues a Welsh language scheme 'is not needed and not

wanted', explaining that to translate one set of minutes into Welsh costs around £400. Mark Hannaby reported that Milford Haven Town Council last received a request for documents in Welsh in 1995. It may seem somewhat trivial that this one council seeks to exempt itself from the provision of a Welsh language scheme. That council alone, however, can thwart the WAG's ambition for a truly bilingual Wales because it can deny its citizens the opportunity to live their lives through the medium of Welsh if they choose to do so. Milford Haven Town Council's reluctance to commit to a Welsh language scheme intended to facilitate true bilingualism in the long-term highlights the difficulty facing Welsh language planners.

Regardless of the transience that characterises postmodernity, some argue that the many institutions and agencies implicated in language planning in Wales are capable of securing a prosperous long-term future for the Welsh language. One such institution is the Welsh Language Board, which C.H.Williams (2007, p.430) describes as 'a champion of radical and innovative measures'. It has a number of duties and responsibilities including advising on, approving and monitoring Welsh language schemes, which public sector companies are required to prepare and implement in accordance with the Welsh Language Act 1993. Besides the WLB, the WAG Language Unit along with the WAG's Department for Culture, the Welsh Language and Sport (which is soon to incorporate the WLB) also plan for a bilingual Wales. To assist this objective, the WAG seeks to appoint a Welsh language regulator or adjudicator (dyfarnydd), whereas C.H. Williams (2007, pp.413-427; 2009, pp.71-74), among others, favours the appointment of a language commissioner.

He also argues for the foundation of a National Data Centre to analyse statistics relevant to the Welsh language; the creation of a National Language Planning and Resource Centre; the formation of a Council for the Welsh Language, which would empower those typically excluded from mainstream politics; and the establishment of a network of language commissioners from countries such as Canada, Ireland and Wales, who can share best practice with other commissioners employed in areas such as administration and health & welfare (2007, pp.399, 400, 418 & 423; 2009, p.76). C.H. Williams (2007, pp.401& 408) also calls for the extension of the existing Welsh Language Act to aid a plural domain rather than a public sector approach to language policy and to ensure Welsh is 'designated an official language in Wales, coequal with

English'. From his perspective, additional legislation is also required to accelerate the mainstreaming of Welsh throughout the country and, very importantly, to recognise and protect the basic rights of individual Welsh speakers (Williams, 2007, pp.421-423).

The above argument, I suggest, is indicative of the exceptional commitment and informed strategic thinking of Welsh language planners in Wales. The above argument is also illustrative of the extent to which the normalisation of Welsh is increasingly dependent on a mass of legislation and regulation. As indicated in 1.2, Pennycook (2006, p.64) claims that a postmodern approach to language policy focuses on language governmentality. Here this refers to how a multitude of Welsh institutions and agencies make decisions about the Welsh language so as to 'regulate the language use, thought, and action' of the people of Wales. Significantly, it is not simply the WAG alone, or the WAG in tandem with the WLB, that govern how the people of the region view and use the Welsh language, even though these institutions are undeniably central to the realisation of the bilingual project. Schools, universities, hospitals, the emergency services, local councils, supermarkets, and sports clubs etc. all influence how the citizens in Wales value and engage with the Welsh language.

I also recognise that to designate Welsh 'an official language' and 'coequal with English' in Wales would be highly desirable for many Welsh speakers. Were this to happen though, sections of the non-Welsh speaking population might demand the establishment of institutions to protect and promote the English language in Wales. For instance, an English Language Board (ELB) might be established and operationalised, to safeguard the rights of English speakers, which some believe to be increasingly under threat as the predominantly Welsh-speaking nationalist community continues its rise. Given the harshness of the economic climate in Wales and the UK as a whole, and given the substantial funds required for current Welsh language initiatives, the WAG may arguably find it difficult to continue to finance the bilingual plan to the same degree. I suggest though that the WAG would certainly not wish to spend a sizeable proportion of its LPP budget on the foundation of English language institutions to counterbalance the Welsh language institutions proposed above; yet, the WAG may be legally obligated to do so by reason of the co-equality of the two languages.

3.7: The Welsh Language & the Televisual Media in Wales

Supporters of the Welsh language have long demanded a national channel dedicated to the transmission of Welsh language programmes. Barlow et al. (2005, p.134) explain how from the 1920s onwards a series of cultural debates in Wales on the relation between national identity, language, television and radio culminated in the establishment of *S4C* (*Sianel Pedwar Cymru*) decades later. During the 1960s and 1970s, these debates were increasingly shaped by the ideology of nationalism. Ultimately, a combination of the direct action undertaken by the Welsh Language Society to attain official status for the minority language, pressure from key figures in the Welsh political establishment, Labour's dependence on the votes of the nationalist parties to remain in office prior to the 1979 General Election and the Conservative Government's reversal of its position on a single Welsh-language service in the wake of its victory in that election saw the launch of the Welsh *Channel 4* in November 1982 (Barlow et al, 2005, pp.134-138). In this sub-chapter, I exploit arguments relating to a significant postmodern concern, the televisual media, to assist my assessment of whether a truly bilingual Wales is achievable.

3.7.1: *S4C* & the Domination of Global Satellite Television

With the arrival and expansion of global satellite television, postmodernity has attested a weakening of the control and influence exerted by any national media over its own national population. At the time of its birth in the early eighties, *S4C,* the Welsh language *Channel 4,* broadcasting to Wales and its borders, found itself in competition for audience share with four other analogue channels: *BBC1*, *BBC2*, *ITV*, as well as the main English language *Channel 4*. Many monolingual English speakers resident in Wales were instantly able to receive the English fourth channel and thus circumvent S4C with its predominantly Welsh language content, but, if not, they repositioned aerials to do so. Nowadays although the global media platform *Sky,* broadband and internet protocol television offers *S4C* digital the possibility of transcending its national borders and thereby attracting new viewers from around the globe, the channel has to contend with a multitude of other satellite channels penetrating Welsh territorial space. The Head of Corporate Affairs at S4C (May 1 2008 [Interview]) explained to me that poor reception due to Wales' geography and restricted access to English Channel 4 are the reasons why the country 'has had a

higher penetration of digital television than the rest of the UK'. I argue that such penetration limits S4C's ability to contribute to the project of shaping and promoting Welsh national consciousness through the medium of Welsh.

Central to postmodernism is the discourse of choice, which resonates with television audiences. The explosion in digital satellite channels with a global reach has stimulated greater choice, with the result that *S4C's* audience figures have declined. In 2006, one year before its twenty-fifth anniversary, the Welsh language channel attracted only 3.4% of the total available annual TV audience, down from 5.9% in 1996 (*BBC1 Wales*, 2007). It appears that existing and potential Welsh language users in the region reject the Welsh language channel *S4C* for an almost infinite choice of viewing experiences (chiefly in English) provided by channels from all over the globe. In addition, I argue that postmodernism, with its advocacy of choice, could not be cited to support any possible action to restrict in any way the access the people in Wales have to these global satellite channels. Some form of restriction might however serve as a means of helping the minority language channel retain some of its Welsh viewers.

3.7.2: *S4C* & the Threat of the Phantasmagoria

S4C's Welsh language programmes have to compete with countless other programmes broadcast on an almost limitless number of channels, which collectively contribute to the materialisation of phantasmagorias (fantastic, dream-like spectacles) in homes around Wales. Due to the growth of the Internet and the relentless proliferation of satellite TV channels, the home in the postmodern age, according to Morley (2000, p.9), becomes a 'phantasmagoric place'. Chambers (1990, p.88) claims that an uninterrupted sequence of indiscriminate signs has replaced reality with a 'media-induced reality effect'. Digital switchover in Wales in 2009/10 will mark *S4C's* transformation into 'a wholly Welsh language channel' while at present the digital service *S4C Digidol* transmits over 80 hours a week of Welsh language programmes (Cubley, 2008, p.161). However, learners and proficient users of the minority language struggle to comprehend coherently S4C's Welsh language broadcasts due to an insistent procession of signs (as illustrated below), which compete intensely but fleetingly for their attention. What is more, this procession of signs is responsible for the emergence of phantasmagorias.

Fleeting interaction with a plurality of signs facilitated through the practice of 'channel hopping' is at variance with prolonged and 'meaningful' involvement with the content of one specific channel. For instance, at 2.52pm on Saturday May 3 2008, I turned my own living room into a 'phantasmagoric place' through viewing Johnny Cash in San Quentin (Sky Arts, Channel 256), an image of a twelve-pound European catfish who 'only a mother could love' (Discovery Real Time, Channel 251), a scene from Aida, 'the fourth greatest opera to see before you die' (Sky Arts, Channel 267), a Halloween nightmare at Luton Airport (Sky Real Lives Channel 253), snapshots of a thirty-three year old who 'has not been seen or heard from in over two weeks' (Zone Reality, Channel 146) and a variety of simple dishes from Delia Smith's summer collection (UKTV Food, Channel 259) etc. The phenomenon of the phantasmagoria, which emerges from brief engagement with a wealth of signs from a diverse range of channels, restricts S4C's ability to revitalise the use of the minority language. Similarly, this phenomenon, in my view, limits the Welsh Channel 4's potential to make a valuable contribution to the Welsh National Assembly Government's vision of a truly bilingual Wales. However, Iona Jones (2008, pp.158-159), the Chief Executive of S4C, states that S4C is funded centrally from Westminster in the form of a government grant, BBC license fee and commercial monies. Therefore, the channel is not officially obliged to assist the Cardiff Bay-based institution in respect to the increase of bilingualism in the country.

3.7.3: S4C & Physical and Virtual Movement

Individuals have become more mobile (particularly in the western world), physically traversing national boundaries for business and/or pleasure with increasing frequency (Devereux, 2003, p.43) (2.6.1). Should either a prospective or current Welsh language user move outside of the country's geographical boundaries, they have less opportunity to assimilate S4C's Welsh language programmes - whether through Sky, Freeview or broadband. The Welsh speaker in exile, that member of the Welsh diaspora, may of course strive to avail themselves of all chances to interact with their minority code. However, an alternative argument is perhaps more relevant in this instance. The Welsh person 'abroad' in England and beyond is likely to have less access to S4C with the result that they are less minded to consider the Welsh language. The physical movement of Welsh people out of Wales limits the degree to which Welsh Channel 4 can assist the achievement of a truly bilingual Wales. From a

nationalist perspective, the channel would ideally have a captive audience of keen language users whose movement does not exceed the nation's territorial limits. Nevertheless, it is increasingly less likely that in the postmodern epoch sufficiently large numbers of the Welsh national group will remain 'in captivity'.

The presence of an almost infinite number of satellite channels makes it possible for the viewer to journey to (exotic) places whilst remaining at home; they can, as Morley (2000, p.9) reports, 'simultaneously stay home and go places'. Certainly, the Welsh language channel either exclusively broadcasts or both produces and broadcasts programmes in the minority language that feature aspects of life in countries remote to Wales. However, it is unlikely that a Welsh person's desire to 'move', albeit temporarily, albeit virtually, may be satisfied by the consumption of programmes transmitted by this relatively small Welsh-language channel. Sky's substantial multi-channel package, to which *S4C Digidol* belongs, is much better equipped to help a viewer in Wales realise their ambition to 'go places' whilst remaining at home. Significantly, the Welsh language channel's ability to assist the nationalist vision of a truly bilingual Wales diminishes, I claim, because a multitude of other channels entice the Welsh viewer with the promise of virtual movement.

3.7.4: S4C & the Provision of an Immersive Experience

Notwithstanding the increasing domination of global satellite television in the postmodern era, it is still apt to consider how regional television in Wales, through the provision of an immersive experience, may mould and enhance Welsh national consciousness and assist the maintenance of the nation's minority language. Trend (1994, p.225) considers television, along with other media such as newspapers and film, to be pivotal to the fictitious story of nationality, which 'people tell themselves about who they are, where they live, and how they got there'. Hence, immersion in Welsh culture via regional television may appeal to a Welsh person seeking a heightened sense of national consciousness to counteract the pervasive uncertainty of postmodernity.

The immersive experience that *BBC Wales* has the capacity to provide, I concede, is almost exclusively through the medium of English. Nevertheless, the company has entered into a partnership agreement with *S4C*, whereby it makes a lot of the Welsh

language content for the Welsh language channel, approximately 10 hours per week. *BBC Wales* will act as a promoter for its smaller partner *S4C*. Consequently, some of its audience members may be motivated to engage with *S4C*, where they can likewise immerse themselves in Welsh culture, but this time, via the nation's minority language. Through its promotion of *S4C*, *BBC Wales* assists both Welsh language acquisition and maintenance, and, in so doing, contributes to the Welsh National Assembly's plans for a truly bilingual Wales.

S4C itself has and is responding to changes in the way television is consumed. The channel embraces '360 degrees commissioning' where a programme offer includes website and supplementary materials. The channel conducts research on a rolling basis, which consistently shows S4C is relevant to people's lives in contemporary Wales. Moreover, Manners (*Daily Echo* 2008) states that S4C Digidol launched a dedicated children's channel *Cyw* in June 2008 to be broadcast weekdays between 7.00am and 1.30pm. It is presently aimed at the under 5s, but there are plans to upgrade its content in eighteen months time to cater for 7-12 year olds and teenagers (Manners, *Daily Echo* 2008) (S4C, 2009). The channel has its own website with various Welsh language downloads, videos and games intended to appeal to young children. I do not claim that S4C will definitely provide an immersive Welsh language experience for the viewer and thereby make a significant contribution to the WAG's bilingual vision. I do nevertheless suggest that owing to the advent of 360 degrees commissioning and the arrival of its Welsh-language children's channel, S4C's potential to do so deserves consideration.

3.8: Conclusion

The WAG is clearly committed to achieving its objective of a truly bilingual Wales. In contrast to the relatively recent past, there now appears to be a consensus among the major political parties that such an objective is desirable and deserving of support. Many agencies associated with the WAG endeavour to mainstream the Welsh language throughout the region, one of which is the Welsh Language Board. The main driver of language policy in Wales, this agency has been successful in raising the status of the Welsh language and improving the provision of Welsh language services in public sector companies, primarily through the use of Welsh Language

Schemes. It has also had some success in the field of education, in respect of the establishment of more Welsh-medium schools, particularly at primary level, along with the creation of more Welsh-medium nurseries. Aside from the very professional Welsh Language Board, the bilingual objective receives support from the predominantly Welsh-speaking media in Wales; from various prominent academics within Wales as well as within the wider LPP community; and from a collection of well-coordinated language pressure groups. In spite of the above, through close reference to the theory of postmodernism, I tentatively conclude that the WAG's vision of a truly bilingual Wales is not achievable.

The individual in Wales is liable to view and treat the Welsh language as one of many non-essential identity markers to be acquired, conserved and jettisoned or simply ignored as they so wish. Similarly detrimental to the bilingual ambition is the absence of national unity in Wales, which may be attributed to the phenomenon of cosmopolitanism, different strengths of imagining the Welsh nation and the presence of two strands of nationalism: ethnic/language and civic/institutional. The latter strand has come to prominence in post-devolution Wales, with the result that the English language is used at the expense of Welsh. It is also evident that the nationalist movement is to some extent divided with Plaid Cymru and Cymdeithas Yr Iaith demanding that language policy focuses on the mainstreaming of Welsh throughout the whole of Wales, while in contrast Cymuned wishes for the focus to be on the Welsh heartlands. The 'racist nationalist' idiom, which portrays the minority language as divisive, elitist and racist, also hampers efforts to effectuate a fully functional bilingual society. The circulation of this particular idiom in Wales serves to highlight how despite receiving support from the media and academia as indicated above, certain individuals and groups within these spheres are prepared to attack the Welsh language and its supporters and thereby jeopardise the bold bilingual vision.

The lack of unity in Wales is also highlighted by a difference of viewpoint on Wales' colonial past. For some, the country is the victim of colonial oppression while for others it was only ever the perpetrator of such oppression during the age of empire. The extent of the WAG's control over discourses relating to the Welsh language is limited thanks to intertextuality, another pivotal feature of postmodern theory. The domination of global satellite television, the creation of phantasmagorias in many

homes in Wales and the physical and virtual movement of Welsh people out of the region limits S4C's ability to aid the realisation of a truly bilingual Wales. The transience that pervades postmodernity renders the WAG's long-term language planning problematic. Some members of the monolingual English-speaking majority resist, what they consider to be, the oppressive linguistic demands of minority language activists – and this resistance may well take the form of indifference. It is also apparent that despite the success of the Welsh Language Plans, the individual rights of Welsh speakers are ignored while the education system as a whole is beset with structural problems. This further militates against the achievement of a truly bilingual Wales as does the absence of a primate city that embodies a traditional Welsh-speaking culture.

The WAG (2003, p.11) aims to increase the number of people able to speak Welsh by 5% between 2001 and 2011, to increase the percentage of children in receipt of Welsh medium pre-school education over that same ten year-period and to ensure that public, private and voluntary organisations can provide more services through the medium of Welsh in 2011 than they were able to in 2001. It is likely that the 2011 census will show that the institution has achieved these aims. In addition, it is also likely that the Welsh language will become increasingly visible in post-devolution, nationalistic Wales through the further Cymrification of street and school names etc. and through the increased production of bilingual signage and bilingual documents. Despite this, a truly bilingual Wales is still not achievable because such a linguistic state does not appeal to a significant amount of non-Welsh speakers. The WAG will however persist with its present language policy, in the near future at least, since the desirability of the bilingual vision for the politically powerful Welsh-speaking peripheral elite as well as for some within Wales' general population prevents a dispassionate reassessment of its achievability. Equally, this bilingual vision appears to ignore, purposefully or otherwise, the various living languages in the country such as Urdu, Bengali, Punjabi, Arabic and French to name just a small selection. Due to the presence of these speakers, I do not just question whether a truly bilingual Wales is achievable, but whether such an objective is ethically desirable.

It is clear that a top-down rather than a bottom-up movement strives to normalise bilingualism in Wales. Calls for increased regulation and legislation come from the

establishment, not from the ordinary citizens of Wales. The powerful will doubtless argue that they represent and struggle for the powerless, but in effect they also act out of self-interest in their determination to realise a bilingual nation. Further, aware that the Welsh language is in decline in the Welsh-speaking heartlands, the WAG aims 'to arrest the decline in the number of communities where Welsh is spoken by 70% of the population' (WAG, 2003, p.11). This institution, I suggest, ought to prioritise this aim to the extent it becomes the nucleus of a new Welsh language policy that aspires to protect and promote the Welsh language in its traditional heartlands of North West Wales. Aitchison & Carter (2004, pp.133 & 134) suggest the 2001 census indicates that 'the traditional heartland of the language has suffered further erosion'. This certainly requires attention because a territorial base is necessary for facilitating the transmission of the language between mother and children. According to these geographers, many activists argue that the decline of the Welsh heartland is 'the greatest threat to the language' and the recent progress in the more peripheral, anglicised areas cannot mitigate that decline (2004, p.135).

Considering the tentativeness of my conclusion about the achievability of a truly bilingual Wales, in the following chapter it is my intention to undertake a closer analysis of a particular location, to come to a clearer conclusion on this issue.

4: Case Study of Newport

4.0: Introduction

In chapter 3, through close reference to this social theory, I tentatively conclude that the WAG's vision of a 'truly bilingual' Wales is not achievable. Here, in chapter 4, I conduct my own research in the form of a case study so as to consolidate or contradict this conclusion. I specifically consider the following question: through close reference to postmodernism, does Newport problematise the planned outcome of the Welsh Assembly Government's language policy for Wales? If so, how? I chose this city because I recognise that for a truly bilingual Wales to transpire, there has to be a truly bilingual Newport, unless of course the border between England and Wales is amended again, which, given the current political climate, seems somewhat improbable. It is also valuable to conduct research in Newport because this city has been the focus of very little previous research concerning Welsh language usage in comparison with other towns and cities situated in Wales.

I was born and spent my early childhood in Nottingham before moving to Newport in the mid 1970s. My stay there has not been continuous since I have also lived in Portsmouth, Leeds, Newcastle, Brighton, Birmingham, Oxford, London and Southampton from the 1980s onwards. However, I currently reside in Newport and have in fact done so at some juncture in each of the last four decades. I am therefore familiar with the culture of the city, to some extent at least, which may be an advantage. Saville-Troike (1994, p.109) insists that it is advantageous for researchers to study their own culture as they can use themselves 'as sources of information and interpretation'. I am also mindful that the researcher, as Payne & Payne (2004, p.73) indicate, has to appreciate the importance of reflexivity: they have to consider carefully their own reactions to their encounters. It is therefore important for me to acknowledge that my insider status could influence how I interpret the data I collect from interviews with and observations of people who live and/or work in Newport. To tackle the research question outlined above, I divide this fourth main body chapter into various sections. In the first I provide an overview of Newport, while in the second I concentrate on the subject of data collection and in the third I discuss and analyse my findings.

4.1: An Overview of Newport

Sited in S.E. Wales, with a population of 140,000, Newport City Council (2008, [www]) refers to Newport as a multicultural city, which stands 'at the gateway between England and Wales'. The ethnic minority population of Newport rose from 3.5% to 4.8% between the censuses of 1991 and 2001 (Newport City Council, 2011a).One significant aspect of the city's multiculturalism is its relatively large and increasing number of languages, as discussed in more depth in 4.3.6. Aside from linguistic change, Newport is the recipient of substantive structural change following the formal approval of the *2020 Vision* for regeneration (*Newport Unlimited* 2008). Thorns (2002, p.125) states that, 'the move towards consumption as the driving force of the city has resulted in a dramatic change to the visual form of the city'. The physical appearance of every city has not been or will ever be radically altered in line with the postmodern transition from production to consumption. Nevertheless, Grant Watson (2008, p.41), Chairman of *Newport Unlimited*, refers to the vision 'to transform' Newport so that it may develop an international profile, while Huw Jenkins (2008, p.42), an employee of the same regeneration company, reports that the city 'is reinventing itself at a fast pace'.

The master plan for the heart of Newport involves the development of various transportation networks serving the city; the construction of new homes to encourage urban living; the creation of different cultural and leisure attractions in close proximity to the river; the establishment of new office spaces; the expansion of the existing retail environment and the foundation of a new university campus, which, it is anticipated, will occasion a doubling of the current number of students. On completion of this plan, the city centre, according to *Newport Unlimited* (2008), will be 'a vibrant place for people to live, work, shop and learn'. When Newport hosts the Ryder Cup in 2010, it is estimated that the public sector will have invested more than £100 million in the city's redevelopment and the private sector in excess of £1 billion, with a second billion anticipated by 2015 (Jenkins, 2008, p.42). These figures reflect what Murphet (2004, p.122) alleges is the relative decline of state investment in urban regeneration during the postmodern era.

Newport has two parliamentary seats: Newport East and Newport West. Figure 3 below presents the percentage of the total vote that each political party achieved in the two constituencies at the General Election of May 2010.

General Election Results: May 2010			
Percentage of total vote for *Newport West*		**Percentage of total vote for *Newport East***	
Labour	41.3%	Labour	37%
Conservatives	32.3%	Liberal Democrats	32.2%
Liberal Democrats	16.6%	Conservatives	23%
British National Party	3%	British National Party	3.4%
UK Independence Party	2.9%	Plaid Cymru	2.1%
Plaid Cymru	2.8%	UK Independence Party	2%
The Green Party	1.1%	Socialist Labour	1.1%

Figure 3: General Election Results For Newport: May 2010
(Newport City Council, 2010a, [www])

From the above table, it is apparent that the Labour Party won the most votes in both Newport West and Newport East. It is similarly apparent that Plaid Cymru (the Party of Wales) also lost its deposits in both constituencies, attracting fewer votes than the British National Party (BNP). However, as stated in 3.3.1, Plaid Cymru are the second largest party in the Welsh National Assembly and entered into a power sharing agreement with the Welsh Labour Party after the 2007 Welsh Assembly election. The Welsh nationalists win few votes in Newport, either for the Westminster Parliament, the Welsh Assembly or the Council. They are nevertheless sufficiently powerful in

Wales to influence and even to direct Welsh language policy across the whole of the region.

The 2001 Census indicates the percentage of the population aged 3 and over *able to speak Welsh* by local authority, the percentage of the population aged 3 and over *able to speak, read or write Welsh* by local authority*;* and the percentage of the population aged 3 and over *with no knowledge of Welsh* by local authority. Figure 4 provides statistics for the above categories from the local authorities of Newport, Cardiff and Swansea.

Percentage of people aged 3 and over *able to speak Welsh* in the cities of Newport, Cardiff and Swansea according to the 2001 census							
Newport	10%		Cardiff	11%		Swansea	13.4%
Percentage of people aged 3 and over *able to either speak, read or write Welsh* in the cities of Newport, Cardiff and Swansea according to the 2001 census							
Newport	11.5%		Cardiff	13.4%		Swansea	16.5%
Percentage of people aged 3 and over with *no knowledge of Welsh* in the cities of Newport, Cardiff and Swansea according to the 2001 census							
Newport	86.6%		Cardiff	83.7%		Swansea	77.5%

Figure 4: Speaking, reading and writing Welsh in Newport, Cardiff and Swansea (Welsh Language Board, 2003).

Figure 4 reveals that exactly 1 in 10 of Newport's population aged 3 and over is *able to speak Welsh*, which although slightly lower is very comparable to the populations of both Cardiff and Swansea. Marginally more than 1 in 10 of Newport's population aged 3 and over is *able either to speak Welsh, read and write Welsh,* which although slightly lower is similar to the statistics that the first and second cities present for the same category. Approaching 90% of Newport's population has *no knowledge of Welsh*, which though a little higher is still within 10% of the percentages that Cardiff and Swansea register for the same category.

The 2001 census also indicates the percentage of people *able to speak Welsh* by age group. Figure 5 provides statistics for this category from the local authorities of Newport, Cardiff and Swansea.

Percentage of people *able to speak Welsh* in the cities of Newport, Cardiff and Swansea by age group according to the 2001 census									
Age Group	***10-14***	***16-19***	***20-24***	***25-39***	***40-49***	***50-59***	***60-64***	***65-74***	***75+***
Newport	*46.1%*	*15.7%*	*3.8%*	*2.9%*	*2.7%*	*2.7%*	*2.1%*	*2.6%*	*2.4%*
Cardiff	*31%*	*15.7%*	*9.9%*	*9.4%*	*6.4%*	*6.1%*	*5.0%*	*4.7%*	*5.2%*
Swansea	*28%*	*14.6%*	*8.1%*	*7.6%*	*8.7%*	*11.2%*	*13.7%*	*14.9%*	*20.4%*

Figure 5: Speakers of Welsh in Newport, Cardiff and Swansea by age group (Welsh Language Board, 2003)

The relatively high percentage (46.1%) of 10-14 year olds *able to speak Welsh* in Newport is not witnessed in the older age ranges. The percentages of people *able to speak Welsh* in Newport from the age group 20-24 through to the age group 75+ are significantly lower than the percentages for the same age groups in Cardiff and Swansea. The census is a focal point of the discussion in some later sections. According to my research, the people of Newport tend to believe that fewer individuals living and working alongside them are *able to speak Welsh* than official statistics indicate. Having provided an overview of the city of Newport, I now discuss how I collected my research data.

4.2: Data Collection

I conducted several semi-structured interviews with people who lived and/or worked in Newport during 2008 and 2009. All the interviewees were to some extent affected by the Welsh Assembly Government's bilingual vision. Thorns (2002, p.80) notes how postmodernism rejects 'claims to objectivity and universal truth in favour of positioned accounts and the actual voices of the subject groups'. Instead of focusing solely on the views of various representatives of prominent institutions, I thus resolved to include the positioned accounts and voices of 'ordinary' subjects residing

within and/or commuting to and from Newport. The sample of thirty-three interviewees contained a balance of males (seventeen) and females (sixteen), who were all over twenty-one. The majority were aged between thirty and sixty-five, while the oldest was in their late seventies and the two youngest interviewees were aged twenty-one and twenty-two respectively.

I found my participants through contacting them directly by phone or email, through meeting them 'on my travels' around the city or through being put in contact with them via third parties. I carefully explained the nature of the research to all the participants/interviewees, who consented to my recording their contributions and using relevant aspects of them. The participants' contributions reflect their own views and not necessarily their employer's. Interviews varied in length, the longest being a little less than one hour, while the shortest, just under ten minutes. The vast majority of interviews were conducted at the participant's place of work while a couple were carried out in the participant's home. I did not interview any participant more than once and I did not know any participant personally before interviewing them. I recorded all the interviews on a Dictaphone before transferring them to a single USB storage device for transcription. I subsequently chose and transcribed extracts of varying length from different interviewees.

The interviews gave me the opportunity to ask questions relating to the WAG's bilingual vision and bilingualism in Newport. I repeatedly used certain questions over the course of the interviews, but decided against using an identical set of pre-established questions for all interviewees. My thinking prior to and during the interviews about the interviewees' likely area of expertise and/or interest influenced my choice of questions. I also posed questions relating to issues of concern that the interviewees themselves raised but I had not previously thought to address. I was conscious of the need to eradicate my dominant position as researcher so allowed the interviewees to lead me at times. I decided against referring directly to another key concept, namely postmodernism or one of its derivatives, as to do so would, I believe, have caused confusion among the vast majority of interviewees. Despite this, I was still able to address the chapter's research question by means of analysing all the data from the standpoint of postmodernism. In addition, I occasionally used ideas associated with postmodernism in my questions while on occasion the interviewees

also made reference to such ideas in their answers. They seemed unaware that such ideas might be connected to the social theory under discussion, which I had fully expected to be the case. Appendix 1 contains a selection of questions I put to the interviewees.

In addition to interviews, I collected data through observing the linguistic behaviour of individuals and groups in various locations within Newport between 2006 and 2009. I employed a combination of methods – interview and observation – rather than a single method since I recognised the importance of data triangulation. I lived and worked in the city for a large proportion of this three-year period so was able to observe countless communicative exchanges as I 'naturally' went about my daily business. I visited supermarkets, shops, banks, cafes, restaurants and libraries etc. because I desired one of the specific goods and/or services on offer there. The primary motivation for going to these places was not to observe and record the conversations of some of the people I encountered there. However, I was constantly aware of my role as a researcher, which meant that all the dialogue I observed had the potential to generate data relevant to my study. I also made sure that I visited more areas/electoral districts of Newport than I would normally, in order to encounter a greater variety of communicative exchanges. I did not use a Dictaphone or video to record any of my observations. Sometimes, I made written notes out of sight of those observed while, on other occasions, I made mental notes of useful aspects of observations. I word-processed all notes within hours of making them.

4.3: Summary of Findings

4.3.1: Closeness to England
• Interviewees highlighted Newport's Englishness or geographic and cultural closeness to England, and Bristol in particular. This seems to be a significant reason why English monolingualism is the norm in Newport.

4.3.2: The Welsh Language: Present and Future

- My observations support the general view of the interviewees that very little Welsh is spoken and heard in Newport at present.
- According to my research, the use of the minority language in Newport is not expected to increase in the future, and certainly not to the extent that the city could be classed as bilingual.

4.3.3: The Welsh Language in Compulsory Education

- Interviewees on the whole questioned the point of learning Welsh, believing that there would be limited, if any, opportunities to use the language in Newport.
- The compulsory aspect of the Welsh Assembly Government's bilingual educational policy has caused some disquiet among many of those interviewed.
- Teachers claim that pupils do not receive sufficient Welsh language instruction to allow them to become fluent speakers.
- The demand for Welsh medium education in Newport has increased for a variety of reasons.

4.3.4: Attitudes towards the Welsh Language

- Interviewees tended for the most part to have rather negative attitudes towards the Welsh language. The majority believed that the language has no use value.
- In the extreme, some interviewees were openly hostile to the promotion of the Welsh language, whereas others referred to Newport's indifference to the Welsh language.
- One interviewee suggested however that bilingualism could succeed in Newport because, unlike in certain areas of Wales, its people have not been prejudiced by a previous negative experience with Welsh.

4.3.5: Newport & 'One Wales'

- The notion of 'One Wales' has been promoted since the victory of the *Yes* campaign in the devolution referendum and the subsequent foundation of the Welsh National Assembly.
- The WAG insists its bilingual policy be implemented throughout the whole of Wales.
- However the interviewees in the main saw the region as characterised by cultural and linguistic diversity rather than unity.
- The general consensus appeared to be that Newport is one of the least Welsh areas in the region.

4.3.6: Other Languages besides Welsh

- My observations support the claims of interviewees who believe that many languages are more widely spoken in Newport than Welsh.
- Newport is a multilingual rather than a bilingual city with a multitude of different languages spoken within its borders.
- Many of Newport's bilinguals speak English plus another language such as Urdu, Bengali or Polish etc. A truly bilingual Newport may be achievable if bilingualism refers to competence in two languages rather than simply to competence in English and Welsh.

4.3.7: Bilingual Signs and Announcements

- Most interviewees responded negatively to the bilingual signage in Newport, believing that it was costly, confusing and unnecessary for the overwhelming majority of the population who had no knowledge of Welsh.
- The bilingual platform announcements on Newport station are a source of irritation among many in Newport, especially among those who commute to work on a daily basis. They object to the language hierarchy (Welsh first and English second).

4.3.8: The Welsh Language & Tourism

- There are pros and cons with the Welsh language for tourism in Newport.
- It appears that business tourists, representatives of various UK and foreign companies, view the Welsh language negatively.
- Conversely, cultural tourists may aid the campaign to increase bilingualism throughout Wales, and more specifically in Newport.
- Has Newport cultivated a myth about the importance of the Welsh language to everyday life in the city to attract cultural tourists?

4.3.9: The Welsh Language & Business

- My interviews and observations indicate that neither public nor private sector companies located in Newport conduct their business through the medium of Welsh.
- Some language activists and supporters seek an amendment to the Welsh Language Act to compel private sector companies to increase the Welsh language services they provide for both their staff and customers alike.
- My research suggests such an amendment would impact negatively on small and large private companies that operate in Newport.

4.3.10: Welsh in the Health Sector

- My research suggests that the Welsh language tends to feature in few, if any, daily exchanges between health workers or between health workers and the public in Newport's Royal Gwent Hospital.
- The restricted use of Welsh among staff and clients at the hospital can be attributed to a limited demand for rather than an inadequate supply of the language.

4.4: Conclusion

In keeping with postmodern theory, I recognise that my truth about Newport is partial in that it represents an incomplete account of reality, and could only ever do so, even if I had undertaken considerably more interviews and completed significantly more observations. My truth is also partial in that despite my desire for objectivity it inevitably represents a biased account of reality - not least because of my insider status. Grenz (1996, p.41) confirms this, stating that there exists 'no fixed vantage point beyond our own structuring of the world' that enables an objective understanding of reality 'out there'. I therefore do not conclude that a truly bilingual Newport is absolutely unachievable, nor do I fail to appreciate the commitment and expertise of those in key positions aiming to effectuate such a circumstance. The individuals I interviewed at Newport City Council, at Gwent Health Care Trust, and in adult education who were responsible for the inclusion and promotion of Welsh language services in the schools, the workplaces and the wider community of Newport convinced me that they had the passion and competence to assist the WAG with its bilingual objective. I also respect the postmodern argument that history is discontinuous, which suggests that Newport's monolingual (recent) past ought not to preclude its bilingual future. Through close reference to postmodern theory, I nonetheless do tentatively conclude that the city of Newport problematises the WAG's bilingual vision.

With regard to performance, a key characteristic of postmodernism, the majority of interviewees argued that they as individuals and the people of Newport as a whole never perform with the minority language in public or private domains. More than any other, this argument, which my observations corroborate, leads me to the above conclusion about the likelihood of a bilingual Newport. Also, my findings relating to the interactional use of Welsh in Newport complement Coupland et al's (2006b, p.371) criticism of the current bilingual policy in Wales (first discussed in 3.5.4) for attempting to establish Welsh as a 'living language' in a truly bilingual Wales. In contrast to the interactional use, these researchers identified significant support among their participants for the ceremonial use of Welsh as 'a means of engaging with the language as a form of cultural display'. I would wish to conduct more research before stating whether there appears to be greater support for the ceremonial than the

interactional use of Welsh in Newport. However, the majority of interviewees gave me the impression that much of Newport's population tends to be indifferent towards the language regardless of context.

Despite the absence of spoken Welsh in the city, I observed that Newport has a bilingual landscape as the interviewees indicated. Bilingual signage features in banks, hospitals, libraries, car parks, public companies, supermarkets, the tax office and various organisations owned by or affiliated to Newport City Council etc. The Welsh language though is not visible in independently owned shops while some of the chain stores located in the city centre also have no bilingual signage. The Welsh Dragon flag flies on a few buildings and features on some car number plates, which I suggest, serves to confirm Newport's Welshness and location in Wales. I also observed a relatively small number of individuals wearing clothes with visual signifiers of the country such as a Welsh rugby shirt or a T-shirt with three feathers etc.

I witnessed the purchasing of England football shirts in one Newport sports shop (8/11/08) where the shop assistant explained that these shirts were outselling Welsh ones. This may be indicative of Newport's geographic and cultural closeness to England. Alternatively, it may simply indicate that association with a winning team is more important to some young people in Newport than allegiance to Wales. The overwhelming majority of the Newport population I observed did not align themselves with either of the countries through their attire, yet among the extremely small number that chose to do so, most wore shirts, jumpers and coats with the colours and symbols of Wales. I believe that the people of Newport in general have a closer affiliation to Wales than in the past, even if, as the majority of interviewees claim, they affiliate less closely to the region than the people of other Welsh towns and cities do. However, I am unconvinced that Newport's closer affiliation to Wales will provoke greater learning and using of Welsh.

I did not have the opportunity to observe any Welsh lessons in Newport junior or secondary schools. Nevertheless, I was able to collect and analyse data from the interviewees about Welsh language usage in primary and secondary education in the city. Following this, I suggest that the very limited interactional use of Welsh in the city is not likely to change in the future. Among those interviewees asked, there was

general agreement that it would be better if the learning of Welsh in English-medium Newport schools were optional rather than compulsory – which chimes with postmodern theory's emphasis on an individual's right to choose. I argue that the provision of choice would further problematise the WAG's bilingual objective, which the institution will already have great difficulty in meeting, given that, as interviewees state, Newport pupils presently receive between one and two hours of instruction in the Welsh language per week, both at primary and secondary level. Interviewees collectively offered a variety of reasons as to why a child might attend Newport's Welsh medium primary school. Hence, I argue that it is important for those who make statements in support of or in opposition to Welsh medium education to guard against reductionism in respect to why any child attends a Welsh medium school in the city. Further research can assist a deeper understanding of reasons for attendance at such a school, which in turn can provide a greater understanding of the likelihood of a truly bilingual Newport.

The education debate aside, I infer from most interviewees' responses that the learning of Welsh does not assist the efficient operation of the social system in Newport. Of concern to some interviewees, I also infer, is the 'Cymrification' of Newport, which manifests itself through bilingual platform announcements and bilingual signage etc. Strinati refers to postmodernity as an era when 'previously unified and coherent ideas about space and time begin to be undermined and subject to distortions and confusions' (1992, p.3). The 'Cymrification' of Newport, I suggest, causes the majority of the city's current residents and workers to experience some degree of spatial and temporal confusion. The postmodern theorist Baudrillard (1994, p.1) defines simulation as 'the generation by models of a real without origin or a reality: a hyperreal'. The recent installation of Welsh text – spoken and written – may render Newport a simulation of a Welsh-speaking city or a hyperreal Welsh-speaking city. A simulation or not, it is apparent from interviewees' responses that Newport is culturally diverse as exemplified by the relatively large number of languages in circulation there.

It is the presence of living languages other than English that problematises the WAG's bilingual vision, as originally argued in chapter 3 in relation to Wales as a whole. In light of Newport's multilingualism, I suggest the Assembly Government

might abandon its national bilingual plan for a series of language plans that specifically accommodate the needs and wishes of the many culturally diverse localities over which it presides. I believe that a strength of the research was to employ two methods, interviews and observations, for the collection of the data that formed the basis of chapter 4. Owing to my employment of these dual methods, I became more sceptical of the value of quantitative data collection in the context of bilingualism in Newport. Some interviewees shared my scepticism, expressing concern that statistics from the 2001 census relating to the number of Welsh speakers in Newport failed to identify the level of proficiency of those speakers. My interviews and observations suggest that substantially fewer people actually use the language in the gateway city than formal statistical evidence indicates.

5: Conclusion

5.0: Introduction

This thesis comprises four main chapters, each addressing specific research questions. In answer to chapter 1's research questions, I conclude that language policy and planning has developed rapidly as a subject of academic enquiry since World War II, particularly during its third phase that has its origins in the 1980s but continues today. Here I also explain that there is a distinct need for a postmodern approach to language policy. In chapter 2, I first question the 'objective' definition of the term minority. Next, in response to the chapter's principal question, I conclude that characteristics and trends associated with postmodern theory are neither unequivocally supportive nor unsupportive of minority language maintenance. On the basis of what I consider to be the most compelling arguments (discussed in this chapter's conclusion), I more specifically conclude that such characteristics and trends are in the main not supportive of minority language maintenance.

In answer to chapter 3's research question, I tentatively conclude, through close reference to postmodernism, that the WAG's vision of a truly bilingual Wales is not achievable, which is a conclusion similarly arrived at for Newport in chapter 4. I would also reach the same conclusion about the achievability of both a truly bilingual Wales and a truly bilingual Newport, with or without reference to postmodernism. Equally, I do not conclude that this city is untypical of the rest of Wales, in terms of its limited engagement with Welshness in general and the Welsh language in particular. Many of my participants suggest that this is indeed the case. However, I did not carry out comparable research in other areas such as Swansea, Aberystwyth, Caernarvon or Bangor, etc. to facilitate a comparative assessment with Newport. Thus, a future study is necessary to determine whether or to what extent Newport is an untypical Welsh town or city in respect to the criteria cited above. In my view, the vast majority of places in Wales will never be truly bilingual for reasons put forward in Chapter 3. Here, in the Conclusion, I focus on a general, overarching research question that underpins the whole thesis: to what extent and in what ways is postmodernism a useful theoretical perspective for academics in the field of language policy and planning (LPP)?

5.1: Reflections on Postmodernism

Following my research, I would encourage others to regard postmodernism as a singular entity and not to think in terms of multiple postmodernisms. This might appear to be at variance with postmodernism's advocacy of plurality and rejection of singularity. I argue though that, from a postmodern perspective, it is mistaken to think in terms of two or more postmodernisms since such thinking is quite possibly founded on the premise that no theory should be internally contradictory. We ought not to think of mutually exclusive or even overlapping postmodernisms because this runs contrary to a critical tenet of postmodernism: an acceptance of contradictions. Arguments and ideas relating to the single theoretical framework of postmodernism may for instance be employed to support an assimilationist approach to language policy, while others, to endorse a multiculturalist approach, as highlighted in 2.2.2. As with all theories, postmodernism is a social construction with various defining characteristics added to its theoretical base following the publication of each new postmodern text. Regardless of its size, postmodern theory does not require division or sub-categorisation: it is a single, predominantly consistent theory.

To benefit from using postmodernism, I advocate that postmodern theory be accepted as simply one of many theories in circulation in postmodernity and one whose relevance does not necessarily exceed that of any other theory. Here I consider how the theoretical framework of postmodernism is useful for researchers in the field of LPP. However, I do not argue that postmodernism is more or less useful for them than nationalism, liberalism, conservatism etc. I have illustrated throughout the previous chapters how postmodernism may be relevant for LPP but concede that its relevance may eclipse or be eclipsed by an alternative theory depending on context. Academics also need to accept that some of postmodernism's arguments undeniably originate in other theories. Its perspective on the relationship between the individual and the group hints at liberalism, its standpoint on resistance resonates with Marxism, its outlook on the market and consumption relates to capitalism, its emphasis on practicality alludes to pragmatism etc, and its focus on concepts such as hybridity and ambivalence coincides with postcolonialism, as indicated in 3.5.3. In order to benefit from using postmodern theory, academics have merely to focus on the relevance, and to ignore the origins, of its arguments. The theory's originality (if significant) derives from its inclusion of a plurality of arguments appropriated from other 'isms'.

It is important for academics involved in LPP as well as for anyone else that engages with postmodernism to recognise that the relevance of this theoretical framework is likely to endure. Bauman & Tester (2007, p.25) claim that 'boredom is the sequel and consequence of any hype' so from their perspective it is understandable that we have become bored with buzzwords such as postmodernism and postmodernity after their initial hype. They state that fewer books are published today with postmodernity in their titles than in the mid-1990s when such publications were at their peak. In contrast, Connor (2004, p.1) claims that postmodernism has an incredible facility to renew itself in the face of decline and will endure for a considerable period of time to come. Postmodernism, in my view, is likely to remain a relatively popular theoretical framework for the explanation of contemporary culture in the foreseeable future although, in keeping with all theories, its popularity will not be immune to fluctuation. I anticipate sustained interest among some members of the academic community in the work of leading intellectuals such as Lyotard, Derrida, Foucault and Baudrillard, which will ultimately help the term postmodernism and its derivatives to retain some currency. I also expect the arguments and ideas of other thinkers associated with postmodernism (and cited in this thesis) to remain relevant. It is likely that many of these thinkers will contribute new arguments and ideas to the existing theoretical framework.

I argue that it is also helpful for academics operating in the area of LPP to appreciate that all knowledge, from a postmodern perspective, is incomplete and temporary, which means that they cannot possibly know everything about postmodern theory - and neither is it necessary for them to do so – but they need to review periodically that which they do know. I believe that the theoretical perspective of postmodernism can help academics to comprehend more deeply, or differently, matters relevant to their own professional practice.

5.2: The Usefulness of Postmodernism

Were academics involved in LPP to reflect on postmodern theory's position on objectivity, some might become less assertive about their own truth claims and more amenable to the claims of others. Contributors to this social theory are not the first or only individuals to identify the tendency for certain truth-claims to be erroneously presented and accepted as objective. The theoretical perspective of postmodernism

may however be engaged to problematise the 'objectivity' of selected claims to truth. From a postmodern perspective, no single truth about the world can exist since the notion of unmediated knowledge is specious. All knowledge, as Fox (1999, p.177) argues, is conditional upon the setting, the observer and the purpose of the observation. An acceptance of this may help academics to reflect more keenly on their subjective involvement in any study. I wish my study of Welsh language usage in Newport to be impartial and representative, yet it is also unavoidably subjective.

As with all authors, I cannot fully escape my identity or subjectivity to write from a position of objectivity. My membership and non-membership of, together with my attitudes towards, various 'tribes' undeniably impacts my collection and analysis of the data for the Newport study. From a postmodern perspective, however, it is important that all academics, including those involved in LPP, are self-reflexive, which, as Brooker (2002, p.190) claims, requires self-confrontation prior to reflection. I continually confront my self during the writing of this thesis, which enables me to identify and moderate some of my biases throughout the chapters. Nevertheless, despite my self-reflexivity, I acknowledge the unavoidable presence of bias throughout the thesis. It is important that other researchers do likewise, particularly those involved in LPP, because in my opinion so much writing on the subject of minority languages is based on the assumption that the linguistic minority has been unfairly marginalised and oppressed: in short, the linguistic minority is uncritically assigned the role of victim and the linguistic majority the role of villain.

Aside from bias, postmodernism can help researchers to employ caution when generalising research findings. Fox (1999, p.177) explains how from a postmodern perspective, it is unlikely that research findings can 'be generalised beyond the settings in which they were gathered'. I am not arguing that researchers in the field of LPP, or any researchers for that matter, ought to fully embrace the postmodern concern of relativism and consequently refrain from generalising all research findings. Conclusions drawn and deductions made in one context can certainly have relevance for other contexts. I argue however that postmodernism can serve as a means to guard against the overgeneralisation of findings. Concerning my research, some of my findings about Welsh language usage can quite possibly be generalised to towns and cities beyond Newport. However, in accordance with postmodern theory, I caution

against generalising those same findings to the whole of Wales, to places such as Carmarthen, Lampeter and Welshpool for instance because I recognise that Wales is characterised by linguistic and cultural diversity. Findings relating to the provision and use of Welsh language services in town A or towns A, B and C cannot be generalised to the whole of the region.

In addition to the issue of objectivity, it is useful for academics involved in the discipline of LPP to consider the postmodern perspective on the text. The postmodernist Derrida (1976, p.158) argues 'nothing exists outside of the text', which implies that textual reality subsumes external reality. Some academics exploit this argument for their advantage – albeit not necessarily consciously: through the circulation of texts, they construct a reality to which certain individuals/groups are prepared to subscribe, even though the reality in question is only ever likely to be textual. Certain individuals/groups for example tend to believe in the achievability of a truly bilingual Wales, solely through engagement with a textual reality carefully orchestrated by a combination of politicians, media professionals and academics operating in Wales. It is possible that postmodernism's emphasis on textual reality may help some academics to focus more intently than ever on observing and encouraging the observation of linguistic behaviour in the external world. Many academics involved in LPP will doubtless continue to regard the text simply as an important means of communicating their preferred linguistic reality to students and the wider public. Postmodernism is a useful theoretical framework not only because it emphasises the power of the text in the construction of reality but also because it highlights the importance of the reader to the production of meaning.

In this thesis I have concentrated on two phenomena closely associated with postmodernism: deconstructionism and intertextuality. The first encourages the reader to derive meaning(s) from any text that contradicts the meaning(s) the author of the text in question intends. The sociolinguist may produce a text to promote a specific argument about a particular language, but a reader adopting a deconstructionist position may identify and assimilate a counter-argument from that same text. Some understanding of deconstructionism can help academics to recognise or simply to remember that any argument they articulate in any text about LPP can be conceivably challenged. The second phenomenon, intertextuality, stresses the relationship between

texts, which results in it being rather difficult for anyone, including academics engaged in LPP, to regulate the communication of messages. Discourses may be framed in certain ways to facilitate only the communication of positive, supportive messages; yet, due to the inevitable existence of intertextual relations, the frames surrounding any discourse are susceptible to permeation. Intertextual relations, I accept, are clearly in existence long before the advent of the postmodern age and postmodernism. Some familiarity with intertextuality as well as deconstructionism may nonetheless help academics undertaking research in the sphere of LPP to better appreciate that the reader will not necessarily understand a text in the way its creator intended.

It is possible for academics to synthesise arguments from various (diverse) theories to defend a particular position. The concept of dedifferentiation – closely aligned to postmodernism - may be invoked to justify any such synthesis. Due to the synthesis of arguments from one theory with those from another, academics can present more imaginative solutions to any given language problem. Through reference to postmodernism, they are better able to justify their decision to liberate themselves from the creative, cognitive restrictions likely to ensue from fidelity to a single 'pure' theory. In addition to the synthesis of theories, academics in the field of LPP may wish to consider the synthesis of languages. There is some limited hybridisation of languages in the postmodern age, such as the Spanglish spoken by the Latinos in the USA; yet, we are not witnessing the replacement of the autonomous language with a hybrid counterpart. I do not argue that postmodernism awakens academics to the hybridisation of languages, but postmodernism can alert them to the wider trend of synthesis that not only resonates with languages but also other salient phenomena in the postmodern era.

I suggest that some engagement with postmodernism will provide academics with a greater appreciation of time, in particular, a greater appreciation of the importance of the present. There is some potential to manipulate nostalgic sentiment to advantage a particular minority language in the present; however, this theory emphasises the limitation of nostalgia as it is not possible to return to an earlier time when minority language usage was more in keeping with the aspirations of some of today's

academics in the field of LPP. Furthermore, the past is characterised by rupture and discontinuity so what matters most from a postmodern perspective is not the historical continuity of a minority language in any specified territory, but the use of that language in that territory in the present. From a postmodern perspective, it is advisable to view the past as a pliable narrative set to change in accordance with the agendas of prominent individuals and institutions at various points in time.

Some in positions of power in Wales today recount the 'Eisteddfod' narrative, which characterises the inhabitants of Newport as being supportive of the Welsh cultural festival when it came to their city in the summer of 2004. I suggest that extensive research needs to be undertaken to examine the legitimacy of this particular narrative. I do not believe that the number of Newport residents attending the festival was ever officially recorded. The city's location means that the Eisteddfod was in comparatively easy reach of people based in Cardiff (where there is a more sizeable Welsh-speaking population) and in Bristol as well. It is also such an important event in Wales' cultural calendar that visitors attend from all around the country each year. Months after this particular event, *The Argus*, Newport's local newspaper, actually ran a headline 'Do not worry about festival's Welshness'. It referred to the concern of Dr John Hughes (2004), Chairman of the Newport and District Eisteddfod, that the people of Newport were essentially uninterested in attending the second Eisteddfod to be held in their city in 2004. However, it is commonplace for institutional narratives in circulation in post-Millennium Wales to promote Newport's Welshness in line with the Welsh Assembly Government's objective of building a nation that includes rather than excludes this border city. Quite unsurprisingly, there appears to be little institutional support at present for the 'Newport is an English city' narrative, which had wider currency in the relatively recent past.

In this thesis I repeatedly refer to postmodern theory's close alignment with the concept of performance. Those involved in LPP make predictions about increases/decreases in the percentage of speakers of a particular minority language at some future point. They also request an increase in services that can be accessed via that particular language whilst determining to enhance its visibility and audibility (through signage and texts) in a designated region. I recognise the value and necessity of the above activities to help secure the future of minority languages. The transient

nature of postmodern life however makes planning for the future development of any (minority) language problematic. Through reference to postmodernism, academics operating within the field of LPP may thus resolve to focus more keenly on current rather than potential language usage. With regard to Wales, I suggest that the present level of Welsh language usage is at least as valuable an indicator of the likely success of the WAG's bilingual plan as estimates about future Welsh language usage.

Aside from the subject of time, I argue that postmodernism is also important for LPP professionals because of its capacity to provide them with a richer understanding of space. The significance ascribed to a national space or a nation's territory has been superseded by an increasing emphasis on global and local spaces in the postmodern age. The emergence of the global televisual media with its abundance of satellite channels has increased the opportunities for the viewer to experience physical and/or virtual movement. Its emergence has also led to some homes becoming phantasmagoric places where the viewer grapples with an endless transmission of frequently random signs. These developments are indicative of how the powerful reach of the global televisual media restricts the capacity of various national televisual media to support the objective of minority language maintenance. The transnationalisation of the televisual media can nonetheless also assist the protection of a minority language and its speakers, as evidenced in the case of the Kurds in Turkey. Through reference to postmodern theory, language professionals involved in LPP will not only acquire awareness of the significance of global space, particularly with regard to the global televisual media, but also gain appreciation of local space. Concerning Wales, the adoption of a postmodern approach to language policy may involve greater emphasis on the revitalisation of Welsh at the local rather than the national level.

I argue that postmodern theory can help academics focused on LPP concerns to identify and understand factors that have the potential to disrupt or even derail the implementation of a nationalist-inspired language policy. There are clearly different strains of nationalism such as language/ethnic nationalism and institutional nationalism as highlighted earlier; yet, by and large, nationalism, irrespective of the strain, views an individual's identity as fixed rather than fluid, which conflicts with the position outlined in postmodernism. The fluid nature of identities may be cited as

a reason why the objective of minority language maintenance is sometimes so difficult to achieve. Within postmodern discourse, there is also a tendency to highlight the erosion of collective identities, which similarly resonates with the issue of minority language conservation: the demise of the collective identity (a central plank of nationalism) may effectuate the demise of the minority language.

Apart from this, postmodern theory has the potential to check the utopian thinking of those academics that support language policies underpinned and inspired by nationalism. Jameson (1996, p.335) for instance states that postmodern theory is at variance with such thinking, regarding a utopia as 'a place of renunciation, of the simplification of life, of the obliteration of exciting urban difference'. The metanarrative of nationalism also makes reference to and promotes the idea of insiders (we-groups) and outsiders; yet, to accentuate such a division may not always be the most effective strategy for academics implicated in LPP. Postmodernism might prove useful here since, according to Leonard (2000, p.71), this theory encourages dialogue between cultures. In accordance with postmodernism, I suggest that it would be positive to encourage a multicultural dialogue involving the English in Wales, the monolingual English-speaking Welsh, the bilingual Welsh-speaking population as well as speakers of other languages. Official LPP in Wales perhaps needs to become more inclusive with participation open to individuals from all groups cited above.

Academics are certainly aware of the connection between language and power before constructing and disseminating discourses supportive of a particular language and a particular 'regime of truth'. Despite this, I argue that postmodernism has the capacity to act as a reminder to them that discourses are demonstrative of power relations. It is possible that this will cause some academics to examine traditional models of discourse that emphasise prescription and regimentation. They might become more sympathetic to, what Fairclough (2003, p.95) designates, the mosaic model of discourse, which advocates the fragmentation of discursive norms. Employment of such a discursive model would encourage the collection of diverse (and contradictory) statements relating to a particular minority language imparted by an equally diverse alliance of people from the centre and, just as significantly, from the margins. The sociolinguist may decide to invoke this model to expose and explain the asymmetrical power relationship between policymaker and policy user. The policymaker

formulates, implements, monitors, amends and enforces language policy on behalf of the policy user whose support is won and safeguarded through hegemonic manipulation. Academics who wish to adopt a postmodern approach to language policy are perhaps obliged to discuss the importance of hegemony to the success of language policy initiatives.

Postmodernism also serves as a reminder to researchers in the field of LPP that since resistance is an inevitable effect of power relations, some language users will inevitably resist some language policies. Members of a majority language group are no less entitled to resist language interventions they perceive as undesirable than their counterparts in the minority group, from the standpoint of this theory, which advocates 'dissent in principle' (Spencer, 1999, p.162). Understanding such a standpoint will help researchers in the field of LPP to become more accepting of any language group's right to resist, minority or majority, even though they object to the group in question's rationale for doing so. Various language hierarchies exist, including those involving global languages and minority languages, official and non-official languages, and regional and immigrant minority languages in the EU etc. Through studying postmodern theory, researchers may also become more aware of, and even possibly determine to resist, the hierarchical categorisation of languages. Also subject to hierarchisation are language policies: those in receipt of official institutional approval are invariably valued more highly than those without.

My final reason for believing that postmodernism is a useful theoretical framework relates to economics. Some academics in the field of LPP view the minority language in romantic terms, regarding its loss as catastrophic for a minority language community's cultural heritage, its history and traditions; in certain situations, they see the loss of a minority language as akin to the loss of a minority nation's soul. Another strategy is to invoke language rights and human rights to protect any given minority language. Through reference to postmodernism, I believe academics in the field of LPP as well as language policy users will gain a greater awareness or simply be reminded of the pervasive power of capitalism. Denning (2004, p.80) argues that 'culture is an economic realm', which serves to illustrate how language revitalisation programmes are not merely about the preservation of a distinct linguistic culture for culture's sake.

Concerning Wales, the achievement of a truly bilingual country may be uncertain, but what is much more certain is that bilingualism provides commercial opportunities. English to Welsh translation for instance is a very lucrative industry for some Welsh-speaking individuals in the private and public sectors. There is also some feeling among the non-Welsh-speaking population of Wales that companies that signify Welshness, even through something as seemingly incidental as a Welsh name, are more inclined to win tenders or attract funding through the allocation of grants etc. On the basis of my research, I am in no position to argue that the primary motivation of the Welsh Language Board and other agencies involved in the bilingual project is to facilitate the economic exploitation of the Welsh language. I merely suggest that the theoretical framework of postmodernism can awaken the reader to the idea that the revitalisation of the Welsh language is not so much about the destination, i.e. a truly bilingual Wales, but the journey which offers some select members of the Welsh we-group access to a generous income stream. For some it is not only a love of Welsh but also a love of money that means the bilingual vision has to endure.

5.3: Limitations of the Research

Having identified how postmodernism may be relevant to the professional practice of academics operating in the area of LPP, it is now appropriate to highlight some specific limitations of my research. Some readers may find my persistent engagement with the theoretical framework of postmodernism to be somewhat unnecessary. The academic in the field of LPP is increasingly concerned with issues such as linguistic context, language hierarchies, the ecology of languages and linguistic diversity. It is perhaps largely insignificant whether terms such as context, hierarchy, ecology and diversity feature frequently or otherwise in postmodern discourse. Minority and majority language groups resist language policies in postmodernity, just as they did in modernity and before. They are entitled to do so; yet, does it really matter whether or not postmodernism is invoked to endorse that entitlement? Most LPP professionals are also very aware of the need to concentrate on language usage. In this instance, I acknowledge that some may criticise my reference to performance – a concept closely aligned to postmodernism - as little more than an exercise in dressing that which is blindingly obvious. However, in spite of potentially challenging some readers for engaging with postmodernism unnecessarily, I still maintain that it is a useful

theoretical perspective for those operating in the field of LPP due to the various reasons advanced in 5.2.

Aside from the potential theoretical limitation identified above, I wish to acknowledge additional limitations in the chapters on Wales and Newport respectively. It is possible to argue that my assessment of the WAG's bilingual language policy relies too heavily on a narrow discussion of the achievability of this institution's bilingual vision. I appreciate that the policy may be viewed as a success, irrespective of whether a 'truly bilingual' Wales ever materialises. The WAG and its accompanying agencies have clearly managed to promote and enhance bilingualism within specific domains. I also believe that the WLB, a well-coordinated agency with a clear message and strategy, has been hugely successful in raising the profile and status of Welsh across the whole of Wales. I nevertheless argue that it was appropriate to frame and address unswervingly a research question for chapter 3 that makes reference to the achievability of a 'truly bilingual' Wales because that remains the core objective of language policymakers, language activists, prominent Welsh-speaking academics and media professionals in the region.

At the start of chapter 3, I could/might have identified more directly key factors for assessing the achievability of the WAG's language policy. I could/might also have divided the chapter differently, devoting each of the sections to a specific factor such as the political will of the Welsh National Assembly, the effectiveness of supporting agencies and institutions, the place of Welsh in the education system, the transmission of Welsh at home and in the community, the importance of a territorial base, attitudes of the public to Welsh etc. I actually tackled all of the above factors at various stages of the chapter, but simply opted to section the text in accordance with ideas and themes associated with postmodernism, a central component of the thesis. Similarly, to consolidate the argument that a truly bilingual Wales is unachievable, I could/might have focused more on Welsh speakers' opposition to the WAG's language policy. Cymuned (2003b, [www]) opposes the relatively recent appearance of the English language on public signage in Welsh-speaking heartlands, where the Welsh language has traditionally been the sole language of communication. This Welsh language pressure group complains that the visible presence of the English language in such areas means that English immigrants are not required to learn and use Welsh. It

would be interesting to gauge the level of support for Cymuned's position among the wider population of Welsh-speaking communities in North Wales.

I also suggest that the plan for a truly bilingual Wales is unachievable regardless of the size of the budget that the Welsh Assembly Government sets aside for its implementation. Despite this, the cost of the plan is of concern to some people, as highlighted in both chapters 3 and 4. I contacted the Assembly's Welsh Language & Media Policy Unit to find out the amount of money the WAG spends annually to realise its bilingual vision. The Unit informed me that it had no statistics detailing the total spend, but a grant of £13.9 million was issued to the Welsh Language Board for the promotion of the language – a figure that can also be sourced on the Welsh Assembly's website. On reflection, I should have been more determined in my pursuit of the overall total as the Assembly certainly spends more on the language than the above figure indicates. However, in my view, the inclusion of such a total (if it does actually exist) would not have altered my conclusions in any way.

I am confident that my interviewees collectively present an accurate picture of Welsh language usage in Newport, which leads me to conclude tentatively that this city will almost certainly never be truly bilingual. I recognise though that all my interviewees were over the age of twenty-one, which meant that no school pupil had the opportunity to express their opinion on learning and using Welsh in the city. I relied instead on some parents and teachers to speak for the members of this social group, which was not ideal because it is important to know how they themselves feel about the Welsh language: their use or non-use of the medium clearly impacts the WAG's bilingual objective for Newport and Wales. I decided however not to interview school pupils because I did not want to make the variable of age any more significant than it already was in my case study. I also believe that for any assessment of school pupils' use of and attitudes towards the Welsh language, it is better to undertake a separate study of this cohort than to consider their responses alongside those of adults. Other more established researchers have conducted studies that concentrate exclusively on school pupils so it would appear to be good practice, e.g. C. Thomas & C.H. Williams' 'Linguistic Decline and Nationalist Resurgence in Wales: A Case Study of the Attitudes of Sixth-form Pupils' (1978) and N. Coupland et al's 'Affiliation,

Engagement, Language Use and Vitality: Secondary School Students' Subjective Orientations to Welsh and Welshness' (2005).

Another shortcoming of the research is my failure to interview any member of the BME community in Newport about Welsh language usage in the city, even though their employment of Welsh has implications for the WAG's bilingual plan. It is important from the standpoint of postmodernism that 'the broadest range of opinion on a topic be publicly aired', as Rosenau (1992, p.101) acknowledges. However, I did not interview any people from this social group because I believe that their views are sufficiently important to warrant an independent study, which of course is also my justification for the non-participation of school pupils in chapter 4's study. With the frequent waves of immigration in the postmodern world, researchers in the area of language policy and planning are obliged to monitor and assess the linguistic practices and needs of communities, including BME communities, across the globe, as the number and type of languages spoken within them requires almost constant reconsideration. More specifically, a study of the BME community in Newport may inspire a critical discussion about what constitutes an indigenous language. In the first chapter, I discuss how some academics advocate interrogation of concepts such as minority, immigrant and mother tongue. I suggest that a similar interrogation of the concept of indigenous language may take place through consideration of the following statements: firstly the Welsh language is not indigenous to Newport and secondly the languages of Punjabi, Urdu and Bengali are more indigenous to this port city than Welsh.

Having indicated some limitations of the thesis, I now wish to leave the reader with some final thoughts.

5.4: Final Thoughts

I would like readers of this thesis to gain an understanding of the nature and complexity of postmodernism - a social theory that constitutes much more than a mere unconditional endorsement of diversity and pluralism. I want academics operating within the realm of LPP to find postmodernism a useful theoretical framework for the reasons indicated above. There were times during this long research process when somewhat naively I was inclined to personify postmodernism,

to treat the social theory as an agent. At the start of this section, I rather bluntly state that I would have reached my conclusions about Wales and Newport without reference to postmodernism. I made that statement not because I wish to distance myself from or have become disenchanted with my chosen theoretical framework.

I simply wish to protect my conclusions from being dismissed on the grounds that they have been distorted by postmodernism. Irrespective of whether I had chosen another theory or simply decided against employing postmodern theory, I would have arrived at the same conclusion. With or without reference to postmodernism, or any other 'ism', the limited use of the Welsh language as a medium of communication in the workplace and wider community, the lack of intergenerational transmission of the language, the inadequate Welsh language instruction in English-medium schools, both primary and secondary, and the negative attitudes of the majority to the minority language leads me to conclude that the WAG's vision is unrealisable.

Supporters of bilingualism need to continue to point to statistics as a means of justifying the Welsh language policy. The 2011 census is likely to reveal an increase in the number of persons *aged 3 and over that are able to speak, read or write Welsh* in South East Wales in comparison with the 2001 census. It is also important for them to stress how bilingual signage has become very much a feature of our cities, towns and villages following devolution in 1997 and the establishment of the National Assembly in 1999. They must continue in their efforts to convince people that if this positive change can happen in such a short period of time, there is no reason why the use of the Welsh language cannot increase within both the private and public domains over a similar time frame. From a strategic standpoint, they also need to present the Welsh language as an essential element of a Welsh identity, and as a primary means of differentiating a Welsh person from a provincial English person.

These supporters must treat Wales as a single, united entity, rejecting any suggestion that old divisions such as Welsh-speaking Wales, Welsh Wales and British Wales still exist. They must concern themselves with the whole of Wales if they are to see the realisation of a 'truly bilingual' nation. It would be a strategic error to focus exclusively on Y Fro Gymraeg (the Welsh heartland) because the territorial base that every language depends on for its survival is subject to constant and dramatic erosion

in the case of Welsh. Paradoxically, champions of bilingualism have never needed the British areas in SE Wales to the extent they do now: they are right not to abandon Newport and Monmouth because such places are likely to endow them with the statistical triumphs that justify their struggle. It is imperative that the WAG and its accompanying agencies concentrate their efforts on securing a second Welsh Language Act: to force private-sector companies to offer the same Welsh language services as their public-sector counterparts and to safeguard the individual rights of Welsh speakers. Supporters of bilingualism also need to provide more visual evidence of the success of the bilingual programme. The role of S4C for example may be refined so that it can more directly and overtly aid efforts to mainstream bilingualism: the public, often sceptical, needs to see not just read about Welsh in the workplace.

In contrast, opponents of the bilingual plan may wish to concentrate on its rather narrow interpretation of bilingualism, which fails to take into account the multiple languages that Wales accommodates. There is an argument that on the basis of equality speakers of languages other than Welsh ought to be afforded the same services, rights and opportunities to use their respective languages that are presently bestowed upon Welsh speakers. According to my research, Welsh is actually less commonly spoken in Newport than countless other languages, particularly those from the Indian sub-continent whose status the WAG ought to raise so that they reach the level of its cherished minority language. Opponents may also choose to emphasise the argument that the exclusive linguistic diversity the WAG champions results in the suppression and marginalisation of the plurality of languages that exist in Wales. The promotion of an inclusive diversity may similarly help the nationalists to distance themselves from any association with the ‘racist nationalist’ idiom. These opponents may also wish to pursue the argument that the drivers of current Welsh language policy are the Welsh-speaking elite, not the ‘ordinary folk’ of Wales. It is worth arguing that the current policy owes its implementation more to top-down declarations than bottom-up struggles.

Critics of the bilingual plan may endeavour to discover the financial cost of the WAG’s bilingual objective. As already indicated, I ought to have been more determined in my pursuit of figures; however, it seems to me that the public is largely oblivious to the cost of bilingualism. Were people to know, they might become more

hostile rather than simply indifferent to the bilingual project. It appears that the primary motivation for protest in today's Britain is finance not ideology, e.g. the demonstrations over university tuition fees. There is some disquiet in Wales about the state of education, which is fuelled by the public's understanding that on average each pupil in Wales receives between £500 and £600 less funding than a child over the border in England (BBC News, 2010). There are occasional and generic references to the cost of bilingualism in some academic texts, but the public needs to be given actual numbers to crystallise hostility to the bilingual project.

It is crucial that there be more public debate about current Welsh language policy between Welsh and non-Welsh speakers, irrespective of whether they self-identify as Welsh, English, or British etc. and irrespective of whether they live and work in Wales or any other country/region within the United Kingdom. C.H. Williams (2009, p.77) claims that the WLB's monopoly position in Wales has helped this agency to attract and retain 'outstanding and talented staff'. However, he concedes that as with any monopoly there is a danger that 'robust honest discussion' could be stifled. Through public debate, the WAG and its associated agency the Welsh Language Board, which clearly desire and strive to achieve a truly bilingual Wales, will perhaps be more able to differentiate between the desirability and the achievability of their bilingual ambition. Wales may wish to follow Ireland's approach to language policy, which has seen the establishment of multiple language boards to meet the diverse linguistic needs and preferences of communities on both sides of the border. The protestant, unionist community of the North is not obliged to learn and use the Irish language any more than the catholic, nationalist community is mandated to learn Ullans and understand Ulster-Scots cultural issues.

It is presently more accurate to refer to the re-emergence rather than the revitalisation of Welsh in Wales. The minority language certainly occupies a prominent position in the country's linguistic landscape, but its relatively limited use evidences that it has not been revitalised (as illustrated in chapters 3 and 4). Interviewed for *A broken heart*, one programme in BBC 1 Wales's current affairs series Week In, Week Out (2010), Aitchison and Carter claim that the number of heartland communities where 75% or over of the population are able to speak Welsh has declined sharply over the past thirty years. Such communities, now exclusively situated in the North West of

Wales, will according to the programme continue to decline in number. I suggest that this further highlights how we need to treat cautiously all claims about the revitalisation of the Welsh language. All academics that address language policy in Wales perhaps ought to question the extent to which the position they adopt on the achievability of the bilingual vision stems from observation. A core message of this thesis is that academics must guard against becoming immersed in a textual world. Ultimately, the discursive revitalisation of the Welsh language does not amount to the actual revitalisation of the Welsh language.

Appendix 1: Interview Questions

Below is a selection of the questions I put to the interviewees. It is important to note that I did not have a set order for these questions and that I did not put each of these questions to each of the interviewees.

- What do you think about the Welsh language?
- How do the people of Newport generally feel about the Welsh language?
- Is Welsh spoken in Newport? Do you ever hear Welsh spoken on Newport streets?
- Are there many Welsh speakers in Newport?
- Is there likely to be more Welsh spoken in Newport in the future?
- Do you come into contact with Welsh in your workplace or job?
- Is the Welsh language used for business in Newport?
- How does Newport's geographic position or location affect the use of Welsh in the city?
- How Welsh is Newport in comparison to other places in Wales?
- Do they learn Welsh in Newport schools?
- What was your experience of learning Welsh in your school in Newport?
- How much Welsh do your pupils have each day/week?
- When you were still in school, were there opportunities for you to use Welsh outside of the classroom?
- Having left school, are there any opportunities for you to use the language now?
- Are school leavers fluent in Welsh/able to hold a conversation in Welsh?
- Why do some parents want their children to learn Welsh?

• Why do some parents want to send their children to Welsh-medium schools?
• Are there opportunities for your children [if parents] or your pupils [if teachers] to use Welsh outside of the classroom in Newport?
• If so, do they and/or can they take advantage of such opportunities?
• Is Welsh used in the health sector in Newport?
• Does the Welsh language help tourism in Newport?
• How do you and others feel about bilingual platform announcements?
• Are bilingual signs necessary?
• Why do we have bilingual signs?
• Are there any languages besides English more widely spoken in Newport than Welsh?
• Will Newport ever become a bilingual city?
• Is there any resistance to the increased presence of Welsh in Newport?
• Is a bilingual Newport desirable?

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