

**School of Welsh, Cardiff University**

**THE CHALLENGE OF LANGUAGE PLANNING IN THE  
PRIVATE SECTOR:  
WELSH AND CATALAN PERSPECTIVES**

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**A thesis submitted for the degree of PhD  
to the University of Wales**

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*To my parents from whom I learned perseverance,  
and to Ramon who quickened my enquiring instinct.*

**(Per als meus pares que em van ensenyar a ser perseverant)**

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## **II. ABSTRACT**

This thesis focuses on a comparative study of two models of language planning and language policy, those of Wales and Catalonia. The evolution of these models is presented with an explanation of their respective sociolinguistic and legal frameworks. Specific attention is given to the efforts of promoting and spreading the use of both languages in the private sector, analysing both the barriers that hinder their use and the efforts to overcome them.

Chapter 1 provides a theoretical and methodological framework for the thesis, focusing on the development of language planning as a discipline. Both the elements and the processes of language planning as a method to produce language change are analysed. A particular language change, the minoritisation of languages is explained as a point of departure to understand the revitalisation of Welsh and Catalan.

Chapter 2 focuses on analysing the Catalan model of language planning. It provides historical and sociolinguistic background information before interpreting the legal framework which underpins language planning activities.

Chapter 3 analyses the use of Catalan in the private sector through a review of surveys the majority of which were produced by the official language planning agencies. It also outlines the policies undertaken by the Catalan Government to further promote and spread the use of Catalan in this all-powerful sector.

Chapter 4 turns its attention to the Welsh model of language planning and its evolution, with special consideration to the promotion of Welsh in the private sector. Both the sociolinguistic situation of Welsh and the operative legal framework are analysed so as to allow an understanding of the conditions of language planning activities.

Chapter 5 and chapter 6 report on the findings of an original fieldwork project which sought to investigate to what extent the Welsh language is used in different activities of private business, both for internal and external communications. Moreover, the project sought to understand the main reasons companies choose to use Welsh or not as a working language or as a language for marketing purposes.

The thesis concludes with the summary of the main ideas.

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## IV. LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CPNL- Consorci per a la Normalització Lingüística  
 DGPL- Direcció General de Política Lingüística  
 EU- European Union  
 NGO- Non-Governmental Organisation  
 SME- Small and Medium Enterprise  
 SPL- Secretaria de Política Lingüística  
 WLB- Welsh Language Board

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## VII. PREFACE

Catalan is my first language, although it not the first language of my mother. She belongs to a generation of migrants from Andalucia, in southern Spain, who moved to Catalonia during the 1960s. As a teenager she settled in a Catalan-speaking community and in no more than a year she was already fluent in her new language. As she married a Catalan-speaker, Catalan became her normal language and the language she chose to raise her children. She used to tell us when I, my sisters and brother were children that my grandfather was very resolved in encouraging her and my uncles to become speakers of the language of the community in which they had settled. I must have inherited some of my grandfather's resolve and my mother's ability to learn languages as I was determined to learn Welsh when I moved to Wales in 1995. As I was progressing in learning this new language and its culture I could not stop making comparisons on the struggle and efforts that both languages underwent not only to avoid being obliterated but to be relevant as means of communication in all areas of social activity in a modern and ever-changing reality, in spite of the many barriers, both ideological and political which hinder such an effort. I promptly developed an emotional link with Welsh, reinforced with the friendship of many Welsh speakers who helped me to become fluent (or almost fluent!) and understand and participate in Welsh culture.

This thesis is the response to my interests of understanding the processes behind the minoritisation and the revitalisation of both Welsh and Catalan, and hopefully to contribute to the strengthening of both languages.

As I was starting my research on the Welsh side of the thesis I realised that I had to develop many skills. First of all, I needed to improve both my Welsh and English, as I was determined to carry out my fieldwork, which started in 2000, in both languages. This consisted of a series of interviews with owners and managers of small and medium companies (SMEs), many of whom spoke in Welsh dialect. However, the biggest challenge was to get acquainted with new cultural references and context, both Welsh and British. Therefore,

as background work for this thesis there was a need to develop an approach similar to ethnographic studies. Without knowledge of the cultural, political, economic and social context in which language change operates it is very difficult to understand and analyse this process.

When narrowing down the research topic, I realised how little data and understanding was available on the use of Welsh in the private sector. This is an area which, in my view, is crucial to promote and secure subordinated languages. Making minority languages more essential as a job qualification in the private sector is very important to increase its prestige, and to link this language with a sense of usefulness, competitiveness and modernity. If these languages are seen as assets in terms of upward-mobility in the workplace, more people will consider gaining access to them. As Huguet suggests:

*[O]ne cannot maintain the belief that the psychology of altruism, and emotionality or sentimental adhesion to symbolic values (against those of a utilitarian or rationalistic nature) is enough to sustain linguistic recuperation, at least not as a generally accepted belief, independent of the goodwill shown by certain cultural minorities. The present and the future of a language depends to a great extent on the degree of its implication in the labour market of which the private sector is a large segment [...] It is the role of the language in the labour market which defines the limits imposed on the process or which promotes its positive evolution (Huguet, 1993: 58).*

It is true that the instrumental use of a language does not guarantee the adherence of the speaker to a language community (Flaquer, 1996: 352), however it provides him/her with a contact with the language and the culture that can be developed and strengthened afterwards.

Employment opportunities where minority language-speakers can use their languages as a normal working means of communication are critical to gain confidence. The workplace is one of the spheres where the bilingual skills provided by the education system could be developed and matured.

This thesis seeks to find out to what extent both Catalan and Welsh are used in private companies, which barriers militate against its use and what are the

efforts of language planning agencies to overcome these barriers and make more extensive the use of both languages in this sector.

An important part of the information gathered was through interviews with key personnel in the language planning agencies both in Catalonia and Wales. I am grateful to all of them for their full co-operation and for sharing with me their professional insights and data. I alone, of course, am responsible for the subsequent interpretation.

# **1 LANGUAGE POLICY AND LANGUAGE PLANNING IN MINORITY LANGUAGE CONTEXT**

## **1.1 Introduction**

The aim of this chapter is to review the principal aspects of language planning as an academic discipline. This is done by undertaking a literary review of its more significant works. This will set the main theoretical and methodological framework for the thesis as a whole. As Baker & Jones (1998: 203) argue:

Two opposing views may be held regarding change and development in language. The first view holds that language is an organism that gradually changes over time. A language evolves gradually as its speakers make unplanned and usually unconscious innovations [...]. Language change may also be caused by external influence such as language contact where one language may borrow words and phrases from another [...]. A second view is that language is a social institution and that speakers of a language may wish to control and adapt their language for a variety of non-linguistic purposes: political, literary, economic, educational, religious, nationalistic, traditional or social purposes.

Language is presented here as a societal resource, which, like other types of resources, can be shaped to achieve socio-political aims. Language planning is a method to generate language changes but it is also a generator of social change. The salient features of language planning as a discipline will be presented as well as an analysis of its elements and processes. Finally we will explain a particular aspect of language change, namely the minoritisation of languages, such as Welsh and Catalan, in the European Union during the period of the creation of the modern state.

## **1.2 Origins and definition(s) of language policy and planning**

Although political intervention in linguistic matters is very ancient, even pre-modern, the systematic study of language planning and language policies is very recent. Language planning as a scholarly topic or a field of study is very young and can be traced back to the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century,

specifically to the 1960s. Robert L. Cooper, the prominent linguist and author of *Language Planning and Social Change*, one of the more influential manuals in the field, has questioned whether or not language planning can be considered as an independent field of enquiry or academic discipline (Cooper, 1989: 42). Many critiques have asked whether language planning has a theoretical underpinning or is it merely an accumulation of case studies derived from different linguistic situations. Other critiques, such as those by Glyn Williams and Andrew Apter, have focused on the use by early language planning scholars of reified or depoliticised concepts of language and social processes. We will return to these critiques later in the chapter.

Before tackling the core of the discipline, its evolution, its elements and critiques thereof, it should be noted that what we know as “language planning” has not been exclusively an Anglo-Saxon topic, although the founders and first language planners originated from within this tradition. There has been a parallel development of the discipline, treating more or less the same subject, in many other traditions. For instance, there is a Francophone tradition emanating from the study of the particular situation of French in Quebec. At the early stages of the discipline “language planning” was translated into French as *planification linguistique*. However, in the 1970s this term was replaced by the term *aménagement linguistique* under the influence of Jean-Claude Corbeil, who was at the time engaged in the drafting of the *Charte de la Langue Française* (1977). Corbeil was also involved with implementing a language planning strategy for the French language in Quebec. Likewise, the Catalan language tradition has used the term *normalització lingüística* which means making Catalan the “normal” language of communication after its period of political repression and other determinants such as the heavy immigration of non-Catalan speakers. The Valencian sociolinguist Lluís Vicent Aracil coined this term in 1965 to refer to both, the standardisation and the institutionalisation and spreading of Catalan, a former subordinated language, to all domains of public life.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> There are not only differences in terminology between the Anglo-saxon tradition and the other mentioned traditions. There is also a question of content and perception of what constitutes language planning.

Terms such as language engineering, glottopolitics, language development, language regulation and language management have also figured in the literature of language planning. Nevertheless, language planning is the most popular term in the Anglo-Saxon tradition of the discipline. *Aménagement linguistique* continues to be the preferred term in the French literature and *normalització lingüística* is mostly used in the Catalan tradition<sup>2</sup> and has also been adopted by Galicians (*normalización lingüística do galego*) Basques (*euskararen normalizazioa*), and the Welsh (*normaleiddio'r iaith Gymraeg*).

### 1.3 Defining Language policy

There is also a history of terminological confusion between the terms “language planning” and “language policy”. In many texts they are used synonymously. Although the two activities are closely related, they represent different activities. Whereas language policy refers to the decisions to determine which role a language plays for social competition in a given community, language planning consists of the development of goals, strategies, their implementation and evaluation, in order to change a given linguistic reality, as well as to the discipline which studies such processes. This is a broad definition of language planning and only one of many. We will return to the term and to changes in its meaning since it first appeared in 1959.

Focusing on the notion of language policy, it can be said that any transformation of a linguistic reality can be considered as a language policy action. Chaudensen, quoted in Kaplan & Baldauf (1997: 206-207), understands that language policy

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<sup>2</sup> There have been many critiques of the practicality of the use of this term in the Catalan language planning literature. These critiques are discussed in chapter 2.

[S]pecifies the overall national choice in some matter of language or of language cultivation [...]. Language policy defines general long-term objectives (i.e. educational levels, formations, uses, functions, and language statutes) and which are based on as precise and complete an analysis of the initial problem as possible.

Also, non-intervention or the absence of explicit actions can have an effect in favour of or against a specific language and thus, it can be considered a type of language policy. According to Eastman 'no societies exist without a language policy, although many policies exist implicitly and in the absence of planning' (1983:6).

In order to avoid terminological confusion and to open the definition to actions undertaken to influence language both by individuals or groups, as well as institutions, Calvet (2002:17) suggest the terms "*interventions sur les situations langagières*" [interventions on language situations]. Nevertheless, language planning and language policy continue to be used interchangeably within the literature of the field.

Language policies can be analysed or divided according to two different parameters:

1. According to the actors in charge
2. According to their objectives

If we take into account the actors involved in a given language policy, there is a fundamental and basic distinction between public and private actors, whose activities can be related and linked to a same process. From this first division, at least six types of language policy can be distinguished, as shown in table 1:



**Table 1.1 Types of language policy according to its actors<sup>3</sup>**

<b>Sphere</b>	<b>Type of language policy</b>	<b>Examples</b>
<b>Public</b>	1. Supranational level or international	1. The European Union, UN UNESCO, etc.
	2. State level or national	2. Spain, France, US, UK
	3. Sub-state level or regional (including at city level)	3. Wales, Catalonia, Quebec Brussels, Barcelona, etc
	4. Para-public	4. Universities, academies, etc.
<b>Private</b>	5. Business	5. Agro-business, banks, shops, supermarkets, etc.
	6. Associations, Trade Unions or NGOs	6. Chambers of commerce, Consumer councils, etc

Pueyo & Turull (2003:21)

If we take into account the objectives set for a specific policy, Leclerc (2001) argues there are nine different types of language policy.

<sup>3</sup> This table is a translation and adaptation of an original from Pueyo & Turull, (2003:21).

**Table 1.2 Type of policy according to its objectives** <sup>4</sup>

Type of policy	Description	Examples
<b>Assimilation</b>	It consists of adopting measures, often planned —such as prohibitions, repression etc, in order to reduce the number of speakers of minority language community(ies). The final goal is to promote national linguistic unity inside a state.	Greece, France, North Cyprus, Turkey
<b>Non-intervention</b>	It consists of allowing the relation between the main linguistic group and the minorities without intervening. It is a "laissez faire" policy but it is chosen and planned. It favours the dominant group in the majority of cases. The government which practices such policy refrains from legislating and justifies its policy with arguments of free choice and respect of diversity.	Luxembourg, Germany, Austria, Czech Republic
<b>Valorisation of a official language</b>	These are monolingual language policies consisting of favouring a single language at every possible sphere: political, juridical, social, economic, etc. They can be national or colonial languages or even languages spoken in a part of a given country. Although one single language is recognised, some limited language rights can be granted to minority groups.	Andorra, Spain, United Kingdom
<b>Sectorial</b>	This type of policies are directed in adopting restricted legislative measures, more or less elaborated, regarding the use of minority or migrant languages in one or no more than three domains. For instance, in education, in public signage, place names or the health sector. Legislation is never comprehensive and is ad hoc depending on arising needs	Monaco, Corsica, Poland
<b>Differentiated legal statute</b>	Any policy of differentiated legal statute aims at harmonising the linguistic cohabitation of multiple linguistic groups inside a state without granting legal equality to all. Legislation grants the majority language all linguistic rights but it is restrictive for minority languages. The minority group will profit from certain rights in chief sectors, such as public services, justice, education or the media.	Friuli, Val d'Aosta, Wales
<b>Bilingualism or trilingualism</b>	These policies recognise the equality of two or several languages within a State. There are three types of such policies depending on the different language rights granted to the citizens: a) <i>Individual non-territorial</i> : recognises the same language rights to all citizens regardless their location on the national territory; b) <i>Territorialisad individual</i> : recognises the same rights to all members of a language community only within a specific territory inside the State; and c) <i>Territorial</i> : grant linguistic rights to language communities in a part of the territory, and while the state is bilingual or trilingual the region or territory is officially monolingual.	a) Malta b) Wales, Catalonia c) Switzerland
<b>Strategic multilingualism</b>	It is found in multilingual states that even if they are officially monolingual they can use two or several languages depending on their communication needs. This type of policy is highly pragmatic and has the aim of exploiting a country's linguistic resources in a positive way.	India, Slovenia, Luxembourg
<b>Linguistic internationalisation</b>	This policy is applied when a State, usually an actual power or an old colonial power, exerts a language influence outside their national borders and promotes the acquisition of its language as a second language.	United Kingdom, France, Spain
<b>Mixed</b>	It is the simultaneous practice of different types of policies. Several combinations are possible, for instance: non-intervention with sectorial policies or valorisation of an official language with differentiated legal statute policies, etc.	Germany, Slovakia

<sup>4</sup> This table has been developed from Leclerc (2001).

The type of policies undertaken in a given territory or country can be mixed as we have seen in table 1.2 they may not be monolithic, but change over time, depending on their political situation. Take for instance, the case of Turkey which, until recently, practised assimilation policies towards the Kurds and Armenians. Nevertheless, in view of political changes produced by their application to be a member of the European Union, the Turkish government's policy is changing and they are beginning to grant some rights to minority groups.

Goals or motivation for language policy have also been studied by Ager (2001) who recognises its complexity. Following goal theory, which is central to social physiology, Ager considers that there are three main elements which underpin motivation (table 1.3):

- Seven motives for a specific plan or policy at a general level;
- the attitudes of policy-makers or planners towards a particular language or variety;
- the more specific goals which their actions aim to achieve, together with needs they hope to satisfy.

**Table 1.3 Components of motivation for language policy**

<b>Motive</b>	<b>Attitude</b>	<b>Goal</b>
		Ideal
Identity		Objective
Ideology	Knowledge of language	Target
Image creation	Emotion towards	<u>Needs</u>
Insecurity	language	Physiological
Inequality	Desire to take action	Psychological
Integration		<u>Strategies to</u>
Instrumentality		achieve these

Source: (Ibid:9)

Identity is the primordial motivation behind the struggle and the normalisation or revitalisation policies for both the Catalan and Welsh languages. Language

is not an exclusive marker of identity or nationhood but it can be an essential for smaller national groups. As Ager points out 'language in particular often becomes a symbol of nationalism' (2001:14).<sup>5</sup>

## 1.4 Defining Language Planning

There is a variety of definitions of language planning (LP) and no single one is commonly accepted, but one of the broadest and most oft quoted is that given by Cooper (1989: 45) which defines language planning as:

[D]eliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure and functional allocation of their language codes.

Before analysing this definition we should take a look at the origins of the term "language planning". It appeared for the first time in 1959, in an article by the American-Norwegian sociolinguist Einar Haugen "*Planning in Modern Norway*". Nevertheless, Haugen in turn acknowledges that it was previously coined by Uriel Weinreich, in a seminar at Columbia University in 1957 (Cooper, 1989: 29). Haugen defined language planning as:

[T]he activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community (Haugen, 1959: 8).

Thus, at that time, language planning was used in a restrictive sense to define the efforts of codification and standardisation of languages, or what Heinz Kloss would later define as "corpus planning". Subsequently, Haugen himself considered these activities as a product of language planning, rather than language planning as a whole.

After Haugen's initial deliberations, the term "language planning" was widened in meaning and by the end of the 1960s and beginning of the 1970s it referred

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<sup>5</sup> For an analysis of nationalism, ethnicity, identity and language see Williams, C.H. (1994) and May, S. (2001)

to systematised or purposeful linguistic change in order to solve language problems of the developing nations through standardisation and modernisation.

The emergence of this field, and also of other disciplines with which LP coincides or overlaps such as sociolinguistics, applied linguistics and the sociology of language, has to be framed in a specific time and place. In the 1960s, according to Cooper,

[T]he post-war American prosperity gave rise to a liberal political agenda and the associated confidence that investment in social-science research would advance the solution of problems in America and abroad. Some of these problems were seen to have language components. Domestically, for example, efforts to integrate refugees and to improve the economic position of ethnolinguistic minorities led to a consideration of language or communication problems as a barrier to progress. Abroad, the emergence of newly independent states presented a host of development problems, many of which included a language component (1989: 42-43).

Therefore, much of the research done during this period focused on the study of the sociolinguistic situation of de-colonising countries (Tanzania, Kenya, Philippines, etc.). There is a wealth of papers and articles dealing with this subject scattered in different specialised journals and newsletters some of which was interpreted and summarised in Carol Eastman's very useful analysis in 1983.<sup>6</sup>

But scholars not only produced research, they were also consulted by governmental agencies of those countries trying to find answers to the challenge of nation-building. In departing from a structural-functional perspective, many language planners tended to prioritise the instrumental function of a language and had the objective of improving a language in order to become a valid instrument of communication for all modern purposes. Language planning in such a context was almost invariably aimed at reducing the sociolinguistic complexity of a country. The establishment of one

standardised national language was regarded as a prerequisite for modernisation, if not as the main tool for uniting and building a nation. From this vision flows the consideration of language planning as an activity implemented by governments (top-down) which has the goal of solving language problems. According to this model interventions in language policy could be carried out by experts who look at the issue “on the fence”, without the necessity of being part of the community concerned or without having any “emotional” link with such community. These language planners are known as having a technocratic approach to language.

Some of the critiques of this technocratic approach to language planning focus on the fact that the majority of these pioneers applied or projected a blueprint derived from European nation-state onto other societies. Glyn Williams argues that:

[L]anguage planning emerged side by side with the theory of modernisation which not only was closely integrated with a specific theoretical perspective—structural functional—but also involved a specific conception of the world. This world view involved dividing states into the modern and the traditional (1992: 124).

According to Williams, a conception of modernity and development conceals a completely ethnocentric perspective as it implies that it was in their best interest to integrate these new societies into a western-style culture and economy. A suitable linguistic structure is necessary to achieve this. He also argues that there is a class dimension hidden beneath the concept of standardisation, in which the particular variety perceived as the “standard” legitimises the perspective of the social class from which it originates.

These views carry a degree of depoliticisation. The choice of language for the advance of progress and development is presented as a rational choice. It is a choice devoid of all political or ideological arguments which adopts a “reified”—neutralised—concept of language. Thus, Williams’ critique involves

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<sup>6</sup> See especially Eastman’s Appendix (241-253). It remains a very interesting historical overview despite the steady growth in related specialised magazines many new sources, both published and on the internet.

a strong call for the political analysis of language planning. Similarly, Andrew Apter (1982) argues that whenever we are involved in language planning, we should be aware of the fact that we do “political linguistics”.

The mistaken belief of the neutrality of language and of rationality inherent in language planning is one of Cooper’s main arguments. Furthermore, he does not consider language planning to be necessarily orientated towards solving language or communication problems—a goal that in many third-world countries has failed so far. According to Cooper:

It is hard to think of an instance in which language planning has been carried out solely for the sake of improving communication, where problems of communication are the only problems to be solved, or where the facilitation of communication is the only interest to be promoted. Language planning is typically carried out for the attainment of non-linguistic ends, such as consumer protection, scientific exchange, national integration, political control, economic development, the creation of new elites or the maintenance of old ones, the pacification or cooption of minority groups, and mass mobilisation of national or political movements (1989: 34-35).

Defining language planning as language problem solving was considered as misleading by Cooper because it hides or draws away attention from the real forces that motivate language planning. Language, as a unifying or divisive force, should be envisaged as a resource for social competition and like other types of resources, could be shaped to achieve socio-political goals. Furthermore, in order to understand language planning it is of paramount importance to understand the social changes that promote it. We will focus on this concept later in this chapter.

From this perspective and in order to facilitate the comparative analyses for the study of language planning, Cooper poses a basic and summarising question whose utility has been demonstrated time and again by scholars seeking to understand the language planning process: “Who plans what for whom and how?” (Ibid: 31). He develops the question further, based on four overlapping descriptive frameworks, proposing: “what actors attempt to influence what behaviours, of which people, for what ends, under what

conditions by what means, through what policy-making process and with what effect?" (Ibid: 98). This, according to Cooper, is an attempt to develop a guide in order to improve the description of language planning and facilitate a comparative analysis of different models of language planning.

## **1.5 Language planning elements**

### **1.5.1 The actors of LP**

There are two opinions of who are the actors of LP. The first option which was held by the majority of early language planning scholars, considers that language planning activities are those undertaken by governments through authorised official agencies or other designated bodies. This is considered or described as a "top-down" approach (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). The other opinion, which is held by Cooper, considers this approach to be too restrictive; and as Cooper says, it cannot explain spontaneous grass-root level language movements, such as the campaign for non-sexist use of language in the USA, or of Lois Alibèrt's role in the standardisation of Occitan language. The second proposal—what is known as the "bottom-up" approach—considers that civil society, even individuals, have a role in the implementation of language planning activities (Ibid).

Regarding the top-down approach, the Catalan sociolinguist Albert Bastardas (1990) whose theories have strongly influenced language planners in Catalonia, considers that any sociolinguist change stems from policies that originate from different State organs (executive power, legislative power and judicial power).<sup>7</sup> These organs have the power to take legal or executive decisions regarding which language will be used in what he calls "official institutional communications", i.e. formal communications by public institutions, such as the administration, educational authorities or by the public sector media. According to this view, this type of communications have a trickle down effect on the communications of other institutions or bodies from

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<sup>7</sup> There will be an in depth description of such influences in Chapter 2 which deals specifically with the language planning process in Catalonia.



civil society, such as businesses, private media, trade unions, different types of civic associations or NGOs, etc. The effect on the so-called “non-official institutionalised communications” can either be the outcome of regulation through legislation or simply by an influence or an imitation effect to official institutionalised communications. And finally, these two aforementioned types of communications can also modify or produce a change in the language used by individuals, or the so-called “private interpersonal non-formal communications” (Ibid).

This approach is not as simple as it looks in the context of modern nation-states. It is certainly not the same as the influence that states used to exert upon their citizens’ language use at the time of the creation of the nation-state and the spread of a “national” language, rather than any influence a democratic state can exercise today. Many changes in terms of political structures and distribution of power have occurred in Europe and elsewhere. Both the processes of decentralisation and of European integration have multiplied the centres of decision, which makes it far more complex for a given level of decision to exert an ultimate or exclusive influence on language choice and use. It is possible that a given language planning process at a regional level will clash with other interests at national or European level.

The alternative to this model is the bottom-up approach. This could be defined as the deliberate efforts by either individuals or civic organisations belonging to the speech community in order to change, resist or propose a given language planning process. According to this approach, civil society organisations or well-organised individuals have a central role in influencing adherence and loyalty to a given language. Language planning conceived in these terms can become a tool for the revitalisation of minoritised language communities. In fact, both Wales and Catalonia present illustrations of bottom-up language planning in the form of civic action or mobilisation in favour of their respective languages. Nevertheless, the success of individual or group endeavours in favour of their language are directly dependent upon their ability to transform their options into socially accepted norms, this is, they will

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have to seek ways of institutionalising the outcome of their planning as part of the speech community's behaviour. Furthermore, to quote Cooper (1989:183)

Language planning may be initiated at any level of a social hierarchy, but is unlikely to succeed unless it is embraced and promoted by elites or by counter elites.

### 1.5.2 Behaviours which LP attempts to influence

The sociolinguist H. Kloss proposed a differentiation between two essential types of activities; those that are concerned with the modification of the language itself (corpus planning) and those that focus on modifying the environment in which a language is used (status planning). Thereafter, Cooper (1989:45) proposed a third distinction, the interventions in the design of educational language models (acquisition planning).<sup>8</sup>

Corpus Planning is defined by Cooper as 'the creation of new forms, the modification of old ones, and the selection from alternative forms in a spoken or written code' (1989: 31). Haugen (1983:275) has outlined some of the aspects involved in corpus planning):<sup>9</sup>

- Codification consists of formalising a linguistic set of language norms through the adoption of a writing system and an orthography or *graphisation* (Latin, Arabic, Cyrillic etc.), the adoption of a grammar or *grammatication* (rules which describe the structure of a language) and the selection of a lexicon or *lexication* (the development of dictionaries)

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<sup>8</sup> Haarmann (1990) suggests "prestige planning" as a third dimension to corpus and status, however his distinction has not been widely adopted in the language planning literature.

<sup>9</sup> Corpus planning has generated abundant research literature. The most prominent study in this field is presented in five volumes by Fodor and Hagège (1983-1984, 1989-1990) which study examples of corpus planning of major European, African and Asian languages together with endangered languages around the world. Also see, Lamuela, (1994) for a theory of language standardisation from the Catalan language perspective.

- Standardisation consists of selecting a dialect from a linguistic continuum and establishing this variety as a norm or standard variety enabling its use as a common mean of communication in a modern society.
- Elaboration of a language focuses on its functional development, once the language has been codified. This involves the terminological modernisation and the development of a style.

Nevertheless, there seems to be a consensus that corpus planning does not deal merely with internal language issues. The selection of a language variety or orthography can act as a social filter if the established linguistic norms can only be mastered by a long and expensive education process (Cooper, 1989).

Status Planning consists of 'the allocation of languages or language varieties to given functions' (Ibid, 32), thus it concerns the social implementation of a language planning process. The two main issues that make up this category are:

- Language selection which consists of choosing a language as an "official" language to be made standard, as a language of the administration, of the system of justice etc. The institutionalisation of a language might be explicit (*de jure*) in legal text, such as a constitution or implicit *de facto* without such a formal declaration. There can be different language regimes which can vary from a single official language to a bilingual or trilingual system.
- The promotion of use or implementation focuses on the adoption and spread of a language form which has been codified and standardised. It usually involves the promotion of its use in public institutions, the media, the voluntary and private sectors. It also involves the promotion of the intergenerational transmission of a language and its interpersonal use.

Cooper has proposed a new category, Acquisition Planning, which 'is aimed at increasing the number of potential uses of a language' (Ibid, 33). It can also be considered as a status planning activity. However, because of its complexity, variety and the fact that it is at the core of language spread with a

great impact on the vitality of a language, it is logical to treat it as a separate activity. An education system can be monolingual when one single language is used as a medium for teaching, or it can be bilingual or plurilingual when more than one language is used. The language planning of an education system might aim at producing a total bilingual, a partially bilingual or monolingual society. Nevertheless, educational models are not always homogeneous in one given territory or polity. There are different language educational models, such as transitional models when a language is adopted gradually for instance through immersion programmes, maintenance models to reinforce a socially weak language or enhancement models which aim at teaching other languages (dominant or subordinate) to dominant language speakers.<sup>10</sup>

The separation between corpus and status planning is a simplification of the process of LP as these are interdependent. Any changes in the language environment will result in changes in the character of the languages, and vice versa. For instance, when a language is being eroded and losing its functions, there is a decrease in registers, and lexicon. On the contrary, when a language is expanding and gaining new functions, there will be an increase of registers and new terminology will need to be coined.

### **1.5.3 Targets of LP**

The targets of LP refer to those people who will be affected by planned language change. Language planning can be addressed to the totality of a population or to individuals, or groups of individuals (micro, meso or macro levels). For instance, a given policy might be directed at parents of child bearing age in order to influence the choice of the language that they speak to their children. Language planning can be directed to a segment of the population (such was the case on the restoration of Hebrew in the Jewish community). It can also target all types of corporate or official bodies, from parliaments to private businesses.

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<sup>10</sup> See C. Baker and J. Jones (1998) for a thorough investigation of bilingual education. See also Kaplan & Baldauf (1997, Chapter 5) for a description of

The means by which LP is intended to influence language change can be positive or negative. It can be through authority, force, promotion or persuasion. An example of negative and authoritative incentive for language change is the formula that has been practised in many minority language contexts whereby school children are punished by having to wear a piece of wood on a cord around their necks or forced to carry stones or a piece of wood with messages deterring them from speaking in the minority language. The 'Welsh Not' message [Wales], the '*Soyez propres, parlez français*' [be clean and speak French, in France] or '*habla en cristiano*' [speak in Christian, which meant "speak Spanish" in Catalonia] are all examples of disincentives.

#### 1.5.4 Conditions for LP

A language intervention process does not exist in a vacuum but in a given cultural, economic, political and social context. Cooper (1989) suggests four main persistent factors that influence and condition language intervention:<sup>11</sup>

- Situational factors are related to those conditions which tend to be rather unstable and short or medium term. A given economic situation or the results of elections can be considered structural factors. For instance, it may be reasonable to state that a government composed of nationalist parties such as Plaid Cymru in Wales or Esquerra Republicana in Catalonia are more likely to approve policies which are more supportive of Welsh and Catalan respectively.
- Structural factors are relatively long-term and refer to a given economic system, or a geographic and demographic situation. For instance, the economic make up of Catalan society has favoured migration influxes from southern Spain as well as the attraction of new migrants from outside the European Union.

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language planning in education.

<sup>11</sup> See also Baker & Jones (1998: 182) for a detailed table of factors encouraging language maintenance and language loss.

- Cultural factors are related to the habits, the value system and ideologies of a given community. These habits and value system can help to understand individual and group attitudes and behavioural dynamics.
- Informational conditions are the necessary data in which language decisions can be based. One set of data used almost universally is the census of population. Other necessary studies include language use studies and other sociological studies.

### **1.5.5 Resources or means for LP**

One of the essential aspects of any language planning process is how decisions on language are taken. In authoritative political systems only limited sectors of the population can participate in such decisions, whereas democratic systems aspire to incorporate the will of the society as a whole in language related decisions. According to Corbeil (1983), there are four regulation principles to take into account when tacking language intervention. These simple principles allow an element of prediction of how to maximise the actions undertaken and understand the potential resistance to some changes:

- The convergence principle: the impact of the regulation actions will be greater so far as all factors favour a same option. The diversity of proposals weakens the action.
- The dominance principle: the impact of the socially dominant actors will be greater to that of the non-dominant actors.
- The persistence or the social inertia principle: the social and linguistic behaviour has a tendency to reproduce itself; change is more difficult than innovation.
- The linguistic system's internal coherence principle: although there is intrinsic change in every language, as a system it has its own internal coherence which repels some options of change spontaneously.

### **1.5.6 The decision-making process**

It is important to bear in mind that there is a difference between the explicit language planning interventions and the impact on language of other type of interventions. Language planning actions are taken to change the sociolinguistic reality of a specific language, for instance, passing a law to make a language official. However there are other actions which have an ultimate effect on language vitality and use, for instance, the creation of a unique civil service system, the distribution or concentration of migrant children in schools or planning permission for new housing developments which attract allophones. None of these actions are explicitly linguistic, but they have an effect on language and can be contrasted with both linguistic and non-linguistic actions.

There are many types of explicit language interventions. Some of these are:

- Symbolic interventions are not difficult to implement as they tend to be superficial. For instance, the adoption of the terms *Dáil* or *Taoiseach* to denote the Irish parliament and Prime Minister.
- Penalising or sanctioning interventions aimed at suppressing some actions to impose others. For instance, the banning of use of English terms in French.
- De-penalising or legalising interventions which allow uses previously proscribed as, for instance, the possibility of using certain forenames in Catalan or Basque.
- Positive discrimination or affirmative action interventions are those which seek to soothe inequalities which are considered to be unfair. For instance, policies that favour cultural activities in minority languages, such as the publication of books, magazines, music, etc.

The measures adopted depend greatly on the type of actor. Thus, governments with legislative powers can enact laws which protect languages, or allocate specific budgets for language intervention as well as design educational policies. They can also control public companies and stimulate the use of a specific language by private companies, for instance through

using the government's purchasing powers. The mass media can also exert influence through its symbolic capital which can shape public opinion and spread innovation. Business corporations possess economic and social capital to control part of the media to favour or to oppose language policy measures. Language pressure groups, though not having much symbolic or economic capital, can influence decisions through the mobilisation of civil society and capture the media attention through imaginative actions.

### **1.5.7 Effects of LP**

The effects of any particular language planning action can be long-term and are not always easy to discern. It is very difficult to know, although sometimes it is possible to guess, what would have happened if certain forms of language planning had not taken place, namely non-intervention. Nevertheless, language planning actions have both ideological and behavioural effects which can be short, mid or long term. Moreover, there are effects that are anticipated and others which are not. The evaluation process of a given language plan is not easy although the ultimate benchmark by which success is measured is the the increase or decrease in language use.

## **1.6 The Language Planning Process**

Language planning as a rationally implemented process, which is ordered, efficient and aimed at achieving a set of clear objectives, can only be undertaken by language planning agencies on behalf of governments, as it is a time-consuming and resource-intensive process (Cooper, 1989:41). The theoretical process starts with the selection of the problem, its definition, followed by a formulation of a plan, its implementation and finally the evaluation of the actions, to understand its effects on the language situation. A further step will be needed to change the plan, if necessary, based on the information obtained in the evaluation process.

### **1.6.1 The selection of a problem**



What constitutes a “problem” to be solved for a segment of the population might be not important or not even an issue in the agenda of other segments of the population. In fact it is not always evident that a language situation constitutes a sufficiently important problem to be tackled by governments with public resources (which are always scarce). Thus what constitutes a barrier or problem to solve is value-laden and there are always individual or group interests at play. For instance, a decision not to require a compulsory knowledge of Welsh in order to become a civil servant in Welsh institutions can be interpreted as a measure to protect the status quo which favours the professional expectations of monolingual English speakers, thereby impinging on both the professional and public service expectations of Welsh-speakers.

### **1.6.2 The definition of a problem**

In order to define a problem, a variety of actions are needed to establish what is the question which needs to be tackled. Both causes and consequences of the situation must be analysed. The response to the problem will depend on how the problem is presented. The choice of a national language in some post-colonial countries offers an example of how the definition of the problem conditions the actions. Many post-colonial countries chose former colonial languages as a national or official language on the basis of neutrality, prestige, pragmatism and efficiency. The choice was further justified in relation of avoiding ethnic conflict if one of the original or indigenous languages was chosen to the detriment of others. However, this arrangement concealed the interests of the independentist elites who were already fluent in the colonial language as they participated in the colonial administration or its army. The choice of a former colonial language (mainly English or French, and to a lesser extent, Spanish, German or Portuguese) perpetuated and legitimised the domination of post-colonial elites and aided the exclusion of the masses from the political system.

### **1.6.3 The formulation and implementation process**

The formulation and implementation of a language plan focuses on the adoption and spread of a language form, which has been codified and

standardised. The adoption of a plan would ideally involve the relevant social actors whose suggestions should be considered and incorporated in the plan. The term used by language planners to describe the specific measures taken to implement the social aspects of a language plan is 'Correction' (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997: 36).<sup>12</sup> Correction involves both the diffusion of a code (grammar, a lexicon, new terms etc.) and the promotion of its use.

The most important channels of language diffusion are the education system, legislation, the mass media (including new forms of communication such as the internet) and through cultural industries. When a language is spoken as a vernacular language the family and the community will become part of the agencies of language reproduction.

As Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) argue, although education is a crucial agency of language reproduction,

it is clear that the education sector alone is not capable of providing for language correction, partly because dissemination through the education system requires several generations, and partly because the education sector lacks authority to impact on other segments of society (Ibid.:36).

There are other methods by which language agencies can encourage or promote a language, through:

- economic incentives both direct (i.e. through tax incentives or direct grants) and indirect (i.e. the knowledge of a language as a condition for employment in the public sector, using the purchasing power of the public sector to influence language use in the private sector, etc.)
- language marketing (campaigns, promotion, etc.) which draws on techniques used by private companies to sell products. In this case, the "product" is a language.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> In the Catalan context, Lamuela (1994) proposed "*establiment d'una llengua*" [the establishment of a language] to describe the process of language spread, both in terms of its code and its use.

<sup>13</sup> See Cooper (1989: 72) for an analysis of the application of marketing techniques or what he calls the four "p" strategy (product, promotion, place and price) applied to

#### 1.6.4 The evaluation process

The monitoring and evaluation of public policies is an aspect which has been growing steadily as governments impose efficiency audits in the expenditure of public monies. Devising strategies to modify a particular language situation is crucial and is the most difficult step in the whole process, consequently evaluation of such strategies tends to be a neglected area of language planning, with a general paucity of published material (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997: 90). Theoretically, there should be partial evaluations at all stages of the process to provide constant feedback and reformulate policies if necessary. In the final evaluation it is useful to distinguish between three different data:

- The products include basic and less developed data about the actions undertaken, i.e. annual reports of planning agencies, or the number of pupils in, for example, Welsh medium schools.
- The results include data that gives information about the anticipated effects. The most general data available to measure effects is population census data. However, other use surveys are needed to have a better understanding of the sociolinguistic situation, i.e. the use of Welsh in schools, the use with family and friends or the use in different everyday activities (working, shopping, at hospitals etc.).<sup>14</sup>
- The impact data includes information on effects which were not explicitly foreseen as a result of a particular action. Sometimes, these effects will need to be counteracted by both linguistic and non-linguistic actions. For instance, the increased presence of migrant children in French-speaking Brussels schools stimulated an increase of demand of Flemish medium education as French speaking parents moved their children to the Flemish schools.

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the promotion of the use of a language. See also Baker & Jones for an outline of a ten-stage strategy on promoting minority languages (1998: 221-227).

<sup>14</sup> There are different mechanisms to measure and evaluate use. In Catalonia there has been the development of "*Inuscat - indicadors d'ús del català*" [Catalan language use index]. This technique is also being adopted to measure the use of Basque and Welsh.

Language plans and their effects involve complex social change. As language use is interrelated to other social behaviours it is difficult to discern a precise relationship of cause and effect. It is extremely difficult for a researcher to affirm categorically that a particular social trend—i.e. the increase of the knowledge and use of Welsh or the increase in Welsh nationalist voters—is derived from one single factor—such as the increase of Welsh medium schools—and not a combination of other elements in the equation.

## **1.7 Language Planning and Social Change**

After analysing the different elements of language planning and the language planning processes an additional crucial concept has to be taken into account in order to understand its complex nature. Following Cooper's definition, language planning cannot be understood without reference to its social and historical context, consequently language planning demands an understanding of the social changes that promote it. Cooper draws from different theories of social change to identify six possible factors: the physical environment, population, discovery and invention, cultural diffusion, ideology and decision-making (1989: 164-168). As there are so many contributing factors and their inter-relationships are so very complex, theories derived from one or another of these factors are bound to be wanting. Language planning, as a discipline which seeks to manage language change, is deeply embedded within the complexity it seeks to address and it is influenced by numerous factors—ideological, political and economic. As Cooper states:

(...) and not only because it is directed toward so many different status, corpus, and acquisition goals, but more fundamentally because it is a tool in the service of so many different latent goals, such as economic modernisation, national integration, national liberation, imperial hegemony, racial, sexual, and economic equality, the maintenance of elites, and their replacement by new elites (Ibid.: 182).

Social changes can be embedded within a specific context (micro and meso changes) or be involved within general or global trends (macro changes). It is

the dichotomous nature of change that makes it so difficult to transplant, integrally or without modification, models of language planning from one specific context to the other. Nonetheless, trends can be identified and research advances in this field allow us to understand further what processes or necessary steps a given “LP actor” must follow in order to identify or implement in, for example, reversing language shift.<sup>15</sup>

Even so, the majority or almost all known actions of language planning have been implemented in an ad hoc manner and with little or no consideration for a possible theory, or even taking into account other experiences of LP. For instance, if we trace the processes of language planning in Wales or Catalonia, it is only relatively recently that some of the decisions adopted by planners can be considered to be theory based.<sup>16</sup> Similarly it is only rather recently that any interest has been shown in learning or adopting measures or policies from different language contexts or other LP processes. In the Catalan case, Quebec’s experience has inspired some of the policies implemented so as to normalise Catalan. Likewise in Wales, attention has been focussed on extending collaborative insights from her Celtic neighbours, such as Ireland. More recently LP actors in Wales have also looked further afield for inspiration and good practice, especially to Catalonia, the Basque Country and Quebec.<sup>17</sup>

The complexity of an ever-changing reality makes a language planning theory difficult to grasp and define. Recent developments in the theory of language planning argue that political, social and economic decisions are only paid lip service in the language planning decision process. Such decisions tend to be taken by people who are outside of the language planning process, and who,

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<sup>15</sup> For various alternative approaches to describing the reversing language shift (RLS) process please see Fishman (1991 and 2000), Strubell (1997) and Williams, C.H. (1994), given that they are so familiar in the field their main postulates will not be reported, but knowledge that they have informed this approach.

<sup>16</sup> Theory based decisions can only be adopted when there is a certain degree of professionalism and training of language planners.

<sup>17</sup> LP actors in Wales are convinced that many positive experiences from other LP environments can inform the Welsh case, and the Welsh Language Board in particular has emerged as one of the key players and leaders in the Network of European Language Boards.

as such, have been excluded from serious discussion within the discipline, (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, xiv).

The notion of “holistic language planning” is used to define more precisely a model of language planning which encompasses and engages areas which have traditionally fallen outside the planning process. Williams describes this approach as follows:

Holistic approaches emphasise ‘joined up thinking’ within and between government departments and their partner agencies in the community. ‘Holistic language planning’ can so easily become ‘sectoral language planning’; as a result it is far easier to lose heart and assume that no real social impact will ever be made to sustain the long-term practice of language choice. Consequently holistic values and methods have to be deeply entrenched within the system. They can not, and should not, be added on as mere appendages to mainstream issues as and when it suits the occasion (2002:12-13).

The needs and difficulties of such an approach for language maintenance are well illustrated by Williams:

The difficulties of language maintenance are by now very well known, but the central justification for introducing greater holistic perspectives is that maintenance and revitalisation efforts rely on much more than language, education and culture. And yet too few of our language planning agencies are really able to grapple with the multifaceted elements required, being limited to social mobilisation programmes, educational initiatives and marketing campaigns. Hence they are bereft of any structural, and hence lasting, influence on issues of mainstream economic growth, regional development policy, labour migration, investment strategies and the like, all of which influence the vitality (or morbidity) of language networks and communities. Language planners conventionally cite the extra-linguistic impediments to effective policy implementation, but rarely engage such factors head on, presuming that they fall within the remit of other professional disciplines (Williams, 2002: 2-3).

Thus, holistic language planning remains a challenge for the maintenance of minority languages.

## 1.8 Language planning in minority language contexts in the European Union

Initially the language planning discipline was centred on the study of the developing nations. By the 1970s, with the rise of ethnic revival, language planners became more concerned with western societies as well. In its turn language planning was also becoming an issue of relevance in all multilingual societies. Increased attention was given to national minorities in EU countries, and additional issues, not previously integral to the plight of LP within decolonising countries, such as sub-state rights and self-determination, were beginning to be tackled.<sup>18</sup>

In the wider European context the histories of Wales and Catalonia share many similarities, in linguistic terms, with each other as so-called minority language communities.<sup>19</sup> In contemporary Europe it is often said that of the European Union's 370 million citizens, an estimated 50 million speak a language other than the official language of the state in which they live and that there are more than 40 such language communities. Nevertheless, the political and legal condition, as well as the sociolinguistic situation, of all these languages varies considerably. This ranges from substantial institutional support and relatively high status and usage, as in the cases of German in South Tyrol, Catalan in Catalonia or Welsh, to a lack of any recognition, legal status or support infrastructure, as for example in the cases of Aromanian (*Armîneşte*) in Greece or Breton in France, etc. (Nelde et al. 1996).

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<sup>18</sup> Although strictly speaking these issues were ever present in the political discourses of such places as Nigeria, India and Sub-Saharan Africa, they were not considered integral to LP per se.

<sup>19</sup> The terms Europe or European are generally used at least in two senses: one is synonymous with the "European Union" or pertaining to the EU, while the other is synonymous with the much wider category of "Western Europe". Both meanings are historically contingent but widely used in political discourse. Here Europe or European is used in the first of the above mentioned senses. However, the terms will be used in the second sense when describing the process of language minoritisation or subordination with the growth and expansion of the nation-state. As Macdonald points out (1993: 3) "Western Europe is typically credited with a number of historical developments of massive global relevance which make it important to consider as a frame of reference", one of these important phenomena being the birth of the nation-state and the ideology of nationalism which is so crucial for the understanding of the place that language occupies today as one of the more salient elements of identity.

In general, the origin of the minoritisation or subordination of these languages has been related to the period of the emergence and consolidation of the “modern” state in Western Europe. However, other ideas have been postulated concerning the roots of such subordination, which go beyond the purely political factors, with a greater emphasis on economic factors as a cause for this subordination (Nelde, Strubell, Williams 1996).

The ideology of the nation-state is conventionally defined as being based on one nation, one territory, one common history, one administration, and one language which regarded minoritised languages as a threat to its quest for homogeneity. This maxim was considered paramount to the political security and efficiency of the state. Under the influence of the Enlightenment, languages were categorised as constituting a given hierarchy whereby “nation-state languages” and “reason” were made congruent. Consequently, it followed that the non-national languages were to be considered as substandard and inferior, both in terms of corpus and status. Therefore, state languages, the “superior” languages, were to be employed in modern activities such as education, science, administration, and the media whereas the other subordinate languages were increasingly restricted to the more “traditional” and private domains and activities. Not having the ability to speak the language of the dominant culture was considered as a barrier to both individual and community development and social progress. These ideologies together with other economic and social processes that started during this period—industrialisation, urbanisation, secularisation, capitalism, developments in transport, etc.—consigned non-state languages to occupy increasingly marginalised positions.<sup>20</sup>

The roots of the subordination of language groups to dominant ones has been traditionally related to the formation of nation-states, a process which started in Western Europe during the Eighteenth century and consolidated throughout the Nineteenth century. Within the process of state-formation,

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<sup>20</sup> For an in-depth discussion of the formation of the nation state and its linguistic development, see Williams, G. (1992) and Evas (1999).



territorial acquisition and boundary re-adjustment, as a result of warfare and strategic alliances, resulted in the incorporation of often quite different socio-cultural communities within the re-fashioned state territory. As Poggi points out:

The most drastic visible aspect of the development of the modern state in Europe was the drastic simplification of the continent's political map, which around 1500 comprised some 150 independent political entities, and around 1900 about 25 (1972: 22).

Before the emergence and consolidation of the nation-state, different socio-cultural communities which were brought together under the same sovereign rule were not necessarily considered as minorities. Take, for example, the Holy Roman Empire after the treaty of Westphalia (1648), where the Emperor Charles the Fifth ruled over a confederation of quasi-states with quite different structures, traditions and languages. What united these quasi states was the struggle to maintain the Catholic unity of Europe against both the threats posed by Protestant reforms and those posed by Ottoman incursions to the south and east. Unity of religion rather than unity of language was the prime objective of the emperor. This was made very clear when the Treaty of Westphalia enshrined the principle of "*cuius regio, eius religio*". It would have been unthinkable to have adopted the principle of "*cuius regio eius lingua*" (Siguan, 1996). Religion was at the centre of the European cosmogony.

Societal bilingualism within the nation state is a political phenomenon in which the relative stability of both languages, that of the state and that of the internal nationality, depends on the political give-and-take of the relevant national identities which have confronted each other during the course of history. The history of bilingualism, then, is so often the history of confrontation between two linguistically different peoples, one of which has a politically subordinate status compared to the other.

However, the nation-state has not been a monolithic or static form of political organisation. On the contrary, since its emergence, a little over 200 years ago, it has experienced many changes and transformations during its

existence. This capacity of adaptation and transformation might explain its success and persistence as the dominant form of political organisation in Europe and the rest of the world. It is recognised that the process of European integration, since Second World War, in tandem with increasing globalisation (Castells, 1997; Poggi, 1972), is one of the major recent forces which contribute to the concerns regarding the perception that the 'nation-state idea' is either subject to erosion or indeed in deep crises. There is an extensive debate among political scientists surrounding this transformation or reformation and some argue that a dual process, considered by some scholars as complementary or as two sides of the same coin (Loughlin, 2001), is changing the traditional powers of the state. One of the two principal forces of change comes from *above* and relates to Europeanisation, or European integration and globalisation. The other comes from *below* and concerns the pressure from local and regional authorities as they mobilise to acquire more autonomy together with greater influence in policy-making at both national and European level. (Loughlin, 2001; Keating, 1996).

If we accept that the nature of the state is being transformed as a result of these different pressures, it is logical to assume that major social and economic changes will impact on the relative position of Europe's constituent languages. Although this departs from the main focus of this thesis, it is critical to bear in mind that minority language communities are subject to these changes.

Economic factors also have an effect on the vitality of these minority languages. Surveys about language reproduction and production, i.e. intergenerational transmission and language learning, across different minority language groups in Europe, such as *Euromosaic*, highlight the strong link between economic restructuring, circulation of capital, migration and the impact of these factors for minority language dynamism:

Where autochthonous areas are subject to a high degree of in-migration through the economic diversification that is associated with restructuring, there is a likelihood that the degree of language group endogamy will decline. This leads to diminishing the capacity of the

family to serve as an agency of minority language reproduction. Similarly, the entry of a substantial number of non-speakers into the community will undermine that community's capacity for minority language reproduction and production (Nelde et al. 1995:11).

Welsh and Catalan are two of these minority languages which have survived several centuries of nation-state ideology and economic restructuring without having state backing, and have resisted—although to a different extent—assimilation by their respective “state” languages, English and Spanish. Both countries have devolved democratic institutions from their respective “political centres”, and by now also have professional public bodies charged with the promotion of their minority languages.

In the following chapters we shall analyse the revitalisation process through focussing on the language planning of Catalan and Welsh. First though we shall review the historical processes, the sociolinguistic situation and the legal framework within which both languages operate. Special attention will be given to the efforts of language planning agencies to spread the use of Catalan and Welsh in the private sector.

## 2 THE CATALAN MODEL OF LANGUAGE PLANNING

### 2.1 Introduction

The main purpose of this chapter is to describe and analyse what we may call “the Catalan model of language planning”. We will investigate a number of questions related to this model. Of what does it consist? What are its main features and characteristics? What are its theoretical origins and underpinnings? What are the targets it has been set? How have they been implemented? Who is in charge of such implementation? Finally, and most importantly, can it be claimed that this model is successful? As we will see, this last question cannot be answered in a straightforward manner. That this is so is due to the complexity of various factors, such as the implementation process of particular policies and the evaluation of the impact of such policies, which, in general, requires a long time scale. Furthermore, language issues are never solely linguistic in nature, language problems are the surface reflections or symptoms of other matters, political, demographic, economic etc. As Strubell argues in the case of Catalan:

[T]he causes of most of the problems facing Catalan are non-linguistic, so the remedies are also non-linguistic (Strubell, 1999a: 4)

Although this chapter will focus on the nature of language planning in Catalonia it will be necessary to consider several historical aspects to fully appreciate the state of the language today and to put into context the kind of language policies currently undertaken. Thus, before exploring the principal issue and because Catalan’s current situation derives from far more than recent history, it will be necessary to look back to at least the beginning of the twentieth century, when the process of modernisation and standardisation of the Catalan language began.<sup>21</sup> This process was tragically interrupted by the

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<sup>21</sup> Some argue that the fortunes and misfortunes of the Catalan language can be traced for centuries before. The decay of the Catalan language as a language associated with power and used for political, economic, literary and other prestige uses could be traced from the sixteenth century. But it is especially located at the beginning of the eighteenth century when all Catalan institutions were abolished and Castilian (Spanish) was declared the only language for public life, after Philip V won the War of Spanish Succession and enforced the 1716 *Nueva Planta* decree.

Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) and the repressive actions taken against the Catalan language and culture by the ensuing totalitarian regime. However, though timid at first, strident resistance to General Franco's dictatorship did take place and particular sectors of Catalan society mobilised, both inside the country and in exile, in support of their language and culture and the general restoration of civil rights.

An overview of the legal framework, the basis of which was established during the democratic transition, will give us the context within which language policies operate. We will comment on the relevant aspects both of the 1978 Spanish Constitution and 1979 Catalonia Statute of Autonomy, as well as the two Language Acts which were passed in 1983 and 1998. Comment will also be made on the 1993 Act establishing a Consumers' Charter with mention of the language rights of consumers. A key question is whether these language acts and, in the last analysis, the Spanish Constitution itself, are compatible with the aims of establishing the Catalan language as a fully "normalised" language? We will examine the two main positions adopted on this issue, which is related to the definition of what both sides understand by "normalisation".

Following the legal analysis we shall examine the sociolinguistic situation of the Catalan language, in particular selected demographic aspects from language censuses and surveys. These will allow us to trace both the evolution of the functional expansion and the development of the knowledge and use of the language since the end of the 1970's. Secondly, it will help us to understand the bases upon which language planning and language policies are being pursued by the autonomous Government of Catalonia.

As part of the on-going process of language planning the Catalan Government (the Generalitat) has established a network of language planning

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However, to avoid losing the focus of the chapter and the subject of this thesis we will not delve into and comment on Catalan language history before the 20<sup>th</sup> century. There are, nevertheless, countless works of outstanding quality regarding this subject. Some of the more excellent are: Nadal, J. M. and M. Prats 1982, 1996; Vallverdú, F. 1984, Ferrer Gironès, F. 1985, and Vallverdú et al. 1980.

institutions which are managed by professional language planners. We will look at their organisation, functions, goals and strategies and to what extent this impressive infrastructure has assisted the Generalitat in pursuing its objectives of achieving full normalisation for the Catalan language.

Finally, it is important to note that information gathered for this chapter does not only include secondary data but also primary data through interviews with Catalan language planners and other government officials. In-depth interviews took place mainly during a study visit to the language planning institutions of the Government of Catalonia during September 2000. In researching this thesis other informal interviews with members of the Institute of Sociolinguistics and the Consortium for the Normalisation of Catalan in Girona and Barcelona have been undertaken on a regular basis. The current situation was confirmed by interviews in early 2005 with the Secretariat General for Language Policy and with the Director of the Consortium in Girona.

## **2.2 Historical Background**

### **2.2.1 Language and Territory**

Catalonia is one of Spain's seventeen Autonomous Communities and is situated in the Northeast corner of the Iberian Peninsula (see map next page). However, the Catalan language is not only spoken in the Autonomous Region of Catalonia, but also in four different European countries: Andorra, Spain, France and Italy. Within Spain, it is spoken in four autonomous regions: the Principality of Catalonia, most of Valencia, the Balearic Islands, and a part of eastern Aragon known as the *Franja de Ponent* (Western Strip). In France, Catalan is spoken in almost all of the *Département of Pyrénées-Orientales* (also known as Northern Catalonia or Roussillon), which was surrendered to France under the Treaty of the Pyrenees in 1659. Finally, as a result of the Kingdom of Aragon's territorial expansion in the Middle Ages, Catalan is spoken in Italy, in Alghero, a town on the island of Sardinia.

**Map 2.1 Map of the Autonomous Community of Catalonia**



Source: Cartographic Section, Department of Geography, University of Western Ontario

The social, political and legal conditions, as well as the sociolinguistic situation of the Catalan language, vary considerably in each of the above-mentioned territories. From a legal point of view, it ranges from complete absence of recognition in Roussillon to the exclusive official status it enjoys in Andorra.<sup>22</sup> In Aragon, the 1982 Statute of Autonomy recognised different linguistic varieties which deserve protection and support without giving them co-official status, and in Catalonia, Valencia and the Balearic Isles, Catalan is co-official with Spanish. In Italy, the Catalan language spoken in Alghero has

<sup>22</sup> Although Catalan is the only official language of Andorra, this does not imply that it is the only language spoken in this micro-state. Spanish mainly, but also French are widely used, especially in commerce and tourism (Govern d'Andorra: 1996). The Andorran Government is currently undertaking activities to promote the use of Catalan.

recently been given official status. Some 11.3 million inhabitants live in these territories, of which 7.2 million speak Catalan, and 9.8 million understand it<sup>23</sup> (Direcció General de Política Lingüística, 2001: 117). Comparatively speaking, the autonomous community of Catalonia, the territory we shall concentrate on in this chapter, is where the Catalan language enjoys a healthier situation.<sup>24</sup> This is due to its more active promotion by the Generalitat, which considers the language to be a cornerstone of its policies and, since the recovery of Catalonia's democratic institutions, has undertaken

<sup>23</sup> Taking into account these figures, the Generalitat of Catalonia does not consider Catalan as a minority language. They argue that taking the number of inhabitants in the territories where it is an official language (10,8 million), it occupies the seventh position in relation to the 11 official and working languages of the EU as at 2003:

Language	People (million)	Language	People (million)	Language	People (million)
German	90.2	Spanish	39.8	Portuguese	9.8
French	62.7	Dutch	21.2	Swedish	8.8
English	62.2	Catalan	10.8	Danish	5.2
Italian	57.4	Greek	10.6	Finish	5.1

(Source: Direcció General de Política Lingüística, 2001: 117)

Moreover, Catalan comes before nine of the eleven languages of those countries who joined the EU in 2004: Hungarian (10.5), Czech (10.3), Bulgarian (8.5), Slovakian (5.4) and Lithuanian, Latvian, Slovenian, Estonian and Maltese, all of them with less than 4 million of speakers (Ibid: 117). The fact that the Catalan government avoids using the term "minority language" to refer to Catalan could be explained by their wish to differentiate the sociolinguistic situation of Catalan in relation to other minority languages in Europe. Furthermore, in doing so, the party (CiU) which was in power since the first democratic elections in 1980 until 2003 can claim that they have contributed to the actual situation. Nevertheless, they recognise that Catalan is still in a position of inferiority in relation to Spanish in many aspect of the social life in Catalonia (Direcció General de Política Lingüística, 2002: 11).

<sup>24</sup> The data available about the sociolinguistic situation of Catalan in the different territories where it is spoken is uneven. In the Principality of Catalonia the first census with a language input took place in 1975 but only for the province of Barcelona. The 1981 census was available for the whole of the Autonomous Community of Catalonia but it only enquired about understanding of Catalan. In the following censuses of 1986 and 1991 there was a question about the four language competencies namely, not only in Catalonia but also in the Balearic Islands and Valencia. In the census of 1996 again there was a question related to the four language competencies only in Catalonia. The census of 2001 yielded the same data for Catalonia and Balearic Islands but not for Valencia. According to the 1996 census 75% spoke Catalan in Catalonia and 77% in Andorra. According to the census of 1991, 67.6% spoke Catalan in the Balearic Islands and 51.1% in Valencia. For the remaining territories there are no censuses available, only surveys. In 1993, 90% of the population of the *Franja* of Aragon (some 45,000) spoke Catalan; in 1994, 45% in Alghero (some 18,000) and in 1997, 34% of a total population of 365,000 spoke Catalan in Roussillon, of which only 17% could speak it well (Bañeres, 1999a).



a large array of measures to promote and expand its knowledge and use. Furthermore, as Branchadell argues:

[C]onsidering the current situation, [...] Catalan language will be normalised only if it is normalised in Catalonia; if not, it won't be normalised anywhere else (Branchadell, 1996: 8) (a.t.).

### 2.2.2 The Standardization of Catalan Language

Purposeful language planning in Catalonia goes back to the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, mainly in the field of corpus planning. In this period the Catalan language was standardised, which turned out to be a crucial moment in the recovery of the language after centuries of decay. Following the Catalan literary revival in the early 19<sup>th</sup> Century, known as the *Renaixença* (Renaissance), there began a process of functional and social expansion of the Catalan language, which reached its peak during the Second Spanish Republic (1931-1939), which declared Catalan to be an official language. The diffusion of Catalan created concerns about correction of use and gave rise to controversies between the defenders of a form of written Catalan closer to the spoken language and those who preferred a more archaic form (Siguan, 1993: 32).

The First International Congress of the Catalan language took place in 1906 with a dual objective: to proclaim to the world that Catalan was indeed a language, and not a Spanish or Occitan dialect; and to discuss how to make Catalan a unified language which would be a useful means of communication among all its speakers, adapting the language to be a modern functional instrument for all purposes, from scientific and technical to commercial and popular use. As a result of these discussions, the Congress concluded that fundamental work in the codification of the language was needed.

Pompeu Fabra (1868-1948), grammarian, lexicographer and former industrial engineer, was the artificer, the “*seny ordenador*” (the organiser mind) of modern Catalan. He is the author of the *Normes Ortogràfiques* (orthographic norms) (1913), the *Gramàtica Normativa* (grammar) (1918), and the

*Diccionari General de la Llengua Catalana* (dictionary) (1932). These works were accepted and adopted by public authorities, institutions, literary figures, publishers and the press, and eventually became accepted in all Catalan language territories. They continue to constitute a major reference point for contemporary written Catalan.

This large and rigorous task would not have been possible without the institutionalisation of Catalan political nationalism, with the establishment in 1907 of the *Institut d'Estudis Catalans* (IEC) (Institute of Catalan Studies) and, more specifically, its Philological Section (1911), under whose patronage Pompeu Fabra undertook the above mentioned works. The IEC, which adopted and continues to perform the role of academy of the language, was created by Enric Prat de la Riba, one of the fathers of Catalan nationalism and one of the most important exponents of the modern idea of Catalonia as a political entity. The establishment of the *Mancomunitat* (1914-1925)—a precursor of the *Generalitat*, but with more limited political prerogatives—underpinned the process of Catalan standardisation, for the *Mancomunitat* carried out remarkable cultural and educational policies in favour of the Catalan language. The driving force behind these cultural and linguistic developments lay in the profound political and economic changes that Catalan society underwent during this period. In the context of a predominantly agricultural Spanish state, Catalonia experienced a relatively early process of industrialisation that brought about the emergence of a wealthy and educated autochthonous bourgeoisie. From the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century onward this Catalan-speaking bourgeoisie, unable to secure a dominant political position in a Spanish state ruled by a centralist land-owning class, and disappointed about the loss of the last Spanish colonies in Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines—a bitter blow to Catalan industry and trade—turned its back on Madrid and invested its energy in the transformation of a “region” into a “nation” (Vilar, 1964, 63). A robust process of nation-building and cultural revitalisation began alongside the progressive growth of modern Catalan nationalism, and the Catalan language became even more central to the definition and articulation of a Catalan national identity.

### **2.2.3 From Language Repression to Language Mobilisation**

The relatively normalised situation that Catalan enjoyed in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century—chiefly in the short period of the Second Republic (1931-1939)—was violently disrupted by the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War (1936-39). When, in 1939, General Franco's rebel forces won the war, the ensuing dictatorial government abolished the Catalan government, which had sided with the Republic, and imposed a highly centralised regime, not only politically, but also linguistically and culturally. For just under 40 years, only Spanish could be used in public life throughout Spain: in government, in the classroom, the press and the media, etc., with the sole exception of religious services, where, after Vatican II (1965), Catalan was adopted as the language of the activities of the Catholic Church in Catalonia. These conditions relegated Catalan to the status of a “family language”, kept far away from the echelons of prestige and power.

One of the goals of the dictatorial regime was to make the whole of the Spanish state politically and culturally homogenous. Special efforts were made to eliminate the use of other languages spoken in the Spanish state: Catalan, Galician, Basque, Asturian, Aragonese and Aranese. The methods used to eliminate these languages included severe direct repression and other, more sophisticated means of changing identity. In Catalonia obvious repressive activities involved the removal and burning of Catalan books from libraries and bookshops; the abolition of non-Spanish language newspapers and periodicals; the banning of Catalan in the radio, theatres and cinemas; the translation of signs, place names, personal names and surnames into Spanish; etc. Examples of more subtle attempts include Franco's permission, from 1946, to publish books in Catalan (under political censorship, of course) which had to be written in pre-standardised Catalan.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> i.e. Catalan before Pompeu Fabra's codification work.

Alongside political action against the Catalan language and culture during this period, other social and economic developments occurred which resulted in the Catalan language being further removed from its use in formal domains. In 1959 Spanish Television (RTVE) began to broadcast. This meant a big step forward towards the substitution of the Catalan language with Spanish. Due to RTVE's broadcasts, the Spanish language penetrated deep into Catalan domains it had never reached before. It was the beginning of the most effective process of bilingualisation yet, even more so than state schooling. The process has persisted up to the present when, as a consequence, no Catalan monolinguals exist. As in the Welsh and other cases, the complete bilingualisation of minority language monolinguals has profound implications for language policy. This represents a significant step towards linguistic and cultural homogenisation in which minority language claims can no longer be formulated on a basis of ignorance of the language of the state.

Catalonia's economic development during the 1950's and specially the 1960's on the one hand, and the underdevelopment of other regions of Spain—particularly Spanish-speaking Andalusia, Extremadura and Murcia—on the other, meant that a large number of unskilled agricultural labourers in search of jobs, mainly in industry and tourism, migrated to Catalonia. One of the reasons why these immigrants decided to move to Catalonia instead of Germany or France, as many others certainly did, was that they thereby remained within Spanish territory, therefore, expecting that the adaptation to their new home, in terms of culture and language, would have been easier. A large number of these immigrants settled down in the new industrial belt around the Catalan capital, Barcelona, and other urban complexes. For decades they and their offspring had little or no contact with Catalan within the new “linguistic enclaves” into which they moved, where linguistic endogamy within the Spanish-speaking group was the common pattern. Even today most of these areas are still mainly Spanish speaking. For the first time in Catalan history, the language of social integration had become Spanish, and no longer Catalan. These immigrants and their descendants now constitute nearly half of Catalonia's population, and although they understand and are able to speak Catalan, many consider Spanish as they preferred language.

Throughout the years of the dictatorship Catalan individuals and organisations both from the clandestine underground and those in exile strove, often in highly adverse circumstances, to protect Catalan culture, language and identity (Samsó, 1995). Specifically:

- The *Generalitat* continued functioning in exile;
- The Institute of Catalan Studies, the main institution in charge of the scientific study of the language, continued covert activities in Catalonia;
- Literary festivals and the publication of books and magazines such as *Quaderns de l'Exili* (Notebooks of the Exile) took place in different places in Europe and America, in order to keep the use of Catalan in literary and intellectual activities;
- In the later stages of the Francoist regime, a more tolerant cultural policy allowed the teaching of Catalan language. *Omnium Cultural*, a Catalan-culture NGO, was founded in 1961 by a group from the leading industrial bourgeoisie and a circle of intellectuals, in order to provide patronage for schools teaching the Catalan language, subsidise Catalan publications and to promote literary awards.

Mass-mobilisation campaigns in favour of the Catalan language, framed within the general protest against the totalitarian regime and for the recovering of civil rights, varied from non-violent to violent ones. Within the non-violent forms of protest different activities took place both from inside and outside the country. The following illustrate the character of such activities (Samsó, 1995; Balcells, 1996):

- The ceremony of the 'enthronement' of the Virgin of Montserrat in 1947, with the attendance of around 70,000 Catalans, may be considered the first mass mobilisation of Catalan nationalism after the Civil War, and a demonstration of national strength. This act, although nominally religious in nature, gave the chance to Catalans of all persuasions to express their national identity. During the event, a

variety of symbols of Catalan identity were present: the limited use of the Catalan language and the presence of Catalonia's forbidden flag;

- In 1959 the editor of the Barcelona newspaper *La Vanguardia* declared after his attendance at a religious event held entirely in Catalan, that "*Todos los catalanes son una mierda*" (all Catalans are shit [sic]). A strong campaign against this newspaper organised by the most militant sector of an organisation known by the initials CC—*Cristians Catalans* (Catalan Christians)—and headed by Jordi Pujol—who later became the restored Generalitat's first democratically elected president—ended with the editor's eventual dismissal;
- During the same year (1959), a hundred intellectuals signed a manifesto calling for the Catalan language to be included in the curriculum at all levels of the education system.

Following the death of General Franco in November 1975 there began a complex and fragile process of democratic transition. Political leaders in Catalonia, together with those in the Basque Country pressed forcefully for a decentralised state model in opposition to those political forces who envisaged a more centralised state following the French model. The decentralised model would devolve powers, including education and culture, to the so-called historical regions; these regions being those with languages of their own which were different from Spanish. The resulting state of the autonomies comprises both the historical regions which had obtained decentralised powers and other functional regions producing a total of seventeen autonomous units. For Catalonia this process meant the restoration of self-government, together with the return of the Catalan language into public life and the beginning of its recovery as a public language.

However, the immediate post-Franco era was not a very stable period for democracy in Spain. On the 23<sup>rd</sup> of February 1981 Lt.Col. Antonio Tejero attempted a coup d'etat which did not succeed. After this event a period of re-centralisation began, and the state government decided to pass a new law, known as the LOAPA, "*Ley Orgánica de Armonización del Proceso*

*Autonómico*" (Organic Law for the Harmonisation of the Process of Self-government). This law limited the areas under the exclusive competence of the self-governing communities, and marked the beginning of a retrieval of powers by the central government.

This law and a manifesto known as "*Por la igualdad de los derechos lingüísticos en Cataluña*" (For equal language rights in Catalonia)<sup>26</sup>, signed by Spanish-speaking intellectuals and civil servants resident in Catalonia, spurred a mass mobilisation. This mobilisation, supported by 2,300 different organisations under the leadership of "*La Crida a la Solidaritat en Defensa de la Llengua, la Cultura i la Nació Catalanes*" (Appeal for Solidarity in Defence of the Catalan Language, Culture and Nation), reached its climax in a mass rally in 1981 at the Camp Nou, the stadium of Barcelona Football Club (Balcells, 1996: 179). After this period of political instability the process of legitimisation and institutionalisation of the Catalan language and culture progressed.

### **2.3 The legal framework**

The basic legal framework from which the official status of the Catalan language derives of the 1978 Spanish Constitution, the 1979 Catalan Statute of Autonomy and the two main language acts that the Catalan Parliament passed in 1983 and 1998. We will highlight the articles dealing with language rights in the Spanish Constitution and the Catalan Statute of Autonomy and comment on the main issues dealt with in the two language acts. In relation to

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<sup>26</sup> This report claimed that Spanish language and culture were in danger in Catalonia, and that giving the Catalan language an official status was discriminatory against the Spanish speaking population of Catalonia. In 1981 Federico Jiménez Losantos, teacher of Spanish and one of the leaders of this organisation, was kidnapped and injured by the Catalan terrorist commando *Terra Lliure* (Free Land) which considered him to be a danger to the Catalan language and identity. The manifesto represents the first organised opposition to the proposed Catalan language policy since the recovery of democratic institutions.

the economic sphere there is a 1993 law protecting consumer rights in which there is a chapter centred on consumers' language rights.<sup>27</sup>

### **2.3.1 The Spanish Constitution, 1978**

Article 3 of the 1978 Constitution was the first step towards the official recognition of non-Spanish languages of the Spanish territory. Nevertheless, the recognition of linguistic plurality was not commensurate with other federal countries such as Switzerland, Belgium or Canada, as the central government remained monolingual and a principle of territoriality was applied in the autonomous communities with their own language.<sup>28</sup> The Constitution established Spanish as the official language of the Spanish State, and required all citizens to know it. It also guaranteed the official status of other Spanish languages within their own territory and according to their respective regional constitutions.

### **2.3.2 The Catalan Statute of Autonomy, 1979**

The second big step in the recognition of the Catalan language in Catalonia was the 1979 Statute of Autonomy, very similar to other statutes in Autonomous Communities with languages other than Spanish. Article 3 of this Statute declares that Catalan is Catalonia's 'own language' (*llengua pròpia*); that Catalan is the official language of Catalonia as is Spanish (which is official throughout the Spanish State) and that the regional government, the Generalitat, will guarantee the normal and official use of both languages, will

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<sup>27</sup> There are many decrees derived from the basic legislation regulating aspects in the economic sector. Nevertheless, it would be inappropriate here to undertake a complete analysis of this secondary legislation. See Ferrer & Cruañas, 1990 and Branchadell, 1996 for an extended discussion on other legislation related to Catalan language.

<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless, it cannot be considered a full principle of territoriality, as is the case of Flemish in Belgium, because the territorial languages are not exclusively official but share joint official status with Spanish. Even where they are co-official, there is a marked difference between them, as the use of Catalan is a right but the knowledge of Spanish is both a right and a duty. Therefore, there exists a combination of both principles, the territoriality principle applied to Catalan and the individuality principle applied to Spanish, as all Spanish citizens regardless of where they live have the right and the duty to know Spanish.



take the necessary measures to ensure adequate knowledge, and will create the conditions, which will allow both languages to attain full equality with respect to the rights and duties of the citizens of Catalonia. It mentions also that Aranese, an Occitan dialect spoken in the Pyrenean valley of Aran, will be the subject of special respect and protection. In addition the Generalitat was given exclusive control over public education enabling it to decide the language of instruction.

### **2.3.3 The Catalan Language Promotion Acts of 1983 and 1998 and the Consumer Act of 1993**

#### *2.3.3.1 The 1983 Language Promotion Act*

In order to fulfil its statutory aims of defending and promoting the Catalan language, the autonomous government, after a long period of consultation with political parties and other non-governmental organisations, adopted, in 1983, the first Catalan Language Act (*Llei 7/1983 de 18 d'abril de Normalització Lingüística*), endorsed by the Catalan Parliament with no votes cast against and only one abstention. The principal aim of this Act was to legalise the use of Catalan and Aranese, to restore them and promote them in order to overcome the damage rendered by a long period of systematic repression and exclusion from all public uses, which had left those languages in a precarious situation. This Act mainly addressed the use of Catalan in three key domains: public administration, education, and the mass media and cultural industries:<sup>29</sup>

- **Public Administration**: Section 1 article 5 declares Catalan to be the usual language of internal procedures of the public administration, both in the Generalitat and local authorities. It also guarantees that citizens are able to deal with and demand information from these authorities in the official language of their choice with no need to submit a translation. Thus, in order to be able to supply these services, public officials are required to

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<sup>29</sup> See the full text of the Act in and further legislation implementing its provisions in Weber & Strubell, 1991: 55-76.

show proficiency in both languages when entering the civil service.<sup>30</sup> Article 9 allows citizens to address the Judiciary in whatever official language they prefer without the need to provide a translation. In practical terms this is very difficult because the judicial body belongs to the central state competencies and remains largely monolingual Spanish<sup>31</sup>, as is the case in all other central state and semi-state organisms and companies in Catalonia.<sup>32</sup>

- **Education**: Section 2, Article 14 declares Catalan to be the language of education but the teaching of Spanish is also compulsory at all levels of state education from nursery schools to Advanced Level, with the exception of university education where teachers can choose the medium of instruction. Students have to show competence in both languages at the end of their primary education. Furthermore, the Act pre-empts any demand that pupils should be separated in different schools for reasons of language. First language Spanish speakers can be taught through the medium of that language in early education (3 to 6 years old) and, after a period of “language immersion” when students advance in their knowledge of Catalan, the latter shall progressively become the vehicular language of teaching.
- **Mass Media and Cultural Industries**: Section 3 states that the Generalitat has to promote Catalan language and culture in public radio and television; it is entitled to subsidise newspapers and other periodical publications written totally or partially in Catalan and boost publication of

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<sup>30</sup> Act 17/1985 on Public Offices of the Administration of the Generalitat was considered by the Socialist Spanish government to be anti-constitutional and was brought before the Constitutional Court. Nevertheless, this Court concluded in 1994 that requiring knowledge of Catalan for candidates to public office did not breach the Constitution.

<sup>31</sup> The fact that the use of Catalan is still in a minority position in this domain is because there is a deficit of Catalan-speaking judges. This is made worse by the mobility inherent in this occupation, as judges tend to stay only temporarily in Catalonia and, mostly, see no reason to learn Catalan.

<sup>32</sup> These would include the representation of the central government in Catalonia, the state police, tax office, and public companies such as rail, motorways and the post office.

Catalan books; it has the obligation as well to promote public cultural entertainment in Catalan.

#### 2.3.3.2 *The 1993 Act of the Consumers' Charter*

After the autonomous elections of 1992 the government of the Generalitat presented a Bill to regulate the rights of consumers with a section dedicated to language rights. The Parliament endorsed the new Act of the Consumers' Charter in February 1993, which was opposed by the right wing *Partido Popular* (Popular Party). Article 26 of section 4 entitled "Consumer's language rights" establishes that consumers have the right to receive in Catalan any information related to the consumption of products and services, especially compulsory information related directly to personal health and safety. They have also the right to receive all kinds of contracts in Catalan. Article 27 focuses on the companies providing products and services. According to the law these companies have to be able to provide their services in any of the two official languages of Catalonia (*Llei 3/1993 de l'Estatut del consumidor*).<sup>33</sup>

In fact this law does not guarantee that companies will provide services and products in Catalan, only that these companies have to be able to understand but not to speak the language of the consumer. Consequently, this law has not been very effective and has proved insufficient to change the communications of private companies. The main idea behind this law was that consumers would demand to be served in Catalan and under this pressure private companies would increase the use of Catalan. What happens in reality is that the majority of Catalan-speaking consumers adapt to the language in which they are being served, which usually means switching to Spanish. Therefore, the planning authorities believed that in order to strengthen the use of Catalan in the private sector there was a need for a new law which would pressurise companies to comply with the revised policy.

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<sup>33</sup> For an in-depth analysis of this law see, Strubell, 1993b, and Branchadell, 1996: 150-156.

### 2.3.3.3 *The 1998 Language Act*

Four years after the law of the Consumers' Chart and fifteen years after passing the 1983 Catalan Language Act, in order to further protect and strengthen the territorial language, the Catalan Government—in the hands of CiU (Convergence and Union), the moderate nationalist coalition—proposed updating this Act in the light of new circumstances. The CiU government argued in the introduction of the Act that the process of recovery of the language had ground to a standstill not only due to economic forces, particularly the globalisation of communication, information and cultural industries, but to a change in attitudes towards Catalonia and the Catalan language among Spanish-speaking Spain. In the run up to the 1996 State elections, some Madrid-based private media started a campaign describing Catalonia's language policies as a directed “cultural genocide” against Spanish speakers living in Catalonia (Strubell, 1996: 266-268).<sup>34</sup> The *Partit Socialista de Catalunya* (Catalan Labour Party) criticised CiU's decision to bring forward a new Act to “hide” the support given to the conservative *Partido Popular* to form the government in Madrid (Bañeres, 1999b: 143), which also left the Catalan nationalist party “exposed to criticism from its own more nationalist support” (MacInnes, 1999: 9). The passing of the new Act would affirm the CiU's commitment to the Catalan language and therefore to their more nationalistic agenda. Hence the political climate for the approval of the Act in the mid-nineties was very different from the early 80's *entente cordiale* among the political parties.<sup>35</sup> Initial popular support for the new Act was low, in comparison with the previous one. However, as a result of stinging criticism by PP politicians directed toward both Catalonia and the Catalan language, popular opinion shifted to more favourable attitudes towards the Act (MacInnes & Gore, 1998:29-31).

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<sup>34</sup> In fact the opposition of PP and the media favourable to the party's ideology, together with the judicial proceedings against the previous language act did not allow the Catalan government to renew the legal framework for the Catalan language as early as 1993. (Solé, C. and A. Alarcón, 2001:111).

<sup>35</sup> It is worth noting that in 1983 the conservative party *Alianza Popular*, the PP's predecessor, had no representation at all in the Catalan Parliament.

Some of the reform proposals were highly ambitious involving a new 'duty' to know Catalan in private companies which dealt with the general public, further promotion of Catalan as the main medium of education at University level requiring teachers to have a knowledge of Catalan, imposing sanctions on private companies which did not provide their services or products in Catalan, and establishing quotas on the use of Catalan in radio, television and cinema. In the end, after a very heated political debate, CiU had to forego and water down many of these measures in order to gain the support it needed for the Act's approval by the PSC (Catalan Socialist Party).<sup>36</sup> The 1998 Catalan Language Act (*Llei 1/1998 del 16 de gener*) was approved by the Catalan Parliament by a majority of votes from the CiU and PSC, but the conservative PP and nationalist ERC (Catalan Republican Left) voted against the Act, albeit for completely opposite reasons.

Nevertheless, and despite the wide controversy that surrounded the reform of the Act, some changes were made which represented an opportunity to extend the use of Catalan in areas where it was still very marginal. If the previous Act paid paramount attention to the use of Catalan in public administration, education and the public media, the 1998 Act drew attention to areas of social and cultural life where the use of Catalan was not yet guaranteed but where it was safe to legislate, as censuses showed that the level of understanding of Catalan was very high.<sup>37</sup> Those areas where the reform was most evident included the private mass media, some cultural industries (chapter 4) and economic activities (article 15 and chapter 5) as detailed below:

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<sup>36</sup> In 1997 the Executive Council of the Generalitat approved a text prepared by the General Directorate for Language Policy with the title "*Criteris del Govern per a l'elaboració d'una llei d'us de les llengües oficials a Catalunya*" (The Government's criteria to elaborate an act about the use of the official languages of Catalonia). Together with a report about the functioning of the 1983 Act they argued that there was a need to change the strategy in order to transform knowledge into actual use of the language and that the former act was insufficient and obsolete to carry out this necessary transformation. For more details on the comparison of the proposal text for a new language act and the act itself see Solé, C. and A. Alarcón, 2001: 110-128.

<sup>37</sup> For a more in depth analysis of the process leading to the approval of the 1998 Language Act and the act itself see MacInnes & Gore, 1998 and Argelaguet, J. 1998a and 1998b.

- **Private mass media:** Private radio and TV stations located in Catalonia are required (article 26) to broadcast at least half of their output in Catalan. A reasonable amount of songs produced by Catalan artists, and at least 25% of songs played in music programmes from these TV and radio stations have to be broadcast in Catalan or Aranese.
- **Cultural industries:** The Act provides for the promotion of Catalan language computer software and linguistic technologies (article 29). Article 26 states that the Generalitat can demand quotas requiring the use of the Catalan language in films. The Decree 237/1998 *de 8 de setembre* establishes distribution and screen quotas in order to guarantee the translation of “blockbuster” films into Catalan. Under this decree, at least half of the copies of those films with more than 16 copies distributed (18 until December 2001) have to be in Catalan; 50% of children’s animation films have to be dubbed into Catalan; at least 25% of films distributed by each distribution company in Catalonia have to be in Catalan; and the same percentages are applied to subtitled films. The decree gave rise to a crisis between the Generalitat and Spanish film distributors which threatened to distribute less than 16 copies, thus they would not be obliged to dub any copy into Catalan. In the last analysis the crises extended also to the North American film producers, the “majors”, which opposed the decree and threatened to withdraw from distributing films in Catalonia (Bañeres, 1999b:145-151). In May 2000 this Decree was abolished, the Catalan government having failed to reach an agreement with the distributors.
- **Economic activities:** Articles 15 and chapter 5 (articles 30 to 36) of the Act together with Article 26 of the Act 3/1993 of the Consumers’ Charter regulates economic activities, that is, businesses, professional and labour activities. Companies and public and private entities providing services to the general public such as water, electricity, gas, communication, transport, etc. shall use at least Catalan in their signs and loudspeaker announcements as well as their written communications, such as

advertisements, contracts or bills without prejudice to the rights of citizens to receive a Spanish version if they so request (article 31). Permanent signs and posters with general information and documents offering services to consumers in places open to the public have to be at least in Catalan (article 32). Furthermore, companies linked to any level of the Catalan government through contracts, aid grants, subsidies or other support are required to use at least Catalan in signs and in their communications with clients when these communications are linked with the object of the support received (article 33). The regional and local governments together with professional bodies have the duty to promote the use of Catalan in advertising, especially in the public thoroughfare, in collective bargaining agreements, work contracts and in professional activities. This chapter came into force on January 2000 but self-employed businesses and utilities companies had until 2003 to comply with the law. Also, since February 2003, both compulsory and voluntary information, on labels of products with local designation of origin or quality designation<sup>38</sup> and crafts distributed in Catalonia have to be at least in Catalan.

## **2.4 Sociolinguistic situation of Catalan**

### **2.4.1 Knowledge of Catalan**

Census data regarding the knowledge of the Catalan language in all four cognitive competencies for the whole territory of Catalonia is only available from 1986. Nevertheless, there was a previous census in 1975 which concerned only the province of Barcelona. The 1981 census was available for the whole of Catalonia but it only enquired about understanding of the language. From 1986 onwards the census included all four linguistic cognitive categories: understand, speak, read and write. The last census data available is that of 2001.<sup>39</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> These will include wine, cava and oil of which there are many producers in Catalonia.

<sup>39</sup> This census has been criticised by Catalan sociolinguists as being unreliable (Xarxa Cruscat, 2004:17-18 and Vila, 2004: 3). They argue that the census data for 2001 is not complete, as there was a 12% of non-returned census sheets. Therefore,

A comparison between the censuses from 1975 to 2001 shows the advances achieved in the knowledge of Catalan during this period.

**Table 2.1 Evolution of the knowledge of Catalan of 2 years and older (1975-1981)**  
Province of Barcelona

	1975	1981
Understand	74.3	79.8
Speak	53.1	-
Read	-	-
Write	14.5	-
Total population*	-	5,782

(\*in thousands). Source: DGPL (2001: 220)

**Table 2.2 Evolution of the knowledge of Catalan 2 years and older (1991-2001)**  
Catalonia

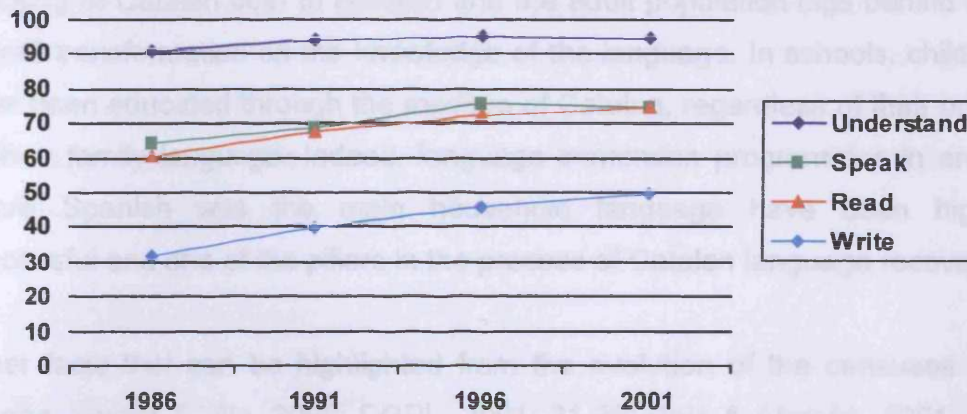
	1986		1991		1996		2001	
	Total Numbers*	%	Total Numbers*	%	Total Numbers*	%	Total Numbers*	%
Understand	5,306	90.6	5,949	93.80	5,683	95	5,872	94.48
Speak	3,761	64.08	4,066	68.30	4,506	75.30	4,628	74.46
Read	3,554	60.56	4,019	67.60	4,330	72.40	4,612	74.21
Write	1,851	31.53	2,376	39.90	2,743	45.80	3,089	49.70
Don't Understand	550	9.4	371	6.20	301	5	343	5.52
Total Population	5,856		5,949		5,984		6,215	

(\*in thousands). Source: Institute of Catalan Statistics ([www.idescat.net](http://www.idescat.net))

they consider the census of 1996 the latest reliable data available in terms of language skills.



Chart 2.1 Progress in the Knowledge of Catalan (1986-2001)



There has been a sustainable increase of every cognitive competence from census to census, especially in the ability to speak the language, from 64% in 1986 to 74% in 2001, 10 points in fifteen years. Thus, more than half of the population of Catalonia is proficient in all four linguistic cognitive categories. Nevertheless, between the period of 1996 and 2001 we observe a slight decrease in percentages, both in the knowledge and the capacity to speak Catalan. This is most probably due to the recent influx of non-EU migrants settling all over the Catalan territory, but there are not yet reliable tools to analyse and confirm this hypothesis (Vila, 2004: 5).

Although, between 1996 and 2001 there has been a decrease, percentage wise, of 0.52 percentage points in the knowledge of Catalan and a decrease of 0.81 points in the ability to speak the language, there has been an increase of Catalan speakers in total numbers. There are 189,000 more people declaring to understand Catalan and an increase of 122,000 of those declaring to be able to speak the language.

As we see in table 2.2 and chart 2.1, the competence with a higher increase since 1986 is that of writing (18.17 percentage points). Although there is a slowing down in the capacity of writing Catalan between 1991 and 1996 with a slow increase of 5.9 points, compared with solid increase in the period from

1986 to 1991 where it was of 8.41 points. This is mainly due to the decline of birth rates between 1991 and 1996, which had an effect on the number of children in schools, where they learn to write the language. Nevertheless, teaching of Catalan both to children and the adult population lags behind this overall transformation on the knowledge of the language. In schools, children have been educated through the medium of Catalan, regardless of their origin or their family language. Indeed, language immersion programmes in areas where Spanish was the main household language have been highly successful and one of the pillars in the process of Catalan language recovery.

Other facts that can be highlighted from the evolution of the censuses are (Farràs, Torres & Vila, 2000; DGPL, 2001: 21-25; Solé & Alarcón, 2001: 34-39):

- Place of birth — The place of birth is still the most crucial factor determining Catalan language knowledge. Those born in Catalonia have a better knowledge of Catalan, in all four cognitive abilities, than those born outside. Nevertheless, the difference between both groups is smaller in the age group of 10 to 14 years old, which is a good sign of social cohesion. Furthermore, the intergenerational language transmission seems guaranteed as between 1986 and 2001 54% of the population between 2 and 4 years old had learned Catalan in the family.
- Language and territory — Catalan locations with larger numbers of people born outside Catalonia are those where Catalan is less known. Nevertheless, it is in these areas, such as greater Barcelona, where the knowledge of Catalan has increased more steadily.
- Language and age — There is still a great difference between the language abilities of the younger population and the rest, children and teenagers have a better knowledge of the language in all four cognitive abilities. For instance, 3 in 4 persons over 35 years old are not able to write Catalan, and 1 in 3 over the same age can neither speak nor read Catalan.

- Language and level of instruction and social class — Although there is a correlation between a higher knowledge of Catalan and both higher levels of instruction and higher social class, this is more a reflection of the birth place and age factors. Regarding the social position, another factor that can have a strong effect is the demand of the knowledge of Catalan in certain sections of the labour market, chiefly in the public administration. Nevertheless, there is a tendency for differences of knowledge of Catalan between social groups to lessen.

#### **2.4.2 The Use of Catalan**

Census data include the totality of the population and theoretically there is no margin for error. Nevertheless, language data derived from the census is only an indication of the abilities of the population related to the different language cognitive abilities. It is quite a different matter as to the use of this language with other people and for different situations. Knowledge does not translate automatically into use. In fact, the health of a language is related to its use and not to its knowledge, although both are obviously connected. Research on this subject indicates to take seriously into account the level of knowledge in order to understand its use. This is, it seems there is a strong relation between the level of the knowledge of Catalan and its everyday use. Those who are more proficient in the different cognitive linguistic categories will most probably use the language. On the contrary, those with only average levels of language competency will tend to use less the language in question. But mainly, with use their levels of language proficiency will increase. (Vila, 2004: 9).

There are other factors that may effect the use of a language, such as the possibility to use the language in different areas of social activity but also by very deeply engrained social norms (Williams & Morris, 2000). Catalan Governmental language use surveys, although not accounting for the totality of the population, are statistically representative and give language planners an overview of the use of the language and therefore of its actual state.

According to the two first language use surveys in 1997 and 1999, Catalan is the usual language of 49% to 49.6% of the population, whereas Spanish is the usual or preferred language of 50.2% to 49.9%.<sup>40</sup> Only a small fraction, between 0.7% and 0.5% of the population declared that they used both languages equally, (DGPL, 2001: 25).

The latest language use survey of 2003, which has a slightly different format and questions from the previous two surveys, shows different results.<sup>41</sup> As we see in table 3, Catalan is used habitually by 50% of the population whereas 44% normally use Spanish. It seems that in contrast with the end of the nineties, the situation is reversing and Catalan is the preferred language of everyday use for the majority of the population. It is also interesting to note, (see table 2.3) that in the case of Catalan there is a difference of some 10% points between the language used in the family as a child and the language use habitually. This can be interpreted as a sign of language integration among the immigrant population that when entering adulthood they feel that Catalan is both their own language and the language they use habitually. Another interesting fact is the increase of the section of the population which identifies naturally with both languages and use both languages indistinctly. Although quite small, it seems that there is a portion of the population which has a bilingual identity.

**Table 2.3 Language identification and use - 2003- (in %)**

	Catalan	Spanish	Both	Other
First language as a child	40.4	53,5	2.8	3.2
Own language	48.8	44.3	5.2	1.8
Language used habitually	50.1	44.1	4,7	1.1

Source: IDESCAT, 2003

<sup>40</sup> (1997) *L'Enquesta lingüística sobre l'us oral del català entre la població de Catalunya* and (1999) *L'Enquesta sobre la política lingüística de la Generalitat i sobre l'aplicació de la Llei 1/1998*. Both surveys, commissioned by the DGPL, were carried out by the Institute DYM, with 3,323 and 4,142 phone interviews with over 18 year olds respectively.

<sup>41</sup> IDESCAT (2003). *Estadística d'usos lingüístics a Catalunya*. This is the first official language use survey elaborated by the Catalan Statistics Institute. Data has been collected over the phone with a sample of 7,257 persons—of 15 years and older—distributed over the whole Catalan territory.

If the general picture of the use of Catalan is encouraging when analysing the use of both languages in personal relations or first grade relationships, that is, with relatives and friends, the results of 1999 and 2003 differ.<sup>42</sup>

**Table 2.4 The use of language in personal relations (1999) (in %)**

(Those who speak both languages)	Catalan	Spanish	Both	Other
With father	52	46	1	1
With mother	51	46	2	-
With partner	57	37	6	-
With children	67	24	9	-
With friends	49	31	20	-

Source: Siguan (1999: 41-43)

**Table 2.5 The use of Catalan with family and friends (2003) (in %)**

Situations	Catalan Only	More Catalan than Spanish	Both	More Spanish than Catalan	Spanish Only	Other
Other household members	37.2	7.1	9.0	9.9	34.4	2.4
Friends	24.5	17.8	18.4	11.9	25.6	1.9

Source: IDESCAT, 2003

In table 2.4 it is significant that the highest uses of Catalan are with children, 67% of those able to speak Catalan (79.1% according to this survey). This is again proof of the intergenerational transmission of Catalan within the family. The average percentage of Catalan language use with other household members is 56.8% whereas that of Spanish is 38.3%. In the 2003 survey (table 2.5) there is a balance of 44.3% between the proportion of people using Catalan and those using Spanish within their household. Thus there seems to

<sup>42</sup> Strictly speaking the surveys are not exactly comparable for the 2003 survey presents more detail in the options given interviewees as they can choose between "Catalan only, more Catalan than Spanish, both, more Spanish than Catalan and Spanish only. This is not the only difference as the 1999 survey only includes in the sample those who can speak both languages whereas that of 2003 the whole sample.

be a decrease in the use of Catalan as a family language. Looking into the language uses with friends we see that in both surveys, Catalan is more widely used than Spanish, although there is a slight decrease from 1999 to 2003 from 49% to 42%.

Both surveys contained information about the use of Catalan in different everyday situations. Again, that of 2003 offers more variety, both in the language category and the proposed situations, which do not match exactly with those proposed in the 1999 survey.

**Table 2.6 The use of Catalan in everyday life  
(1999) (in %)**

<b>Situation</b>	<b>Those who can speak Catalan<sup>43</sup></b>	<b>The total population</b>
At the bank	66	52
In shops	66	52
Asking a stranger something in the street	62	49
At the place of work or study	61	48
Asking something to a local policeman	60	47
Answering the phone	60	47
Writing to a friend who knows Catalan	50	39
Taking personal notes	49	38

Source: Siguan (1999: 41-43)

<sup>43</sup> According to this survey 79.1% of the population can speak Catalan.

**Table 2.7 The use of Catalan in different situations  
(2003) (in %)**

<b>Situations</b>	<b>Catalan Only</b>	<b>More Catalan than Spanish</b>	<b>Both</b>	<b>More Spanish than Catalan</b>	<b>Spanish Only</b>	<b>Other</b>
<b>Neighbours</b>	29.5	10.6	17.2	8.4	32.7	1.5
<b>Study colleagues</b>	27.3	18	20.3	10.9	19.7	3.8
<b>Work colleagues</b>	27.5	15.9	20.6	10.6	22.3	3
<b>Small retail</b>	35.6	15.2	15.5	8.1	25.3	0.4
<b>Big retail</b>	32.6	13.3	14.3	9.8	28.4	1.5
<b>At the bank or other financial entities</b>	49.2	8.6	8.8	4.4	27.3	1.7
<b>Medical services</b>	41.1	9.6	11.6	4.9	32	0.7
<b>To strangers</b>	39.5	9.1	8.6	5	37.6	1.1
<b>To write personal notes</b>	31.4	3.9	6.4	4.3	51.4	2.7

Source: IDESCAT, 2003

Comparing generally the two tables, we can match five situations. According to the 1999 survey, 48% spoke Catalan to their colleagues, both at work and at the study place whereas the 2003 survey shows that 45.3% spoke Catalan (either exclusively—27.3%- or predominantly –18%) with their study colleagues. Moreover, this latest survey also shows that 43.4% spoke Catalan to their work colleagues in contrast to 30.6% which used Spanish. The proportion of those using both languages, either at work (20.6%) or at the place of study (20.3%) is quite high.

Comparing the use of Catalan and Spanish in shops, the 1999 survey shows again a higher percentage (52%) of use of Catalan. In 2003, almost 51% spoke Catalan in small retail and almost 46% in big retail establishments. The average use in shops for 2003 would be of around 48.35%.

In terms of other situations, the high use of Catalan in banks or other financial services is remarkable reaching 57.8% of which 49.2% is the exclusive use of Catalan. Comparing this percentage to that shown in the 1999 survey it seems that this is the only situation where the use of Catalan has increased

comparatively. This has to be related to the fact that banks were one of the first sectors to embrace Catalan as their working language.

The situation where Catalan is clearly in a minority is when writing personal notes (35.3% as opposed to 55.7% which use Spanish). The proportions of language use in writing are some 15 points below those shown in the language census of 2001 which is around 50% of the population.

**Table 2.8 The use of Catalan and the media\* (2003) (in %)**

	Catalan	Spanish	Other
<b>Average of hours watching TV</b>	50	49	1
<b>Average of hours listening the radio</b>	57	42	1
<b>Average of hours reading newspapers</b>	37	62	1

Source: IDESCAT, 2003

\*Population which usually watches TV, listens to the radio and reads the press.

**Table 2.9 The use of Catalan and Internet (2003) (in %)**

	Catalan	Spanish	English	Other
Language in the Internet home page	21.4	65.9	7.8	4.9

Source: IDESCAT, 2003

\*Population which usually uses Internet (1.98 million)

**Table 2.10 The use of Catalan in e-mail (2003) (in %)**

	Catalan Only	More Catalan than Spanish	Both	More Spanish than Catalan	Spanish Only	Other
e-mail	17.3	16.4	15.4	11.6	22.4	16.9

Source: IDESCAT, 2003

\*Population which usually uses e-mail (1.65 million)

The 2003 survey also analysed the proportion of hours of mass media consumed in Catalan as can be seen in tables 8, 9 and 10. Radio seems to be the only media where the listening hours in Catalan (56%) are higher than the hours listened to in Spanish (42%). On the contrary, Spanish is the main language used to read the written press, 62% as opposed to 37% in Catalan. Finally, there seems to be a balance in the proportion of TV hours watched in Catalan and Spanish. This is quite positive, as the TV channels that use



Spanish in Catalonia are higher to those in Catalan.<sup>44</sup> Regarding the languages used in web homepage by those who declared to use the Net, Spanish (65.9%) seems to be the preferred language, followed by Catalan (21.4%). Although English (7.8%) is used comparatively marginally, it is indicative of its global weight, as the predominant language of Internet. Nevertheless, when writing e-mails the percentages of use of Catalan and Spanish are very close; 33.7% to 34% respectively. It is noteworthy that the percentage of those who use both languages equally is about 15.4%.

To sum up, the surveys analysed give us indications of how much and when Catalan is used for primary and secondary communications. Not all areas of activity are taken into account but they give us a general picture of the use of Catalan. One conclusion we can easily draw, comparing the statistics of knowledge and use is that the potential use of the language is not fully realised. If, on the one hand we take into account the 2003 census figure that 85% of the population declares its capacity to speak Catalan, and on the other hand we recall that the percentages of Catalan use reaches more than 58%, we see exactly this missed opportunity. Yet such a conclusion would be too simplistic as there are many factors that can influence language use, including the degree of language competence. Indeed, the majority of increases in the knowledge of Catalan have been in the lower and intermediate levels. This implies that there is an important fraction of the population who say they are able to speak Catalan but do not feel very confident in doing so. This could explain why the percentages of use have not increased in tandem with the percentages of knowledge (Vila, 2004: 12). Other factors that can also influence the lack of use are the actual opportunities to use the language in different contexts. It can also depend on the language in which people are

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<sup>44</sup> According to a report from the Consell Audiovisual de Catalunya (2004) in Catalonia there are 214 TV channels of which 119 are for free and 95 are fee paying. There are three channels that broadcast 100% in Catalan (TV3, K33/33 and 3/24). The two Spanish public channels (TVE, La2) broadcast less than a third of their total hours in Catalan. The two remaining general Spanish Channels (Antena 3 and Tele5) broadcast marginally in Catalan. There are also 112 local channels that broadcast mainly in Catalan but their share of the audience is lower and territorially dispersed.

addressed or answered as there is a clear tendency among Catalan speakers to code switch to Spanish when addressed in that language.

What seems clear from the survey evidence is that some 42.2% use Catalan either exclusively or frequently for primary relations (family, friends and neighbours) as opposed to 41% which uses Spanish. Around 17% seem to use both languages equally. Regarding secondary relations (the rest) the percentage of Catalan use is of about 49% ahead of 35 % which use Spanish. Again some 16% of the population seems to use both languages equally in their secondary relations. In conclusion, although census evidence shows that a great majority of Catalan inhabitants are able to speak Catalan, only around half the population does so normally. The other half prefers Spanish and around 16% use both languages equally.

## **2.5 The Language Planning Agencies**

The current sociolinguistic situation of Catalan is not only founded on a specific education policy or public mass media policy, but also on a very robust language policy carried out by a sophisticated network of language planning institutions. Within this section and the next we shall analyse both the evolution of the organisational structure of language policy and the different phases in language policy and planning.

Practically all Catalan language promotion from the end of the fifties, when the so-called "*aperturismo*" of the Franco regime relaxed its policies against the other languages of Spain, up until the first years of the Spanish democratic transition, can be considered "bottom-up" planning. However, with the advent of the Catalan democratic institutions, the Government of the Generalitat began a process of institution-building and the creation of a number of policy-making and implementation bodies within all levels of government.

The Catalan Government established in 1980 the General Directorate of Language Policy (DGPL), as the institution in charge of the promotion of the

Catalan language. This has grown into an impressive and complex organisation, as we will see in chart 2.2 and 2.3, linking all levels and departments of government and extending its actions to other organisations in civil society. Recent changes in the Catalan Government, when after the regional elections of November 2003, a coalition of three parties (Catalan Socialists, the Catalan Republican Left and the Greens) governs the Generalitat, have also brought progressive changes. These include, not only the structure of bodies in charge of language policy and their links with other areas of Government (see chart 3 below), but also new language planning actions. The most important change has been the upgrading of the DGPL to a Secretariat for Language Policy, which has also been relocated from the Department for Culture to the vice-presidency's Cabinet Office.

The legitimisation and institutionalisation of the Catalan language<sup>45</sup> lead to a process of linguistic demobilisation by the Catalan society at large as institutions took over the process of Catalan language recovery. Once the rights of Catalan-speakers had been recognised there was less popular pressure to mobilise, and although there are still many civic organisations<sup>46</sup> pressing for further developments in favour of the Catalan language, the society at large has accommodated to the new situation. Counter organisations, although not very active at present, also protest against the neglect of the rights of Spanish L1 speaking citizens, claiming that the

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<sup>45</sup> For a theoretical model of language survival and revitalisation where the concepts of legitimisation and institutionalisation are elaborated and applied to the Welsh case, see Williams CH, 2000: 657-681.

<sup>46</sup> For example, *Omnium Cultural*, *OM-Organització pel Multilingüisme*, *ADEC-Associació en Defensa de l'Etiquetatge en Català* or *Plataforma per la Llengua*, etc. These civic voluntary language organisations have become more specialised over the years. Thus, whereas *Omnium Cultural* lobbies for the general promotion of Catalan language, more recently founded organisations such as *OM* or *ADEC* focus their actions on specific issues related to the language. *OM* mobilises to demand the use of Catalan in official state documents such as the national document of identity, the driving licence or in postal stamps, and *ADEC* campaigns to increase the use of Catalan in product labelling and packaging. Moreover, these language NGOs, although not representing the whole of the Catalan society, justify the Generalitat's active language promotion. See Sebastià, E., 2001 for an analysis of Catalan language NGO's across the Catalan linguistic domain. For more information about these organisations visit the Secretariat of Language Policy website at: <http://www6.gencat.net/llengcat/cens/llista.htm>

language policies adopted by the Autonomous government go too far<sup>47</sup>. Nevertheless, currently “top-down” planning can be considered the predominant form of language planning in Catalonia.

### 2.5.1 Policy makers: top-down language planning

Within the recent democratic era one party, the moderate nationalists of *Covergència i Unió* (CiU), ruled the Catalan Government six successive legislatures. This situation changed in November 2003 when a coalition of left parties formed the current Government. Political changes have also brought about structural changes, as we shall see when analysing chart 3. During this long period following the restoration of Catalan democratic institutions, language planning in Catalonia has developed greatly both in terms of structure and professionalisation in the language planning activities. Indeed, with the growth of the structural support for Catalan language we have seen the development of a real field of expertise in language planning with some 600 “*tècnics de normalització lingüística*” or professional language planners working within this complex organisation<sup>48</sup>.

In 1980 the DGPL was founded under the Department for Culture, as the main regulatory body of Catalan language promotion (see in chart 2.2). The three main branches of the *Servei d'Assessorament Lingüístic* (Language Advisory Service), the *Servei de Normalització Lingüística* (Language Promotion Service) and the *Institut de Sociolingüística Catalana* (Institute of Catalan Sociolinguistics) were created under the direction of the Sub-directorate General. The Advisory Service was mainly in charge of the promotion of the quality of the Catalan language, used by public and private organisations alike, and the promotion of the teaching of Catalan in areas with special needs and abroad. The Promotion Service, as its name indicates, was responsible for the promotion of Catalan in all areas of social activity through

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<sup>47</sup> For example, Foro Babel, Convivència Cívica Catalana, Acció Cultural Miguel de Cervantes, CADECA-Coordinadora de Afectados en Defensa de la Lengua Castellana, etc. (Santamaria, A., 1999)

<sup>48</sup> There are different working regimes for language planners. The majority are Civil Servants but there are many who work with a fix term contract either full time or part time.

campaigns and other means. The Institute is a centre for research and expertise in sociolinguistics. Its function is the monitoring, documenting and evaluating of the results of language policies undertaken by the DGPL. It is also charged to research about the use of Catalan in different sectors as well as analysing the sociolinguistic situation of the Catalan language and identifying areas where further promotion is needed.

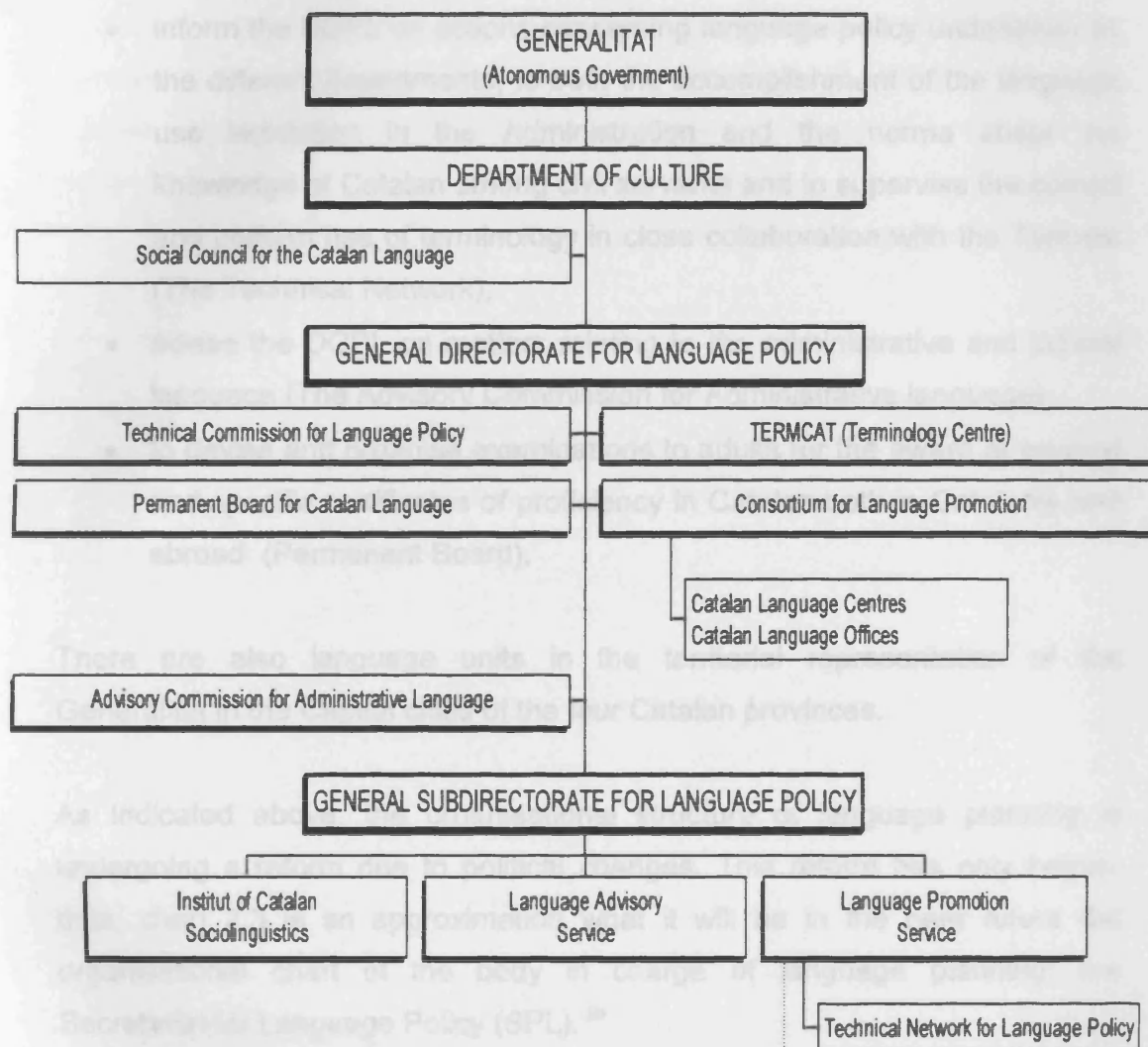
In addition, all government departments have a language unit<sup>49</sup> which has the double function of advising civil servants on linguistic matters and diffusing specific terminology among all kinds of organisations and professionals linked to each sector of activity.

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<sup>49</sup> Some of them make extensive use of the Internet in order to make their services more accessible and easy to use. For instance the Department of Territorial Policies and Public Works (<http://www.gencat.net/ptop/documentacio/llengua/index.htm>); the Department, Commerce, Tourism and Consume (<http://www.gencat.net/ctc/Llengua.htm>) and the Department of Justice (<http://www.gencat.net/justicia/serveis/linguistic/index.htm>).

Chart 2.2

ORGANIZATION CHART OF LANGUAGE POLICY OF  
THE AUTONOMOUS GOVERNMENT OF CATALONIA  
(1980 - 2005)



Catalan Government

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Other Organisations

Institute of  
Catalan Studies

Language Services in:  
**Universities**  
**Professional Organisations**  
**Business Organisations**  
Private Companies  
Trade Unions  
Sports Federations etc.

The Generalitat created a network of organisations in order to co-ordinate and draw together all these internal services to:

- guarantee the even application of language policies in every department (Technical Commission for Language Policy);
- inform the DGPL on actions concerning language policy undertaken by the different departments; to both the accomplishment of the language use legislation in the Administration and the norms about the knowledge of Catalan among civil servants and to supervise the correct and uniform use of terminology in close collaboration with the Termcat (The Technical Network);
- advise the DGPL on matters relating to the administrative and judicial language (The Advisory Commission for Administrative language);
- to devise and organise examinations to adults for the award of general and specific certificates of proficiency in Catalan both in Catalonia and abroad (Permanent Board).

There are also language units in the territorial representation of the Generalitat in the Capital cities of the four Catalan provinces.

As indicated above, the organisational structure of language planning is undergoing a reform due to political changes. This reform has only begun, thus, chart 2.3 is an approximation what it will be in the near future the organisational chart of the body in charge of language planning, the Secretariat for Language Policy (SPL).<sup>50</sup>

It is important to note that changes in language policy and planning were presented in the negotiations previous to the settlement of a new government

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<sup>50</sup> The chart is not official and has been elaborated from a non-published internal document provided by Mr. Pueyo, the new Secretary General for Language Policy, during an interview in February 2005. It is foreseen that the official organisational chart will be approved and published in the DOGC in June 2005.

between the three current ruling parties.<sup>51</sup> The first two changes involved the upgrading of the DGPL to a Secretariat and to move it from the Department for Culture to the Department of the Presidency, more precisely under the competencies of the Vice-presidency's Cabinet.<sup>52</sup> This important move has given the Secretariat increased authority to co-ordinate, to impel and lead the language policy of all Government departments. The advantage of this tightened coordination is that Departments are better acquainted with their specific sectors and more importantly with their different social agents. This makes it easier to link up specific actions to promote the use of language in all areas of society.

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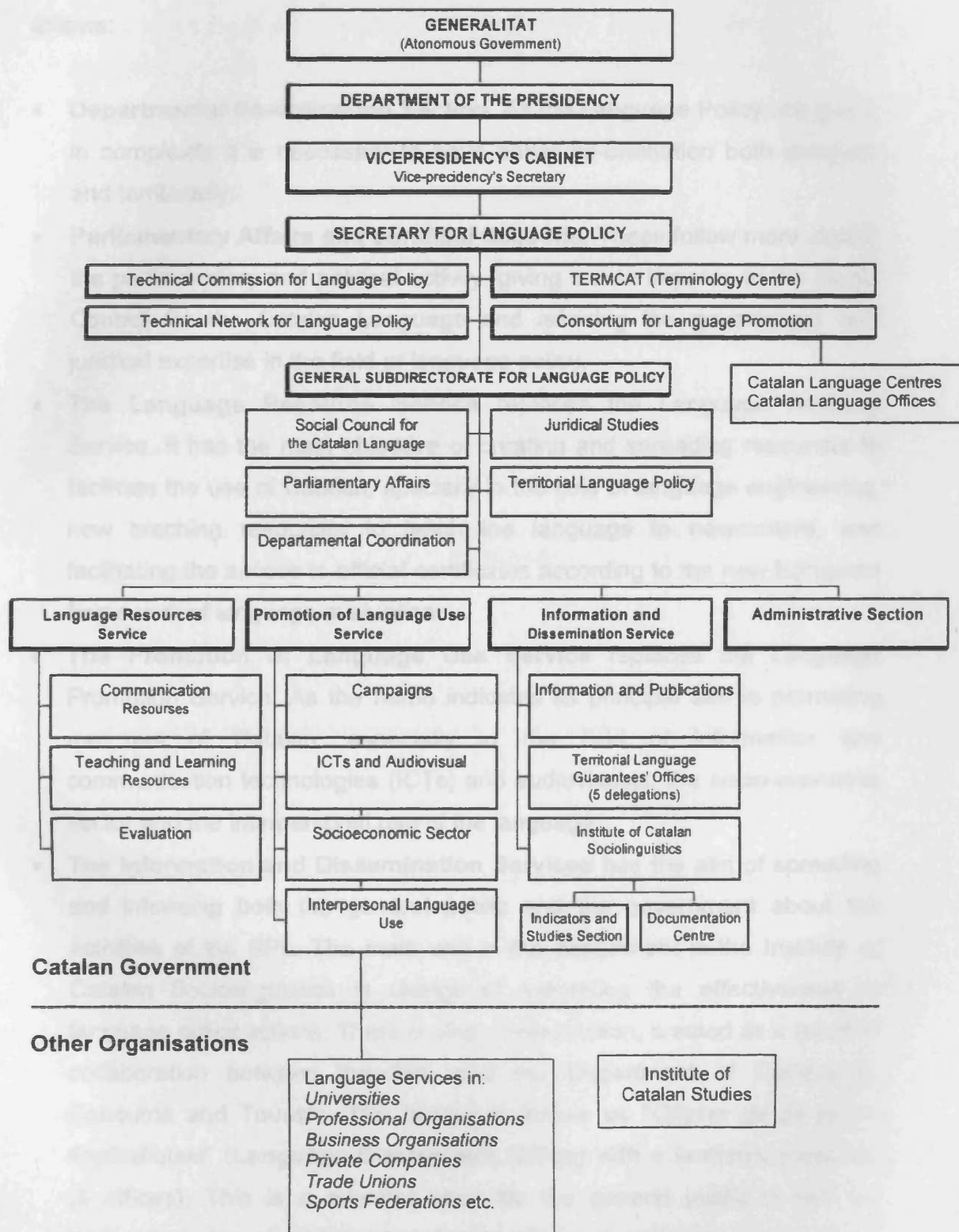
<sup>51</sup> The agreement between the coalition parties is known as "El pacte del Tinell", which is the place in Barcelona where it was signed. The official name of the document is "Acord per a un govern catalanista i d'esquerreres a la Generalitat de Catalunya", signed the 14th of December by the representatives of the Catalan Socialists (PSC), the Greens (ICV) and the Republican Left (ERC). The agreement was written with the aim of being a working framework for the legislature with the most important actions to implement including changes in language planning. See section VI, pp: 52-53.

<sup>52</sup> A member of ERC holds the department of the Vice-presidency. This is not a coincidence as this change was an old demand by the Republicans arguing that the Catalan language is more than a cultural feature of the Catalan nation and therefore it did not belong to the area of Culture, but had to be linked to all the Catalan government actions.



Chart 2.3

ORGANIZATION CHART OF LANGUAGE POLICY OF THE AUTONOMOUS GOVERNMENT OF CATALONIA (From 2005)



Comparing the two organisational charts we can see that chart 2.3 appears to be more complex than chart 2.2. In fact many subsections, departments and ascribed organisations remain exactly the same but with different names and with more defined subsections. There are nevertheless important changes, as follows:

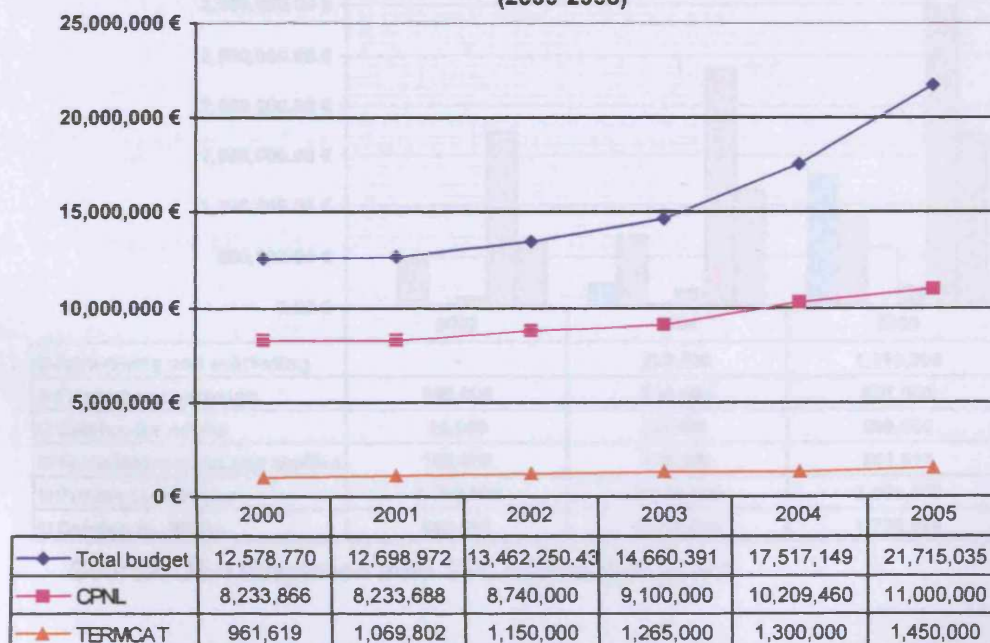
- **Departmental Co-ordination Section.** As the Language Policy unit grows in complexity it is necessary to have better co-ordination both internally and territorially.
- **Parliamentary Affairs and Juridical Sections.** These follow more closely the parliamentary and political activity, giving a new impetus to the Social Council for the Catalan Language and advising the government with juridical expertise in the field of language policy.
- **The Language Resource Service** replaces the Language Advisory Service. It has the main objective of creating and spreading resources to facilitate the use of Catalan, specially in the field of language engineering, new teaching resources to teach the language to newcomers, and facilitating the access to official certificates according to the new European framework of language evaluation.
- **The Promotion of Language Use Service** replaces the Language Promotion Service. As the name indicates its principal aim is promoting the use of Catalan, especially in the field of information and communication technologies (ICTs) and audiovisuals, the socio-economic sector and the interpersonal use of the language.
- **The Information and Dissemination Services** has the aim of spreading and informing both the general public and the government about the activities of the SPL. The main unit in the department is the Institute of Catalan Sociolinguistics in charge of evaluating the effectiveness of language policy actions. There is also a new section, created as a result of collaboration between the SPL and the Department of Commerce, Consume and Tourism. The section is known as "*Oficina de garanties lingüístiques*" (**Language Guarantee's Office**) with a territorial presence (5 offices). This is a one-stop-shop for the general public to ask for information about their language rights and also complain and report about

the breaking of the language law by companies, institutions and other organisations. The Office forwards complaints to the competent department to inspect and if necessary issue a fine. The office offers juridical advice and resources to improve the use of Catalan in companies where there have been complaints. Additionally, it has a proactive role in analysing and proposing actions in the areas or sectors where there is a higher incidence of complaints.

### 2.5.2 Evolution of the budget

Looking at chart 2.4 we can see the evolution of the budget for language policy since the year 2000<sup>53</sup>. The budget shows a tangible increase from a total of 14,660 million Euro to 17,517 million Euro in the year 2004, which is the first budget of the new government and when the DGPL was upgraded to the SPL.

Chart 2.4 Evolution of language policy budget (2000-2005)



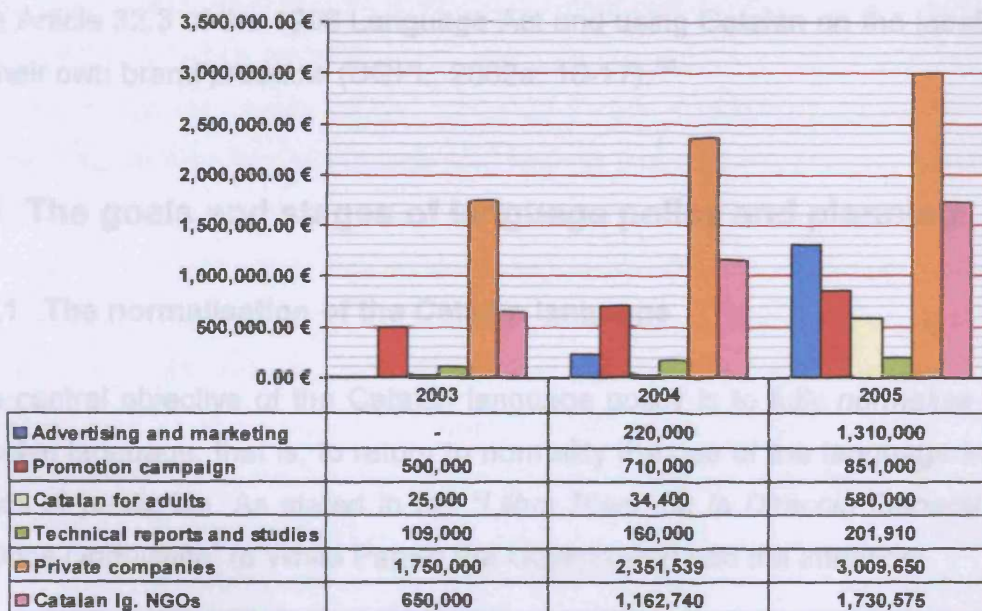
Source: own adaptation form SPL internal document

<sup>53</sup> The original figures for the year 2000 to 2002 are in Spanish peseta and converted in to Euro.

The increase is even higher for the year 2005 with a total budget of 21,715 thousand Euro.

In chart 2.5 we can see which sectors of activity have received a relatively higher proportion of the budget increase. The Consortium for the Normalisation of the Catalan Language has had a steady increase in its budget for 2005, but the real increase in budget allocation has been in teaching Catalan to adults. Indeed from 2004 the SPL decided that the most basic levels of Catalan (Basic 1,2 and3) would be available free of charge. This was a response to the new demand for learning basic Catalan, mostly by non-EU newcomers. According to the CPNL (2004: 21) between 2002 and 2003 there was an increase of 18,12% in the number of Catalan language courses with 19.63% more learners.

Chart 5: Evolution of the budget by items (2003-2005)



Source: Own adaptation from SPL internal document

The increase in the budget for advertising and marketing is also remarkable. This reflects a new media campaign, similar to the big campaigns of the mid



eighties, with the slogan “*Dóna corda al català*” (lit. “Wind up your Catalan”).<sup>54</sup> Another area with considerable increases in the budget are the grants given to private companies to increase their use of the language and to comply with the 1998 language act.

Finally, it is important to note that the budget shown in chart 2.4 is not the total amount invested by the Government in the promotion of Catalan. Although the DGPL, and now the SPL, is the body in charge of language policy, all government departments are involved to some extent in this promotion with their own budgets, especially the department of education, social services, universities and research or the department for work, among others. Moreover, the Generalitat has in place a system of tax release for private entities that give donations to voluntary organisations that promote Catalan. This system of tax release is also available to private companies; to organisations whose staff are attending Catalan lessons, also to individuals signing mortgages in Catalan and supermarkets and hypermarkets complying with Article 32.3 of the 1998 Language Act and using Catalan on the labelling of their own brand products (DGPL, 2002a: 16-17).<sup>55</sup>

## **2.6 The goals and stages of language policy and planning**

### **2.6.1 The normalisation of the Catalan language**

The central objective of the Catalan language policy is to fully *normalise* the Catalan language, that is, to return to normality the use of the language in all areas of public life. As stated in the “*Llibre Blanc de la Direcció General de Política Lingüística*” (a White Paper) the Government had the intention:

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<sup>54</sup> Later in the chapter we will expand on the objectives and activities of this latest institutional campaign.

<sup>55</sup> “Permanent signs and posters with general information and documents offering services provided to users and consumers in establishments open to the public shall be at least drawn up in Catalan. This regulation is not applicable to trademarks, commercial names or to signs protected by industrial property legislation (Generalitat de Catalunya, 1998: 26).

[T]o abolish the relationship of oppressive vs. oppressed language without reverting the situation, placing the two languages in a basis of legal equality and respecting the individual rights of all citizens (Departament de Cultura de la Generalitat, 1983: 7)

Nevertheless, the term “language normalisation” is ambiguous and has become a chameleon-like word used by politicians from across the party spectrum to mean quite different things. This may explain the popularity of the concept which has expanded to other minority language communities, both in Spain, such as the Basque Country and Galicia, and also to Wales. Although everyone more or less agrees that normalisation is the process of reversing language shift after years of systematic decline together with securing a better future for any self-sustaining language, the disagreements start when attempts are made to establish the rationale and methods by which this is to be achieved (Boix & Vila, 1998: 317).

According to the Catalan sociolinguist Albert Branchadell, the Catalan government’s definition of normalisation corresponds to what he calls a “weak objective” or a “weak normalisation” involving a process which leads from a situation of formal double official status to a real (functional) double official status. This implies that all citizens who wish to use Catalan in every situation *could* do so, and Catalan would then become the main language of all institutions. Nevertheless, the author notes that although in theory Catalan can be used for everything, it is perfectly possible that nobody or at least not the majority will actually use it (Branchadell, 1996:18). This definition contrasts with what he and many other sociolinguists, believe to be the only way to achieve full normalisation: when Catalan becomes the first language of the majority of the population and therefore the spontaneous preferred language of any social activity, implying that effectively everyone *will* live in Catalan (Ibidem: 19). This would also mean the disappearance of a Spanish linguistic community in Catalonia (Ibidem: 10). Nevertheless this is not the criterion of the Catalan Government, which considers the normalisation of the Catalan language to be compatible with the continuing existence of a Spanish language community in Catalonia.

## **2.7 Stages of language policy**

The creation in 1980 of the General Directorate for Language Policy (DGPL) as the main body in charge of the recovery of the Catalan language represents the resumption of language planning by the Catalan government after more than forty years of language repression. This time the bulk of its policies were to be directed towards planning the status of the language, without neglecting the planning of its corpus. Since 1980 the language policies implemented by the Catalan institutions have evolved through three stages, broadly from 1980 until 1990, a second phase from the beginning of the 90's until the end of the 2003, and from 2003 to onwards.

### **2.7.1 Stage 1 (1980-1990): The extension of the knowledge and the fostering of positive attitudes**

At the beginning of the 1980s there was no overall reliable data about the knowledge and use of the language in the whole territory of Catalonia. In the absence of such data, language-planning officials used the only language data available to them, a 1975 census for the province of Barcelona. Extrapolating this data to the rest of Catalonia<sup>56</sup> it was assumed that 59% of the population were able to speak Catalan, 80% could understand it and 48% used Catalan as a family language. The majority of Catalan families continued to use Catalan at home and for informal social purposes. However, the previous dictatorial regime's deleterious policy had undermined their self-image and confidence, and had an undeniable negative impact on Catalan use and competence, both oral and written. Only very young pupils, the elderly who had learned Catalan before the war and a few adults were proficient in written Catalan. The use of the language was very limited in newspapers, magazines, cinema, radio or TV, as well as in the administration, where civil servants had a very poor command of Catalan (Departament de

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<sup>56</sup> Because the linguistic situation of the province of Barcelona is very specific, this extrapolation was far from an adequate picture of the linguistic reality of Catalonia and was made only for operational purposes (Departament de Cultura, 1983: 11). A complete picture is, of course, only possible with Household Survey and Census Analysis instruments.

Cultura, 1983: 11-12). Empirical research on language attitudes and behaviour at the beginning of the 80s showed that:

- The non-autochthonous population did not want the Catalan language to be imposed on them and rejected its compulsory use; they did not want to face discrimination on linguistic grounds; in general, they believed that the knowledge of Catalan could be advantageous in the workplace; they did not know the recent history of the Catalan language and considered the imbalance between the two languages to be normal; they agreed that Catalan should be taught in schools and they wanted their children to learn it; they were afraid of looking foolish by speaking Catalan in public and, in general, they accepted that Catalan speakers should be able to use Catalan freely.
- The autochthonous population wanted to be very respectful towards the non-autochthonous population; they did not want to be accused of racism, and switched easily from Catalan to Spanish, even if they were asked not to do so, as they felt it was impolite; they wanted to forget forever the history of repression of the Catalan language and therefore they did not transmit it to the younger generations; in business and commerce they used only Spanish because everybody could understand it; they did not exercise their statutory rights, especially when dealing with public institution, due mainly to inertia and shyness; they were afraid that they could not write properly and were conscious of the many mistakes they made when speaking Catalan, even if they did nothing to change this situation; they agreed that there should be an increase in the use Catalan in the mass media, in schools and in the streets, but they did practically nothing to help change the situation; they did not want to cause any trouble, even if they were convinced that they were right (Departament de Cultura, 1983:13-14).

In view of this sociolinguistic situation, the DGPL decided to concentrate its actions on:



- Acquisition planning: the extension of the knowledge of Catalan to all citizens of Catalonia, among students and adults alike. In order to do so it had to create the necessary conditions at all levels of schooling, offering Catalan training or refresher courses for teachers, establishing language “immersion” courses for children from Spanish-speaking homes, and providing Catalan courses for adults, all of which were financed almost completely by the General Directorate and local authorities.
- Changing the population’s attitudes and norms of behaviour towards the use of Catalan through a series of campaigns aimed at informing, raising awareness and creating a consensus among the population. If the authorities wanted popular support to bolster language normalisation they had to inform the citizens that without positive discrimination in favour of Catalan in some domains the process would not be initiated. In 1982 the DGPL launched a campaign, popularly known as “Norma”, with the slogan: *el Català és cosa de tots* (Catalan is everybody’s business), where a cartoon figure of a ten year old girl encouraged the population to practice a “bilingual conversation”. This sought to encourage Catalan-speakers to speak in Catalan even if their interlocutors addressed them in Spanish, as many Spanish-speakers in Catalonia understood Catalan. This campaign also argued that it was better to speak Catalan with some errors than not speak it at all (Direcció General de Política Lingüística, 1983; Strubell, 1993a: 185-187).

During this period the Catalan language was extended to many new domains especially those legislated for under the 1983 Act. The expansion of the use of Catalan in the Administration was making progress as civil servants were taught and trained in Catalan. Moreover, the establishment of the *Corporació Catalana de Ràdio i Televisió* (Catalan Broadcasting Corporation) and of TV3 (1983), the Catalan medium TV channel, a second Catalan channel, *Canal 33* (1988) and a network of five public Catalan radio stations—*Catalunya Ràdio*, *Ràdio Associació de Catalunya* (today privatised), *Catalunya Música*, *Catalunya Informació* and *Catalunya Cultura*—expanded the use of Catalan within the modern mass media.

Within the field of corpus planning, the works of codification by Pompeu Fabra, needed to be adapted to the minor changes of the oral language, but nevertheless represented a significant starting point for the diffusion of a common standard. However, as the functional expansion of Catalan spread over many new domains the creation of terminology and the development of different specific registers was urgently needed. In this field the DGPL commissioned universities and professionals' organisations, with the joint collaboration of the IEC, to carry out works of terminology and development of new registers for all domains, from administrative and juridical to technological, scientific or commercial purposes. A major diffusion task of the standard language was carried out by the DGPL, with the publication of booklets, small vocabularies and many thematic posters, displaying such things as the correct Catalan names of fruits and vegetables, tools for different jobs, car and bicycle components, to name but a few.

The extension of the Catalan language for new functions, especially in the mass media (Tubau, 1990a), again brought about a heated debate concerning two different language models, popularly known as "*Català heavy* vs. *Català light*", that is between the defenders of a more "purist" model, or a model with less concessions to Spanish lexicon and syntax (Pazos, 1990); and those who favoured a model closer to the urban spoken language, more influenced by Spanish (Pericay & Toutain, 1986; Tubau, 1990b). In the end no major changes in the Catalan standard took place, however, it could be said that the "light" rather than the "heavy" model prevailed in the media.

In 1985 the *Termcat*, a terminology centre, was set up by the Department of Culture and the IEC as the responsible body for terminology research in all fields, especially the more dynamic scientific and technological fields, and the publication of specific vocabularies and glossaries.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> Termcat's web page is: <http://www.termcat.cat>

## **2.7.2 Stage 2 (1990-2003): The extension of the use of the Catalan language**

At the end of the 1980s some Catalan sociolinguists and planners realised that the measures undertaken until then by the Generalitat were not sufficient to change the language behaviour of the population. Despite the fact that surveys showed an increase in the understanding and knowledge of the language, this knowledge did not translate automatically into use (Colomines, 1990: 52-53). Also despite, the success of the “Norma” campaign in creating good will among the population about the need to promote the language and pave the way for the acceptance of the first normalisation Act, it did not achieve its goal of changing the deeply rooted social norm among Catalan speakers, a legacy from the Franco regime, of accommodating to Spanish whenever addressed in that language (Direcció General de Política Lingüística, 1991: Vol. 1, 12; Strubell, 1996: 267-268). This confirmation gave rise to yet another controversy this time over the “debate about the future of the language” (Branchadell, 1996: 7). The contenders were popularly known as “pessimists” who believed that the language was in danger of disappearing if normalisation was not achieved (mainly Prats, Rafanell and Rossich, 1990) and “optimists”, those who believed that the Catalan language enjoyed good health, at least in Catalonia, and it was no longer in danger (Vallverdú, 1990).<sup>58</sup> This debate was the catalyst of a change of direction by the policies of the DGPL and meant the end of a first stage of promotion of the knowledge of Catalan and the start of a second phase where all the stress were to be placed in the extension of the use of Catalan, not neglecting nevertheless the teaching of the language to adults (Direcció General de Política Lingüística, 1991: Vol. 1, 1-12; Boix & Vila, 1998: 40).<sup>59</sup>

If there was to be a change of direction or the creation of a new paradigm for language planning and policy, major research was needed in order to acquire in-depth knowledge of current sociolinguistic reality and to better understand

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<sup>58</sup> Normalisation here meaning to make Catalan the hegemonic language of Catalonia.

<sup>59</sup> In fact, the extension of the knowledge of Catalan has been reactivated in the last three years to teach Catalan to an increasing in-migrant population from non-European countries, chiefly from the Magreb and sub-Saharan countries.

the social mechanisms which both hindered and favoured the extension of the use of the Catalan language. Thus the DGPL, comprising not only language planners and sociolinguists, but also scholars from other social science disciplines, produced a document with up to date research about the current sociolinguistic situation of Catalan. This became the scientific basis on which the government sought to design a strategic plan in order to implement future policies. The results were published in 1991 in a four volume study under the title *“Estudis i propostes per a la difusió de l’ús social de la llengua catalana”* (Studies and proposals for the extension of the social use of the Catalan language). Attention was also paid in analysing and drawing experiences from other minority language communities from Europe and elsewhere (Direcció General de Política Lingüística, 1991: Vol. 4).

Therefore, the two most important developments during this period are first, the publication of the so-called General Plan of Language Promotion, published in 1995 and after a long period of drafting and consultation, as the main strategic framework for the design and implementation of language policies. Secondly, the in-depth analysis of the legal framework, both of the Spanish Constitution and the Statute of Autonomy, in order to maximise Catalan language promotion policies and either reform and actualise the 1983 language Act or, as finally happened, to elaborate a new Act.

Nevertheless, the first suggestion for the need of a global strategic plan for the promotion of Catalan came as early as 1986 from the conclusions of the Second International Congress of the Catalan Language. This Congress mobilised large sectors of the society to reflect about the process of language promotion not only in Catalonia but in the whole Catalan language territories, known as well as “Països Catalans” (Catalan Countries). The need for a general plan was later stressed and supported by other sociolinguists (Bastardas, 1991a: 75-9) who regarded the plan as a means of jettisoning improvisation and targeting efficiently the most crucial domains in which to intervene (Bastardas, 1990: 21).

If the plan were to be inclusive and accepted by the Catalan society at large there was a need for wide consultation with the civil society, which is why in 1991 the *Consell Social de la Llengua Catalana* (Social Council of the Catalan Language) was created. The Council is constituted by representatives of all kind of organisations, public, voluntary and private and acts as a consultative and advisory body for social implication in language policy.

The General Language Normalisation Plan (DGPL: 1995), which was finally approved in 1995, set out seven main areas within which to target language promotion: public institutions, education and the media; the economic world – which included trade unions, business organisations, professionals' associations and private businesses– health and social institutions, cultural and territorial relations with the other Catalan speaking territories and finally the diffusion of the standard language and sociolinguistic research.<sup>60</sup> The aim of the General Plan

“is to achieve the maximum respect for the personal language of each citizen and the maximum linguistic availability from the public and private organisations—as citizens, an effective linguistic option as professionals, a sufficient knowledge of the two languages—to allow them to respect the linguistic option of everyone” (Solé, 1997: 50).

The philosophy behind the policies undertaken in this second stage is well captured in the following statement:

“Not every domain is equally controllable or easy to inspect from the Administration. Catalans know this better than anybody: the whole of the repressive machinery of the Franco regime could not succeed in the abandonment by Catalan speakers of their language for family and intimate relations. Therefore, in a democracy, the capacity to legitimately impinge on cultural, social and family domains is very limited. This means that the objectives that can be established by the Administration, in accordance with popular will and always respecting the rights of the citizens, cannot be pursued by direct actions, but only through information, encouragement and support to *institutions which can legitimately influence in a more immediate and direct way the behaviour of the citizens*” (Direcció General de Política Lingüística, 1991a: Vol. 1, 12). (a. t. and italics)

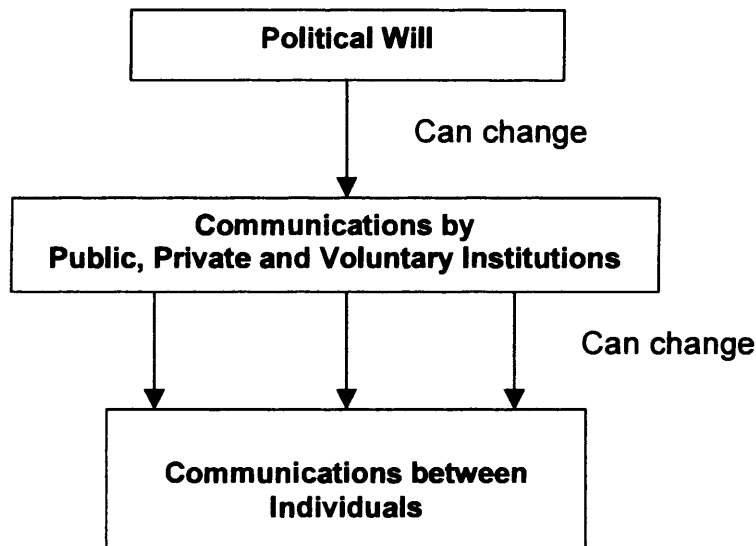


From the beginning of the 90's, the centre of attention of language policies and campaigns formulated by the DGPL switched from the individual to what Bastardas calls "*comunicacions institucionalitzades*", institutionalised communications (1991: 59); that is to influence the communications produced not only by the public or semi-public institutions, where Catalan was comparatively more widely used, but to non-official organisations including private companies, professionals' associations, employers' organisations, leisure and sports organisations, or voluntary ones (see chart 2.6 next page). As Bastardas points out the communications of all kind of organisations or institutions have a remarkable impact on the communications by individuals because of their status and continued presence in the every day life of citizens, to which they will try to adapt (Bastardes, 1991). They are more easily modifiable, if there exists a political will to do so, than the more rooted interpersonal communication habits between individuals, which will adapt to the context, only if it is necessary and advantageous (Bastardes, 1990: 13-19). Moreover, the author explains that it is not possible to influence the whole population at the same time. Therefore it is easier to start with those who are part of an organisation or institution, those who produce institutionalised communications simply because they have a stronger voice (Bastardes, 1991).

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<sup>60</sup> For more in-depth analyses of the General Plan see, Mari (1997) and Solé (1997).

**Chart 2.6**  
**Institutional Communications**



This change of direction, from trying to modify the communication habits of the individuals to emphasise their efforts in influencing those of all kind of organisations, was reflected in the campaigns undertaken by the DGPL in this second stage. It was expected that, in return, these communications would have an impact on those of the citizens and help, with time, to shape their opinions about the value of the language and, most of all, their linguistic behaviour. If the slogans and messages of the previous campaigns, such as *“el català depèn de vostè”* (Catalan depends on you), *“el català és cosa de tots”* (Catalan is everybody’s business) or *“el català per respecte a tu mateix i a els altres”* (Catalan for self respect and respect to others) were very general and directed to change the attitudes of the whole population, in this stage the campaigns were to be focused on important sectors of the every day life of citizens such as restaurants, bars and hotels, commercial signs, supermarkets, tourism, sports, leisure, automotive sector—driving schools, garages, car sales shops, insurance companies—cinema and video, etc. and with slogans like *“Es nota prou que són a Catalunya?”* (Is it clear enough that we are in Catalonia?), *“Català eina de feina”* (Catalan is a working tool) or *“El català sobre rodes”* (Catalan on wheels) a campaign for the promotion of Catalan in the automotive sector (Strubell, 1993a: 188-190). These campaigns were complemented by the publication of bilingual vocabularies,

glossaries and other promotion materials such as posters, stickers, etc., articulating the relation between status and corpus planning.

The DGPL was also engaged in the creation of mechanisms to better evaluate the impact of their policies in the targeted sectors and other aspects of the every day life of citizens, with the programme INUSCAT (*Indicador d'ús del Català*, Language use indicators), an index which enables the quantification and comparisons of the degree of use of Catalan in specific places and times (Romaní et al., 1997).

After all the steps taken prior to the publication and approval of the General Plan—research, revision of the legal framework and the creation of a consultative body representing civil society—there was still a need to adapt the governmental implementation bodies to the new strategy. Thus the development and extension of a network of language centres, bureaux and services was given priority. In 1988 the *Consorti per a la Normalització Lingüística*<sup>61</sup> (Consortium for Language Promotion) was established by the Generalitat (see chart 1). The Consortium, a de-centralised public organisation, co-ordinated and financed by the DGPL, which contributes 60% to 70% of its budget<sup>62</sup>, together with local authorities, was created to adapt targets and measures to the needs of different areas of the territory and sectors of the society in view of the diversity of sociolinguistic features of each region and sector. The Consortium consists of a territorial network of 22 language normalisation centres<sup>63</sup>. The aims of the Consortium are the promotion of the knowledge of Catalan among the adult population and the promotion of its use in all spheres of social life, especially the use of Catalan by all kinds of organisations both public and private. The services provided by the professional language planners working in the centres fall into three main categories. They **teach** Catalan at different levels, they **advise** both individuals and organisations on language matters including translations and corrections, and they **promote** or **invigorate** the use of Catalan in local public

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<sup>61</sup> Visit the Consortium's web page at: <http://www.cpln.org>.

<sup>62</sup> See chart 4 previous in the chapter for the Consortium's total budget.

<sup>63</sup> The Mentrau Iaith in Wales can be compared, to some extent, to the Consortium.



and private organisations and companies. The Consortium developed the *Indexplà*, a software program, based on a series of indicators, aimed at measuring and obtaining a graphic representation of the use of Catalan in all kind of organisations, from small or medium size companies to more complex organisms, as a starting point to develop and apply a made-to-measure plan and evaluate afterwards the impact of their actions (Escolà et.al., 1996:19-24). Another useful tool developed by the Consortium is the *Ofercat*, also a software program similar to the *Indexplà*, aimed at measuring and obtaining a graphic representation of the actual offer of services in Catalan in a given city or town. The areas analysed are the public administration, the business sector, media, education and health. The results of *Ofercat* are very useful develop language planning actions in those areas where the use of Catalan is deficient.

During this period there began as well the progressive creation of units of language services inside complex organisations such as chambers of commerce, trade unions and other entrepreneurial organisations, universities, professional bodies, public and private companies etc., which were expected to influence and create a multiplier effect in the use of Catalan in the areas in which all these bodies worked.

### **2.7.3 Stage 3 (2003-present): New challenges: integration of newcomers and economic globalisation<sup>64</sup>**

Since the end of the nineties, but mainly at beginning of the 21st century a new social reality is emerging in Catalonia. This social reality is the result of increased flows of migration both from inside and outside Europe. According to the Secretariat for Immigration there are 700,742 immigrants now living in Catalonia, which constitute the 10,6% of the total Catalan population. The majority comes from South America (39,03%), then Africa (28.86%), followed by immigrants from Europe both inside the EU and outside (23.42%). The two continents with lower presence are Asia (8,57%) and Oceania (0,06%).

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<sup>64</sup> Although the challenge of economic globalisation that Catalan language is facing will be briefly commented in this chapter it will be further expanded and analysed in the next chapter.

Catalonia is home to people from 190 different nationalities. The main country of origin is Morocco, followed by Ecuador, Colombia, Argentina, Romania and Peru. This diversity of origin also means a great multiplicity of languages: at the moment more than 66 different languages are spoken in Catalonia and the diversity is growing. This represents a new reality that must be taken into account particularly in the field of language policy. It is therefore essential that measures be taken to facilitate the learning of Catalan by the immigrant population as well as persuade them to use it in their working and daily lives. Another issue to tackle is to persuade the Catalan born population to speak Catalan to these newcomers, they usually use Spanish when addressing people who are not perceived as Catalan speakers.

Although present in the final years of the previous administration, the challenge of integrating newcomers linguistically now figures as one of the highest priorities for language planners. This reflects the greater significance given to the language issue by the current administration.

In response to this challenge the DGPL started a campaign in 2003 with the slogan "*Tu ets mestre*" (you are a teacher). The campaign had the goal of facilitating the social integration of newcomers through learning and speaking Catalan. It was addressed to the general population and especially to Catalan speakers in order to persuade them of the importance of speaking Catalan with everyone, particularly with newcomers. The message "you are a teacher" highlights the educational role that all Catalan speakers can easily take on for just speaking Catalan to newcomers. The campaign aimed to recapture the spirit of social involvement with the language of mid eighties' campaigns (Direcció General de Difusió, 2003). An evaluation of the media campaign showed that it was well received and liked by the general population (SCACS-Direcció General de Difusió). Nevertheless, there is no official evaluation on the level of success or achievement of the goals set out for this campaign.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Evaluation tends to be a generally neglected area of language planning. One of the reasons is its complexity and the various problems that language planners encounter

Maybe, we can speculate on the success of this campaign by reference to the fact that two years later (2005) another campaign with similar aims, which we shall analyse below, is being implemented.

In between the *"Tu ets mestre"* campaign and the recent one, the CPNL started in 2003 a scheme also related with the new immigrant population called *"Voluntaris per a la llengua"* (Language Volunteers). It started as a pilot plan in one of the Language Centres of the Consortium, in Cornellà del Llobregat, near Barcelona, and it is now extended to the whole Catalan territory.

The scheme began with the realisation by Catalan teachers at the Cornellà centre that while Catalan language courses imparted formal knowledge of Catalan to learners, many were not able to use the language spontaneously or informally outside the classroom. Indeed, many of these learners settled in neighbourhoods where little Catalan was spoken; therefore, they had few opportunities to practice the language. There was also an added complication, in that Catalan speakers code-switched to Spanish to address or to answer newcomers. Thus, teachers thought about organising one to one contacts between learners and Catalan speaking volunteers who could spare at least an hour a week for 10 weeks to meet and talk in Catalan. These meetings had a double aim: to facilitate the spontaneous learning of Catalan by newcomers and to change the habits of Catalan language speakers, making them realise that much effort was invested by learners in acquiring a new language. This effort would be pointless and could be considered a great disappointment or even a "fraud", it having expended great effort the language learned was useless for their every day lives.

The scheme was extended nation-wide from July 2003 onwards with the coordination of three government departments (DGPL, Institute of Catalan Volunteering and the Secretariat for Immigration) and the collaboration of about 280 different entities including all kinds of NGOs, immigrant

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when sampling, choosing the methodology, problems of reliability, etc (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997: 90-94).

associations, universities, neighbours associations, cultural associations etc.<sup>66</sup> From July to December 2003 a total of 1,086 linguistic couples were formed. The number of linguistic couples raised to 1,847 from January to June 2004 (Secretaria de Política Lingüística, 2004).

The Institute of Catalan Sociolinguistics carried out an evaluation of the scheme through telephone interviews with 1,300 participants (650 learners and 650 volunteers) out of a sample of 4,016 participants (Ignasi Genovès, 2005). These are the main findings:

- participants give a 8,66 –on a scale of 0 to 10– to the usefulness of the scheme (8,91 according to learners and 8,4 according to volunteers);
- regarding general satisfaction with the scheme participants give a 8,56 (8,91 according to learners and 8,22 from volunteers)
- on the effect of the scheme in improving the knowledge of Catalan among learners, the great majority, 95% feel more able to speak Catalan than before;
- regarding the effect on the use of Catalan among learners 84% state to speak more Catalan than before;
- learners found the scheme positive basically for two reasons, language related and socially related:
  - 43.9% feel that they learned Catalan, 31.1% feel more confident and less shy to speak Catalan, 20.2% improved their fluency and 14.2% valued the fact of speaking Catalan spontaneously or naturally.
  - 29.3% declare to be very happy to have met and start a friendship with a Catalan, and 23.2% state that their knowledge of Catalonia has increased and they feel more integrated in the Catalan society. Other positive aspects highlighted were the help received by volunteers, and the constant motivation as well as improving their employability.

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<sup>66</sup> For the complete list of bodies collaborating with the scheme “Language Volunteers” visit the web page: <http://www6.gencat.net/lengcat/voluntaris/entitats.htm>

- volunteers found the scheme positive for linguistic, social and solidarity reasons:
  - 56.43% found the scheme positive because it increased the number of Catalan speakers
  - 31.19% were happy to have met and have friendship with other people; 11.72% felt content in having shared experiences.
  - 21.29% declared to feel very good about helping people and 4.62% believed the scheme was useful to learners.

Thus, even if the scheme is very recent, it seems to be quite successful in transforming learners into competent speakers. It has yet to be seen if it also succeeds in changing the code-switching habits of Catalan speakers when addressing newcomers. This is clearly one of the main goals of the new administration, to increase the interpersonal, spontaneous use of Catalan, both among newcomers and Catalan speakers.

The new administration is giving an impetus to language planning. In terms of strategy, there have been two main actions. First, and thanks to the restructuring of the SPL, there has been a re-engagement of the Technical Commission for Language Policy. This body is made up by all the General Secretaries of all Government departments and has the aim of guaranteeing the even application of language policies in all Government departments.<sup>67</sup> This will hopefully help to achieve a long pursued goal by language planners, make it possible that every government department take the responsibility of promoting the use of Catalan in their respective areas of competence.<sup>68</sup> Secondly, the Generalitat is in the process of producing a strategic language

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<sup>67</sup> According to Mr. Pueyo, this body had not been called for seven years. Since the start of the new legislature they have met twice. This is not unique, as there are other bodies, such as the Technical Network for Language Policy and the Social Council for the Catalan Language, which have been also re-engaged lately (interview with Mr. Pueyo, February 2005).

<sup>68</sup> One of the first agreements that came out from the meetings of the Technical Network was related to the purchasing power of the Generalitat. All General Secretaries agreed to take into account the use of Catalan when buying goods, products and services from external companies. In the next chapter, we will look further into this interesting step which the Generalitat is hoping will be adopted not

policy plan for the legislature.<sup>69</sup> In the meantime, and as an advance of actions of immediate implementation, the SPL has produced an Action Plan 2004-2005 (SPL, 2004).

The action principles of this plan are related to two main messages or ideas: “make it easier to live in Catalan” and “Also in Catalan, in Catalan first”. There are 6 general goals. These are:

1. Make it easier for everyone to learn Catalan, specially for newcomers
2. Promote the informal use of the language.
3. Guarantee a wide offer of goods, products and services in Catalan.
4. Guarantee the right of Catalan speakers to live in Catalan.
5. Increase the collaboration between all Catalan-speaking territories in order to advance the status and use of the language.
6. To enhance the status of Catalan both in the Spanish and European Institutions.

In order to achieve these goals they have proposed five areas of action:

1. Interpersonal, informal use of Catalan
2. Newcomers, new citizens
3. Information and communication technologies
4. Socio-economic sector
5. Spanish and European institutions

Of the five areas, we will comment on the first two and the last one. Areas three and four will be discussed in the next chapter, where we will concentrate specifically on the use and promotion of Catalan in the socio-economic sector.

As mentioned frequently in this chapter, the spontaneous or informal use of a language cannot be regulated or directed by institutions. But it is precisely when looking at these uses that we realise that the future of a language

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only by city councils, county councils but also by private organisations and companies.

<sup>69</sup> The strategic plan or framework is expected to be ready by mid 2005.

depends greatly on its vitality. How can these uses be influenced? Administrations have broadly three ways of influencing language use: improving the access and methods to learn the language; increase the offer of goods, products and services in Catalan and try to change values, attitudes and convince speakers to use the language on every occasion through campaigns and similar means. In order to tackle the three tasks the SPL has prepared four activities or actions:

1. **Pilot plans of language integration for newcomers.** They are being implemented in seven cities with an important presence of immigrants starting in September 2004 and finishing in June 2005. The Consortium for Language Planning is the body in charge of such implementation. The activities are related to three main areas: teaching the language to newcomers and everyone who is interested including people who moved to Catalonia in the 60s and have never had formal instruction in Catalan; engaging and co-operating with all kinds of organisations, public, private and voluntary; and convince the local population to address and answer newcomers in Catalan.<sup>70</sup>
2. The further promotion of the **Language Volunteers' scheme** with the increased engagement of civil society. The aim is to provide real opportunities to newcomers to speak the language but also to create social networks of relation between autochthonous and newcomer sections so as to make Catalan the language of integration and social cohesion.
3. The creation of the **Territorial Language Guarantee's Offices.** As we have seen previously in section 5.1, this is a one-stop-shop for the general public to ask for information about their language rights and also complain and report about the breaking of the language law by companies, institutions and other organisations. The rational for service is that with the help of the general public it will be easier for the administration to spot companies and other kinds of

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<sup>70</sup> This part of the thesis has been improved by my involvement in the implementation of the pilot plan in Banyoles, my hometown, from November 2004 to June 2005.

organisations which are not making use of Catalan and convince them, to give them support and assistance to change.

4. A general campaign "*Dóna corda al català*" (lit. Wind-up Catalan). This is a media campaign that has the aim of changing attitudes, but most of all, behaviour. The format is very similar to the first general campaign in the 80s known as the "Norma". The message behind "wind-up Catalan" or "keep talking Catalan" insists on losing the shyness to speaking Catalan even if people makes mistakes.<sup>71</sup> The campaign, which not only includes media adverts but other promotion activities, will run throughout 2005, while the results are expected earlier in 2006.

Finally, the objective of improving the status of the language both in Spanish and European institutions is in principle more of a political matter than a technical one. This goal figured prominently in the negotiations prior to the formation of the new government between the three ruling parties, and is one of government's principal targets in its current programmes

Recently, there have been demands, both from Catalan parties and civil society to improve the status of Catalan in the European institutions, mainly in the European Parliament but also in the Council and the Commission.<sup>72</sup> Basically, there is a general will that Catalan be considered an official language. Official recognition would not only allow Catalan citizens to address European Institutions in Catalan, and that Catalan MEPs would be able to use Catalan in the European Parliament, but most importantly that Catalan would be taken into account in European education, culture and many other programmes, such as Socrates, Lingua, Culture 2000 or the Structural Funds. It remains to be seen if Catalan would be allowed to enter the not so exclusive club of European official languages in a time when there are increased voices of the impracticality of having 20 official languages in the Union. In practice,

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<sup>71</sup> The main message is complemented by a song, which translates roughly: "Don't be shy to speak, speak with freedom, and to start with speak in Catalan. Don't be shy to speak, speak with freedom and if you make mistakes, start all over again"



English, French and German are the most used languages for internal activities in all three European institutions.

Demands of language recognition in the European arena have manifested the paradox of the status of the language in Spanish institutions. The use of Catalan is not allowed in the Spanish Congress and is only partially used in special occasions in the theoretically territorial chamber, the Senate. Recently, following the latest Spanish general elections in March 2004 when the party Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya (ERC) increased from 1 to 8 the number of members of the Congress, demands to change the linguistic rules have intensified. As in the case of the official recognition of Catalan in the EU, the improvement of the status of the language in the Spanish institutions is undecided. Its advancement will most probably depend on the political pressure that Catalan parties can exert on the Spanish government, as it ultimately has the power to make such changes.

## **2.8 Conclusions**

### **2.8.1 Achievements and failures**

During the democratic period the Catalan language and culture have been recovering well from a period of repression and subordination. The ability to understand and speak Catalan by the Catalan population has increased considerably since the beginning of the 1980s, especially among the younger generations, due mainly to developments in the education system as well as in the media. Also adults have improved their language skills due mainly to the language courses for adults offered by the Consortium and other organisations. Another area of success or where great advances have been made is in the prestige of the language. One example of such profound changes are the declarations made by Adolfo Suárez, the Spanish transition president, in an interview in the French newspaper "Le Monde". He said that it

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<sup>72</sup> Catalan has only partial recognition at European level and it is only marginally used in European Parliament publications, and from time to time Catalan MEPs use it symbolically in plenary sessions.

was difficult to imagine that Catalan could be used as a language for astrophysical research. Today, such a message sounds completely outdated and no politician would dare to say something similar.

As a result of the steady support for the language provided by the autonomous government, especially its numerous actions concerning language planning and policies, the Catalan language is widely used in Catalan public institutions and has increased its presence, although with different vitality, in many spheres of every day life: public institutions, media, work-place, all levels of education including universities, businesses, leisure, culture, new technologies, etc. However, Catalan is now used more in the domain of the public institutions than in informal and every day activities. This has been caused by the tendency of the Catalan-speakers towards a loss of linguistic loyalty towards Catalan and their practice of code-switching to Spanish due to the decrease of conflict in the linguistic contact between Spanish and Catalan. This tendency is most evident among youngsters, who evoke a general feeling of indifference regarding the language due, as Emili Boix points out, to a poor understanding of the linguistic situation of the Catalan language (1993: 203-212). Thus, despite many campaigns to encourage the “bilingual conversation”, Catalan is still not the habitual language of exchange between Catalan and Spanish-speakers.

The mass arrival of Spanish-speaking immigrants ceased in the early 1970s, and by the early 1980s the migratory balance was negative. Immigrants who had moved to Catalonia in the 1950s and 1960s are growing older, while their second and third generation descendants are growing up in a society where Catalan has acquired a new prestige and currency. Due to the class structure of the Catalan society, where Catalan was spoken more extensively by middle and upper-middle classes, by those with above-average education and occupational skills, the Catalan language acquired concomitant status and prestige. For many Spanish-speaking immigrants, upward mobility would involve acquiring a command of Catalan. However, despite their proficiency in Catalan, Spanish continues to be their preferred language in every day activities. Therefore, it seems clear that there exists a Spanish L1 speaking

community in Catalonia that is there to stay, and although they feel Catalan, their first choice language is not Catalan.

Catalan is the usual language of over half of the total population of Catalonia, and almost all of the population of Catalan origin. The intergenerational transmission of Catalan seems narrowly secured (Strubell, 1999b, Bañeres, 1999b). Nevertheless, and quite worryingly, at the end of the nineties the Catalan birth rate fell below the average birth rates of other European countries (Strubell, 1999b). Currently, Catalan birth rates are increasing slowly due both to the increase of births by the autochthonous population, where women tend to postpone their maternity until their 30s, and the immigrant populations which tend to have a higher number of children. A low demographic vitality has a great influence on the vitality of a language, especially minority languages. Such effects will be difficult to counteract by any language policy that the government might implement.

Another problem which works against the normalisation of the Catalan language is the loss of militantism or mobilisation of the general Catalan society in favour of Catalan, derived from a feeling that Catalan is already “normalised”, or at least, it is no longer in danger of disappearing. Indeed, the important presence of Catalan in public life, chiefly among public organisations, and the impressive structure of language planning developed by the Catalan government seem to corroborate this impression. At the same time, this vision of the preponderance of Catalan in the public life favours the pro-Spanish reactions that claim, in some periods more loudly than others, that there is an unfair imposition of Catalan on the Spanish-speakers in Catalonia, reactions which work for the de-legitimisation of the activities of promotion of the Catalan language.

However, maintaining a steady militantism in favour of Catalan is not easy for Catalan speakers. Although there are many individuals engaged in pressure groups which continue to mobilise in favour of further governmental initiatives to protect and promote Catalan as well as trying to encourage the general population to demand the uses of Catalan in every social activity, the majority

of the population accommodates their language uses following the social norm. This norm still implies the “default” use of Spanish when speaking to strangers. Moreover, many Catalans feel that is the responsibility of the Government to protect and promote the Catalan language and not up to them to “fight” endlessly for what they perceived as a right after 25 years of the recovering of Catalan institutions.

### **2.8.2 Future challenges**

There are many challenges ahead if the Catalan language is to be the hegemonic or preferred language of all citizens of Catalonia in an ever-changing reality. Globalisation is changing or influencing language regimes and making it more difficult to live a monolingual existence, as was the case in previous centuries. The tendency towards multilingualism is unstoppable and in the case of Catalonia it means that the languages in contact are now more than just Catalan and Spanish. Consequently, the language debate will no longer focus on these two languages. The challenge for Catalan is not only to be present in this new multilingual reality, but most importantly to function as the common language, a language that unites all and guarantees social cohesion and equal rights.

Despite recent demands, the Spanish State remains a monolingual state and still manifests much latent animosity against the “other” languages. Although legally these other languages are equal or co-official with Spanish, Spanish continues to be the only language that the Spanish citizens have the duty to know. At present, Spanish is the language that guarantees the mechanisms of integration-discrimination almost without any restriction in Catalonia, that is, while it would be impossible to live completely and exclusively in Catalan, it is possible so to do in Spanish.

There are still many sectors of life where Catalan speakers do not have the opportunity to choose between the two languages, because this choice is not provided, especially in the private sector. Despite the limited subsidy policies practised by the Catalan Government, economic globalisation, the dynamics

of the market economy and the omnipresence of mass media and cultural industries all favour Spanish and work against Catalan. Moreover, a global language policy or joint action for the promotion of Catalan in the whole Catalan linguistic territories does not seem to happen. Certain threats to the unity of the Catalan language are posed by some political interest groups in the Valencian Community which favour a different codification for the public use of Valencian. This lack of co-ordination implies a missed opportunity for the creation of a wider and self-sustaining market for the Catalan language, as there are more than 8 million potential consumers for products and services in this language.

The phenomenon of immigration from outside the European Union into Catalonia is not as large as in other countries like France, Germany or the UK. However, it is certainly increasing and it has an impact on Catalan as the language of social integration of these new immigrants is likely to be Spanish, especially in urban areas. Although this second wave of immigration is very different culturally from the first waves of immigration of southern Spaniards in the 1950s and 1960s, the difference today is that the Catalan Government and the society at large have in place the mechanisms by which these newcomers may learn Catalan and integrate into the local culture. Catalan language authorities insist that the integration of newcomers is more of an opportunity not to be missed than a danger for the Catalan language and culture. It is still too recent a phenomenon to determine the direction and results of such policies of integration, but it is certain that part of the future of the language depends on how successfully this new wave of newcomers integrate linguistically in their new home.

Finally, a language disappears when those who know it do not use it. Therefore, the Catalan Government in general, and the Catalan language planning authorities in particular, face the challenge of engaging or reengaging Catalan citizens with the process of language recovery and expansion into every sphere of social activity. A government can create the most impressive and sophisticated structure of language planning but

ultimately it is up to the speakers themselves to decide whether they want to use it or not.

In the coming chapter our attention turns to one specific area of language planning, the promotion and use of Catalan in the private sector. We have seen that language planning in education, the media and the public sector has not only brought changes in the perceived status of the language but also in its use. Nevertheless, the weighty presence that the private sector has in our lives, both as consumers and workers, has to have also an impact on the status of the language used in communications with this sector. Indeed, a language is perceived as useful if it is used in a wide range of activities, but mainly if that language has economic value for employability in all sectors of the economy. The private sector has been a target of language legislation and policies by planning agencies in Catalonia. We will analyse the policy developments in this area and review the strategies and tasks undertaken by planners. Furthermore, we will overview the use of Catalan in private companies in different sectors in order to understand to what extent the language is used in private companies as well as to identify what are the barriers slowing or preventing greater use of the language in the economy.

## **3 THE USE OF CATALAN AND ITS PROMOTION IN THE BUSINESS SECTOR**

### **3.1 Introduction**

Whilst in the previous chapter we have concentrated on understanding and analysing the task of Catalan language authorities from a general perspective, in this chapter our attention turns to one specific area of this planning: the promotion of Catalan in the business world.

First, we will analyse the policy developments in this area and review the strategies and tasks undertaken by planners. This sector is comprised of public and private companies but also by all kinds of organisations related to the economic activity. It includes employers' organisations, such as the chambers of commerce, but also trade unions and professionals' associations. These organisations have played a key role in promoting and extending the use of Catalan in their respective areas of activity. Of prime interest are the strategies implemented by language planning institutions in order to extend the use of Catalan in this vital sector.

In the chapters' second part, the use of Catalan in private companies in different sectors will be analysed. Information has been gathered from a variety of available studies, the majority of which have been commissioned or undertaken by the DGPL. These will allow us to understand to what extent the language is used in private companies as well as to identify what are the barriers slowing or preventing greater use of the language in the economy.

### **3.2 The promotion of Catalan in the business sector**

Since the early 1980s, at the beginning of purposeful language planning on behalf of the Catalan government, civic organisations in favour of the Catalan language made demands to language planning institutions not to neglect, but

rather to actively promote the use of Catalan in the economic sector. They claimed that this sector was essential in order to raise the status of the language to demonstrate its perceived usefulness and modernity among the population.

During the 1980s the DGPL carried out campaigns to raise awareness and promote the use of Catalan in three main areas:

- In 1986, the hotel and catering sector such as bars, coffee shops and restaurants. The language planning agents translated menus, price lists and promoted the use of Catalan between staff and customers.
- In 1987, in both internal and external signage. The language planning agents signed agreements with the Catalan signs guild in order to offer discounts to those who changed their old signs for Catalan or bilingual ones. They also allowed tax relief when formalising such changes with the local authorities.
- In 1988, in the retail sector, both in grocery shops, supermarket and hypermarket chains. The language planning agents assisted with the translation of both internal and external signs, provided Catalan courses to the staff that was dealing directly with customers, promoted advertising and labelling in Catalan and raised awareness among consumers to ask for services in Catalan.

Nevertheless, it would not be until the beginning of the next decade, the 1990s, when planning institutions would focus their attention on this highly complex sector as a whole. Indeed, this was one of the reasons to delay intervention; its complexity and size, together with fears of generating conflict and rejection among businesses and other economic agents. Planning institutions were neither sure what would be the reaction of trade unions, employers' organisations, professionals' associations or private companies themselves, which the agents recognise as being key players in the process of revitalising the Catalan language in their sector. Moreover, the language planning agents were not sure about the levels of the knowledge of the



Catalan language of employers working in these organisations and businesses, as it was only recently that the first generation of youngsters who had received their education through the medium of Catalan had entered the labour market (Planella, 1994: 66).

This shift of attention towards the economic sector coincides with the change of direction which has been explained in the previous chapter driven by the switch of strategy from individual to institutionalised communications. Symbolically, the date of change of direction can be traced to the speech by the former director general of DGPL, Mr. Reniu, in July 1990. In his speech titled "*Un nou impuls en la planificació lingüística de la Generalitat*" (A new impetus for the Generalitat's language planning) he claimed that it was time to change policies to channel and transform "knowledge into use". He admitted also that the economic sector was where Catalan language was less present and used, and considered it a key area of intervention if Catalan was to be taken to a higher level of use. Therefore it was time to concentrate efforts to promote the language among the major players in this sector.

The language planning institutions approached the economic sector with three main concurrent strategies. First, following the theory of "institutionalised communications", they focused on social agents such as trade unions, employers' organisations and professionals' associations. Secondly, the strategy focused also on businesses themselves which were approached through linguistic marketing (Solé & Alarcón, 2001: 86, Riera, 2000).<sup>73</sup> Finally, the strategy promoted a sensitisation or awareness campaign directed to increase the use of Catalan in businesses, with special focus on commercial businesses.

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<sup>73</sup> Data about the language planning activities carried out by the DGPL in the economic sector was gathered through a personal interview with Mrs Elvira Riera during the study visit to the language planning institutions of the government of Catalonia between the 26<sup>th</sup> and the 29<sup>th</sup> of September 2000. The interview with Mrs Riera, the director of the unit of language planning in the economic sector, belonging to the Language Promotion Service, took place on the 27<sup>th</sup> of September 2000.

### **3.2.1 Promotion of Catalan among economic agents: trade unions, employers' organisations and professionals' associations.**

The first steps taken by the language planning institutions were a series of agreements signed with social agents in the sector, such as trade unions, employers' organisations and professionals' associations. The purpose of these agreements was to create the so-called "Sectorial Language Services" inside these organisations<sup>74</sup>.

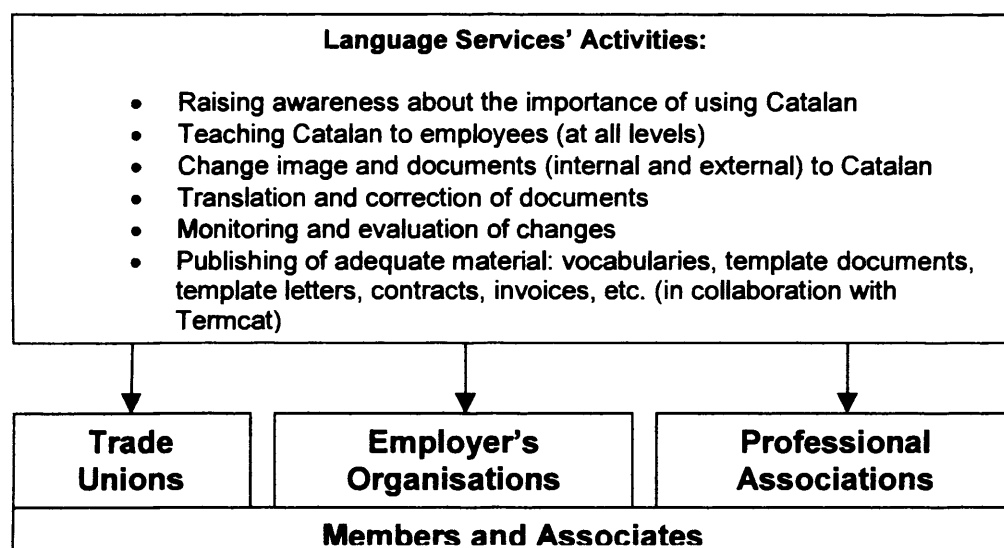
The goal pursued by these internal language services was to cater for the linguistic needs of both the organisations themselves and their members and associates (see diagram 3.1 and chart 3.2 and 3.3 on the previous chapter to see how they fit into the main structure of language planning institutions).<sup>75</sup> The first task for these language services was to change the language culture of these organisations increasing the use of Catalan of both oral and written communications. It was not until a later stage, when the organisations were already functioning in Catalan and the staff able to work through the medium of Catalan, that the professional language planners of sectorial language services turned their attention to their members and associates of these organisations.

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<sup>74</sup> The idea of creating these language services inside economic organisations and large companies was inspired by the success of the implementation of the same measures in Quebec. (Consorti, 1996; Bruch M. Ll. & J. Plaza, 1992)

<sup>75</sup> See DGPL 1991 for an extended analysis of the functioning and activities of sectorial language services.

**Chart 3.1:  
Activities of Sectorial Language Services**



Source: own adaptation from Alcoi & Bertran, 2000<sup>76</sup>

Six trade unions, four employers' organisations and three professionals' associations have internal language services. The DGPL grants these organisations an annual funding, according to their size and social representation and provides also technical support for the professional language planners working in the services. Table 1 indicates the level of funding by DGPL grants to these organisations:

**Table 3.1: DGPL's financial support to trade unions, employer's organisations and professionals' associations in 2001.**

<b>Organisation</b>	<b>Spanish Peseta</b>	<b>£</b>
<i>Trade Unions (6)</i>	31,800,000	120,000
<i>Employers' Organisations (4)</i>	9,800,000	36,981
<i>Professionals' Associations (3)<sup>77</sup></i>	4,874,182	18,393
<b>Total</b>	<b>46,474,182</b>	<b>175,374</b>

Source: own adaptation from DGPL, 2002a: 138-139

<sup>76</sup> The information about the activities undertaken by a sectorial language service and, in this case, in the language service of one of the two main trade unions, CCOO (Comissions Obreres) was gathered during the 2000 study visit from a personal interview with Mr. Carles Alcoi and Mr. Carles Bertran, both professional language planners in charge of the language service in the mentioned trade union.

<sup>77</sup> Mrs. Elvira Riera from the Language Promotion Service of the DGPL provided me with the budget for Professionals' Associations.

Currently, the process of creating internal language services has stopped as the development of new information and communication technologies, especially the Internet, allows other ways of accessing and providing information.

Another measure taken by the planning institutions was the creation, after a petition from one of the major trade unions, of a Commission for Language Planning known as the "*Consell del Treball*" within the Department for Work of the Generalitat. The commission is constituted by representatives of the DGPL, the trade unions and the employers' organisations and their function is to both propose measures and monitor the actions taken to promote Catalan in the economic sector. Some of the projects proposed by this commission are:

- The creation of an information pack for foreign companies establishing their activities in Catalonia concerning the sociolinguistic situation of the country and the language legislation;
- the creation of a complementary information pack for these companies about the resources available, both financial and technical, in order to adapt their communications in Catalan;
- the campaign "*el català eina de feina*" (Catalan is a working tool) to raise awareness about Catalan as a working language;
- the promotion of the use of Catalan among trade union leaders, administration managers and human resources managers;
- the promotion of Catalan in labour relations, especially the use of Catalan in contracts, collective agreements, payslips, insurance, pension schemes, etc.
- the promotion of Catalan in work inspections;
- the promotion of Catalan in labour tribunals;
- the promotion of the use of software in Catalan in the workplace;
- translation of books and other material for vocational training in different fields; and

- the organisation of special language courses for professionals in different fields such as the judiciary, architects, social workers etc. (Planella, 1994: 71-72; Solé & Alarcón, 2001: 88).

Business organisations and professional associations believe that they have a role to play and a duty in promoting the knowledge and use of Catalan among their members and associates. They all were very favourable in establishing language services within their premises to advance these aims. Moreover, the positive attitude and active involvement of trade union organisations towards the process of language promotion in the workplace has been crucial for the recovering and extension of the use of Catalan in this sector. Trade unions consider the acquisition of Catalan to be a right for all workers. Such knowledge facilitates not only their access to a wider spectrum of jobs, improving their employability and upward mobility, but also gives them access to various cultural resources and facilitates their integration into the society within which they live.

These considerations have to be understood in relation to the class structure of Catalan society, where Catalan was spoken more extensively by the middle and upper-middle classes, by those with above-average education and occupational skills, than by non-skilled workers, the majority of whom came from southern Spain. Therefore, the Catalan language acquired a concomitant status and prestige. For many Spanish-speaking immigrants, access to jobs and upward mobility would involve acquiring a command of Catalan. This process is still taking place as a new wave of immigrants, this time coming mainly from Africa but also from South America and East European countries, is settling in Catalonia. The Generalitat together with trade unions are renewing their involvement to give access to these new immigrants to Catalan languages courses.

Regarding the economic value of knowing Catalan for employability, a study based on the analysis of census data from 1991 to 1996, shows that:<sup>78</sup>

“(s)peaking and reading Catalan increased the probability of being employed by between 3 and 5 percentage points, whereas writing Catalan increases the probability of being employed by between 1 and 4 percentage points. The premium is greater for woman than for men,” (Rendón, 2003: 23).

Although Catalan has recovered its economic value, it seems, according to the same research, that the economic incentive for learning Catalan is crucial, but not sufficient to explain the differences in Catalan knowledge. Therefore, Rendón points out that non-economic incentives seem to be very important in the process of acquiring and improving proficiency in Catalan. It remains to be seen if a positive Catalan premium can be maintained in light of the challenge of incorporating new migrants in the labour market.

### **3.2.2 Promotion of Catalan in businesses through linguistic marketing**

Parallel to the establishing of language services within the organisation of economic agents, both the DGPL and the Consortium for Language Promotion started a process of contacting companies established in Catalonia. The criteria followed by professional language planners was to contact those private companies that, due to their presence and visibility in the Catalan market, would have a major linguistic impact if their communications were to be in Catalan. They chose companies mainly from the service and retail sectors, usually large companies, for their possible multiplier effect or spill over to other companies in their respective sub-sectors (Navarro, 1995: 13-16).

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<sup>78</sup> Rendón admits the limitation or scope of the study, which relays on census data. This data allows only to calculate a language premium based on employment rates and not in terms of wages. Language economics' studies based on both employment rates and wages, such as the type of research undertaken in relation to French in Quebec (Vaillancourt, F. 1985, 1991, 1995), are a useful tool to shed light on one of many aspects of language in social context, namely language as human capital with an economic value.

With the assistance of the Institute of Sociolinguistics, which was responsible for analysing the use of Catalan in different sub-sectors, they identified, prioritised and contacted the most relevant companies. Since private companies, prior to the enforcement of the 1998 Language Act, had no obligation to use Catalan in any of their activities, besides complying with articles 26 and 27 of the Consumers' Charter, the language planners had to find ways to convince them that using Catalan would be an advantage for such companies. Therefore, in order to approach private companies, language planners had to adapt their methods and language to those of the companies in which they wanted to have an effect, (Navarro, 1996: 17-18) especially thinking in terms of "cost vs. benefit" or "benefit vs. loss". Language marketing was the method to be adopted. This method, which is not very different from the conventional marketing strategies that companies themselves also used, consisted of presenting to companies a series of information and services at either very low prices or for free. These include:

➤ General information:

- about the sociolinguistic situation of Catalan and the legal framework;
- related to the attitudes of consumers vis-à-vis the use of Catalan in products and services which showed that Catalan consumers considered the use of Catalan as an added value, and more importantly the use of Catalan did not deter Spanish-speaking consumers;
- about other companies using Catalan in their activities and the benefits they derive from it, especially large and very prestigious companies.

➤ Services:

- a language audit of the company applying the *Indexplà* software;
- the design of a global normalisation plan adapted to the needs and objectives of the company including translation and

correction of documents, advice with vocabulary and terminology, teaching of Catalan to the staff at different levels, etc;

- monitoring and evaluating changes over different periods of time;
- information about specific grants and other financial incentives from different government departments available to companies expanding their use of Catalan.

Other arguments used to convince companies in order to change their opinion and, most importantly, their actions to make more extensive the use of Catalan was the positive image that they would project vis-à-vis Catalan consumers and public authorities. It was claimed that the image projected to consumers, using Catalan for consumer relations and more visible activities such as advertising, etc. would help the company to identify itself more easily with the Catalan market and act as a confirmation of its accommodation to this market.<sup>79</sup>

Regarding the relation with public institutions, both the Catalan government and the regional and local public authorities are important buyers for a large segment of companies providing goods and services. These public institutions are increasingly taking into account linguistic criteria, and making use of their great purchasing power to increase the use of Catalan in businesses. Thus, when allocating contracts for public services or buying goods from suppliers public authorities look very carefully to see if these companies make extensive use of Catalan (Solé & Alarcón: 102).

As language planners anticipated, many companies approached the planning institutions, especially the Consortium, in response to the type of strategy identified above. The adoption of language policies and the extension of the

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<sup>79</sup> This seemed to be one of the main reasons why an important number of international companies adopted more rapidly the use of Catalan in their communications than Spanish companies trading in Catalonia (Tudela, 1994: 24 and Solé & Alarcón, 2001: 64). One of the pioneering companies in using Catalan in advertising was Coca-cola, which also pioneered advertising in Welsh.



use of Catalan in leading companies of particular sectors had an effect on other companies within the same sector who also wanted to expand their use of Catalan. Language planners offered them the same services as they did to market leader companies, with the additional advantage of not having to engage in protracted marketing and discussion as the companies had already been convinced of the value of adapting their communications to Catalan. Although the Consortium receives many spontaneous requests from companies it has also been very active in contacting new companies and looking to increase agreements with businesses for all kind of language services. Therefore, there has been a steady increase in the number of contracts signed with businesses every year and between 1998 and 2003 the CPNL had signed a total of 669 agreements with businesses (of which there were 74 in 1998 and 149 in 2003)

### *2.1.3. Sectorial language campaigns*

In June 2002 a campaign with the slogan “*En català tu hi guanyes*” (In Catalan, you win) was launched by the DGPL in partnership with other government departments—Employment, Industry, Business and Tourism—and also together with the two main Catalan trade unions and ten business organisations belonging to the commercial sector. (DGPL, 2004)

The chief objective of this campaign was to involve both employers and employees in increasing the use of Catalan in customer’s services as a sign of quality services. The campaign targeted mainly commercial business and especially the hospitality and catering sector. These sectors were identified as having the highest numbers of immigrants among their staff in customer service positions. Thus, it was paramount that these employees could provide the highest quality of service including the capacities of dealing with customers in Catalan.

The twelve organisations involved agreed to:

- engage both their staff and customers in the campaign;

- to promote the learning of Catalan among their workforce providing in-house Catalan courses at different levels;
- to promote the use of Catalan, especially in key posts such as those involving direct dealings with customers.

In turn, the DGPL provided informative and educational packs with different materials aimed at both employers and employees. The information pack for employees included:

- the document "*Obre les portes al Català*" (Open the doors to Catalan), a document with the aim of raising awareness among employers of the importance of using Catalan for their customer's relations;
- the document "*La llei del català de portes en fora i de portes endins*" (The Catalan Language Act, inside and outside), a document explaining the legal framework regarding the use of Catalan in business.

The second pack was aimed at employees and included mainly educational material:

- the document "*El català t'obrirà moltes portes*" (Catalan will open many doors for you), a trilingual document (Catalan, Spanish and English) providing information on the advantages of learning speaking Catalan, and the available resources to do so;
- an image vocabulary, "*Viure a Catalunya: vocavulari en imatges*" (Living in Catalonia: an image vocabulary) aimed at those who had just settled in Catalonia and do not speak the language;
- a conversation guide, "*Viure a Catalunya: Comencem a parlar*" (Living in Catalonia: Let's talk Catalan), plus a CD with recording aimed at assisting learners with useful sentences.

The response of business organisations to this programme was very positive as it tackled issues and needs generally felt to exist within the sector. The success in businesses themselves depended on a number of factors:

- external factors: such as the percentage of Catalan-speaking customers and suppliers. In areas where Catalan is more widely spoken the motivation to adapt to Catalan is more notorious;
- internal factors: such as the language used in managerial meetings or language used to pass instructions on to staff. In multinational companies with a high turnover of managers it is very difficult to achieve the necessary internal environment for promoting the use of Catalan;
- the nature of the job: the less attractive the job on offer, the higher the percentage of immigrants among the customer service staff, and the higher the proportion of short-term staff in these posts;
- commercial strategy: if the target market is predominately Catalan-speaking, Catalan language tends to be seen as an element of quality;
- the market segment: if the Catalan market is a key segment of the company's total business, the Catalan language is seen as an important factor to take into account.

Information and communication technology (ICT) and language technologies, such as voice recognition, assisted and automatic translation, etc. are other areas to which language planning authorities, together with the Department for Universities, Research and Information society, are increasingly turning their attention to. ICT tools are commonly used by businesses and as surveys show it is an area where the use of Catalan is still lagging behind.

According to a survey from the *Associació de Webmàsters Independents de Catalunya*, known as WICCAC (Catalan Association of Independent Webmasters), in October 2005, almost half of websites of private companies and businesses organisations (49.42%) are available in Catalan.<sup>80</sup> In order to increase the presence of Catalan in businesses' websites, the SPL launched

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<sup>80</sup> See <http://wiccac.org> for further details.

in December 2004 a multilingual website (<http://www.gencat.net/websmultiling/>) with recommendations to businesses on multilingual communication and with guidelines to assist webmasters in designing multilingual web pages.

General software and open source software in Catalan is also available for free as well as other applications for businesses in different sectors. Furthermore, the SPL is preparing a series of tasks for 2006 related to this area of action. Some of these measures are:<sup>81</sup>

- making available and for free automatic translation software: Catalan-Spanish-Catalan, Catalan-English-Catalan, Catalan-French-Catalan etc.;
- increasing the use of Catalan in mobile phones;
- Improving spelling and grammatical checkers for Catalan available for both open source software and property software;
- Improving access to terminology in Catalan, Spanish and English, with special attention to professional and technical uses;
- Establishing a voice registration bank in Catalan available to companies who make use of voice applications, such as phone companies.

### **3.3 Catalan in business**

#### **3.3.1 The use of Catalan in businesses from a general perspective**

After surveying the Catalan Government's efforts both to legislate in favour of Catalan in the economic sector and in implementing many actions by language planning agencies, the logical question remains how efficient have they been? What progress has the use of Catalan made in this sector of social activity? What kind of private companies use Catalan, in what activities and for what reasons? And more importantly, what are the main barriers or

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<sup>81</sup> The latest operative system from Microsoft is available and downloadable for free.

difficulties militating against a more extensive use of Catalan in the private sector of the economy?

Sociolinguists and language planners agree that the use of Catalan in the economic sector, especially in private companies, has increased substantially since the beginning of the 1980s. Nevertheless, globally, the private sector is still one of the areas where Catalan is less used in comparison, for example, with public administration or the media. As Siguan points out, private companies are subject to market forces, where they decide according to parameters of costs vs. benefits, whereas public administration depends on a political authority, which in the case of Catalonia has had from the beginning a determination to extend the use of Catalan in the public life (1991: 69). Thus, progress in the extension of the use of Catalan in the private sector has been very slow.

In relation to the use of Catalan in private companies, Siguan comments (*Ibidem*) that before the beginning of the democratic process private companies, especially large ones, used Spanish almost exclusively both for formal and informal internal communications. Written activities were also exclusively in Spanish because the majority of the staff was not proficient in written Catalan. The relations with customers and clients depended on the customer's language of choice, which used to be Spanish as a result of deeply rooted behaviour acquired during the years of the dictatorship. The social norm was to use Catalan with family and with friends but never in formal situations or outside primary relations.

The first type of company that embraced the use of Catalan, both as a language of internal communications and relations with their customers, was service sector small and medium family companies and also local shops owned by Catalan speakers. In these businesses the majority of the staff was already able to speak Catalan and to write it to a lesser extent. More importantly, the majority of their customers were also local or from Catalonia, thus, these businesses were more exposed to their demands (Planella,

1994:69). In fact, it is believed that the demands from customers<sup>82</sup> as well as the ability to speak Catalan by the staff of these businesses are the two main reasons that explain their high uses of Catalan. Moreover, for many of these companies changing their communications to Catalan was seen as an opportunity to modernise their image and associate their products and services with higher quality.

Nevertheless, these small companies, although numerous, do not have the effect that larger companies have on the perception of the use of Catalan by the general population. Large companies tend to have larger budgets for advertising and they are more visible in the market. This is why language planning authorities have dedicated their efforts and resources to convince them to use Catalan. But how successful have they been?

There is a wealth of empirical studies focused on the use of Catalan in different sectors, including economic activities. Nevertheless, due to the scale of the private sector it is difficult to have a clear and global picture of their language use at any given time. The majority of these studies have been undertaken either by experts in the Institute of Catalan Sociolinguistics or commissioned by the DGPL to specialised surveys companies in order to evaluate the effect that language policies have in this sector. Also pressure groups such as *La Plataforma per a la Llengua* (Platform for the Language) and other language organisations such as ADEC (Association in Defence of Labelling in Catalan) have surveyed some areas of this sector. The available studies fall in two main categories:

1. Studies which embrace large segments of the business sector according to their size, ownership or markets such as: large

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<sup>82</sup> The idea that customers' demands for services in Catalan would make a substantial difference in the uses of the language by the private sector companies is behind the development of the Consumers' Charter. Nevertheless, as has been mentioned, this initiative has not had the anticipated effect.

companies, multinational businesses, family owned businesses, and public service companies, including public utilities.<sup>83</sup>

2. Studies based on sectorial businesses, according to the product sold or service: supermarkets and hypermarkets, wine-making industries, water bottling and distributing industries, petrol stations and insurance companies.

It is important to note that there is a general absence of periodic studies designed to measure changes over time in the use of Catalan within different companies and sectors. This makes it more difficult to have a global picture of the evolution of the use of the language in this complex and large area of activity. Nevertheless it is possible to identify trends and changes over time.

#### *3.3.1.1 The use of Catalan in Large Companies - (Tudela, 1992 and Tudela, 1994)*

The first general study of this kind was commissioned by the DGPL, and involved ICOP, SA, a specialised survey company, in 1992 (Tudela, 1992, 1994). This study focuses on 928 large companies, from a total of 1,850 companies of different sectors, with headquarters in Catalonia and which have an annual turnover greater than a thousand million pesetas (approximately £4 million).

The principal results of this survey are as follows:

- Almost 90% of their staff understand, speak and read Catalan fluently, although only 40% have written skills in Catalan.
- Among managers the use of Catalan is fairly high: 82% speak Catalan very often, and 13% speak Catalan often.
- Among the rest of the staff, 66% of those dealing directly with the public speak Catalan often, whereas a higher proportion, 78% of the staff which have no contact with customers, assert that they speak Catalan often.

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<sup>83</sup> A study regarding the use of Catalan in small and medium companies in Catalonia is underway. First results are expected to be published by the Secretariat for Language Policy by the end of 2005 or the beginning of 2006.

- Written uses are lower than oral ones, as only 12.3% write often in Catalan.
- The understanding of Catalan is a requirement when filling vacancies in 46% of companies; the ability to speak is a requirement in 47% and 30% consider the ability to write Catalan also as a requirement.
- The knowledge of Catalan seems less necessary for the promotion of personnel, as only 25.8% of companies consider the ability to understand Catalan as a condition for promotion; 26.5% consider the ability to speak Catalan as necessary for promotion and only 19.8 % consider Catalan written skills as a requirement for promotion.
- However, for a higher percentage of companies the knowledge of English in all three abilities (51.5% understood, 53.7% spoken and 47.1% written) is essential when recruiting.
- Catalan is used more in oral than written communications:
  - 28.8% use only Catalan and 63.5% use both languages separately in personal communications with customers;
  - 22.6% use only Catalan and 67.8% both languages talking on the phone with customers;
  - 13.9% use Catalan and 25.5% both languages in written communications with public institutions;
  - 11% use only Catalan and 7.8% both languages on external signs;
  - 6.1% uses only Catalan and 14.2% both languages for written adverts.
  - Only 3.8% use Catalan exclusively and 23.4% use both languages in written communication with customers.
- Catalan is used more in internal than external communications:
  - 61.7% use only Catalan and 23.4% both languages to talk to colleagues in the same department;
  - 49.1% use only Catalan and 18.1% both languages on the management board;
  - 14.8% use only Catalan and 12.5% both languages for internal security signs;
  - 13% use only Catalan and 16% both languages in internal correspondence;



- only 6.5% and 6.4% of contracts and payslips respectively are exclusively in Catalan.
- By sector, the above average uses (if average is 100)<sup>84</sup> of Catalan correspond to the banking, state agents and insurance sectors (147), followed by transport and service sector companies (109). The retail sector is just above average in its use of Catalan (101) while the industrial sector records the lowest usage (89) for Catalan.
- Regarding the ownership of the company there is a clear correlation with use of Catalan and Catalan ownership. Those companies with Catalan shareholders only or with a majority of Catalan capital correspond with above average uses of Catalan, 113 and 111 respectively. Whereas in companies with a majority of Spanish shareholders and with a majority of international capital the uses of Catalan are below average, 78 and 66 respectively.
- Considering the market area there is also a correlation between the use of Catalan and exclusivity of Catalan customers, as it is in these companies where the use of Catalan is highest (154). The use of the language in companies with a majority of Catalan clients is also above average (115). Nevertheless, companies with a majority of clients in the rest of Spain record the lowest uses of Catalan (72). Remarkably, the use of Catalan in companies with a predominance of international customers although being below average (92) is higher than companies with a Spanish market.

3.3.1.2 *The use of Catalan in family-owned businesses - (Bastardes B. & E. Renau, 2000)*

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<sup>84</sup> This is the result of a formula called "Index d'Utilització del Català -IUC" (Index of Catalan Use) based on a series of variables, 60 in total. This formula allows the planners to get a global level of Catalan use in each company. The variables are weighted according to their importance, with a higher weight for those variables corresponding to the companies' external communications. Therefore, adverts on TV will have a higher value than contracts or payslips, etc. The average of the sample is 100 and the maximum level of use of Catalan, once all the variables have been added up, is 379 (Tudela, 1994: 21).

The second study, of 2000, commissioned by the DGPL to DEP Institute, focuses on a sample of 45 family-owned companies from a total of 59 companies located in Catalonia and affiliated to the Institute of Family-owned Businesses. The majority of these businesses, 69%, are industrial companies, 24 % are in the service sector and 7% are construction companies. Regarding their economic profile, 84% have Catalan capital, 10% have Spanish capital and only 6% are internationally owned. Moreover, the market area of these companies is mostly Spanish as 45% of their customers are based in the rest of Spain; 35% operate only in the Catalan market; and 17% in the international market. More than 90% of these companies do not operate at the local level.

The principal results of this survey are as follows:

- The exclusive or very frequent use of Catalan in these companies varies depending on the type of activity:
  - 84.5% use Catalan always or very often in their internal oral activities;
  - 71.1% use Catalan in their direct dealings with customers and on the phone;
  - 42.2 % use Catalan in internal written communications;
  - 35.5% use Catalan for advertising;
  - 34.2% use Catalan in external signage and corporate identity
  - 28.9% use Catalan in their written communications with customers;
  - only 15.6% use Catalan in contracts and payslips.
- Oral informal uses are almost exclusively in Catalan, whereas more formal written uses tend to be always in Spanish.
- 62.3% of interviewees believed that the use of Catalan had increased considerably (11.1%) or slightly (51.2%) in the recent years. The main reasons given for this increase are that private companies are mirroring the process of Catalan recovery by the rest of the society, but also because they are recruiting new young employees with better Catalan language skills and which use Catalan more naturally. It is significant that 14% believed that the cause of their increase in the use of Catalan is due to their customers.

- 33.3% of these companies believe that their use of Catalan is the same as in recent years and 4.4% believe that it has decreased. This is mainly due to an unfavourable internal policy towards Catalan and the recruiting of new staff from outside Catalonia.
- Regarding advantages and disadvantages, 66.7% of interviewees believed that using Catalan has economic benefits for the company, because it increases customer satisfaction who in turn will feel closer to the company thus securing their loyalty.
- 82% consider that there are no major disadvantages using Catalan. Those who believe that there are some disadvantages (only 8 companies) argue an increase of costs due to duplication.
- The major barrier hindering a more extensive use of Catalan is believed, by 66.7% of interviewees, to be the non-differentiation of the Catalan and the Spanish markets. Nevertheless, this non-differentiation is considered necessary to reduce costs.
- Other barriers considered are the force of habit and resistance to change, (24.2%); the internal logistics of the company (24%) and the increase in costs (21.2 %).
- Finally, 51.2% of these companies intend to increase their use of Catalan in the near future, 39% because they believe there is a favourable internal policy towards Catalan and 21.7% because they will need to adapt to market demands.

### 3.3.1.3 *The use of Catalan in large multinational companies in Catalonia - (DGPL 2002)*

A study similar to that undertaken in 1992 was commissioned by the DGPL and the results were presented in 2002 10 years later than the previously mentioned survey. This study focused on large companies, with both Catalan and international capital. The sample was comprised of 300 privately owned large companies (more than 100 workers) with a turnover of more than 12 million Euro (about £8.1 million). The questions posed related to five aspects of language use: external and internal communications, proportion of Catalan

spoken by type of employee, language of in-house training and linguistic criteria in employing new staff; and three aspects related to language attitudes: advantages and disadvantages of using Catalan, and future intentions on increasing the use of Catalan.

The principal results of this survey are as follows:

- The average use of Catalan in both oral and written external communications is 35.3%. If we look at these communications in detail:
  - 56% speak Catalan usually, whereas 38% use Catalan for their written communications;
  - 38% of companies use Catalan for radio or television adverts, whereas 33% use Catalan in their image and labelling;
  - the areas where there is a lower use of Catalan are in brochures and catalogues (24%) and web sites (23 %).
- In relation to language use for internal communications the average use is slightly higher (41%) than the use in external communications:
  - high uses of Catalan (62%) are reported for non-managerial meetings, whereas the percentage use of Catalan falls to 46% for managerial meetings.
  - the use of Catalan in IT programmes (22%) and internal forms (34) is fairly low.
- The average self-assessed oral use of Catalan among employers is about 67%. If we break down the different labour categories we see that:
  - the staff that show a higher use of Catalan language in the company are administration and office staff (74.8%), employers attending the public (74.5%) and managers and executives (72.1%);
  - 68.5% of technical staff and middle management use Catalan, whereas just under half (48.1%) of factory and production employees report speaking Catalan usually.
- Catalan is used in 35.3% of the in-house training courses, both Catalan and Spanish alike are used in 25.6% and in 36.2% of these courses Spanish and other languages are used.

- Regarding the language requirements for the selection of new staff, half of the companies surveyed (50.7%) consider the knowledge of Catalan as a must for all staff or at least for those in key positions. Furthermore, Catalan is considered to be a bonus when recruiting by 25.4% of companies, whereas 23.7% do not value the knowledge of Catalan for appointments.
- When asked whether the use of Catalan in their companies brought about advantages or disadvantages, the majority of companies (52.3%) considered that it was advantageous; whilst 15% considered that it brought more drawbacks. Looking in detail at the reasons argued both in favour and against:
  - the main reason given by those surveyed (68%) was that using Catalan improves overall communication. Other reasons given were that: it facilitates a better relation with Catalan speakers (12%) or it helps identify the company with Catalan (10%);
  - regarding the disadvantages the reasons are more diverse and there is no single predominant argument. Difficulty in relating with customers (28%), with the Spanish-speaking market (19%) and the increase of costs (17%) are the main arguments. Another reason given relates to their headquarters being abroad (15%). Significantly, only 6% argued that Spanish was more useful than Catalan.
- When asked about their intention of increasing the use of Catalan in the near future, the majority of companies (62%) answered negatively whilst only 15% considered they might increase its use.
- The last feature analysed in the survey was related to the language services provided by the Catalan language planning agencies that are available to businesses:
  - on a scale of 0 to 10, the three language services most highly rated were software in Catalan (7.19), specific vocabularies (7.10) and terminology support (7.09).
  - other services which were considered as useful were: template documents (6.67), language advice and guidance (6.55) and language tests for recruitment (6.03).

- the services with lesser appeal to multinationals are Catalan lessons for the staff (5.95) and a global normalisation plan for the company (5.71).

Another significant feature is the categorisation on the use of Catalan (Index of Communication of Catalan—ICC)<sup>85</sup> of the surveyed companies according to different variables. According to the study, the every day use of Catalan, on a scale from 0 (Catalan is never used) to 10 (Catalan is always used), is as follows:

- The group which has higher uses of Catalan (ICC above 6.5) comprises business that:
  - have a turnover of less than 30 million €;
  - were established between 21 to 30 years ago;
  - have their headquarters located outside the Barcelona region;
  - have more than 60% of its capital is Catalan-owned (and also have language regulations in place);
  - Their workforce ranges from 100 to 200 workers;
  - They belong to the banking, food and jewellery sectors.
- The group with a balanced use of Catalan and Spanish (ICC between 3.5 and 6.5) comprises business that:
  - have a turnover between 32 and 120 million €;
  - were established over 50 years ago;
  - are based in Barcelona;
  - more than 60% of Catalan-owned capital (but do not have language regulations in place);
  - are subsidiaries of US, Italian or Spanish companies;
  - have a workforce of over 400 workers;

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<sup>85</sup> The ICC or Index of Communication of Catalan is the same index used in the 1992 survey (IUC or Index of Use of Catalan); the only difference being that the 1992 survey used a scale from 1 to 100 and the more recent survey uses a scale of 1 to 10.

- belong to the following sectors: electricity, manufacturing, industry, distribution, pharmaceutical products, beverages and optical products.
- The group with the least use of Catalan (ICC below 3.5) comprises business that:
- have a turnover between 32 and 120 million €;
  - are less than 20 years old;
  - are based in Barcelona;
  - are subsidiaries of foreign companies (except US and Italy);
  - their workforce ranges from 100 to 200 workers;
  - belong to the following sectors: construction, textiles, hospitality and catering, transport, publishing, toiletries and clothing.

#### *3.3.1.4 The use of Catalan in public service companies - (Secretariat for Language Policy, 2004)*

This survey was commissioned by the Secretariat for Language Planning from a specialised surveys company (EULIP) in order to verify to what extent public service companies complied with the 1998 Language Promotion Act (Castaño & Solé, 2005).<sup>86</sup> The survey was carried out in 2003 using the *Indexplà* questionnaire. The sample of the survey was composed of public and private companies and entities providing public services: transport, supplies and deliveries, communication and others. A total number of 28 companies were

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<sup>86</sup> As we have seen previously in chapter 2, section 3.3.3, according to Article 31 of the 1998 Language Promotion Act (31.1) “companies and public or private entities that offer public services, such as public transport, supplies and deliveries, communications and others, must use at least Catalan in signs and notices and announcements over public address systems.” (31.2) “Written communications and notifications addressed to persons resident in Catalonia by companies and organisations referred to in subsection 1, including invoices, bills and other similar documents, should be at least in Catalan, without infringing the right of citizens to receive the same in Spanish if they requested it.” (31.3) “the directive in subsection 2 relating to invoices and similar document is to be understood as not infringing the State’s competence or right to organise such services when supplied directly or via their own companies and organisations” (Llei 1/1998 de 7 de gener, de Política Lingüística).

approached of which 21 replied positively. The questionnaire is very similar, with a few differences, to the survey on the use of Catalan in multinational companies. The aspects tackled relate to five areas of language use: external and internal communications, language of in-house training and linguistic criteria in employing new staff. The question related to the knowledge of Catalan by employees is slightly different from the previous study as it does not only ask if an employee speaks Catalan or not, but also if that person has a sufficient knowledge of Catalan to fulfil its obligations as a worker in a specific position. Like the previous study, two questions related to language attitudes are also included in the survey: advantages and disadvantages of using Catalan, and future intentions on increasing its use.

The main results of this survey are as follows:

- The average use in both oral and written external communications is 56%. Looking specifically at the different types of communications we observe that:
  - Catalan is used slightly more in written (64%) than in oral communications (61%);
  - the activity with higher uses of Catalan is TV and radio adverts (68%);
  - Catalan is used in 59% of brochures and catalogues, in 51% of image and labelling and only in 33% of companies' web pages.
- The average use of Catalan in internal communications is lower than that of external communications (46%):
  - the activities where there is a greater use of Catalan are managerial (66%) and non-managerial meetings (76%);
  - the areas with lower uses of Catalan are in IT programmes (14%) and internal forms (36%).
- As noted previously, the level of fluency in Catalan by employees was self-assessed and data was derived from the question "What percentage of employees knows Catalan to the level required by their job description?". The average adaptation to that norm was quite high (82.94%) showing that the majority are able to work in Catalan and that there is a great potential for Catalan being used. Looking in detail we see that:



- technical staff (88.8%); management, administration and secretarial staff (87%); telephonists, receptionists and concierges (82.09%) and staff in charge of maintenance and other similar activities (82.9%) are those groups with a knowledge of Catalan that is adequate to do their jobs.
  - The only group which showed above average knowledge of Catalan were hall porters and maintenance workers (72.3 %). Still, the compliance with the norm is quite high also for this type of workers.
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- Regarding the language use for in-house training schemes, 56.9% are carried out in Spanish or other languages while 43.1% are delivered in Catalan.
  - When asked if the knowledge of Catalan was considered as a must when recruiting new staff, 38.1% of companies answered positively, 23.9% considered the knowledge of Catalan more of a bonus than a requirement, whereas 39.1% did not consider knowledge of Catalan at all when recruiting.
  - Companies which supply public services have an overall positive attitude towards Catalan as 71.4% of these consider that the use of Catalan is more of an advantage than a disadvantage (33.3%). As was the case with multinational companies, the main argument in favour of using Catalan is that it enhances or facilitates communication with customers (57%), and also that it helps in identifying the company with the cultural and language context (19%). Another argument given is that it also facilitates relations with public institutions (12%).
  - Regarding the disadvantages, economic cost rates high on the list (72%) and it is in fact the main argument against its use. Another argument is that it impedes or hinders communication with customers outside Catalonia (14%).
  - Unlike the case of multinational companies, most public service companies (62%) answered that they intended to increase their use of Catalan, as opposed to those who declared that it was unlikely (33%). Only a marginal number of companies (5%) did not know or did not reply.

Table 3. 2 The use of Catalan in businesses from a general perspective

ACTIVITES	Large companies (1992)	Family-owned business (2000)	Large multinationals (2002)	Public service companies (2004)
Average knowledge of Catalan	90% Understand, speak and read; 40% are able to write in Catalan	—	—	82.94% know Catalan up to the level required for their job
Oral external use of Catalan	28.5% Only Catalan with customers	71.1% speak Catalan to customers	56% speak Catalan usually	61% use Catalan normally
Written external use of Catalan	3.8% only Catalan writing to customers	28.9% use Catalan in written communications with customers	38% (brochures & catalogues)	64%
Oral internal use of Catalan	55.4% only Catalan	84.5% use Catalan very often	54% in Catalan	71% use Catalan
Written internal use of Catalan	13.5% only Catalan	42.2% use Catalan	28% in Catalan (IT & forms)	25% (IT & forms)
External signs	11% only Cat.	34.2%	—	—
Advertising	6.1% only Cat in written adverts	35.5% use Catalan	38% use Catalan in TV and radio adverts	68% use Catalan in TV and radio adverts
Web sites	—	—	23% 35.3% in Catalan 25.6% in both languages 36.2% in Spanish and other	33% 56.9% in Spanish or other languages 43.1% in Catalan
In-house training courses	—	—	—	—
Consideration of Catalan when recruiting	46% understanding Catalan 47% ability to speak Catalan 30% ability to write Catalan	—	50.7% Catalan as a must 25% Catalan as a bonus 23.7% do not value Catalan	38.1% Catalan as a must 23.9% Catalan as a bonus 39.15 do not value Catalan
Advantages and disadvantages of using Catalan	—	66.7% (customer satisfaction) 82% see no major disadvantages	52.3% (improves communication) 15% see disadvantages	71.4% (improves communication) 33.3% see disadvantages (costs)

From the summaries presented on the use of Catalan in four different types of companies and also looking at table 3.2 we can see how difficult it is to compare these surveys. Different samples, variables and questions have been used. Nevertheless, there are some similarities that allow us to identify trends and interpret changes.

The oral use of Catalan is fairly high and in general the oral use of Catalan is greater than its written use. Furthermore, it seems that Catalan is used more extensively in informal than in formal situations. Regarding written uses the lowest figures are those related to software and to companies' web pages. Also the internal use of Catalan is generally higher than its external use. However, it appears that the difference between these two types of communications is declining. While according to the 1992 survey the difference between the oral internal and external use of Catalan is as great as 26.9%, by the 2000 and 2002 surveys a 13.4% gap was identified in these two distinct uses within family-owned businesses, and only a 2% difference in large multinationals, which demonstrate a slightly greater use of Catalan in external than internal uses. The 2004 survey of public service companies identified a 10 % differentiation between internal and external usage.

If we compare the different type of companies there are observable differences between the survey carried on in 1992 and the more recent surveys. Although average knowledge of Catalan was already high in 1992, the general use of Catalan in all categories was clearly lower than that shown in the more recent studies. The changes and improvements are even more evident if we compare the use of Catalan in large companies in 1992 with those of 2002. In the 1992 survey 28.5% used Catalan only to deal with customers whereas in the 2002 survey 56% use Catalan usually to speak to customers, this is an increase of 27.5 percentage points. Because we know that the staff of large companies in 1992 had a high knowledge of Catalan, and that this capacity did not translate automatically into their using Catalan with customers, it is logical to imply that an observable improvement in that area can be attributed to the increase of the use of Catalan by their customers. Companies appear to have adapted to this demand. Differences in

other areas are also evident, for instance in the use of Catalan in adverts. Whilst large companies surveyed in 1992 used Catalan in only 6.1% of written adverts the multinational companies surveyed in 2002 used Catalan in 38% of TV and radio adverts. Evidently, while there is still a great scope for the use of Catalan to increase, we can state categorically that there has been substantial progress and that earlier fears of stagnation, or even decline, have not been realised.

There are other positive aspects that can be drawn from the surveys. The knowledge of Catalan is considered a requirement or at least a bonus when recruiting new staff in the majority of companies. Therefore, Catalan is relevant and certainly has an economic value. Another positive aspect is related to the advantages of using Catalan. The majority of companies agree that there are more advantages than disadvantages in using Catalan. In fact, the majority consider that there are no major disadvantages, although added that costs seem to worry some of the companies. The fact that one of the most acclaimed advantages is that Catalan improves or enhances communication with customers and increases customer satisfaction is very positive. This means that there is a clear demand by customers who prefer Catalan when dealing with businesses, and more importantly that these customers do not refrain from using their preferred language in these situations. Another positive sign is that communicative and pragmatic aspects are more important than symbolic ones, such as those arguments related to the company's identity.

If we take into account the average use of Catalan in internal and external, oral and written communications we observe that the companies surveyed in 1992 present the lowest use of Catalan (25%), followed by large multinationals surveyed in 2002, with a significant difference in total use as they present an average use of Catalan of 44%. The two type of companies which seem to have a greater use of Catalan are family-owned business (56.7%) and public service companies (55.2%).

It is significant that, from all the companies analysed, family-owned business are those with the highest average use of Catalan. The main reasons are related to the general increase of Catalan in other sectors of society, especially in the public sector which has produced a spill over effect in terms of language use to the rest of the society's activities. However, an important aspect of these companies is that they are owned predominantly by Catalan families and the majority of the managerial positions are occupied by Catalan-speakers. Moreover, these companies have a strong presence in the Catalan market, although they are present also in the Spanish and to a lesser extent, international markets, and they are involved in the sponsoring of numerous activities and Catalan civic organisations. The correlation of high uses of Catalan and Catalan ownership was already evident in the first survey, where Catalan-owned companies presented a higher global use of Catalan language in their activities, in comparison with Spanish or internationally-owned companies.<sup>87</sup>

It is also significant that the public service companies, which demonstrate the second highest average use of Catalan, are not far removed from the language profile of family-owned businesses. As noted previously, the 1998 Language Act specifies that companies providing public services have to comply with a series of language regulations the core of which guarantees that documents addressed to customers, internal and external signs, adverts, etc must use Catalan and may use Spanish or other languages. As has also been mentioned these companies do not yet comply fully with the actual legislation, but undoubtedly it is the existence of a legal framework which compels companies to make more use of Catalan.

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<sup>87</sup> This is also true in the Welsh case. As will be explained in chapter 5, in general companies with Welsh-born Welsh-speaking owners and managers are more prone to use Welsh in their business activities than companies owned by English speakers or with a majority of international capital.

### **3.3.2 The use of Catalan in Businesses from a Sectorial Perspective**

Apart from these four general surveys, the DGPL has also produced or commissioned numerous studies<sup>88</sup> on the use of Catalan in different sub-sectors, as well as in signs, posters and billboards or adverts in newspapers and in different Catalan cities, mainly in Barcelona. Given the great diversity of sectors studies, only a selection of cases will be analysed here. Some of the most prominent sectorial studies on the use of Catalan relate to:

- supermarkets and hypermarkets in Catalonia
- wine-making industries
- water bottling and distributing industries
- petrol stations
- insurance companies

The main results of these surveys are as follows:

#### *3.3.2.1 The use of Catalan in supermarket and hypermarket chains (DGPL, 1998)*

- The sample consisted of 63 businesses (17 hypermarkets and 45 supermarkets) from a total of 652 from 28 different chains located both in the city centre and outskirts of the four Catalan capitals.
- Globally, 60.3% of all their communications are in Catalan, 28.2% in Spanish and 9.6% bilingual.
- The use of Catalan in four main categories are:
  - 78% of staff with direct dealings with customers are able to speak Catalan;
  - 62% of signs are in Catalan;
  - 57% of posters are in Catalan;

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<sup>88</sup> For a complete list of available studies commissioned by the DGPL regarding the use of Catalan in different business sectors see: [www.gencat.net/llengcat](http://www.gencat.net/llengcat)

- 43% of all commercial communications—catalogues, plastic bags, bills, tannoy announcements, web sites and own brand product labels are in Catalan;
  - 39.25% of own brand product labels are in Catalan and 7.35% are bilingual
- In general, specific communications tend to be mainly in Catalan, whereas corporate communications are mainly in Spanish.

### 3.3.2.2 *The use of Catalan in wine-making industries (DGPL, 1999)*

- The sample consisted of 60 businesses from a total of 131 companies.
- Globally, 63.4% of all their communications are in Catalan.
- The percentage of businesses that use Catalan always or very often in different communication activities are:
  - 95% of oral internal communications;
  - 86% in external communications with customers, both face-to-face and over the phone;
  - 58% of companies' main signs are in Catalan only;
  - 67% of internal written communications;
  - 49% of written communications with customers;
  - 48% of different forms and bills;
  - 41% in adverts;
  - 22% of best-selling products' labels are in Catalan, 66% in Spanish and 11% contain both languages but with different meaning. Nevertheless, 70% of businesses have used Catalan on labels occasionally.
- Smaller companies selling their products in the Catalan market used more Catalan in labels than larger companies with markets in the rest of Spain and abroad. The latter argue that products with labels in Catalan can be rejected by Spanish consumers.
- Smaller companies also generally believe that using Catalan in their labels has more advantages (increase in sales, customer satisfaction, better

image) than disadvantages. Larger companies, which do not label in Catalan, do not believe that using Catalan has advantages.

- The majority of companies in this sector agree with the fact that products sold in the Catalan market should be labelled at least in Catalan.

### 3.3.2.3 *The use of Catalan in petrol stations and service areas (Farràs et. al., 2000)*

- The sample consisted of 533 businesses from different locations across the whole Catalan territory and from all 9 petrol chain companies operating in Catalonia.
- The average use of Catalan is about 25% of all communications both written (signs, posters, etc) and oral; 40% are in Spanish and 14% of all signs are bilingual.
- In 42% of the cases the conversation between the staff and the interviewer was in Catalan when the interviewer spoke to them in Catalan; nevertheless, 37% of the staff spoke Catalan spontaneously.
- 26% of internal written communications with providers are in Catalan.
- There are also geographic differences. Girona and Lleida, the areas with higher percentage of Catalan speakers, record more use of Catalan. In contrast the city of Barcelona and greater Barcelona report lower uses of Catalan.
- 23.7% of all types of signs are in Catalan and 14% are bilingual.
- Differences of use of Catalan are also evident comparing the nine petrol chains operating in Catalonia:
  - In the three companies resulting from a former Spanish monopoly (Repsol, Campsa and Petronor) as well as the other large Spanish company Cepsa, the use of Catalan is around 25% of all communications.
  - The communications of European companies such as Shell or BP tend to be bilingual. In the case of Shell signs, Catalan appear mainly above Spanish.
  - In other European companies (Agip and Total) the presence and use of Catalan is superior to that of Spanish.
- Finally the Catalan company Petrocat is where the use of Catalan is highest.



**3.3.2.4 *The use of Catalan in water bottling and distributing industries (Direcció General de Política Lingüística, 2001)***

- The sample consisted of 18 businesses from a total of 21 companies with headquarters in Catalonia (13 exclusively owned by Catalans, 1 with Spanish capital and the remaining 4 are internationally owned). (Direcció General de Política Lingüística, 2001a)
- 56.2% of all the bottles produced are sold in the Catalan market.
- The percentage of businesses that use Catalan always or very often in different communication activities are:
  - 77.8% in their oral internal communications;
  - 61% in their written internal communications;
  - 44.4% in their dealings with customers both directly and over the phone;
  - 38.9% in signs and corporate image;
  - 33.3% in forms and bills;
  - 27% in adverts;
  - 22.2% in written communications with customers.
- Only 6 of the 18 companies use Catalan in some of their water bottles' labels; therefore, 67% of front labels are only in Spanish, 8.2% are only in Catalan, 0.8 are bilingual and 18.2% of the labels have two versions, one in Catalan only and one in Spanish only.
- Interviewees see more disadvantages than advantages when using Catalan in their labels as they fear that Spanish-speaking customers, both in Catalonia and the rest of Spain, would reject their products.
- Nevertheless, the majority agree that compulsory information on labels of products sold in the Catalan market should be in Catalan.
- Other disadvantages associated with a possible increased use of Catalan are the increase in costs and logistical problems related to the management and distribution of different stocks;

- Some of the advantages perceived by a minority of interviewees when using Catalan in their labels are the closer identification with the Catalan market and an improvement in their corporate image;
- The average use of Catalan is higher in smaller companies than larger ones. This is surely related to the fact that smaller companies have Catalan-speaking owners.

#### 3.3.2.5 *The use of Catalan in insurance companies (DGPL, 2002b)*

- The sample consisted of 72 businesses from a total of 115 companies (43 large companies and 72 SMEs) associated with UCAC—the Union of insurance and reinsurance companies of Catalonia.
- Spontaneous and informal uses are mainly in Catalan whereas more formal institutional written uses tend to be in Spanish. The percentage of businesses that use Catalan always or very often in different communication activities are:
  - 86.1% in their dealings with customers, both face-to-face and on the phone;
  - 85.9% in oral internal communications;
  - 59.6% in adverts;
  - 54.4% in external signs and corporate image;
  - 47.2% in written communications with customers;
  - 44.2% in catalogues and leaflets;
  - 40.9% in insurance policies;
  - 39.4% in written internal communications;
  - 13.9% in contracts and payslips.
- 68% of companies consider the knowledge of Catalan as a requirement when recruiting staff and 27.8% of companies consider it a bonus.
- 79.2% of companies consider the use of Catalan to be an advantage for the company, mainly because it improves their competitiveness which

results in economic benefits but also because they feel closer to their customers and to the society in which they develop their activities.

- 20.8% of companies consider the use of Catalan to be a disadvantage because using two languages increases costs; they also claim that using Catalan makes the relations more difficult with the rest of the company which operates outside Catalonia.

These five surveys, as was also the case with the four general surveys analysed previously, are neither consistent nor directly comparable because, as demonstrated clearly in table 3.3, they are based on the analysis of different variables, questions and samples. Nevertheless, they share common variables, such as their dealings with customers, signs and corporate image or the oral internal use which gives us an indication of the different usage of Catalan in these various sectors.

Table 3.3 The use of Catalan always or often in different sub-sectors (in %)

Activities	Supermarkets & Hypermarkets		Wine-making Industries		Petrol and service stations		Water bottling companies		Insurance companies	
	Catalan only	Bilingual	Catalan only	Bilingual	Catalan only	Bilingual	Catalan only	Bilingual	Catalan only	Bilingual
Dealings with customers, face-to-face and on the phone	78	0	86		42		44.4		86.1	
Commercial Communications with customers (catalogues, leaflets, wrapping paper, bags, etc.)	43	19							44.2	
Signs and corporate image	62	11.2	58		23.7	14	39.9		54.4	
Labels	39.3 <sup>1</sup>	7.4 <sup>1</sup>	22 <sup>2</sup>	11 <sup>3</sup>			8.2	0.8 18.2 <sup>4</sup>	59.6	
Adverts			41				27		47.2	
Written communications with customers			49				22.2		40.9 <sup>7</sup>	3.9
Specific documents & others (posters, forms, insurance policies)	57 <sup>5</sup>		48 <sup>6</sup>				33.4		85.9	
Oral internal communications			95				77.8		39.4	
Written internal communications			67		26		61		13.9	4.2
Contracts & payslips										
<b>Overall Use of Catalan<sup>8</sup></b>	<b>60.3%</b>	<b>9.6%</b>	<b>63.4%</b>		<b>25%</b>		<b>39.1%</b>		<b>52.4%</b>	

1. Own brand labels
2. Main label
3. Both languages with different meaning
4. Two versions with the same meaning

5. Posters
6. Forms & bills
7. Insurance policies
8. It contains also other variables not included in this table

The sector with the highest global use of Catalan is the wine-making industry, followed very closely by the supermarket and hypermarket sector, with almost 70 % and 60.3% of average use of Catalan respectively. One of the key factors which can explain the fact that the use of Catalan is quite high in these two sectors is that the majority, or a significant number of companies, are owned and managed by Catalans. Indeed, in the case of supermarkets and hypermarkets, those with the highest uses of Catalan have predominant or exclusive Catalan capital.

The ownership variable can also explain the use of Catalan in water bottling companies. Although the global use of Catalan of these companies is lower than the two previous sectors, standing at 39.1% of all communications, Catalan-owned companies registered higher uses of Catalan, both in their signs and corporate image, as well as in advertising. Moreover, the internal language use of Catalan is quite high, and in the case of written communications the average use, 61%, is not very different from that registered in the wine-making industries, which is only 6 points higher.

The language uses of these three previous sectors contrast significantly with those registered in the petrol and service stations sector, where it seems that only 25% of their communications are in Catalan. Again, we can argue that the ownership of the companies in this sector is one of the main factors influencing its languages uses, as the majority of these companies have international or Spanish capital. The authors of the study also conclude that there are still vestiges of deeply rooted inertia from the previous monopoly situation. This inertia continues to have an effect on their language uses which are based on business models with a highly centralised organisation (Farràs, Bosch & Torrente: 2000).

Regarding the insurance companies, according to the survey, their uses of Catalan were very low. It seems that it is only recently that the use of Catalan increased remarkably in these type of companies. The authors of the survey attribute this increase to the characteristics of the Catalan market where customers demand and prefer Catalan as the language of their dealings with

service sector. The second key factor influencing the increase in the use of Catalan has been the signing of collaboration agreements between these companies and the language planning authorities which have provided their services so as to help increase the quality and use of Catalan.

As with the first two general surveys analysed, oral internal communications are also mainly in Catalan in all the sub-sectors, especially in the wine-making industries, where virtually all internal communications are in Catalan. The dealings with customers, both face-to-face and on the phone, register the second highest uses of Catalan. In the remaining activities the use of Catalan varies greatly between sectors. The use of Catalan exclusively or together with Spanish in signs and corporate image is above 50% in supermarkets and hypermarkets (72.2%), in wine-making industries (58%) and insurance companies (54.4%). It is below 50% in water-bottling companies (almost 40%), and lower still (37.8%) in the petrol and service stations sector.

Finally, the use of Catalan in labels of wine and water bottles are way below 50%, 33% and 27% respectively, although it is argued that the Catalan market is very important for both companies. One of the reasons given by the interviewees for not using Catalan in their product labels was the fear of rejection of their products by their Spanish customers. In contrast with Wales' image in the rest of the UK, Catalonia's image among Spanish-speakers in the rest of Spain is rather negative. During the beginning of the 1990s, especially during the general elections campaign of 1993, the Peoples Party, which lost the 1993 elections but has held power from 1997 to 2004, portrayed the Socialist Party, the party then in government thanks to the support of the Catalan nationalists, as traitors to Spain. Moreover, some Madrid-based press and television stations accused the Catalan nationalists of carrying out cultural genocide against the children of Spanish-speaking families in Catalonia, through linguistic immersion programmes (Strubell, 1996). As Strubell points out:

“[I]t does seem that this campaign, while having no influence on public opinion inside Catalonia, has completely changed the formerly positive image of Catalonia in the rest of Spain (...). All of this is of course

worrying, as many of the linguistic decisions affecting Catalonia are taken outside Catalonia, by multinational companies, Spanish ministries, etc. whose perception of our situation has been tainted” (Strubell, 1996: 269-70).

Besides these fears of rejection by Spanish customers of products labelled in Catalan, interviewees claimed that a greater use of Catalan would have other disadvantages for their companies. These are mainly the increase of costs and in the case of manufacturing businesses, the logistical problems related to the distribution of their stocks in their different markets. In the insurance sector, difficulties in relation to the rest of the company when operating outside Catalonia are believed to be a significant disadvantage.

However, all companies, apart from those in the supermarkets, hypermarkets and petrol station sectors where the survey does not provide such information, acknowledge that there are also advantages resulting from using Catalan in their products and services. Wine-making industries and insurance companies believed that using Catalan increased their sales or economic benefits; water bottling and wine-making industries believed that it helped to improve their corporate image; insurance companies and water bottling industries agreed that it helped them to be closer to their customers or to increase customer satisfaction according to wine-making industries. Finally, insurance companies also acknowledged that it improved their competitiveness.

It is also interesting to note in relation to use of Catalan in labels of wine products the results of different surveys carried by the language NGO, The Platform for the Language. This language pressure group undertook three surveys (in 2001, 2003 and 2005) analysing the use of Catalan in labels of 30 DO (Designation of Origin) wines and 30 cava most widely available in supermarkets and other retail companies.<sup>89</sup>

**Table 3.4 Evolution of the use of Catalan in labels of 30 DO wines and 30 cava most widely available in supermarkets in Catalonia**

Product	2001	2003	2005
<i>DO Wine</i>	1	11	23
<i>Cava</i>	3	6	15

Own adaptation from Plataforma per a la Llengua (2005)

As we see in table 4, in 2001 only one wine and 3 cava were labelled in Catalan, whereas in 2003, 11 wines and 6 cava were labelled in Catalan. The increase of use of Catalan is even more obvious in 2005 when 23 different DO wines and 15 cava were labelled in Catalan. This increase in use appears to have been caused by the enactment in February 2003 of article 34 of the 1998 Language Act. This article stipulates that compulsory information and any additional voluntary information present in labels of Catalan products with a designation of origin as well as Catalan crafts sold in Catalonia must be at least in Catalan. Not all companies comply yet with the law, but the sharp increase of use of Catalan will certainly continue. The Platform for the Language points out that civic activism and conscious buying by Catalan consumers has also had a certain influence on the change of practice in this sector.

Regarding the negative image that supposedly wines labelled in Catalan would have in the Spanish market, the Union of wine producers of Penadès (a DO region) commissioned a study in 1996 to verify if that was the case. The survey was focused in the region of Madrid and the results, which were negative, lead the Union to dismiss the use of Catalan in labels. Nevertheless, as the Platform for language (2005: 89-90) argues, this study was methodologically misleading, and the results presented in an ambiguous way. It seems then that the aim of the study was to justify the Unions' predetermined intentions of not labelling their products in Catalan.

To summarise, it seems that three main factors influence the use of Catalan in the sectors analysed: the ownership of the company, the markets in which

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<sup>89</sup> For a detail analysis of the use of Catalan in labels in the sector of wine a cava see: [http://www.plataforma-llengua.org/documents/estudi\\_2005\\_de\\_vins\\_i\\_caves.pdf](http://www.plataforma-llengua.org/documents/estudi_2005_de_vins_i_caves.pdf)



they operate and the legislative framework. The difference between sectors is related to the two structural variables. Therefore, Catalan-owned companies selling their products or services to the Catalan market are those which register higher uses of Catalan language. By contrast, companies with a majority of Spanish or international capital with markets also outside Catalonia are those where Catalan is less used.

Despite the fact that the 1998 Language Act has been loosely enforced by the language planning authorities, it is evident that in areas which fall under this legislation, as in the case of labelling of DO products, the use of Catalan has experienced a significant increase.

### **3.4 Conclusions**

The use of Catalan in the private sector is difficult to grasp as a whole as it is very large, very complex and undergoing constant change. Its presence and weight in the peoples' everyday lives is significant as a great number of their activities involve contacts with this sector, both as workers and consumers. It is therefore a key sector to measure the communicative value and prestige of a language. If a language is used for producing and providing goods and services, then for consumer and labour relations its perceived and actual utility will be greater. This, hopefully, will have a positive effect on persuading those who do not yet speak the language to take steps to learn it and use it.

Catalan has come a long way since the beginning of the recovery of democracy. The language has lost its stigma in business and labour communications, but it is not yet the main language used for these activities. Given the earlier discussions, it seems that there are three main factors which favour greater use of Catalan in businesses:

1. Structural factors, such as ownership of the company or operative markets.

2. Legislation compelling companies to provide goods and services in Catalan.
3. Consumer demand and use, as in the case of large multinational companies.

Regarding the structural factors the more likely a company is to be large, young, based in Barcelona and with less Catalan capital; the less likely it is to favour Catalan. By contrast, it seems that Catalan-owned companies selling their products or services to the Catalan market are those which register higher uses of Catalan language and are more favourable to the language.

However, the structure and ownership of private companies in Catalonia together with the markets in which they operate are undergoing constant change due to the effects of economic globalisation. Mergers between Catalan and multinational companies, the expansion of Catalan companies to new markets outside Catalonia and Spain, as well as the establishment of international franchises replacing what were previously family-owned businesses, necessarily have an effect on the use of Catalan. Economies of scale tend not to pay much attention to smaller languages and the markets are more prone to use national or international languages of trade. Moreover, there are also changes in the labour market with a higher mobility of workers and shorter term contracts, chiefly in the private sector. In Catalonia this has to be placed in the context of a new wave of extra-communitarian immigrants which are slowly transforming Catalan society's relative cultural homogeneity. These new immigrants tend to occupy less skilled positions and in most cases they are not proficient in either Spanish or Catalan.

Another important factor which influences language use is legislation. To legislate in the business sector is not easy, and it is neither a panacea nor as straight forward and immediate as it would seem. The effect that legislation has had in some areas, as we have seen in the cases of public services companies or the labelling of wine and cava products, is clear, but the changes have been very slow and do not yet cover the whole of the sector. Although the 1998 Language Act is fully in force there are many business

whose language practices fall outside the law. Language planning authorities have been very slow in enforcing and making sure that companies follow the directives. For instance, no fines have been issued to businesses which did not comply with the law, even if the law permits such action.<sup>90</sup> The strategy followed by language authorities has been the search for consensus through the signing of agreements both with businesses and business organisations. Also they have opted for offering assistance, guidance and resources to companies interested in increasing the use of Catalan. The Termacat has also been very active in making sure that Catalan adopted neologisms and technical words needed in professional and technical activities.

This cautious approach has much to do with the attitudes of businesses towards regulations. The corporate world is very reluctant to accept language obligations and argues against intervention with claims of increasing economic costs and loss of competitiveness which can result in a possible reduction of their workforce. In fact, businesses react thus with regard to most market regulations or interventions from the government administration, as for instance with environmental regulations. These regulations protect the community from companies that degrade the environment through pollution or excessive exploitation. In this case the greater good is more important than a company's productivity. Thus, it can be argued that regulation or intervention by officialdom in cultural and linguistic issues is perfectly admissible so as to counterbalance the effect of market forces, which can bring about cultural and linguistic loss.

Civil and consumer mobilisation has been of crucial importance in advancing the use of Catalan in every sphere of life, including in the private sector. Catalan speakers can exert a great influence on companies when maintaining a determined position as regards to their use of Catalan. But, this has not and is not always the case and many Catalan speakers, in order to avoid conflict or simply because they are not aware, renounce their rights. When organised,

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<sup>90</sup> Fines up to 3,000 € may be imposed for non compliance with the law, and for serious cases the sum can increase up to 30,000€.

civil society can achieve many goals, thus language NGOs or pressure groups have a very important role to play in minority language contexts, especially in keeping the society mobilised and attentive of their rights.

Language planning authorities, both legislating and intervening pro-actively, have achieved important advances in the use of Catalan in the private sector, and—although Catalan has found some economic niches where it operates as a business language—it can be still considered a minority language in this sector. In the private sector, as we have repeatedly argued, the level of use of Catalan (as any other language) is affected by market forces. Due to the prevailing atmosphere of neo-liberal economic ‘non-interventionism’, the task of language planning is increasingly more difficult to justify and perform in this area of social activity, without a stronger legal framework in favour of Catalan in the private sector. Language planners need to be aware of these challenges when trying to influence language use in businesses. Therefore, they will have to adapt constantly to new changes and find innovative ways of convincing companies and consumers alike that Catalan has a role to play in their everyday communications.

## **4 WALES: THE WELSH MODEL OF LANGUAGE PLANNING AND THE PROMOTION OF WELSH IN THE PRIVATE SECTOR**

### **4.1 Introduction**

The aim of this chapter is to describe and analyse what may be called “the Welsh model of language planning”.<sup>91</sup> A number of questions related to this model will be investigated, although it will be necessary to first provide an overview of the legal framework which has allowed the development of language policies and the implementation of language planning. Policy and planning has taken place to change the sociolinguistic situation of Welsh whose recent evolution will be reviewed based on decennial census data and other available relevant surveys. As the Welsh Language Board is the agency in charge of revitalising the Welsh language, special attention will be paid to its development, goals and actions. The final part of the chapter will be focused on the promotion of the use of Welsh in the private sector mainly by the Welsh Language Board but also by other agencies, such as *Menter a Busnes*. In the conclusions two questions will be discussed. First, can it be claimed that this model has been successful and what have been its main achievements, both generally and in the private sector? Secondly, in view of the present situation what challenges lie ahead to secure a future for the Welsh language and what possibilities exist to further expand the use of the Welsh language in the private sector?

### **4.2 The legal framework**

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<sup>91</sup> Much of the evidence discussed in this chapter has been derived from a series of structured and in-depth interviews conducted between November 1999 and November 2005. I am grateful to both members and staff of the Welsh Language Board, together with key personnel from such agencies as *Menter a Busnes* and the *Mentrau Iaith*, for their full cooperation and for sharing with me their professional insights and data. I alone, of course, am responsible for the subsequent interpretation.

The legal system which protects the Welsh language is very different from that which underpins the Catalan language. In fact, the Welsh regime is not a classical rights-based model as the current Welsh Language Act completely avoids the discourse of rights and is more of an enabling framework to use Welsh in certain areas, mainly the public sector and the courts of justice. Moreover, rights to receive education through the medium of Welsh do not exist as such. As we saw in chapter 2, the Spanish legal system is framed by a written constitution from which all legislation derives and one which guarantees the rights of minority language speakers, although not in every aspect of society. The British legal system has no written constitution. Thus the legal status of Welsh has been shaped and framed by a series of laws (four in particular) approved during the twentieth century. They are the Welsh Courts Act 1942, the Welsh Language Act 1967, the Welsh Language Act 1993 and the Government of Wales Act 1998. It is the 1993 and 1998 Acts which provide the present statutory framework for the use of the Welsh language. However, there are increasing demands by some sectors of society, language pressure groups and other organisations, to improve and strengthen the current legislation.<sup>92</sup>

#### **4.2.1 The Welsh Courts Act 1942 and the Welsh Language Act 1967**

The aim of the Welsh Courts Act 1942 was limited to removing doubts as to whether section 17 of the 1536 Act of Union of England and Wales which prohibited the use of Welsh in legal proceedings remained in effect or not. Previous to the 1942 Act, the Welsh language had no legal status, as section 17 or the so-called “language clause” of the first Act of Union of 1536 was still valid. This section established English as the only language of the courts and administration in Wales, therefore, only those able to speak English could hold public office. This rule was clearly a disadvantage for monolingual Welsh

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<sup>92</sup> Other legislation includes: the Education Act 1870, following an 1847 report on education in Wales which considered the Welsh language a disadvantage for Wales’s progress. This led to the appearance of the ‘Welsh Not’ and the weakening of Welsh as a language of formal education. The Broadcasting Acts of 1980 and 1981 led to the establishment of S4C, a Welsh language television channel. Finally, through the Education Reform Act 1988 Welsh became a compulsory core subject up to age 16 in the schools of Wales.

speakers who at the turn of the twentieth century constituted of 280,905 or 30.2% of all those who spoke Welsh (929,824 or 49.9% of the total population were Welsh speakers in 1901) according to the 1901 census.<sup>93</sup> The 1942 Act allowed the use of Welsh only if a person would be in a disadvantaged situation were they forced to speak English. Indeed, section 17 of the 1536 Act of Union remained in force despite many numerous unsuccessful attempts to repeal it in the House of Commons during the 1920s and 1930s and to improve the status of the language. Nevertheless, it was not until 1942 that a first act was approved in the House of Commons which made limited provisions to use the Welsh language in the courts of justice. The four-clause Bill highlighted three particular clauses:

Clause 1 repealed section 17 and enacted that 'the Welsh language may be used in any court in Wales by any party or witness who considers that he would otherwise be at any disadvantage by reason of his natural language of communication being Welsh'. Clause 2 laid upon the Lord Chancellor the duty to make rules prescribing a Welsh form of any oath of affirmation, and clause 3 (i) empowered him to make rules for the employment and remuneration of interpreters. But clause 3 (ii) ensured that English stood as the language of record (Davies, 2000: 232)

As the scope of the law turned out to be very limited, it caused a great deal of frustration for those who promoted it as it did not achieve their objectives. In similar vein, the Welsh Language Act of 1967 proved a disappointment as it frustrated the expectations of the Welsh intelligentsia which promoted Welsh and the Welsh language activists who saw in legislation a salvation for the language. The new Act gave the right to any party or witnesses to use the Welsh language unrestrictedly in legal proceedings in Wales, and marks the beginning of the administrative policy of treating the Welsh language as a de facto official language in Wales.<sup>94</sup> It was also the point at which the Welsh language began to play a practical role in the governance of Wales.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>93</sup> See the 1901 Census Report ([www.bwrdd-yr-iaith.org.uk](http://www.bwrdd-yr-iaith.org.uk))

<sup>94</sup> Welsh is not officially the official language of Wales, but neither is English.

<sup>95</sup> For a detailed account of the progress towards the improvement of the legal status of Welsh in the twentieth century see Davies, G. P., (2000: 217-248). For an explanation of governance and the language see Williams, C. H. (1999) and Williams, C. H (Ed.) (in press).

#### **4.2.2 The Welsh Language Act 1993**

During the 1970s and especially the 1980s, various pressure groups, especially the Welsh Language Society, and the language rights movement Cefn, called for new legislation. In 1983, a Working Party for a New Welsh Language Act chaired by Lord Gwilym Prys-Davies was established to discuss and advance the agenda for such new legislation.<sup>96</sup> Moreover, in 1985, legislative proposals were presented to the House of Commons as a 10-minute rule Bill by Dafydd Wigley, MP. These proposals were rejected by the Conservative Government and it was not until 1992 that a Bill proposing a Welsh Language Act was approved by Parliament. The resultant Welsh Language Act of 1993 is the most significant legislation to date in respect of the Welsh Language and it resulted in three significant actions:

- It placed a duty on the public sector (wherever located in the UK) providing services to the public and the administration of justice in Wales to treat Welsh and English on a basis of equality, by adopting Welsh Language Schemes;
- it also ensured that Welsh speakers have an absolute right to speak Welsh in court; and perhaps most importantly,
- it established the Welsh Language Board giving it a key role in the Act's implementation, as it was to be the body responsible for delivering the proposals as well as promoting and facilitating the use of Welsh.

The Act fell short of the recommendations of the advisory Welsh Language Board (established in 1988) as it enabled the use of Welsh in limited spheres rather than guaranteeing the rights of Welsh speakers to use the language as they wished. Also, commentators have pointed out that the proclaimed basis of equality between Welsh and English is undermined by the clause "whenever appropriate in the circumstances and reasonably practical", which in reality allowed a great deal of discretion to be exercised by bodies

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<sup>96</sup> See Welsh Language Society (2005) for a manifesto on new legislation to promote and normalise Welsh.



preparing language schemes. Other limitations relate to the Board's lack of enforcement power to penalise or sue a public body which does not comply with the recommendations of its own language scheme. The ultimate resolution of disputed cases rests in the hands of the Secretary of State. Moreover, the Act did not amend employment law to allow employers in the public sector to designate posts as requiring the ability to speak Welsh. Neither did the Act place any demands on organizations outside the public sector, nor include a statement that gave official status to the language (Welsh Language Board, 2000). This was a widely requested aspect which was not fulfilled given that the then Prime Minister John Major, stated in parliament that 'Welsh already enjoys official status in Wales' (Davies, G. P., 2000: 248). Nevertheless, the 1993 Act can be considered a landmark in the modern history of Welsh as a result of which the language has enjoyed a higher status than ever before.

#### **4.2.3 The Government of Wales Act 1998**

The Government of Wales Act 1998 established the National Assembly for Wales. The Assembly is a single corporate body but functions along the lines of a parliament in that it has a cabinet government and a legislature. Currently, it can only enact secondary legislation, thus, for primary legislation Wales continues to depend on the UK Parliament. Its present areas of responsibilities include agriculture, culture, economic development, education and training, the environment, health, sports, local government and housing, social services, transport and the Welsh language. It has 60 members, one third of whom are elected by proportional representation. The three sections of the 1998 Act which directly affect the use of the Welsh language in the governance of Wales are sections 47(1), 66(4) and 122(1). Only the latter makes provision as to the status of the language. Moreover, section 32(c) establishes the Assembly as the principal body in charge of the promotion of the Welsh language:<sup>97</sup>

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<sup>97</sup> For the most comprehensive and authoritative account of the process of devolution in Wales, the establishing of the National Assembly for Wales and the issue of the Welsh language in this process see Rawlings, R. (2003).

**Section 32(c) provides:** “The Assembly may do anything it considers appropriate to support [...] the Welsh Language.”

**Section 47(1) provides:** “The Assembly shall in the conduct of its business give effect, so far as is both appropriate in the circumstances and reasonably practicable, to the principle that the English and Welsh languages should be treated on a basis of equality.”

**Section 66(4) provides:** “The subordinate legislation procedures must include provision for securing that a draft of the statutory instrument containing any Assembly general subordinate legislation may be approved by the Assembly only if this is in both English and Welsh unless in the particular circumstance it is inappropriate or not reasonably practicable for the draft to be in both languages.”

**Section 122(1) provides:** “The English and Welsh texts of any subordinate legislation made by the Assembly which is in both English and Welsh when made shall be treated for all purposes as being of equal standing.”

In reality, Roddick (in press), a member of the Advisory Welsh Language Board’s legislation working group, and former Counsel General of the Assembly, argues that these have obliged the Assembly to adopt bilingual standing orders, bilingual debates, a bilingual record of proceedings (*Y Cyfnod*) and to legislate in part bilingually. Although the Assembly is a Crown body and it is not compelled to comply with the purposes of the Welsh Language Act 1993, both, the National Assembly for Wales and the Welsh Assembly Government have nevertheless published Welsh language schemes, setting out how they conduct their business, including their relations with the public.

Soon after the passing of the Welsh Language Act 1993, calls for new legislation were made from language activists arguing that the act was too weak to make any real impact to halt the decline of Welsh. There were also demands made for private sector companies to fall under the new act.<sup>98</sup> Criticisms of the weaknesses of the current legislation have been made persistently, the most recent being a systematic set of proposals for a new language regime, including the establishment of a Language Commissioner,

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<sup>98</sup> For the demands and actions of the Welsh Language Society regarding new legislation see <http://cymdeithas.com/>. For a thorough history of the organisation and its achievements see Phillips, D. (2000).

as a consequence of the proposed integration of the Welsh Language Board into the machinery of the Welsh Assembly Government (Williams, C., 2005a).

### 4.3 The sociolinguistic situation of Welsh

#### 4.3.1 Knowledge of Welsh

By reference to table 4.1, and chart 4.1 which show census data regarding the knowledge of Welsh from first available census data in 1891, we can observe clearly the development of the language over the past hundred years.<sup>99</sup> The number of speakers of Welsh has decreased census after census, although rates of decline slowed between 1961 and 1991, when there were 508,098 people able to speak Welsh out of a total population of 2,723,623 inhabitants (Aitchison & Carter, 1994, 2000).

**Table 4.1**  
**Evolution of Census (1891 to 2001)<sup>100</sup>**

	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	
<b>%</b>	54.4	49.9 (-)	43.5 (-)	37.1(-)	36.8 (-)	
<b>Numbers</b>	910.289	929.824 (+)	977.366 (+)	922.092 (-)	909.261(-)	
	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001 <sup>101</sup>
	28.9 (-)	26.0 (-)	20.8 (-)	18.9 (-)	18.6 (-)	20.8 (+)
	714.686 (-)	656.002 (-)	542.425 (-)	508.207(-)	508,098 (-)	582,368 (+)

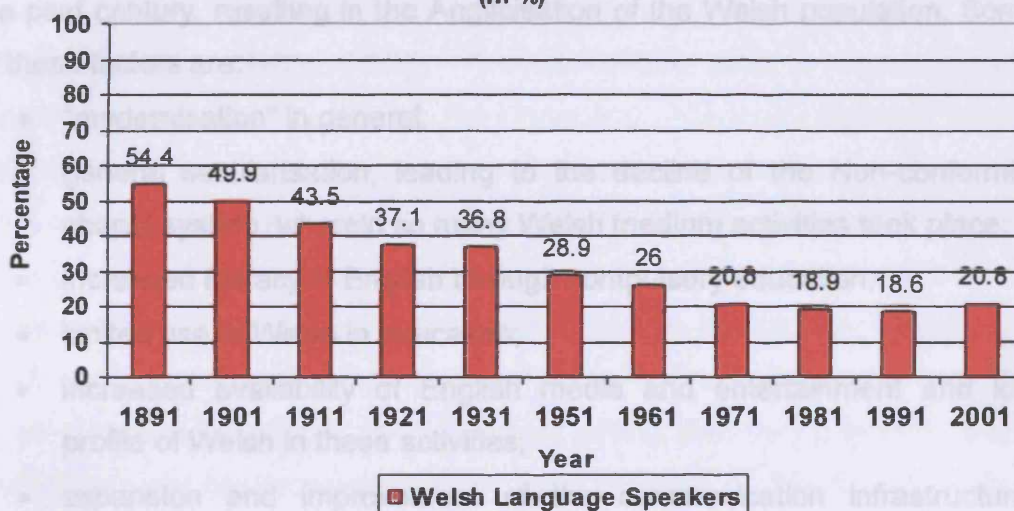
Source: Aitchison & Carter (1994 and 2004)

<sup>99</sup> We have to bear in mind that changes in geographical boundaries and in the wording of questions render exact inter-census comparisons problematic.

<sup>100</sup> No census was held in 1941 due to the Second World War.

<sup>101</sup> In the late 1990s the Welsh Office issued a forecast for the 2001 census. According to the forecast, the percentage of Welsh speakers would have been 18.8 and some 538,000 in number.

**Chart 4.1.**  
**Evolution of Welsh Language Speakers According to Census**  
**(In %)**



By the 2001 census, for the first time in a hundred years, the decrease in the number of Welsh speakers was not only halted, but actually reversed, demonstrating an increase in both total numbers and percentages of Welsh speakers. The main changes over the past decade in terms of knowledge of the language will be analysed below, but first, an overview of the causes of the decline of the Welsh language during the past century will be presented.<sup>102</sup>

By the beginning of the 20th century, the Welsh language ceased to be spoken by the majority of the population. Yet, even then while English was widely known, up to half of the Welsh-speaking population remained monolingual. This is a significant fact for the two separate languages could operate relatively independently, within the same geographical unit. However, during the first half of 20th century the number of monolingual Welsh speakers continued to diminish, leading the Office of National Statistics to ask a question on monolingualism for the last time within the 1981 Census. Nevertheless, the disappearance of monolingual Welsh speakers was already clear during the 1960s.<sup>103</sup>

<sup>102</sup> For an extensive and in-depth review of the fortunes of the Welsh language during the twentieth century see Jenkins G. H. and M. A. Williams (Eds.) (2000).

<sup>103</sup> Although not the focus of this thesis, the absence of a sizeable monolingual Welsh-speaking population necessarily has a significant impact on both the linguistic

Different factors have been eroding the knowledge and the use of Welsh over the past century, resulting in the Anglicisation of the Welsh population. Some of these factors are:

- “modernisation” in general;
- general secularisation, leading to the decline of the Non-conformist chapel system, wherein so many Welsh medium activities took place;
- increased literacy in English through compulsory education;
- limited use of Welsh in education;
- increased availability of English media and entertainment and low profile of Welsh in these activities;
- expansion and improvement of the communication infrastructure, especially roads, railways and telegraphy;
- industrialisation and its effect on the population flows which increased internal migration from rural to industrial areas, within and outside Wales ;
- a general low language prestige, which did not encourage the transmission of the language to the next generation.

Industrialisation is considered as one of the main causes which affected Wales’s migratory flows. However, there is no agreement as to whether the process of industrialisation, which in some areas of Wales started as early as the end of the eighteenth century with the expansion of iron and coal industries, was the “saviour or the hangman” of the Welsh language. For some experts, industrialisation is to blame for the loss of vitality of Welsh in rural communities. During this period Wales’s rural communities suffered the loss of significant numbers of Welsh speakers, as they moved to the industrial and mining areas of the South and North-East of Wales and beyond. At the same time the industrial regions also attracted a great number of immigrants from England seeking employment. Although monolingualism of Welsh and English prevailed for a time, the amalgamation of migrant populations made

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and sociolinguistic development of the language and could be interpreted as weakening the case for autonomous language rights.

English the principal language of social communication among them, and the dominant language of trade and industry.

Other experts, notably Brinley Thomas, argue that it was precisely industrialisation which secured the language, since it created internal migration and the Welsh, in contrast with others, such as the Scots and the Irish, did not need to leave their country in search of employment and prosperity. Welsh speakers tended to settle in the valleys and the more inland areas, while the English monolinguals tended to inhabit the coastal and established urban areas. The net effect of this differential migration was that some communities became more Welsh-speaking than they previously were, while others became increasingly anglicised (Williams, C., 1997b: 177-178).

At the end of the 1920s the migratory flows towards industrial areas decreased due to a profound economic recession. Moreover, the crises in the agricultural sector lasted until the Second World War, perpetuating the migratory flows from rural to urban and industrial areas, although at a somewhat lower level than previously.

The impact the Second World War had on the Welsh language cannot be measured with any degree of accuracy, since the census of 1941 was not carried out as a result of the war. However, over a twenty year period, the Welsh speaking population shrank from 908,261 speakers (36.8%) in 1931 to 714,686 (28.9%) in 1951, a loss of almost 8% (see table 4.1). During the decade between 1960 and 1970 the migration of the younger population from predominantly rural communities to urban areas continued to be an important factor in the loss of vitality of Welsh in rural areas. However, from the 1970s onwards, it seems that the cause of further Anglicisation was not depopulation of the rural zones but rather their repopulation by monolingual English speakers. They were attracted to the countryside and coastal areas for different reasons, principally the quality of life and the beauty of the landscape. In his analysis of the 1981 census, Harold Carter cites three basic factors which explain the atrophying of predominantly Welsh-speaking areas; namely housing development, the immigration of English monolingual

speakers (retirement, acquisition of secondary or holiday homes) and economic development (Carter, 1988: 11).

A very significant trend perceived in the 1981 census, which became more evident in the 1991 and 2001 census, is the concentration of Welsh speakers, especially youngsters, in the long-anglicised urban areas of Cardiff, Swansea, Newport and Wrexham. Young and skilled Welsh speakers are attracted to urban areas because of the availability of employment and leisure opportunities that they can not find in their rural areas of origin. The 2001 census, for example, shows that more than 10% of the total Welsh speaking population lives within 25 km<sup>2</sup> of Cardiff. This migratory phenomenon has obvious consequences both for the areas of origin as well as for the urban centres where they concentrate. It is also important to bear in mind that migratory flows, both out migration from Wales to other parts of the UK or abroad, and immigration from English speaking people are capable of having a detrimental effect on the sustainability of the language in Welsh-speaking communities, especially in the North and West, where percentages of Welsh speakers are still higher than the national average.

The latest census data available (2001) recorded an increase of 74,270 Welsh speakers, a 2 percentage points increase since 1991. This can be directly attributed to an increase in instruction in Welsh language in the education system for both children and adults, as a result of more intensive intervention by language planning agencies. Two types of policies are critical here, those which encourage parents to pass the language on to their children, (for example, *Twr*), and those which encourage non-Welsh speaking parents to enrol their children in early immersion classes (*Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin*).<sup>104</sup> However, we have to be very cautious when interpreting this increase as there are many worrying trends regarding the vitality of Welsh as an everyday language in the community. We will come back to analyses of such concerns but first we shall focus on the main highlights of the 2001 Census results in respect of the Welsh language.

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<sup>104</sup> See [www.twfcymru.com](http://www.twfcymru.com) and [www.mym.co.uk](http://www.mym.co.uk) for more information on their activities.

One intriguing feature is the change in the wording of the question asked in the forms of the 2001 Census which may have had some effect on the results and encourage a more positive response, although this is very difficult to demonstrate (Higgs, Williams & Dorling, 2004). The census question asked: “*Can you understand, speak, read or write Welsh?*” rather than “*Do you...?*” as used in previous censuses. Moreover, this is the first time that the census had collected information on “understanding” spoken Welsh. As with previous census investigations, respondents in 2001 were asked for a subjective interpretation of their linguistic competence and those of members of their household. The perception of parent of children learning Welsh as second language in English medium secondary schools of their children’s Welsh language abilities may also have contributed to an increase in the figures.

The census results show the proportions and numbers of those aged 3 and above who can understand, speak, read and/or write Welsh, irrespective of the level of ability or usage. In table 4.2 we observe that between 1991 and 2001 there is an increase in the knowledge of Welsh, both in percentages and numbers, in all categories. For instance, the proportion of people in Wales aged 3 and over who can speak, read and write Welsh increased 2.7 percentage points, from 13.6% to 16.56%. The percentage of people who affirm understanding of Welsh is 23.6% and further 138,416 (4.9%) said that they understood Welsh but did not speak it. We can also observe that the number and percentage of people with no knowledge of Welsh has decreased almost 10 percentage points. This steep decrease might be due to the fact that in the 2001 census a new category was introduced, namely the option of understanding spoken Welsh, which was not available in the previous census.



**Table 4.2. Welsh Language Skills, 1991 & 2001 Census**

	1991		2001	
	%	Numbers	%	Numbers
<b>Understand spoken Welsh</b>	no data		23.6	661,526
<b>Read</b>	16.4	446,253	20.2	567,152
<b>Write</b>	13.6	371,288	17.7	495,519
<b>Speak, read and Write</b>	13.6	369,609	16.3	457,946
<b>Understand spoken Welsh only</b>	no data		4.9	138,416
<b>At least one skill in Welsh</b>	20.1	546,551	28.4	797,717
<b>No knowledge of Welsh</b>	81.4	2,217,029	71.6	2,007,7984

Developed from Aitchison & Carter, 2000 and UK Census 2001

The highest percentages of Welsh speakers were found amongst children and young people aged 5 to 14 (table 4.3). While in 1991, 24.3% of this age group could speak Welsh, by 2001 this had increased to 37.2%. Furthermore, in 2001 the age group of 5 to 15 years old represents the highest percentage (40.8%) and numbers (171,168) of Welsh speakers. Moreover, 42.8% (16,241) of 15 years olds were able to speak Welsh. It is also very encouraging that, for the first time, the percentage of Welsh speakers in the 22-44 age group increased, from 14.5% in 1991 to 15.1% in 2001. Nevertheless, despite this positive gain, the percentage and number of Welsh speakers aged 15 to 24 and those aged 25 to 34 in the 2001 census was lower than might have been expected, taking into account the expectations of the 1991 census results. These losses can be a result of a net out-migration as in the 12 months preceding the 2001 census there was a net outflow of around 3,000 people aged 13-24 to other parts of the UK while there was a smaller net outflow of nearly 400 people aged 25-34 (Jones, H. M., 2005).

**Table 4.3 Evolution of percentage of Welsh speakers**

	1971	1981	1991	2001
<b>5-9</b>	14.5%	17.8%	24.7%	36.2%
<b>10-14</b>	17.0%	18.5%	26.9%	42.6 %

Source: Welsh Language Board (1996 and 2003)

This steady increase in the percentage and numbers of children and young people is surely the reflection of the effect of the 1988 Education Act and the place given to Welsh in the National Curriculum, especially as a foundation

subject in English-medium schools. Although these figures leave some room for optimism we have to be very cautious and contrast the data with other surveys such as those which monitor Welsh in schools. By definition, very many of those who would have received Welsh lessons in English medium schools would be considered as second language speakers, and not necessary as fluent Welsh speakers. Moreover, intensive users of language are more likely to have started to learn Welsh as a small child at home than are less intensive, yet fluent, users (Welsh Office, 1995). Thus, it is of concern that figures for 2002/03 included in the Welsh Assembly Government's Schools Census (2004), show that only 13.9% of primary school pupils (aged 5 to 11) speak Welsh fluently and a further 24.8% can speak Welsh but not fluently. Of those who speak Welsh fluently, only 8.2% speak it at home while 5.7% do not speak Welsh at home but can speak it fluently. Moreover, 14.1% of secondary school pupils (11-15) are fluent Welsh speakers, whereas 24.5% speak Welsh but not fluently. Regarding their home language, only 7.5% of fluent Welsh secondary school children speak it at home, and 6.6 % do not use it at home. These figures have added reliability because they are completed by the head teachers of a given school.

Furthermore, looking at the statistical analysis of transmission of the language within the family we observe some positive and negative trends from 1991 to 2001, (Welsh Language Board, 2003a). There was a reduction in the percentage of children aged 3 to 4 living in households where both parents spoke Welsh between 1991 and 2001, from some 9% in 1991 to 7% in 2001. This is a negative trend for language transmission, as it is in households where the two parents speak Welsh that it is more likely that children are spoken to mainly in Welsh.

**Table 4.4 Transmission rates of Welsh for children aged 3-15 in 1991 & 2002<sup>105</sup>**

<i>Linguistic composition of the household</i>	<b>1991</b>	<b>2001</b>
<b>Couples with two adults able to speak Welsh</b>	92.8%	91.3%
<b>Lone parent household, 1 adult able to speak Welsh</b>	77.0%	74.6%
<b>Couples with 1 adult able to speak Welsh</b>	54.4%	61.3%
<b>Households without an adult able to speak Welsh</b>	12.9%	28.5%

Developed from Welsh Language Board data, 2003

In table 4.4 we observe that in families where both parents can speak Welsh and in families where only one parent can speak Welsh there has not been a major change between 1991 and 2001. Although the transmission rate of the language in families where both parents speak Welsh is very high, (91.3%) there are still Welsh speaking families who do not pass the language onto their children. Where we certainly see an increase in the transmission of Welsh of some 7 to 8 percentage points is in families where only one adult can speak Welsh. Usually there is a greater rate of transmission when the female partner speaks the language than the male partner.<sup>106</sup> The biggest increase has taken place in households where none of the adults are Welsh speakers, which rose from 12.9% in 1991 to 28.5% 2001. Clearly, education is the most influential factor for such an increase in knowledge. It remains to be seen whether these children will become fluent speakers of the language given that their main possibility of speaking Welsh is mostly confined to school activities. Geographical location may have an impact, as the different linguistic types of households vary widely across Wales. For instance, the transmission rate to 3 and 4 year old children in households where there are two adults able to speak Welsh varies from 89.7% in Gwynedd and 87.8% in Ceredigion to 47.4% in Newport and 52.9% in Monmouthshire.

<sup>105</sup> The methods and samples used to analyse language transmission in 1991 and 2001 are not exactly the same, thus the two set of data are not strictly comparable. The 1991 analysis of family composition used different definitions to those used in 2001 Census. Also, the figures can only be compared for one age group, children aged 3 to 15.

<sup>106</sup> A special analysis of the 1991 census showed that in two parent families where only the male partner spoke Welsh, 49.6% of the children aged 3 to 15 spoke Welsh, whereas when only the female partner spoke Welsh, 58.8% of the children of this age spoke Welsh. Similar studies for the transmission of Catalan in linguistically mixed families show the same trends, this is, it is more likely that Catalan will be transmitted when the female partner speaks Catalan rather than the male partner (Vila, F.X., 1993).

Worryingly, it appears that the isolation of Welsh speakers from other Welsh speakers, a trend already observed in the results of 1991 census, is increasing. In 2001, 193,000 Welsh speakers (33.6% of those who speak Welsh) lived in households where no one else could speak the language (this also included lone households). Also, between 1991 and 2001 there has been a decrease in the percentage of entirely Welsh speaking households from 14% to 11.1% of all households in Wales. Nevertheless, in 2001 there were fewer entirely non-Welsh speaking households (71.8%) than in 1991 (Welsh Language Board, 2004).

In terms of territorial maintenance of Welsh speaking areas, the picture is not heartening. From a geolinguistic point of view the pattern of fragmentation and erosion of Welsh Wales or “Y Fro Gymraeg”, defined as areas where 65% speak Welsh, observed in previous census continues. The spatial continuum which characterised the dominance of Welsh in 1900 has completely vanished, and the process of Anglicisation becomes a complex process, eroding the Welsh speaking heartland and fragmenting the distribution of Welsh speakers in a patchy and fragile way. Thus, instead of speaking about ‘Welsh-speaking communities’ it seems more appropriate to talk of ‘Welsh speakers in the community’ (Williams, C., 1989: 44) or even social networks of Welsh speakers. These trends have been attributed to the out-migration of Welsh speakers, as a result of the decline of traditional industries that employed a high percentage of Welsh speakers, and a lack of affordable housing. Many of these speakers have moved to urban areas such as Cardiff, although high house prices in the capital have also led to Welsh speakers to settle in adjacent areas, such as Caerphilly, Pontypridd or the Vale of Glamorgan. This has been complemented by the continuing in-migration to the Welsh heartland of predominantly monolingual and affluent English speakers, many of whom are unresponsive to calls that they integrate linguistically into the local community.

The geolinguistic patterns from previous censuses of 1981 and 1991 have been perpetuated with only four unitary authorities, Anglesey, Gwynedd,

Ceredigion and Carmarthenshire, having more than 50% of their populations able to speak Welsh. Gwynedd had the highest proportion of Welsh speakers and Carmarthenshire had the largest numbers. Nevertheless, as we see in table 4.5, there is a percentage decrease in all of them, and particularly in Ceredigion with a decline of 7.1 percentage points, but an actual increase in its total numbers (+1,891). One explanation for this decrease can be the fact that for the first time college students were registered at their term-time university address, rather than at their permanent home address. This has certainly had an effect on the percentages of Welsh speakers in the university towns of Aberystwyth, Bangor and Lampeter. (Higgs, Williams & Dorling, 2004: 191-192).

**Table 4.5 Welsh speakers by Unitary Authority in 1991 & 2001**

Local authority	Welsh speaking 1991		Able to speak Welsh 2001		Change	
	Number <sup>107</sup>	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percentage points
Isle of Anglesey	41,239	62.0	38,893	60.1	-2,346	-1.9
Gwynedd	78,732	72.1	77,846	69.0	-886	-3.1
Conwy	31,444	30.6	31,298	29.4	-146	-1.2
Denbighshire	23,293	26.7	23,760	26.4	467	-0.3
Flintshire	18,405	13.5	20,599	14.4	2,194	0.8
Wrexham	15,985	13.7	18,105	14.6	2,120	0.9
Powys	23,589	20.5	25,814	21.1	2,225	0.5
Ceredigion	36,027	59.1	37,918	52.0	1,891	-7.1
Pembrokeshire	19,754	18.3	23,967	21.8	4,213	3.4
Carmarthenshire	89,221	54.9	84,196	50.3	-5,025	-4.5
Swansea	28,549	13.3	28,938	13.4	389	0.1
Neath Port Talbot	23,710	17.8	23,404	18.0	-306	0.2
Bridgend	10,161	8.3	13,397	10.8	3,236	2.5
Vale of Glamorgan	7,752	6.9	12,994	11.3	5,242	4.4
Rhondda; Cynon; Taff	20,038	9.0	27,946	12.5	7,908	3.5
Merthyr Tydfil	4,238	7.5	5,532	10.2	1,294	2.7
Caerphilly	9,710	6.0	18,237	11.2	8,527	5.2
Blaenau Gwent	1,522	2.2	6,417	9.5	4,895	7.3
Tor-faen	2,126	2.5	9,780	11.1	7,654	8.7
Monmouthshire	1,634	2.1	7,688	9.3	6,054	7.2
Newport	2,878	2.3	13,135	10.0	10,257	7.7
Cardiff	18,089	6.6	32,504	11.0	14,415	4.4
<b>Wales</b>	<b>508,098</b>	<b>18.7</b>	<b>582,368</b>	<b>20.8</b>	<b>74,270</b>	<b>2.1</b>

Source: Welsh Language Board, 2003

<sup>107</sup> Estimates for individual local authorities.

At the other end of the spectrum we find that the largest increase in percentage terms are to be found in the long Anglicised areas of Tor-faen, Newport, Blaenau Gwent and Monmouthshire. Tor-faen had the largest increase (+8.7) from 2.5% to 11.1%, this is 7,654 more Welsh speakers. Again, we have to be very careful in considering these increases as many of these new Welsh speakers are school age children and teenagers with non-Welsh speaking parents with limited occasions to use the language in their out of school activities. In terms of numbers of Welsh speakers, they have increased the most in Cardiff (+14,415) although they only represent 11% of the population of the County of Cardiff.

Another worrying trend in terms of geographic distribution of Welsh speakers is the continuous decline in the number of electoral divisions where the majority of the population speaks Welsh. The number of electoral divisions where 60-70% of the population speaks Welsh has declined from 82 in 1991 to 54 in 2001 and from 55 to 41 where 70-80% spoke Welsh. Moreover, the number of electoral divisions where over 80% spoke Welsh (all within Gwynedd and the Isle of Anglesey) fell from 32 in 1991 to 17 in 2001. At the other end of the scale, there was a significant increase in those electoral divisions where 10% to 20% of the population could speak Welsh (up from 156 in 1991 to 367 in 2001). Also, by 2001 there was no electoral division with fewer than 5% able to speak Welsh, whereas in 1991 there were 140 (mainly in Gwent) where there were fewer than five percent Welsh speakers (Welsh Language Board, 2003).

To summarise, there seems to be a parallel development driving language change in Wales. On the one hand, there is a regeneration and an increase in numbers of Welsh speakers (mainly second language speakers) especially among the younger populations, geographically located in the urban areas and the long Anglicised areas of the south-east and north-east, and often isolated from other Welsh speakers. On the other hand there is a clear trend of attrition and fragmentation of *Y Fro Gymraeg*, with decreasing numbers of communities where the Welsh language is the language spoken by the majority of the population, and where the language is naturally used in everyday situations. As Jenkins and Williams state:

The linguistic profile of Wales is therefore much more diverse and fractured than it was a hundred years ago, and it remains to be seen whether the increase in the number of bilingual speakers in urban areas [...] will compensate for the decline of the language among native Welsh speakers in the traditional heartlands. The auguries are not promising and only gloomy conclusions can be drawn from David Green's comment: 'a network is no substitute for a community' (Jenkins & Williams, 2000: 23-24).

There is, nevertheless, a larger question to examine which census data does not provide, that is the use of the language in different everyday situations, at home, in the workplace and the community at large. Indeed, although census data give language planners a comprehensive indication of the general linguistic trends, it has to be borne in mind that data comes from a self-assessed opinion of the head of a household, once every ten years. Therefore, it cannot be the only source of information on the progress of the vitality of the Welsh language. Language planners need to rely on other sources of information, such as detailed trends in proficiency and language confidence or language use surveys, as a basis for the promotion of Welsh and evaluation of the effectiveness of their language planning efforts.

#### **4.3.2 The Use of Welsh**

Unfortunately, there are no comprehensive up to date surveys available on the use of the Welsh language. The lack of data in this field has been recognised and denounced by experts (Williams, G. and D. Morris, 2000, Jones, H. and C. H. Williams, 2000) and organisations alike, such as the Welsh Language Board. Indeed, the Welsh Assembly Government, in the document on the future of the Welsh language *Iaith Pawb* (2003:11) recognised the 'need to develop language use surveys which help inform [...] policy-making and measure impact'. Precisely, in response to this target, the Welsh Language Board commissioned in March 2004 the most extensive Welsh language use survey. The three year, Wales-wide study will gather information on the ability of people to speak Welsh, about their background in the language—such as whether their family could speak Welsh and how they learned the language—and their current use in different every day situations. There will also be a section on the use of Welsh in the employment context

with questions related to the capacity and use of Welsh in different work situations.

Although there is an evident lack of comprehensive surveys on the use of Welsh, there are two surveys which tackle this subject: a survey undertaken by the Welsh Office, "*The 1992 Welsh Social Survey. Report on the Welsh Language*" and a survey report commissioned by the Welsh Language Board in 2000, "State of the Welsh Language 2000". In view of the lack of other information we shall review the results of these two surveys.<sup>108</sup>

The 1992 Welsh Social Survey was undertaken during September to December 1992, based on a sample of about 28,000 individuals, in which most were interviewed and others responded to a questionnaire. This was the largest survey ever, with the exception of the Census of Population, to have inquired into both the ability of people to speak Welsh, and the degree to which the language actually was used. The results were published in July 1993. The main findings of the report are as follows (see table 4.6):

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<sup>108</sup> There are other surveys which focus on the use of Welsh in different areas around Wales. The Community Research Project by Williams C. & Evas (1997) gathered different information, including language use in Mold, the Teifi Valley and the Gwendraeth and Aman Valleys.



**Table 4.6 The Use of Welsh by fluent Welsh-speakers (in%)**

	Score as a percentage of maximum possible score (1)			
	Welsh passive use score	Welsh active social use score	Welsh transactional use score	Total use of Welsh score
<u>Age of person:</u>				
16-29	42.0	65.1	47.4	56.1
30-44	45.5	71.9	50.8	61.4
45-64	50.9	74.6	53.5	64.5
65 & over	49.9	75.4	46.9	63.0
Total	47.8	72.5	49.7	61.8
<u>Place of residence:</u>				
Clwyd	43.1	57.6	26.4	48.5
Dyfed	47.3	78.7	51.4	65.6
Gwent	37.2	33.7	6.1	26.8
Gwynedd	54.6	85.6	75.6	77.3
Mid Glamorgan	37.9	38.5	4.8	29.2
Powys	45.0	64.8	32.5	52.4
South Glamorgan	51.2	53.5	15.2	42.6
West Glamorgan	35.4	52.4	21.2	40.8
Wales	47.8	72.5	49.7	61.8
<u>Welsh mother tongue speakers</u>	50.7	79.0	56.0	67.3
<u>Assessment of own ability:</u>				
Fluent in W, never/hardly speak it	14.3	8.8	3.4	8.3
Fluent in W, speak it only occasionally	23.7	28.5	9.9	22.5
Fluent in W, speak it about half the time	38.0	59.1	30.4	47.4
Fluent in W, speak it all most of time	58.4	90.9	67.7	78.7
Total	47.8	72.5	49.7	61.8
<u>Parents' language:</u>				
Both parents Welsh speaking	50.0	77.1	53.7	65.8
Mother only Welsh speaking	36.3	52.9	32.6	44.4
Father only Welsh speaking	36.8	50.1	31.5	42.6
Neither parent Welsh speaking	30.2	33.3	15.6	27.9
Total (2)	47.8	72.5	49.7	61.8
<u>Aged 16 and over:</u>				
<u>Economically active:</u>				
<u>Social class based occupation:</u>				
I Professional	58.3	65.3	41.0	57.4
II Managerial & technical	56.2	75.4	50.6	65.0
III (N) Skilled non-manual	45.4	69.1	51.6	60.0
III (M) Skilled manual	39.4	71.3	53.1	60.5
IV Partly skilled	42.8	70.5	56.5	61.6
V Unskilled	33.2	69.7	48.6	57.3
Miscellaneous	32.5	56.3	29.9	44.8
Total	46.7	71.5	51.5	61.5
<u>Economic position:</u>				
<u>In paid job:</u>				
Employee	45.5	68.7	49.8	59.4
Self employed	54.3	81.7	58.7	70.5
Not in paid job	34.4	65.0	44.2	53.8
Total	46.7	71.5	51.5	61.5
<u>Economically inactive:</u>				
<u>Occupation without paid job:</u>				
Retired form paid work	50.7	74.0	46.2	62.2
Other	46.8	73.0	49.9	61.9
Total	48.7	73.5	48.1	62.1

(1) 16 years old over. Based on individual's own responses

(2) Including a small number of individual who failed to respond to the question

Source: Welsh Office (1995:16)

- All ages made consistently more extensive use of Welsh in social situations, as using the language for general conversations (75.5%), than

as a passive medium for reading, watching TV or listening to the radio (47.8%) or for secondary relations such as conducting business, in offices, shops, etc (49.7). Moreover, younger speakers show lower average use of Welsh (56.1% in the age group 16 to 29) than older adult Welsh speakers (64.5% in the age group of 45 to 64).

- There is a great geographical variability regarding average uses, as might be expected. Fluent Welsh speakers are socially more isolated from other Welsh speakers in counties such as Gwent and Mid Glamorgan where the average use scores 26.8% and 29.2%, compared to counties with higher percentages of Welsh speakers, such as Gwynedd and Dyfed with an average use of 77.3% and 65% respectively.
- In counties with lower percentages of Welsh speakers' social use is noticeably lower than in counties with higher percentages of Welsh speakers. Differences are even greater in respect of secondary relations: in Mid Glamorgan and Gwent the use of Welsh by fluent Welsh speakers with officials and others in business situations outside the home is very rare (4.8% and 6.1% respectively). In contrast, Gwynedd and Dyfed show higher percentages of use for these kind of activities (75.6% and 51.4% respectively).
- Passive use shows less variation geographically, reflecting the fact that the ability to use Welsh in a passive manner is much less affected by one's social surroundings: radio and S4C are widely available though the availability of Welsh language literature (books, magazines, papers) can be expected to vary geographically, as do literacy rates.
- The total use of Welsh compares quite well geographically with the percentage of fluent speakers claiming to speak the language all or most of the time, providing some evidence as to the consistency of the self-assessment of ability with the responses to the individual questions on use of the language.

- Results of mother-tongue speakers, and those with Welsh-speaking parents, were very similar (67.3% and 65.8% respectively) and considerably higher than for those from linguistically mixed (44.4% with Welsh-speaking mother and 42.6% with Welsh-speaking father), or entirely non-Welsh, familial backgrounds (29.9%).
- Managerial, technical and professional persons (58.3% and 55.2%) make more passive use of Welsh than those in less skilled occupations (33.2% of partly skilled and 32.5% of unskilled). Persons with a managerial or technical occupation also show higher social uses of language (75.4% and 65.3% respectively). Differences between other classes were much less marked in respect of social and transactional use.

The Welsh Language Board commissioned a survey in 2000 from Beaufort Research, "State of the language 2000", based on 1,192 interviews of adults aged 16 and over across Wales, 511 of the which claimed to speak Welsh very or fairly well. The aim of the research was to find out which attitudes people had towards the Welsh language. Although the survey is mainly attitudinal there is also an analysis of the use and confidence when speaking Welsh and the in various every day situations, followed by analysis on the potential demand for more opportunities to use the language in the future, (Welsh Language Board, 2000a). The main findings regarding the use of Welsh are as follows (see table 4.7 and table 4.8):

- Fluent Welsh speakers are more inclined to use Welsh in each situation and have greater confidence in their ability. Speaking Welsh with Welsh friends is the activity with the highest level of use (97%) and more prevalent than use in family situations such as meals (84%) or with parents (54% with the mother and 45% with the father), presumably because there will often be a family member who does not speak the language.
- Outside home or work the speaking of Welsh is fairly consistent regardless of the particular situation with just over half of Welsh speakers speaking Welsh at least some of the time and between 20 and 30% all the time.

Once the condition 'if the option was available' is added then the percentage who say they would always speak Welsh generally more than doubles.

- There are some clear regional differences, across the different situations, which are linked, apparently, to relative self-confidence in speaking the language rather than to the fewer opportunities to use Welsh in certain areas.
- The extent to which Welsh is spoken at work is considerable, particularly with colleagues and on the phone. Almost half the respondents who speak Welsh fluently or fairly well said they used Welsh in these situations at least sometimes.

**Table 4.7. The use of Welsh at Home, at School or College and with Friends (in %)**

<i>Situation</i>	<i>Always</i>	<i>Often</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Fluent speakers</i>
<b>During a meal</b>	39	9	20	68	84
<b>With your partner</b>	31	5	10	46	59
<b>With your children</b>	32	8	15	55	63
<b>With your mother</b>	32	4	8	44	54
<b>With your father</b>	26	4	5	35	45
<b>With teachers and tutors</b>	21	13	17	51	-
<b>With your friends</b>	15	12	28	55	-
<b>With Welsh friends</b>	33	22	30	85	97

Source: Welsh Language Board (2000)

**Table 4.8 The use of Welsh Outside Home (in %)**

<i>Situation</i>	Actual use		If the option is available		Confidence
	<i>Always</i>	<i>Total</i> <sup>109</sup>	<i>Always</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Very/fairly confident</i>
<b>In local shops</b>	24	69	56	87	86
<b>Ordering a drink</b>	21	60	53	82	86
<b>Ordering a meal</b>	19	58	53	82	83
<b>Surgery or local hospital</b>	26	57	54	81	83
<b>At post office counter</b>	27	54	57	85	85
<b>Contacting local council</b>	29	54	53	77	77
<b>At bank/ building society</b>	29	54	53	78	81
<b>At supermarket</b>	19	53	54	83	85
<b>Leisure, sports, cultural activities</b>	20	49	49	75	80
<b>Querying utility bills</b>	16	40	49	72	75

Source: Welsh Language Board (2000a)

Although the two surveys are very different, both in sample and methodology, we can observe certain trends or patterns which characterise the habits of Welsh speakers regarding their use. First of all, both surveys make patently clear that capacity does not translate directly into use, as even those fully fluent Welsh speakers do not always use the language. There are many factors influencing such uses among fluent speakers, availability to use the language being the most important of these factors. As we have seen in table 4.8, when individuals were asked if they would use Welsh if the option was available the percentage of those who say they would always speak Welsh, generally more than doubles. The issue here is that availability is not always evident and Welsh speakers take for granted, in some areas more than others, that the service would not be available in Welsh, so they use the default language, which is English. Also we see, especially taking into account the higher uses of Welsh in informal situations and with Welsh speaking friends, that the language is more used in what could be called “safe environments”, where they are positive that they will be understood and addressed back in Welsh. It is very rare that a bilingual conversation will take place between a Welsh speaker and another person who understands Welsh

<sup>109</sup> This category includes the following incidences: always, often and sometimes. But in the table only the results for the incidence “always” is presented.

but cannot speak it. This is a very common behaviour of minority language speakers and a deep rooted and difficult feature to change. Social norms of behaviour are perpetuated even when the context which created such norms has changed. That is why policies that make more obvious availability of services through the medium of Welsh are crucial. Nevertheless, more is needed to convince minority language speakers to “venture” further in their use of the language in new environments. These norms and behaviours will not change on their own in a minority language context. Only through wise and purposeful language planning, sounded in relevant research and sustained by enabling supporting legal frameworks will be it possible to change the reality.<sup>110</sup>

#### **4.4 The Language Planning Agencies**

During the twentieth century many civic organisations in Wales have struggled at grass-roots level to support and promote the use of Welsh in different areas of activity, mainly in the education sector—*Mudiad Ygolion Meithrin*/Welsh Nursery Schools Movement (MYM) and *Rhieni dros Addysg Gymraeg*/Parents for Education in Welsh (RhAG)—but not exclusively.<sup>111</sup> Although these organisations are state funded their activities were carried out in the absence of any policy from central government and succeeded somehow in advancing the use of Welsh in education, local government and the media. It was not until the 1980s that government introduced specific grants to support the language and those organisations which promoted it, namely: the National Eisteddfod, *Urdd Gobaith Cymru*, *Mudiad Ygolion Meithrin* and the Welsh Books Council.<sup>112</sup> Also in the 1980s, pressure was growing from civil society, through demonstrations organised by the Welsh

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<sup>110</sup> It is important to note that Welsh Language Board has commissioned significant and very relevant research projects regarding language use, including a three-year research survey on language use to be published by 2006/2007. We will detail the research later in the chapter.

<sup>111</sup> See Löffler, M. (2000) for analysis of the role of the Welsh language movement in the twentieth century.

<sup>112</sup> For more information on the transformation of Quangos into ASPBs, including the WLB see, Rawlings, R. 2003: 355-388.

Language Society, to demand language rights for Welsh speakers and support from the government to engage in the revitalisation of the language.

In 1988, in response to these growing pressures by civic organisations, the then Secretary of State for Wales, Peter Walker, set up a Language Advisory Committee he named *Bwrdd Ymgynhorol yr Iaith Gymraeg* (The Advisory Welsh Language Board). Their responsibilities consisted of advising the Secretary of State for Wales of any issue related to the Welsh language, drawing up voluntary guidelines for the use of Welsh in the public and private sectors, and preparing the way for a Welsh Language Act (Davies, G. P., 2000). This advisory body was to be the embryo of the first language-planning agency for the Welsh language. Since the establishment of the Welsh Language Board (WLB henceforth) another language planning model has also been developed. The 25 current Mentrau Iaith or Community Based Language Initiatives are linked and partly or fully funded by the WLB and engage in language planning at local level. The umbrella organisation Menter Iaith Cymru, was established in 2000 as a company, although it existed since 1997. Its aim is to co-ordinate the activities of all Mentrau, gathering and disseminating good practice as well as being a forum of providing discussion.

In the next section we will review the aims and activities of these agencies, although we shall pay special attention to the WLB's actions as the central language planning agency in Wales.

#### **4.5 The Welsh Language Board**

On the 21<sup>st</sup> of December of 1993, following the passage of the Welsh Language Act earlier in the year, the WLB was strengthened from an advisory to a statutory body. The Board can consist of up to 15 members including a Chairperson, but the current number of members is 11, appointed by the Assembly Minister for Culture, Sports and the Welsh Language. Their function is to offer guidance and oversee the work of the Board. It also has a Secretariat with a Chief Executive and personnel which has increased over

the years. Whereas in 1988 there was a Chief Executive and four members of staff which were seconded from the Welsh Office, currently the WLB employs 75 members of staff. From 1993 to 1998 the Board was a non-departmental public body, or officially a quasi-autonomous non-governmental organisation (Quango), nominally independent but relying on public funding from the Welsh Office. From 1999, since the establishment of the National Assembly for Wales, the Board is technically an Assembly Sponsored Public Body (ASPB), financed by and accountable to the Assembly's Language Unit through quinquennial reviews, but with a degree of independence from its administration.<sup>113</sup> Recent plans to merge the WLB into the machinery of government by April 2007 were announced in November 2004 by the Assembly Government.<sup>114</sup>

Since its establishment the Board has worked to fulfil—and as we shall see, to exceed—its obligations and has undertaken many tasks. We shall review its aims, strategies and activities in different phases. There are clearly three main stages in the life of the Board, marked by changes in the legal framework. A first short period which starts with the establishment of the Board as an advisory body in 1988 until the approval of the Welsh Language Act in 1993; a second period which expands until the passing of the Government of Wales Act in 1998 and the creation of a National Assembly for Wales in 1999; and finally a more recent period which span up until 2007 when there are intentions to merge the Board within the Assembly's administration.

#### **4.5.1 The advisory WLB (from 1989 to 1993)**

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<sup>113</sup> The merger of Quangos (later called ASPBs) into Welsh Government administration is the most significant change in governance since the establishment of the National Assembly for Wales. This process was referred first in 1995 by the former Welsh Secretary, Ron Davies as a "Bonfire of Quangos". The process of merging the WLB into Government has provoked great controversy as no mechanism of control, such as Language Ombudsman, has yet been put in place to ensure that the Government fulfils its legal obligations regarding the promotion of the Welsh language.



As stated above, the Advisory Welsh Language Board was created with the aim of advising the Government in any matter related to the language, and more specifically to discern what actions were needed to promote and increase the use of Welsh in the public sector, the private sector and in voluntary organisations. In order to fulfil its duties in 1989 the Board published its first strategic document for the period 1989-1994, *The Welsh Language: a Strategy for the Future*. In this document the Board set out detailed proposals for the promotion of Welsh and recognised the need to 'improve the infrastructure of bilingualism' and 'to ensure that both languages and the two linguistic communities can live together and thrive' (Welsh Language Board 1989:5). The Board placed great emphasis on bilingualism, but acknowledged that it was unrealistic to expect everything to be available bilingually throughout Wales. It recognised that to achieve these objectives it was necessary to secure the collaboration of many Welsh-medium organisations. The concept of "normalisation", a widely used term in the contexts of the revitalisation of Catalan and other European minority languages, was used in the strategy document meaning that 'it is possible, convenient and normal for everyone, in every situation where a public service is provided, to choose which language he or she wishes to use' (Welsh Language Board 1989:8). Apart from the strategy document the Board also published two sets of voluntary guidelines for the use of Welsh both in the private and public sectors.

One of the Board's working groups focused on legislation and prepared the way for a new Welsh Language Act. The Board drafted a Bill in which included three recommendations: to confer upon Welsh the status of an official language, to provide criteria governing the meaning and the practical implementation of equal validity in the public sector and to establish a statutory Board with a duty to promote the language and facilitate its greater use. The Board insisted that, as far as private business was concerned, any use of the Welsh should remain voluntary. It was this group, chaired by Winston Roddick, which, in 1991, recommended that the Government pass new legislation to support the Welsh language. The Government acceded to

the recommendation and the new Welsh Language Act came into force in December 1993, thereby establishing a statutory Welsh Language Board.

#### **4.5.2 The statutory WLB (from 1994 to 1998)**

The main functions of the statutory Welsh Language Board, according to the 1993 Language Act, are (WLB, 2000: 86):

- to promote and facilitate the use of the Welsh language;
- to advise on and influence in matters related to the Welsh language;
- to stimulate and oversee the process of preparing and implementing language schemes;
- to distribute grants; and
- to maintain a strategic overview of Welsh medium-education.

The Board's two core functions as regards to the Act are the dissemination of grants to Welsh medium organisations and Welsh language projects and the approval of language schemes. The larger Welsh language grants supported the Mentrau Iaith (local language initiatives); the National Eisteddfod; Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin; Urdd Gobaith Cymru and the Welsh Books Council.

Nevertheless, the principal instrument by which the Welsh Language Board can implement the principle of equality and facilitate the opportunity to choose Welsh as a language to deliver services within the public sector is by Language Schemes. Indeed, one of the first tasks undertaken by the Board was the drafting of guidelines on how to complete and implement the schemes. A first set of guidelines were approved by parliament in 1995 followed by another document in 1996.<sup>115</sup> The process of establishing language schemes, in general terms, starts with the Board sending notices to the public bodies requiring them to prepare the scheme, followed by a period of preparation by the body in question. The next stage is the approval by the Board and finally the appraisal of its implementation. The first notice

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<sup>115</sup> Welsh Language Board (1996). *Welsh Language Schemes: Their preparation in accordance with the Welsh Language Act 1993*

was sent out in October 1995 to ten of the twenty-two Unitary Authorities, and by December 2005, 361 Language Schemes have been approved. The bodies which are required to agree and implement a language scheme cover a wide-range of areas of public service provision including:

- Local and regional government authorities (unitary authorities, community and town councils);
- Government departments and agencies;
- The health sector (hospitals, ambulance services, health organisations, local health boards);
- Education (schools, colleges, universities, educational agencies, carriers companies)
- Courts, Probation services, Police, Fire authorities;
- National parks;
- Housing associations;
- and many other public organisations in different fields, such as Welsh medium TV S4C, the BBC, Welsh Consumer Council, National Museums of Wales, Post Office, etc.

The process of issuing notices and agreeing schemes has been very carefully planned by the Board, as:

[F]rom the first, has targeted organizations on the basis of a schedule it prepared, giving precedence to agreeing schemes with bodies which have contact with a substantial number of Welsh speakers, or which provide services which give rise to the greatest demand for Welsh-medium provision, or which have a high profile in Wales or are influential because of their status or responsibilities. (The Welsh Language Board, 2000: 88)

Although, the Board monitors the development and level of functioning of each single scheme, there have been many criticisms of the superficiality of the use of Welsh in many of the bodies with approved language schemes:

“Welsh Councils and other public bodies must prepare language plans which identify how they intend to use the Welsh language and provide Welsh language services. Despite the emphasis on marketing and

individual choice, the Welsh speaker is not guaranteed complete freedom of choice because local councils and other public bodies are not legally obliged to deliver services in Welsh if this is “impracticable” or “inappropriate”. Such a situation can hardly be described as one of linguistic equality, despite the attempts of the Chief Executive of the Welsh Language Board to justify it, arguing that this is the best way forward for the Welsh language in contemporary Wales. There is no consensus, however, concerning language planning in Wales, and many have taken issue with the philosophy and plans of the Board.” (Morris, D. 2000: 599)

Indeed, the Board has been further criticised for failing to engage in purposeful language planning, it has been accused of being a mere grant distribution body whose policy has determined the priorities of Welsh cultural life, and for adhering to the law of minimum effort, settling for the second best, which will doubtfully allow the language to be self sustaining. Other criticisms are reactions to statements by the former Chair (Dafydd Elis-Thomas) who advocated that, after the approval of the Act of 1993 and the setting of the Board, there was no justification for the continuation of the “language struggle” (Williams, C.H., 2000)

Recent reports on the level of demand for and use of the Welsh medium services in public bodies have been very disappointing. (WLB, 2005).<sup>116</sup> The questionnaire asked about barriers which impeded Welsh speakers from making more use of Welsh-medium services by public organisations. The main answer was the low presence of Welsh speakers providing services. That is, their presence was not always obvious and many Welsh speakers do not ask for the service if it is not clearly on offer. Also, they do not want to delay their query or the service for which they are asking.

Despite the criticisms, which may be partly founded, the Board has undertaken many initiatives to promote the acquisition and use of Welsh. Between its establishment and up to the publishing of its second strategic document in 1996, the Board engaged in gathering information on public attitudes towards the Welsh language, and commissioned a survey in 1995. The aim of the research was to assist the Board in developing a marketing

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<sup>116</sup> This report is an internal WLB document and it has not yet been published.

strategy for the Welsh language. Although the results showed that there was a wide support throughout Wales for the use of Welsh, and that a majority believed that the language is something to be proud of, many were doubtful about the future of the language in their own area, and many Welsh speakers did not feel confident enough in using Welsh in formal situations.

In order to fulfil its duties in an informed and planned way, in 1996, after a period of public consultation and debate, the Welsh Language Board published the document *A Strategy for the Welsh Language*. This document constituted the basis for its long-term strategic objective (up to 2011), which is to promote and facilitate the use of the Welsh language enabling it 'to be self-sustaining and secure as a medium of communication in Wales' (Welsh Language Board, 1996: 4). The Board set itself four main and ambitious priorities which would require the collaboration and partnership of many other organisations if they were to be achieved. These are:

- increasing the numbers of people who are able to speak Welsh;
- providing opportunities to use the language;
- changing habits of language use and encouraging people to take advantage of the opportunities provided; and
- strengthening Welsh as a community language

The Board has tackled all these aims, although they are not easy to achieve, especially with limited powers and funds. Of special difficulty is the changing of very rooted linguistic habits and the strengthening of Welsh as a community language. As has been already mentioned, there are many barriers militating against further use of Welsh; lack of self-confidence in using Welsh in formal situations, especially in writing, deep rooted language behaviour of code-switching, disaggregated Welsh speaking communities and linguistically mixed families providing fewer opportunities to use the language in informal situations, etc. Therefore, the challenges that the Board face are many and the strategy to deliver them is ambitious.

The 1996 Strategy document specified which areas were to be given priority in the context of the four challenges. To meet the first of the four challenges, 'increasing the number of Welsh speakers' it was crucial to improve the provision of education and training in Welsh at all levels, from young infants to adults. Also it was necessary to encourage intergenerational language transmission. These are a few of the Board's more relevant activities in this area.<sup>117</sup>

- Maintaining a strategic overview of Welsh language education at all levels, through the approval of educational language schemes.
- Designing a strategy for teaching Welsh to adults.<sup>118</sup>
- Approving Welsh education schemes of Local Education Authorities.
- Distributing grants to local authorities for the promotion of Welsh language education.<sup>119</sup>
- Marketing "New Parents" campaign, in collaboration with MYM, to promote intergenerational language transmission and Welsh-medium pre-school provision. As part of the campaign all new mothers (around 31,000 a year) receive "Bounty Packs" with information leaflets on the advantages of early bilingualism ("Bilingual from the beginning", "It's easy to speak two languages at this stage"), information on Welsh-medium school provision and a copy of a chapter of the book "*Magu'r Babŷ*" (Raising up the Baby), giving examples of simple Welsh sentences suitable for use with babies.
- A campaign, in collaboration with the Mentrau Iaith, of coordinating midwives and health visitors to distribute information on early bilingualism. As part of the campaign different materials such (i.e., leaflets "Ten advantages for your child being bilingual") to enable

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<sup>117</sup> For a full list of the principal activities undertaken by the Board from 1993 to 1998 see, "Summary of Main Activities" in the Annual Report and Accounts of each year. <http://www.welsh-language-board.org.uk/en/cynnwys.php?cID=6&pID=109>

<sup>118</sup> For a thorough analysis and critique of the provision, methodology and teaching of Welsh to adults see Evas, J. (1999).

<sup>119</sup> The Board started the distribution of education grants in 1997 with a total expenditure of £1,9 million. See chart 4.2 for the evolution of the budget to promote Welsh medium education.

professionals to discuss language choice in the home with parents, before the birth of the baby.<sup>120</sup>

- Offering support to “*Athrawon Bro*” (peripatetic Welsh teachers), centres for latecomers, residential Welsh courses and developmental schemes.

In order to achieve the second challenge, ‘providing opportunities to use the language’ the Board considered that it should operate in all sectors, public, private and voluntary, although it has only statutory powers to require the use of Welsh in public bodies. Also it was crucial to increase opportunities to use the language socially and in the workplace. Moreover, there should also be provision of Information technology in Welsh. As we will discuss in more detail the promotion of Welsh in the private sector later in the chapter, these are some of the activities undertaken to increase the opportunities of using Welsh in the other spheres:

- The main mechanism to guarantee that opportunities exist to use Welsh in the public sector is through the Welsh Language Schemes. Between 1995 and 1998, a total of 95 Welsh Language Schemes were approved by the WLB, including all but one of the Unitary Authorities, 6 Community Councils, two National Parks and 21 health sector bodies, etc.
- “*Rhwydiaith*” project to assist councils to develop and harmonise their Welsh language services supported in partnership by the Welsh Local Government Association.
- Proposals to amend the legislation to allow the registration of births and deaths in Welsh.
- Partnerships (“Volunteering for the Language”) and voluntary language schemes were signed with six organisations as well as arranging a series of seminars to give practical advice on how to improve their services in Welsh.

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<sup>120</sup> This campaign started as a pilot plan delivered by Menter Cwm Gwendraeth and was extended to other counties in light of the success.

- A training pack published for the voluntary sector on management in a bilingual environment.
- The development of software packages for Welsh language spell-checking and grammar (*CySill*, *CySill 2.0+*) and a companion English-Welsh dictionary for Windows (*CysGair*).
- The development of Welsh language CD-ROMs in conjunction with the Welsh Books Council.
- The issue of a directory of translators with advice on how to obtain the best from the services offered.

The third challenge 'changing habits of language use and encouraging people to take advantage of the opportunities provided' is one of the most difficult to meet, but it is the core of language planning in minority language contexts, and the ultimate bench-mark to measure success. Providing the choice is an important step but the vitality of a language depends on its actual use. In order to achieve a change in language behaviour the Board identified the promotion of the use of Welsh among young people, the use of the language when providing and receiving services, and developing the role of the media as the main elements to take into account.<sup>121</sup> The Board has made use of marketing techniques to influence and change attitudes to language. But the relation between attitude and behaviour is not a direct one and depends on many factors. Furthermore, the language had a negative image, it was stigmatised, and many believed that it was a language which was not suitable to use in all walks of life. But changing the image of the language is just the first step to change attitudes towards the Welsh language, which might result in changing habits. Here are some of the activities undertaken to promote further use of Welsh:

- The Board has published many leaflets to encourage Welsh speakers to make the most of their language: "Click onto Welsh" with an outline of advantages of speaking Welsh in the fields of education, business

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<sup>121</sup> For an analysis of the difficulties and challenges of promoting the use of Welsh among young people see Gruffudd, H. (2000: 173-207).



and social life; a Wales-wide leaflet campaign “Use your Welsh!” to encourage people, to use Welsh-language services; a sensitisation campaign with the slogan “Try your Welsh somewhere new” to encourage the use of Welsh specially by youngsters, in new domains.

- The “Iaith Gwaith” (Working Welsh) campaign in order to encourage everyone to take advantage of every opportunity to speak Welsh in the workplace.
- CHEQUE-*mate* scheme, a device to assist Welsh speakers and learners to write cheques in Welsh.
- The establishment of a “Link Line to Welsh”, a help line service which provides information on the Welsh language, Welsh language courses and activities, as well as short translations and corrections.
- Contributing to the “Plain Welsh” campaign, a project developed by Canolfan Bedwyr, to encourage a simple, easy-to-follow written style in official documents.
- Giving grant support to “*Papurau Bro*” (Welsh local newspapers).
- In collaboration with S4C, to provide positive “role models” of Welsh speakers in TV programmes and dramas, etc.
- Giving grant support to “*Urdd Gobaith Cymru*” (Welsh League of Youth) to arrange youth activities in Welsh.

The final challenge, ‘strengthening Welsh as a community language’ is also of great importance. As the strategy document outlines:

“It is essential that the language has a firm community foundation [...]. Without linguistic strongholds, it is difficult for the use of any language to expand [...]. And although social patterns and networks have changed considerably in Welsh during recent years, the case for fostering and reinforcing the social aspects of the language remains. In particular, we must seek to raise the profile of the language in those areas where people have lost confidence in their ability to use it.” (Welsh Language Board, 1996: 15)

Interesting developments have taken place in Wales to support and strengthen Welsh as a community language. In the early 1990s two Mentrau Iaith (Welsh language based community initiatives) were created in areas

were there was a majority of Welsh speakers; Menter Cwm Gwendraeth (1991) and Menter Aman Tawe (1994).<sup>122</sup> These initiatives were established by local people to create both social and economic conditions which would favour the increase of the use of Welsh as a social language. Their main task was to create opportunities for Welsh speakers to use their language in all possible occasions and to help them to find the confidence to use Welsh in public.

In 1995, the Welsh Language Board commissioned a study to compare the use of Welsh in three Welsh speaking areas (Mold, Gwendraeth, Aman and Tawe Valleys). "The Community Research Project" (Williams & Evas, 1997) analysed the task of the Mentrau and recommended the application of the model throughout Wales.

There are now 25 Language Enterprise Agencies (Mentrau Iaith) which employ 120 full time and more than 100 part time staff. They are partly funded by the Board, by some local authorities and some by European Structural Funds.<sup>123</sup> Having learned from the experience of the first Mentrau in the early nineties, their general aims are:

- to create social conditions that would foster positive attitudes towards the Welsh language and an increase in its use;
- to promote the use of Welsh as a medium of social and institutional communication;
- to highlight the close relationship between language and attitudes which relate to quality of life and socio-economic issues.

Given that much of Wales is economically disadvantaged the community development programmes offer an additional tool for tackling social exclusion,

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<sup>122</sup> For an in-depth analysis of the creation and activities of Menter Cwm Gwendraeth see, Campbell (2000: 247-291)

<sup>123</sup> The Mentrau's activities and structure are very similar to the Consorci per a la Normalització Lingüística in Catalonia. They are both examples of the importance of local language planning and development.

developing people skills, especially in decision-making, increasing community participation and increasing confidence and self-esteem

Such a nation-wide network of Mentrau Iaith is relevant because:

- In situations characterised by strong language potential but weak sociolinguistic networks, which would otherwise lead to fragmentation, they offer a significant support for the reproduction of the language.
- As local language co-ordinating bodies, they can create new partnerships between the Assembly Government, the Welsh Language Board, local government, statutory public bodies, health trusts and voluntary agencies and private companies.
- They can encourage the use of Welsh in hitherto limited domains and that without them constituting part of the official administration of any district.
- They can initiate new and original forms of encouraging the use of Welsh and take advantage of social and institutional opportunities as they arise.
- The great strength of Mentrau Iaith is that they seek to serve the needs of the local community engaging individuals to share the responsibility for the language's future.
- They are viewed as pioneering interventionist agencies which seek to change expectations, create new networks and enable communities to regain ground which they have lost in linguistic terms. (Williams and Evas, 1997; Campbell, 2000; Williams, 2000).

For the Mentrau to succeed in creating and sustaining networks of Welsh speakers and increasing the use of Welsh as a social language, it is paramount that resources and appropriate training are made available to field workers and language animateurs. It is also very important that they make use of current developments in information and communication technologies to enhance their work and data sharing. Lack of resources and a framework of understanding on how to tackle and intervene in language related issues can lead to lack of motivation and coordination between the different Mentrau. The only way to succeed in changing the reality is through a combination of resources and professional and informed decisions.

During the period from the approval of the Welsh Language Act in 1993 until the establishment of the National Assembly for Wales, the Board has engaged in a variety of activities to increase the opportunities of using Welsh in many areas of society, and to change attitudes of Welsh speakers towards the use of Welsh. Nevertheless, the centrepiece of its activities has been the approval of the language schemes of 95 public bodies. This is clearly the activity which has drawn on more of its time and limited resources. Thus, although action did take place during this period, this was not as thorough as they wished it to be, and thus the impact on changing language use patterns had been very low. There were clear deficiencies in the system which, although they could be eased by good management and target setting, did not hide the evident lack of resources and expertise to achieve the ambitious challenges it set itself. It is precisely the shortage of resources that characterised this first period which prevented the Board from monitoring the effectiveness of the language schemes and to take action on the many complaints received from citizens regarding the lack of provision of public services in Welsh.

#### **4.5.3 The empowered WLB? (from 1999 to 2007)**

Before analysing in detail the activities of the Welsh Language Board after the setting up of the National Assembly for Wales it is important to ascertain the policy developments in relation to the Welsh language, that have occurred as a result of political changes. Indeed, in May 1999 the Welsh political landscape changed radically with the establishment of a National Assembly for Wales after a process of constitutional reform and a referendum which started with the Labour Party winning the UK General Elections in 1997.

The 1998 Government of Wales Act established the Assembly as the institution in charge of safeguarding the Welsh language, giving it broad discretion to 'do anything it considers appropriate to support the Welsh Language'.<sup>124</sup>The first endeavour undertaken by the National Assembly

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<sup>124</sup> The transfer of responsibilities from central government to the devolved institution is clear, but the Assembly can only engage in approving secondary legislation.

related to Welsh was a wide policy review on the state of the language. The Culture Committee and the Education and Lifelong Learning Committee undertook the review, from May 2001 to July 2002, whereby 178 respondents, including academics and other experts, public bodies, language pressure groups, political parties, trade unions, employers organisations, media groups, voluntary organisations, etc., gave written and oral evidence. The resulting document "*Ein Iaith –Eu Dyfodol/Our Language –Its Future*" which did not consider any detailed legislative matter, was approved by the Assembly in July 2002. The review paid particular attention to the following themes:

- enabling people to use either language or both in all aspects of national life and in their communities;
- supporting Welsh as a family and community language;
- providing opportunities for people to learn Welsh, and to use it;
- promoting equal respect for both Welsh and English, and maintaining national consensus and goodwill about bilingualism.

In response to this document, the Assembly Government issued a policy statement *Dyfodol Dwyieithog: A Bilingual Future* in July 2002 expressing their aspiration of creating a 'truly bilingual Wales, where people can choose to live their lives through the medium of either or both Welsh or English and where the presence of the two languages is a source of pride and strength to all' (Welsh Assembly Government, 2003: 1). In this document the Assembly Government committed to preparing and publishing a national action plan which would be the means to achieve the goal of creating a bilingual Wales. The strategic document "*Iaith Pawb: A National Action Plan for Bilingual Wales*" published in spring 2003 is, according to the Government, the principal guide to accomplish such objectives.

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Therefore primary legislation, this is, a new Welsh Language Act would have to be initiated in Westminster Parliament. Moreover, the central Government is responsible for the application of the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages, 52 clauses of which were signed for Welsh in 2000 and ratified in 2001.

The goal of *laith Pawb* [Everyone's language] is not merely to stabilise the number and percentages of Welsh speakers but to produce a sustained increase as well as increasing the use and visibility of the language 'in all aspects of everyday life, including work, leisure and social activities' (GWA, 2003: 11). The document specifies the objectives to achieve and the actions needed to increase bilingualism and strengthen the Welsh language. The aims are as follows:

- Increase the proportion of Welsh speakers by five percentage points by 2011 from the 2001 census baseline;
- arrest the decline in heartland communities, especially in those with more than 70%—plus Welsh speakers;
- increase the proportion of children in pre-school Welsh education;
- increase the proportion of families where Welsh is the principal language; and
- increase the provision of Welsh-medium services in the public, private and voluntary sectors.

Two of the main measures proposed by the Assembly Government to assist in achieving its aims were the creation of a Language Unit and the establishment of a forum for debate on the Welsh language issue, "Fforwm laith", open to everyone interested in advancing the Welsh language. The Language Unit would be in charge of advising the Minister in matters related to the Welsh language, mainstreaming language issues in all government departments, supervising the activities of the Welsh Language Board and monitoring the actions undertaken under the *laith Pawb* strategy which would be published in an annual report. The open Fforwm laith, would meet twice a year to discuss problems with the Minister in advancing the use of Welsh. The feedback received would feed into the Government's policies and actions.<sup>125</sup>

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<sup>125</sup> The model of Fforwm laith is closer to the Catalan model of "Consell Social de la Llengua Catalana", with the difference that the Consell is an elected body with representatives of different socio-economic sectors, education, media, business, research, technology, etc. which give expert advice on the language in their different spheres of activity. For a trenchant critique of the model of Fforwm laith see Dyfrig

Although the document is very ambitious (more so in some areas more than others), especially when it commits 'to safeguarding and promoting the rights of individuals to use the Welsh language' (Welsh Assembly Government, 2003:47), it has been criticised for a lack of radical proposals to change the education system, the principal language transmission agency, as well as for avoiding reforms in the legal framework to extend its statutory approach to elements within the private sector (Williams, C.H. 2004: 6-9). Williams also considers that:

"Many of the key issues are addressed by fine rhetoric which legitimizes government action, but the current policy is characterised by ill-defined mechanisms, with far too little detail on monitoring the effects of policies, together with insufficient additional resources. Most of the remedial answers on offer are but slight extensions to existing programmes, reflecting an unconvincing political will to implement a radically new total strategy as a coherent package. (Ibid: 10)

Can we say, therefore, that changes brought about by devolution and more specifically, by policy documents such as *laith Pawb* have empowered the Welsh Language Board? We could say that, in a way, nothing has substantially changed as the role of the Welsh Language Board continues to be 'promoting and facilitating the use of Welsh'.<sup>126</sup> What has changed is the structural framework in which the Board operates. The Board is now accountable to the Assembly's Culture Committee and its activities are overseen by the Government's Language Unit to which the Board has to present an annual Corporate and Operational plan for approval and transfer of resources. The resources allocated to the Board, as pledged by the Government in its strategic national language plan, *laith Pawb*, have increased, as has the number of staff currently working in the WLB (see chart 4.2 and 4.3), although not sufficiently to accomplish the many challenges

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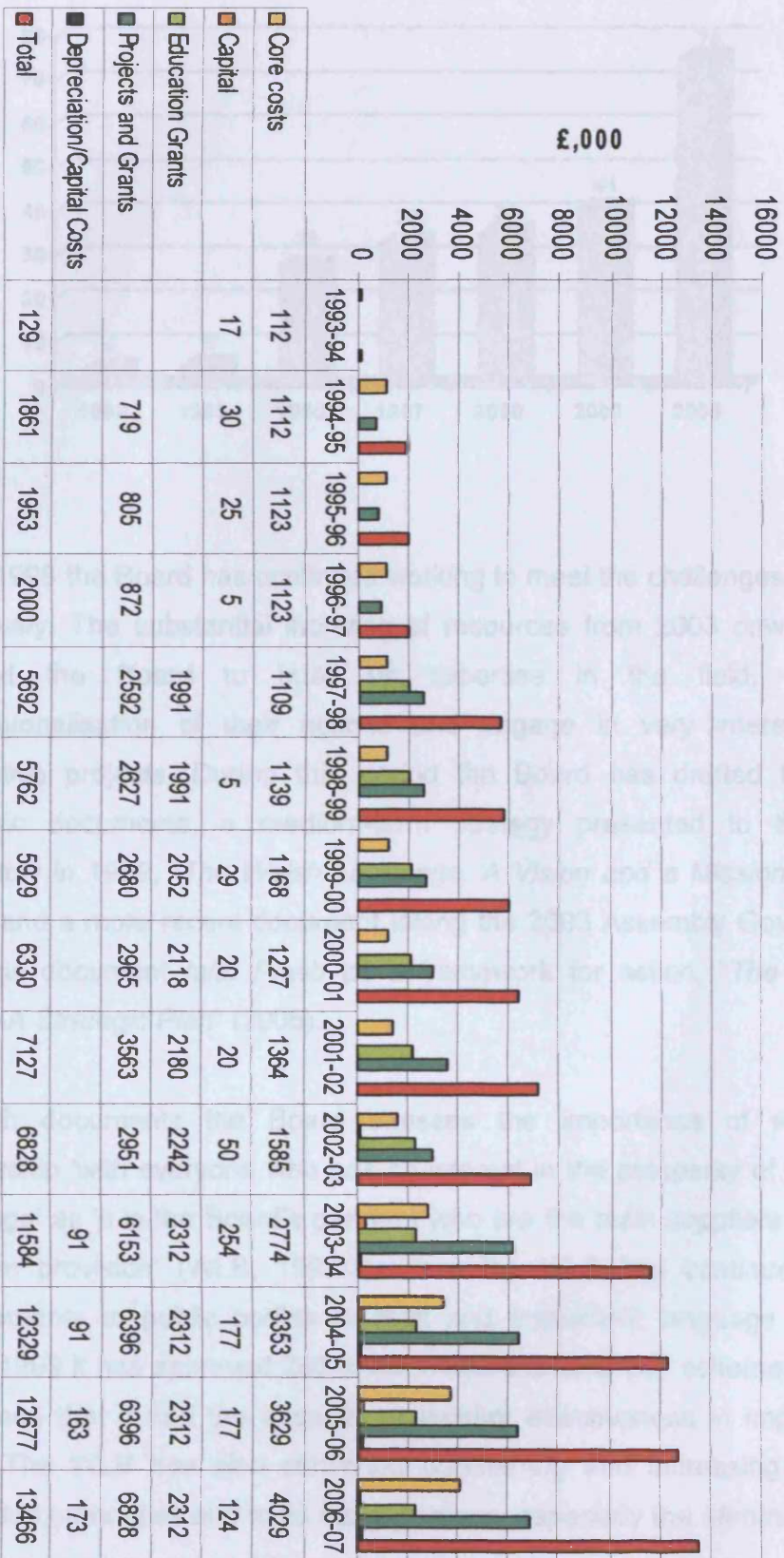
Jones's article in Barn (2005: 4-6) where it is alleged that the Fforwm is nothing more than a "circus" or talking shop.

<sup>126</sup> As plans to merge the Welsh Language Board in the Assembly Government's administration are foreseen for April 2007, it is difficult to say at the present stage what shape and responsibilities the new body will have. It is even not clear if the Welsh Language Board will be kept as a unit or if its functions will be allocated to different departments.

ahead if the aim of constructing a truly bilingual Wales is to be achieved. Although the Board continues to have a great deal of discretion over the process of implementing language schemes and an increased budget, its actions are more closely scrutinised and controlled by the Assembly Government, and thus, more dependent and tied to the political will of governments.

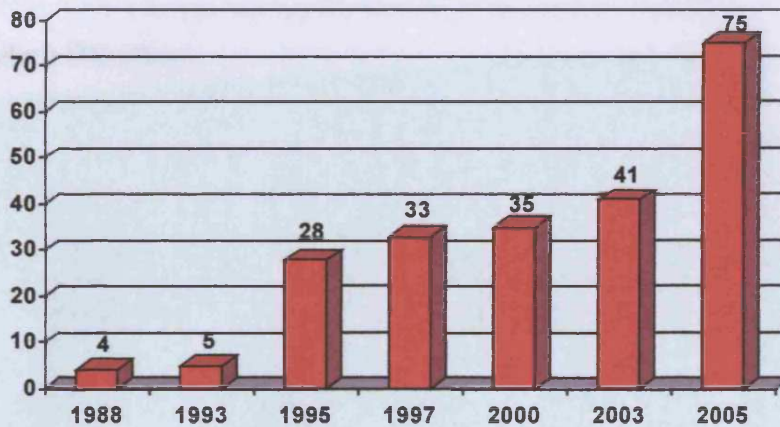


Chart 4.2 Welsh Language Board Funding 1993-2005



■ Core costs 
 ■ Capital 
 ■ Education Grants 
 ■ Projects and Grants 
 ■ Depreciation/Capital Costs 
 ■ Total

Chart 4.3. Evolution of Number of WLB Staff (1998-2005)



From 1999 the Board has continued working to meet the challenges described previously. The substantial increase of resources from 2003 onwards have allowed the Board to build up expertise in the field, a further professionalisation of their actions and engage in very interesting and innovative projects. During this period the Board has drafted two broad strategic documents, a medium-term strategy presented to the Welsh Assembly in 1999, "*The Welsh Language: A Vision and a Mission for 2000-2005*" and a more recent document taking the 2003 Assembly Government's strategic document *laith Pawb* as a framework for action, "*The Future of Welsh-A Strategic Plan*" (2005).

In both documents the Board stresses the importance of working in partnership 'with everyone who has an interest in the prosperity of the Welsh language' as 'it is the Board's partners who are the main suppliers of Welsh-medium provision' (WLB, 1999:3). Thus the WLB has continued issuing requirements to public bodies to draft and implement language schemes. Since 1999 it has approved 266 which make a total of 361 schemes, with the difference that it had the capacity to monitor effectiveness in implementing them. The WLB has also continued transferring and increasing grants to education authorities and to its main grantees, especially the *Mentrau laith*, as

well as starting new ventures. These are some of the most relevant activities.<sup>127</sup>

#### Acquisition Planning:

- In March 2002 the WLB launched the “*Twf*” (Growth) project to promote language transmission in the family, especially in linguistically mixed families. The aim is to persuade new parents to understand the advantages of early bilingualism and to speak Welsh to their children at home. Field officers work together with midwives and health visitors to inform new parents on the use of Welsh with their children, and promoting Welsh-medium nursery education. Material to assist field officers and other professionals have been produced as well as a website.<sup>128</sup>
- Promoting bilingual education in the Further Education sector with “*Allweddiaith*” project.
- Producing “Packs” for adult learners to promote the learning of Welsh among adults with a TV series “Welsh in a Week” in collaboration with S4C.
- In collaboration with the local *Mentrau*, the development of “Welcome Packs” and a website, for people who are moving to Wales, presenting the social and linguistic situation of the areas where they have moved, presenting information on bilingual and Welsh medium education, Welsh for adults and community events arranged by the different organisations, such as the local *Mentrau*, MYM or the *Urdd Gobaith Cymru*.<sup>129</sup>

#### Status and Usage Planning:

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<sup>127</sup> For a full and detailed list of activities undertaken by the Board see the Annual Reports and Accounts from 1999 to 2005 available at the WLB website ([www.bwrdd-yr-iaith.org.uk](http://www.bwrdd-yr-iaith.org.uk))

<sup>128</sup> See: [www.twfcymru.com](http://www.twfcymru.com).

<sup>129</sup> See: [www.movingtowales.com](http://www.movingtowales.com)

- Promoting the use of Welsh with a variety of marketing campaigns (leaflets, press adverts, posters and other promotional material) and expositions to urge Welsh speakers to use Welsh in all situations where it is possible, and providers to show clearly where the service is available. These are some of the messages: “Two languages-Twice the choice”, “The choice is yours. Try out your Welsh”, “Let’s do the small things and achieve great things” or “Welsh-Give it a go!”
- The development of Language Action Plans (LAPs), following the success of a pilot initiative in Fishguard, to increase the social use of Welsh in areas of special linguistic significance in partnership with a wide range of local, regional and national organisations.
- Give advice and guidance on the inclusion of Welsh and bilingualism in projects applying for European Structural Funds, and producing advising material, *“Planning, Housing and the Welsh Language”*, to Planning Authorities on the effects of town and country planning on the vitality of Welsh in mainly Welsh speaking communities.
- Producing a guide *“The Language of a Caring Service”*, to provide a sensitive and natural bilingual service in difficult and stressful situations, especially in the care and counselling sectors and the administration of justice.
- The development of a “Youth Strategy” to increase social opportunities for young people to use Welsh, for instance in the promotion of Welsh music sponsoring performances by leading Welsh artists in schools across Wales as well as organising DJs workshops in Welsh clubs.
- Provide new the opportunities for using Welsh in many different areas of activity, especially in ICTs with the development of a “ICT Strategy for the Welsh Language” and technical standards document for bilingual computing. For instance, in partnership with Microsoft and Canolfan Bedwyr the WLB has launched a Welsh language spellchecker and thesaurus for Windows 2000, free Welsh Language Interface Packs for Microsoft Windows XP and Office 2003. The Board is also working on the development of machine translation, predictive texting, speech technology,



multilingual content management (*Vocab*) and translation memory technology.<sup>130</sup>

### Corpus Planning

Although this is an area to which the Board has historically not paid much attention, it has only one officer and an advisory committee working on the subject, they have assisted the Assembly on meeting translation needs, give advice on correct language use through the Link Line to Welsh, as well as publishing some material, such as:

- A “Dictionary of Organisational Terms”, standardising terminology for the National Assembly for Wales
- Bilingual glossaries on shop signage and job titles in Welsh
- The standardisation of Welsh place-names to appear in official maps
- The standardisation of terms and terminology development in the fields of ecology, ICT, sports and retailing.

The Board has also been building expertise and understanding of the processes involved in language planning through fostering links with other similar European and world-wide minority language planning bodies. The fruit of these contacts has been the creation of an EU funded official network of European language boards, including the Catalan *Secretaria de Política Lingüística* among others, a forum to discuss and transfer expertise and best practice.<sup>131</sup> More importantly, in order to inform its policy and planning decisions, the Board has also invested in research in the following subjects:

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<sup>130</sup> The field of new technologies is one that has developed dramatically and very successfully over the past five years. Taking the language into new prestigious domains has a very positive effect on the perception of modernity and usefulness of a minority language. It is crucial to make the use of the language more attractive to young people and providing opportunities to use the language in the field of ICTs is one of them. For example, the Parliament of Catalonia required Siemens to make Catalan available in the menu of its mobile phones if they wanted to secure an exclusive contract with the Catalan Parliament. It would be most advantageous for Welsh were the Welsh Assembly Government to use its substantial procurement power in a similar fashion.

<sup>131</sup> See the website, [www.languageplanning.com](http://www.languageplanning.com) for more information on the Network’s membership, activities and joined projects.

- The use of the Welsh language in agriculture and agricultural services;
- the effect of town and country planning on the vitality of Welsh speaking communities;
- transmission of Welsh in the family;
- social networks of young people (13-17 group age) and how their use of Welsh could be increased;
- a three-year wide-Wales survey on the use of Welsh which will be essential to measure progress and success of the policies implemented until now;
- the annual sponsoring of a PhD studentship in issues which are of interest to the Board;
- evaluation of the Board's own projects, the development of language indicators on "Living in Welsh".

Clearly, the Welsh Language Board has come a long way since its establishment in an advisory capacity in 1988. It is now a professional, fully fledged language planning agency, with increased resources, staff reach to many areas of social activity. The process of building expertise and consensus on the best way of safeguarding and more importantly revitalising the Welsh language has not been free of critique and heated debate. The Welsh language has been, and still is, a very sensitive issue, still highly politicised, although political correctness has toned down the animosity that existed towards the language until recently. Nevertheless, we can say that a body upon which great responsibility was placed, with not always the matching funds or an enabling legal framework to achieve ambitious challenges, has struggled to become an effective and professional language planning agency and most importantly to make Welsh a relevant and vital language as well as securing its future.

An area which is crucial for the status and usefulness of any language is the private sector. Increasingly, private businesses and voluntary organisations have taken on public sector roles and responsibilities, having an increasing influence in Welsh life. The Welsh Language Board has certainly taken steps

to promote its use in businesses, although its policies rely entirely on principles of goodwill on behalf of these organisations. We shall now review the situation of the Welsh language in this sector and the strategies of the Board and other organisations aimed at convincing businesses to encompass Welsh in their activities.

#### **4.6 The promotion of Welsh in business, a challenge yet to be faced**

Since the 1960s and 1970s, Welsh society has witnessed an increase in the presence of Welsh in signs, advertisements, shops, banks, etc. However, this process has been very slow and patchy. Those who pioneered the use of Welsh in their business activities were mainly Welsh people who felt that they had a responsibility towards the community in which they operated. Using the language of the people of the community was part of the service that the company or organisation offered to their customers. Banks in rural Wales provided services in Welsh because the majority of their clients were Welsh speakers.

Other companies, such as BT, received pressure from both activists and their customers to change their attitudes towards the Welsh language and make available provision of services through the medium of Welsh. The Welsh Language Society has continued exerting pressure on companies which did not take the Welsh language into account when conducting business in Wales. It also called for legislation to make the provision of such services compulsory.

Since the creation of the Welsh Language Board, a more formal approach to language planning and intervention in the private sector has taken place, to a certain degree. This has occurred without any legal requirement on businesses. Moreover, the establishment and expansion of *Mentrau Iaith* has also encouraged some intervention at the local level, and many initiatives have been taken to expand the use of Welsh in small and medium companies.

A complement to this type of intervention is provided by a relatively small development agency *Menter a Busnes* (Enterprise and Business). This organisation is not a language planning agency as such, rather language is mainstreamed in its activities and not an end in itself. Neither is it a 'conventional' economic development agency, because of its unique approach to economic development. Its actions are aimed at strengthening the communities, regenerating them economically, demographically and linguistically through the promotion of self-employment among Welsh speakers.

We shall review the objectives and activities of the three organisations and analyse their impact in the use of the Welsh language in the private sector. Both their strengths and limitations will be taken into account.

#### **4.6.1 The Welsh Language Board and the private sector**

As identified in the statutory WLB's first Strategy document for the Welsh language (WLB, 1996), one of the challenges for Welsh to prosper is the need for it to be present and used throughout many spheres and aspects of public life. The private sector is one of the areas where the challenge has yet to be faced by the WLB. Although it has no statutory obligations to promote the use of Welsh the WLB has undertaken a number of activities to advance the use of Welsh in this important sector of modern society. This has happened despite their limited resources which meant that, for a long period, only one official was responsible for the private sector. It was early in 2005 that a dedicated private sector unit was established together with new staff comprising five officers working exclusively with the private sector. Nevertheless, because there is no legal obligation on the private sector to use Welsh, the Board's actions have been limited to advising, stimulating, raising awareness and encouraging businesses to make Welsh more visible and more available. All this is dependent on the goodwill of companies in providing services through the medium of Welsh.



The Board has not published a general strategy as such on the intervention in the private sector.<sup>132</sup> Nevertheless, the Board has acknowledged in all its general strategies the importance of Welsh to being present and used in economic activities. In *A Vision and a Mission 2000-2005*, the Board argues:

“The more the Welsh language has economic and employment value, the more it is likely to be attractive to parents to transmit the language to their children, and the more it is likely to be attractive to children to learn Welsh thoroughly at school” (WLB, 2000: 13)

Furthermore the Board has considered “using Welsh in the private sector” as one of the seven priorities developed in its latest strategic document, *The Future of Welsh-A Strategic Plan*, in accordance with the main objectives of *Iaith Pawb*:

“The private sector is much more varied than the other sectors and touches the daily lives of ordinary people more often. There are two elements to promoting Welsh in the private sector: raising its visual profile and increasing its use within businesses and between businesses and their customers”. (WLB, 2005: 23)

Historically, the Board’s actions in this field have been ad hoc and random. Initially the Board concentrated on working with those companies who approached them for support and guidance, the majority of which were from the financial and retail sectors. The interest in the Welsh language shown by these companies was based on well intentioned individuals than established corporate objectives. Nevertheless, in recent years a more rational and planned approach has been made, following the general professionalisation of the Board’s work. Thus, from 1999, the Board gradually started targeting specific sectors for their visibility and impact, such as privatised utilities, retail companies, mainly high street stores and supermarkets, food and drink manufactures to produce bilingual packaging and labelling, the catering, hospitality and tourism sector, to promote a “sense of place” through the use of Welsh and graphic design agencies for their importance in developing

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<sup>132</sup> The Board is working on a draft document of a Private Sector Strategy and Action Plan, in accordance with the latest general strategy *The Future of Welsh: A Strategic Plan* (WLB, 2005:23)

bilingual design techniques. Other sectors targeted include sports and mobile phones.

The Board also started targeting major companies and market leaders, many of them with headquarters outside Wales, but they have a very visible presence in Wales. Their main priority is to form a long term relationships with companies which deal face to face with the public on a daily basis and have maximum exposure with customers. At the same time local *Mentrau* have been securing partnerships with local companies, especially SMEs.

The Board has pursued different ways to promote the use of Welsh in this powerful sector. These are some of the main activities:

1. Marketing campaigns and publishing of leaflets and other material to raise the awareness and the profile of Welsh. A recent campaign “Welsh: the language of Business” was launched to promote and encourage businesses to use Welsh.
2. Publishing of guidelines, leaflets and booklets offering practical advice on the delivery of bilingual services, on bilingual signs or other materials. Some of these publications are: *Guidelines to Bilingualism*, *Practical Options for the Use of Welsh*, *The Use of Welsh in Business*, *Bilingual Food and Drink Packaging*, *The Welsh Advantage*, *Table Talk*, *A Guide to Bilingual Design*.
3. Distributing of grants through the Board’s “Small Grants Scheme” currently called “Business Grant Busnes”. These grants are aimed at companies and voluntary organisations who wish to produce bilingual material, signs, and other activities such as training courses in Welsh, etc.<sup>133</sup>
4. Organising of competitions and awards to honour companies which make innovative use of Welsh in their different activities. From 1998 to 1999 the Board together with other partners and sponsors allocated

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<sup>133</sup> The Small Grant Scheme started in 1996 with allocations of a maximum of £500. Currently the scheme distributes grants up to £1000 or the 50% of the value of a project.

“Business Awards” at the National Eisteddfod. From 2000 onwards a new award was put in place, the “WLB Bilingual Design Awards” which celebrated the use of Welsh in different categories (signage, new media, promotion advertising and food and drink packaging). The Board also launched a “Menu of the Month” and “Menu of the Year” competition, to promote the use of Welsh in the catering and hospitality sector. The Board is itself a sponsor of the Western Mail and Daily Post’s business awards in the category of “Welsh in Business”.

5. Promoting the use of Welsh in the workplace through the “Iaith Gwaith” [Working Welsh] scheme, although it targets all sectors, public, voluntary and private, it is of special importance for initiating contact with customers in service companies. This campaign was introduced in 1991 with the objective of changing patterns of oral language choice among Welsh-speakers. In making the Welsh language more visible—through signs of all types, stickers and lapel badges worn by employees—Welsh-speaking customers could identify which companies could offer them its services through the medium of Welsh. The scheme has been re-launched several times, producing more material and modernising its brand image.
6. Working with business organisations (CBI, Federation of Small Businesses, Finance Wales, Cwllwm Busnes, etc)<sup>134</sup> and attending business events in order to access and raise awareness of the use of Welsh in a wider range of businesses.
7. Developing Language Schemes with individual companies who wish to adopt a more comprehensive use of Welsh, offering guidance and resources through the different implementation stages. Companies such as HSBC and Tesco are two successful examples of such collaboration.

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<sup>134</sup> Cwllwm Busnes is a Welsh language business club which offers support to Welsh language speaking entrepreneurs and promotes networking in Welsh.

Some of the Board's activities have been more successful than others. One of the projects which has not produced the desired effects of increasing the use of Welsh has been the formation of dedicated Welsh help lines in companies, especially in privatised utilities but also in the public sector. Why should Welsh speakers use a different number? It is clear that the best option is to provide one single help line number and offer an up-front choice of language from the beginning, diverting the call to the a Welsh speaker if the option is chosen.

In a similar way, the implementation of the "Business Grant Busnes" to increase the use of Welsh in signs, and other companies materials, has had mixed results. Many businesses have benefited from the scheme since it was first introduced in its initial form in 1997, nevertheless many of them never come to claim the money as they fail to adhere to the rules which specify that the applicant has to provide three different quotations and a prove, through pictures or copies of the published material, that the work has been done.

Another of the Board's aims that has proven to be very difficult to deliver is changing the opinion of employers organisations and trade unions as regards the relevance of Welsh. Their role in contributing to the expansion of the use of Welsh in businesses is quite central as they represent the business community, and the community of workers respectively, and as we have seen in the case of Catalan, collaboration with this kind of organisations has made the language advance both as a business language and the language of the workplace. Although organisations such as CBI or the Federation of Small Business value language skills in general, they do not agree with extending the provisions of the Welsh Language Act to require businesses to use Welsh. If businesses wish to make more use of Welsh they should do so on a basis of goodwill and not through compulsion. They also argue that one of the main attractions for inward investors into the UK is the English language. The vast majority of inward investors would view any attempt to compel business to use the Welsh language as an additional cost. Indeed, added costs to provide Welsh medium services is the main argument against a further extension of Welsh. Regarding the position of the trade unions in

Wales, although they seem to be supportive of the language they claim that the use and demand for the language is relatively low within the trade union movement, and although there is a strong level of support for the cultural and day to day life of the language, there is less demand for Welsh in the workplace.

The Board's final aim of making Welsh a real choice for everyone who wishes to use the language in the private sector is not an easy one to accomplish. In fact we are far away from this situation due to the many constraints which impede a further use of Welsh in the private sector. Although the Board has been very successful in bringing about improvements on how the language is perceived by both Welsh-speakers and non-Welsh speakers; in changing the linguistic landscape of towns and cities, promoting bilingualism in both interior and exterior signs; promoting bilingual packaging; making use of Welsh in some products a unique selling point for many companies; promoting the use of Welsh among both workers and customers through the successful *Working Welsh* scheme, Welsh still remains an add-on for many businesses. By and large it is not part of their company philosophy and way of working. Achieving this is almost impossible in the absence of a legal framework which guarantees a real choice for Welsh speakers to use their language both as workers and customers.

#### **4.6.2 The *Mentrau Iaith* and the private sector**

Mentrau Iaith activities complement the promotional activities of the WLB at the local level. They have by now gained a rich experience of dealing with the private sector in order to encourage wider use of the Welsh language. While the Welsh Language Board tends to concentrate its activities on promoting Welsh in large companies, the Mentrau's focus are local companies which tend to be SMEs.

The Mentrau have developed different materials to support their promotional activities, some of which are:

- Informing about available grants to companies who wish to use the Welsh language on signs, pamphlets and websites. A number of Mentrau produce "Business Packs" specifically for the private sector, or employ dedicated officers to exert an influence on businesses.
- Visiting businesses personally, or finding information about new companies through planning applications.
- Formulating profiles of individual towns in order to measure the linguistic landscape.
- Providing business start-up courses in order to offer an element of language awareness and promote the use of Welsh language. Similarly Welsh language training programmes have been put in place to develop the linguistic skills of employees, especially those who are in direct contact with the public.
- Establishing a Welsh language business club, as for instance in Cwm Gwendraeth, supporting indigenous businesses which make extensive use of Welsh and providing them with the skills and confidence to succeed in an increasingly competitive market.
- Providing translation services to support the use of the Welsh language in the private sector along with seminars on language awareness and a special course for dealing with the Welsh language media.
- Working with sign manufacturers to encourage them to inform their customers of grants for bilingual signage.

The various schemes run by Mentrau Iaith demonstrate that it is possible to influence businesses to a certain extent, and that there exists goodwill towards the Welsh language which can be exploited. Nevertheless, some of the projects undertaken have not been as successful as expected. For instance, comparatively few small businesses have adopted bilingual signage following a personal visit. Also, while many choose to benefit from grants available to produce bilingual signs, the take-up rate is not very high, and the service has not led to a significant increase in bilingual signage. Also, on a number of occasions, the *Mentrau Iaith* have contacted large companies who are about to open a new store in their area, and obtained promises of bilingual signage and service. Once the store is open, however, little or no Welsh is to

be seen on the new site. Although it is difficult for the *Mentrau* to make an impact in the private sector, without their work the number of businesses using Welsh would be even smaller.

#### **4.6.3 Menter a Busnes and the private sector**

As stated above, *Menter a Busnes* (MaB) was set up in 1989 as a non-profit-making private company with the assistance of the Welsh Development Agency (WDA) and Development Board for Rural Wales (DBRW) in order to develop ways of enabling Welsh speakers to become more entrepreneurial.

Research developed from census data has shown that the Welsh in general and Welsh-speakers in particular have a tendency to be over-dependent on employment within the public sector, and are half as likely to start a business as residents in England. In seeking to explain this differentiation, some experts believed that an interaction of structural and cultural factors to have forged attitudinal barriers against enterprise among Welsh-speakers: attitudes formed during an earlier period of economic development but which continue to exert a negative influence on contemporary behaviour (Price *et al.*, 1994: 46).<sup>135</sup> The aim behind the creation of MaB was to counteract the effects of these negative attitudes towards business and the reluctance by Welsh-speakers to become self-employed. It sought to restore some equilibrium in the employment of Welsh-speakers within the public and the private sectors, overturning the belief that Welsh is of little value or disadvantageous for business.

Its approach to economic development is fairly innovative within a range of activities. Significant its policy is not based on providing physical infrastructure, i.e. building factories, roads etc., but on changing attitudes of Welsh speakers towards self-employment and entrepreneurship. MaB operates at the national level aiming to 'promote the economic development not of a particular locality or region but of a language community consisting of

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<sup>135</sup> For more information on the language-economy link see, Williams C.H., (2000a: 362-377)

half-a-million speakers dispersed in varying degrees of concentration through a nation of 3 million' (Price, 1995). Therefore, the main objective of MaB is to maximise the economic potential of Welsh speakers, harmonising economic development and language regeneration. MaB has been developing ways of encouraging Welsh speakers to become more entrepreneurial and economically active. These are some of its main activities:

- Setting up the “*Gorwelion*” [Horizons] programme to expand the career aspirations of young Welsh speakers as well as promoting the Welsh language in the workplace. MaB is working with schools, careers advisory centres, employers and the former Training and Enterprise Councils and its successor body. The programme seeks to tackle the narrow view of job opportunities, by ensuring that young Welsh-speakers are aware of the different options open to them without them necessarily having to leave their home area and at the same time countering possible negative perceptions at an early stage.
- Publication of different materials: from teaching materials for use in schools to more sophisticated and professionally produced resources together with attractive information packages to persuade business people to use Welsh as a business language.
- Setting up the “*Cwysr*” project, aimed at helping farming families to diversify their economic activities.
- Promoting the use of Welsh in the tourism sector, through the programme “*Croesawiaith*” which strengthens the links between Welsh, culture and the tourism industry.
- Stimulate and develop indigenous entrepreneurship, assisting in the establishment of new ventures and companies.
- Recognise the efforts and contribution to the Welsh economy of both Welsh companies and entrepreneurs through a business award scheme.

It is also important to note that MaB have pioneered research on the connection between the economy and the Welsh language, and there is now a greater understanding of this relationship. As part of this on-going process of understanding the language and economy link MaB have played a central



role in advising the Welsh Assembly Government to establish a “Language-Economy Discussion Group” (LEDG) whose recommendations can be translated into policy.

To summarise, *Menter a Busnes* has experimented and developed an alternative model of doing business in which Welsh-speakers can feel comfortable. “Indeed, the development of a Welsh model of economic development, a Welsh way of doing business which is socially, linguistically, culturally and environmentally responsible was not even considered a possibility up until recently” (Price, 1995).

Although there exist many constraints on realising businesses opportunities in rural Wales and Welsh speakers appear to find employment opportunities mainly in the public sector and the media, the work of MaB is still a valuable contribution. Through co-operation with a wide range of organisations and more significantly, dealing face to face with Welsh-speaking entrepreneurs, MaB is building a suitable infrastructure to meet and provide the needs and expectations of indigenous firms who are more likely to use Welsh as a working language, interweave Welsh into their activities and thereby increase the use of the Welsh language in this domain. Moreover, for MaB, the process of planning economic development must consider the Welsh language as a part of the whole, considering the language as an asset and not as a barrier for development.

The three agencies reviewed above share a similar objective which is to advance the use of Welsh in the private sector in order to create a real choice for customers and workers who wish to use Welsh in these activities. How successful are they in achieving this within the present framework?

The role of the WLB and the Mentrau in the promotion of use of Welsh in the private sector consists mainly of trying to increase its visibility and of raising awareness among customers, employees and entrepreneurs of the advantages of using the Welsh language in their activities. Despite a shortage of resources, it provides a level of advice, resources and support

materials in order to create a suitable infrastructure where opportunities for the use of Welsh are available. The WLB's actions in this field are consultative rather than statutory. Companies, in general, will not use the Welsh language unless tangible benefits can be obtained by so doing. Neither will they use Welsh if the public does not demand it sufficiently. This is always a problem in minority diglossic societies. The use of the Welsh language in the private sector of the economy depends on a wider context of sociolinguistic vitality but, at the same time the use of the language in this prominent and large sector of activity contributes to this vitality. In some ways, the language is locked into a vicious circle: it cannot flourish unless there is a context which supports its vitality. However, the context cannot exist unless the language is already in use.<sup>136</sup>

One of the obvious disadvantages of the Welsh language in the private sector is the overwhelming power of the English language as the *lingua franca* for international business. The arguments used mainly by business organisations against further use of Welsh in businesses are very much anchored in the false idea that in a global economy there is no place for minor languages which are seen as barriers to development and growth rather than assets from which economic benefit can be made. Moreover, Wales constitutes a part of the wider state (British) market, thus the dynamics of its economy, and its language as well, depend on decisions, and political and economic processes that do not derive from the Welsh influence. At the moment, indigenous companies working at the community and national level seem more likely to use Welsh as an integral language for their daily activities. MaB is working to influence further organic business growth among Welsh speakers, while simultaneously developing and strengthening the number of Welsh speakers who are contributing to the economic stability of Welsh speaking communities. But this fact has relatively few multiplier effects on the use of Welsh by larger companies, which tend to be not owned by Welsh capital and whose headquarters are located mainly outside Wales.

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<sup>136</sup> See the virtuous circle model of the "Catherine Wheel" proposed by Strubell, (1997).

It is very difficult to measure the impact of the activities of the three agencies on both the prestige and use of the Welsh language in this sector. Thanks to WLB initiatives the language is stigmatised to a lesser extent in the private sector. The use of the language, especially its symbolic use, in signs of shops, supermarkets, banks, in some privatised utilities, packaging and labelling etc., has shown an increase, which has helped in changing the landscape from a near recognisable monolingual English presence to an amount of Welsh use. Nevertheless, though no surveys exist as yet to interpret and calibrate the presence of Welsh in the private sector, the WLB is engaging in new research following the model of “linguistic indicators” developed in Catalonia to assess the provision and use of Welsh in many areas of activity, including the private sector. Use indicators will prove to be a diagnostic tool for language planners in order to understand the patterns of use and take planning decisions in a more informed way.

#### **4.7 The use of Welsh in businesses**

As noted previously, there is a paucity of data in Wales about the use of the Welsh language both in general and in private businesses specifically. However, some information is available regarding the relationship of the Welsh language and the economy. Two studies are noteworthy. First there is data from a 10% sample of the 1991 census commissioned by Menter a Busnes regarding the differentiation of Welsh and non-Welsh speakers by industrial classes, by economic position and occupation and by social class (OPCS, 1994: 90-221). Also there are studies derived from the detailed analysis of this census data and the comparison of this data with the results of the previous census of 1981 (Hughes, G. & A.M. Sherwood, 1995; Williams & Morris, 2000). Some of the major findings from both studies are:

- Welsh speakers constitute 16.4% of the total working population;
- they are over-represented in higher occupational categories in proportional terms;
- they are over-represented in agriculture (42%) and under-represented in industrial occupations (13%) and in retailing (14%);

- the areas with a bigger proportion of Welsh speakers in the working population are Gwynedd (60.2%) and Dyfed (42.6%);
- the area with the lowest proportion of Welsh speakers in the working population is Gwent with only 2%;
- in terms of the position of the different language groups in the higher socio-economic category, the non-Welsh-born came first, followed by Welsh speakers and finally by Welsh-born non-Welsh speakers.

Between 1981 and 1991:

- There was an increase of non-Welsh born in the workforce;
- there was a decrease of 3 percentage points of Welsh-speakers in the workforce;
- the Welsh language group lost ground in the working-class socio-economic groups of skilled and semi-skilled manual workers and the unskilled category;
- there was a decline in the number of Welsh speakers in agriculture;
- the Welsh language group gained ground in both managerial and professional categories;
- there was a substantial increase in unemployment.

Other studies available relate to the cultural division of labour, for example an analysis of language and class fractioning in Gwynedd, North Wales (Morris, 1995) or of language and social mobility (Williams and Morris, 1995; Blackaby and Drinkwater, 1997) and language, social mobility and gender (Morris, 1997). Nevertheless, although important and useful, these studies take into account the whole of the market without making any difference between the public and private sectors.

In 2000 the WLB commissioned a survey from Beaufort Research comprising 1192 interviews of adults aged 16 and over across Wales. 511 of the interviewees claimed to speak Welsh very or fairly well (Welsh Language Board: 2000). The aim of the research was to identify attitudes the people of Wales had towards the Welsh language. This survey also sought to analyse

the use of Welsh and the confidence in using it in various every day situations. One of the situations analysed was the use of Welsh at work and by companies and service providers, thus distinguishing in some way between public bodies, voluntary organisations and private companies.<sup>137</sup> Although one of the questions was how often the respondents spoke Welsh in certain work situations there was no identifiable distinction between the three sectors. The variable “public” vs. “private” is only present in questions seeking to find out about the actual and the future demand for bilingual skills in the workplace. According to the results it seems that:

- Public bodies are more likely to employ bilingual staff than are private companies.
- While 58% of public bodies employed bilingual personnel for posts related to activities such as answering the phone, working in reception, in customer care and giving advice, only 25% of private companies did so.
- 49% of those employed in management, supervision and training in public bodies were bilingual, in contrast with only 17% in private companies.
- On the question of recruiting bilingual staff “wherever possible”, a firm commitment was expressed by 50% of public bodies and only 24% of companies.
- Regarding the existence of a language policy, 55% of public bodies, 8% of companies and 69% of voluntary organisations claimed to have adopted one.
- 71% of all respondents believe that being bilingual helps within the job market in Wales.

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<sup>137</sup> The sample in this part of the survey was 42% of the total weighted sample in paid employment, excluding those in self-employment, full time students and retired people who had part time jobs. In excluding the self-employed, which accounted for the 2% to 3% of all respondents, and because they possibly were SME owners, an opportunity was lost to gather more information regarding the use of Welsh in this such companies.

Finally, two other surveys on the role of bilingualism in the economy (Jones et al., 2001) and (Henley & Jones, 2001) provide a welcome awareness of the need to conduct in-depth investigations into the relationship between language skills and economic performance. Jones et al.'s research was aimed at identifying the role and potential of Welsh as a language of business, the employer demand for Welsh languages skills and the policy implications for ELWa and its partners for further human resources development and training provision with regard to Welsh. It seems clear that all the employers interviewed, including those who made no use of Welsh in their business at present, valued an employee with bilingual communication skills. According to the authors, the evidence suggests that there is a need for the formal education and post-16 training sector to ensure that trainees are made aware of the value that spoken and written Welsh language skills can have in the private business sector.

Henley & Jones argue that bilingualism has a positive effect on earning capacity, accounting for a difference of 8%–10% between monolinguals and bilinguals. However, their analysis demonstrates that employees are more likely to be rewarded for possessing bilingual communicative skills than for using such skills in the workplace. This again draws attention to a structural problem in Wales, how to translate potential into everyday active and formalised use.

Apart from these small-scale surveys, there are no comprehensive surveys exclusively analysing the detailed use of Welsh as a working language in private businesses and as used by customers. Surveys of this kind exist in, for example, Catalonia, Galicia the Basque Country or Frisland, and they help to give a clear picture of what are the actual use of their respective languages and of the main factors which influence that use. This data is crucial to allow language planners to understand the barriers hindering greater use of a target language, what is required to facilitate more use and which measures language planning agencies can adopt to influence such uses.

## **4.8 Conclusions**

### **4.8.1 Achievements and failures**

Without doubt, the greatest achievement of all is the resilience of the Welsh language which has managed to survive in contact with English, the near universal means of communication and currently the language with the highest prestige and economic value on the planet. But this is more than an achievement, it almost seems a miracle that Welsh is still spoken as a first language and experiencing a revitalisation after decades of decline.

A combination of political, economic and social factors has eroded the status of the language over the centuries to its lowest point in 1991 when, according to census data, only 18.6% of the population (508,098) spoke Welsh. Nevertheless, for the first time in a hundred years, the decrease in the number of Welsh speakers was reversed according to the 2001 census data, with an increase of some 80,000 new speakers. Although the figures are encouraging there are two broad parallel tendencies affecting language change. On the one hand, the language has made the greatest apparent progress in those areas that until the second half of the twentieth century showed the smallest proportions of Welsh speakers, though not necessarily the smallest numbers. On the other hand linguistic decline and concomitant Anglicisation continues to characterise extensive parts of *Y Fro Gymraeg*, North and West Wales, areas that remain crucial generators of Welsh first language speakers and where the Welsh is a community language.

Many civic organisations and individuals have struggled at grass-roots level for the maintenance and revitalisation of the Welsh language. The first areas which showed some level of support were education, local government and the media. The most significant language activist organisation in Wales, the Welsh Language Society, has been very successful in mobilising support to demand protection and promotion of Welsh on the part of governments, as well as securing the language as part of the political agenda of late twentieth century. It was the increased civil society protest, coordinated and directed by the Welsh Language Society that brought about changes in legislation.

Although the 1993 Welsh Language Act did not fulfil the expectations of those who supported a wider more encompassing law, where demands for the recognition of Welsh as the official language of Wales, among others, were denied, the Act enabled the establishment of an Advisory Welsh Language Board. In time, the WLB was to become a fully fledged and professional language planning agency, whose prime duty was to oversee the process of implementing language schemes in public sector bodies, but which has exceeded its basic mandate by promoting Welsh within areas not incorporated within legislation.

Was the Welsh Language Act of 1993 critical in advancing the use of Welsh and in increasing its status? The Act has certainly endorsed the use of Welsh in the public sector but it has not guaranteed the rights of Welsh speakers to make that choice. Moreover, the lack of enforcement powers which do not allow the WLB to penalise or sue a public body which does not comply with the recommendations of its own language scheme, is a weakness of the system in place. Another weakness in implementing the law has been the shortage of resources which has not allowed the WLB to properly monitor progress from the very beginning and have a greater impact on changing the language behaviour of Welsh speakers who continue to demonstrate low confidence in using Welsh formally and consequently make limited use of services in Welsh.

Government policy documents such as *Iaith Pawb*, apparently seem very encouraging, but the actions taken to fulfil the final aim of creating a 'truly bilingual Wales, where people can choose to live their lives through the medium of either or both Welsh and English' are less than impressive. Although the Assembly Government has certainly increased the budget of the WLB so it can pursue a number of initiatives such as strengthening the work of the *Mentrau*, it does not show signs of making real efforts to attain its target. Welsh medium schools are the only means to effectively produce bilingual citizens, not bilingual schools. Therefore, major changes in the education system are needed to increase the availability of Welsh medium



provision. These changes are nowhere to be seen. Moreover, the present legal framework is ill-equipped to protect the rights of Welsh speakers to choose to live their lives through the medium of Welsh, i.e. the Government's own stated aim. Simply, it is very difficult at the present stage. It is even more difficult to choose to work through the medium of Welsh or to be served by a private company in this language. The private sector is certainly a great challenge for the Welsh language, a challenge which cannot afford to be ignored, but one which is almost impossible to win, or even to tackle effectively, within the present legal framework.

Despite the weakness of the legal framework, and the uncertain support, if not in words then in practice, on behalf of the Welsh Assembly Government, the Welsh language currently enjoys a greater status than ever before in modern times. Changes in governance, brought about by devolution and the establishment of a National Assembly for Wales, have increased demands for Welsh speakers to work in the administration. Demands for Welsh language skills continue to rise in the media and education. Currently, in urban Wales an ability to speak Welsh is a clear advantage. This can be a powerful reason for parents to transmit the language to their children, and encourage them to speak it and become fluent Welsh speakers.

Ultimately, it is through use that a language is perpetuated as a valid medium of communication. But how extensive is the use and how secure is its future? On the one hand, from time to time, catastrophist messages of doom are heard proclaiming the end of the existence of Welsh in ten, twenty or fifty years time. On the other hand self-congratulatory and simplistic messages, many on behalf of Government politicians, are circulated envisaging a bright future for the language every time that a multinational company has decided to put in place bilingual signs. Welsh can be dying every day or living every day with simple things such as talking to one's child in Welsh or not, listening to the radio in Welsh or not, enjoying an evening down the pub with friends through the medium of Welsh or not. However, these simple actions are underpinned by the many complexities of language behaviour forged by societal norms. These norms will not change of their own accord without

explicit language intervention. Purposeful language planning will not be effective when unless there is a determined political will to change the current reality which in itself is both complex and in a state of constant flux.

#### **4.8.2 Future challenges**

Many challenges lie ahead to secure a future for the Welsh language. Firstly, an increase is needed in the number of people who have the ability and desire to use Welsh and the confidence to pass it on to the next generation. To secure language transmission in the family is essential for this is a precondition for the growth of Welsh medium education at all levels. Nevertheless, the education system, a primary agency of language reproduction, cannot sustain a language in a vacuum but rather acts as a motor of change. Many new speakers in long-anglicised areas are school age children who have few opportunities to speak the language outside school. It is very important to provide these children with such opportunities to enable them to become fluent and normal speakers of Welsh.

Secondly, it is essential that the language has a sound basis within the community. It will not prosper if its use at home and in the community continues to decline, even if the number of new speakers coming from schools increases. The future of the Welsh language would be very uncertain if it were spoken only as a second language. Therefore it is essential to continue strengthening Welsh as a community language. There is a double challenge to secure the vitality of Welsh as a community language in *Y Fro Gymraeg*. Traditional sources of employment, such as agriculture, can no longer sustain the economic base of such communities. Newer, more innovative economic impulses for sustainable development are required. On the one hand jobs are needed if communities are to retain their youngsters. On the other hand, despite the decline in the mentioned socio-economic base, this is still under threat from external influences. Thus it is important that an element of control be maintained through the planning process so as to moderate the impact that new housing developments are having on Welsh language communities. This will have to be accompanied with great efforts to convince incomers who settle in Welsh speaking areas of the advantages of

learning Welsh for themselves and for the community where they chose to live. There should be clear messages to help immigrants understand that they have moved into a culturally distinct area where the language is paramount.

Thirdly, in order for the language to become a vital medium of communication, people must be given the facilities and opportunities necessary to enable them to use the language naturally when conducting their business or when receiving bilingual services from bodies or companies operating in Wales. Such bodies and companies should also be given the facilities, support and encouragement to provide a good quality service for their customers who choose to use Welsh. More resources need to be committed to working with businesses, especially those in the private and voluntary sectors and to help learners overcome the barriers that prevent them from using Welsh outside the learning environment.

Fourthly, people do not make the best possible use of opportunities already available for the use of Welsh. There are many barriers which militate against further use, the most important of which are a lack of confidence and opportunities. Consumers need to feel confident in using Welsh when accessing goods and services and to hear it being used naturally in everyday situations. If the choice is not made evident, those particular learners, who continue to use Welsh beyond the classroom are likely to be in the minority. A further barrier which prevents use is the loss of ownership and responsibility of using Welsh whenever and wherever it is possible. There is a need to engage people to use Welsh regularly in their everyday lives, not only in changing attitudes; though this is a necessary if insufficient step. Language planning agencies have an important function in influencing changes of habit providing role models and guidance, and increasing the status of the Welsh language. Although Iaith Pawb's aim is to create a 'truly bilingual Wales, where people can choose to live their lives through the medium of either or both Welsh and English', what if fewer and fewer people "choose" to live their lives in Welsh? Language planning agencies need to secure a framework where Welsh speakers can make a positive choice in favour of Welsh.

In the following two chapters our attention turns to the results of a fieldwork study which sought to investigate to what extent the Welsh language is used in different activities of in Ceredigion and Carmarthen based SMEs, both for internal and external communications. Moreover, the project sought to understand the main reasons companies choose to use Welsh or not as a working language or as a language for marketing purposes. Ultimately the study aims to understand how and under what conditions SMEs in Wales can be encouraged to be more responsive to the needs of the Welsh speaking consumer, worker and employer.

## **5 THE USE OF WELSH IN SMES IN CEREDIGION AND CARMARTHENSHIRE: ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEWS**

### **5.1 Introduction**

Apart from the studies mentioned in the previous chapter, little detailed knowledge and systematic data about the use of Welsh in the private sector are available for the whole of Wales. Williams and Morris, among others, recognise the importance of further research, especially concerning the differences in the use of Welsh “in relation to public- and private-sector employment” (2000: 56). This lack of data is a serious weakness when interpreting and working for the promotion of Welsh in the private sector, and consequently, is a severe impediment to the planning process.

The lack of such data for Wales is explicable by two main reasons. First, recent developments to raise the profile of the Welsh language have concentrated on education, the media and public administration. When private sector issues were addressed by language planning agencies, such as the Welsh Language Board between 1993 and 2000, they were secondary because the Board’s statutory remit on language policy did not extend to the private sector. Therefore, a detailed knowledge of how the Welsh language was functioning in this sector of the economy was not a priority for such agencies.

Secondly, the sheer size of the private sector economy makes it difficult to adopt both a comprehensive global approach and to analyse any individual aspect, including language use. For instance, the total number of VAT registered enterprises in Wales at the beginning of 2001 was 74, 265 (National Assembly for Wales: 2002). The number of such businesses varies from year to year. Nevertheless, Wales has shown a consistent decrease in the total numbers of such businesses since 1992 and in the operative period of 2000 and 2001 there was a decrease of 220 in such businesses. However, not all businesses are registered for VAT because their trade falls below the VAT registration threshold. This is the case of many small and micro

businesses, especially sole traders. Small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs), that is, businesses from 0 up to 249 employees, make a substantial contribution to the economy of Wales; in fact over 99.9% of all businesses in Wales are SMEs. Estimates suggest that in 1997 there were around 158,100 businesses, both VAT registered and not (National Assembly for Wales: 1999: 16).

None the less, the vast size and variability of this sector of the economy is not a sufficient reason to neglect any analyses as to how the Welsh language is seen and more importantly, to what extent and for what purposes it is used. Private sector companies are major employers, thus their use of Welsh can have a considerable effect on language prestige and perceived utility for social and economic advance, and ultimately, on the motivation of Welsh speakers to transmit this language to their children.

There are no comprehensive and up to date surveys exclusively analysing the detailed use of Welsh as a working language in private businesses in Wales. Surveys of this kind are available for other minority language contexts, for example, Catalan, Galician, Basque and Frisian. Catalan has received far more attention than the other examples, with several surveys related to the use of Catalan in the private sector. As we have seen in chapter 3, there are four general surveys on the use of Catalan, as well as many statistically representative and up-to date micro-surveys focusing on different sub-sectors. Such surveys include the use of Catalan in supermarkets, wine and cava producers, bottling water companies, insurance companies, or petrol stations. In the case of Galician there is a comprehensive study, "Vender en galego. Comunicación, empresa e lingua en Galicia" (Ramallo F. y G. Rei Doval, 1997), concerning the opinion of Galician consumers about the use of Galician for publicity and other commercial relations of private companies. The authors also analyse the opinion of business leaders from thirty-three companies based in Galicia about the use of Galician as both a working and a marketing language. Basque has similar studies to those undertaken in Catalonia and Galicia, for example, "*El euskera en el ámbito socioeconómico*" (Eusko Jaurlaritzza/Gobierno Vasco, 1998). For Frisian a most interesting

study, "Frisian Revisited: Twenty-four accounts by managers working in Fryslân" (van Lagenvelde, 1999), is based on interviews of managers of twenty-four companies operating in Frisland concerning the use of Frisian for different aspects of their business activities.

Such surveys aid language planners to gauge the actual use of their respective languages including both stronger and weaker contexts for specific functions. The data also allows them to estimate the benefits which accrue to companies using the minority language, to better understand the barriers hindering greater use of that language, what is needed to facilitate more use and which measures language planning agencies can undertake to influence such uses.

Both this chapter and the next report on the findings of an original fieldwork project which sought to investigate to what extent the Welsh language is used in different activities of private business, both for internal and external communications. Moreover, the project sought to understand the main reasons companies choose to use Welsh or not as a working language or as a language for marketing purposes. Ultimately the study aims to understand how and under what conditions SMEs in Wales can be encouraged to be more responsive to the needs of the Welsh speaking consumer, worker and employer. The studies reported above on other minority language areas were very useful in designing the research questions and fieldwork undertaken for this current investigation.

In-depth interviews and a comprehensive questionnaire were the principal means of investigating these issues. The first part, the results of which are investigated in this chapter, consists of interviews undertaken with thirty-three managers of SMEs located in Ceredigion and Carmarthenshire. These counties comprise the second highest proportion of Welsh speakers in Wales according to the 2001 census figures. The second part of the fieldwork consists of a questionnaire that every interviewee was required to complete and return which sought details as to what extent Welsh was used for various

company activities. The results of this second part will be discussed in chapter 6.

The fieldwork focuses on SMEs for three main reasons. In general SMEs are considered to constitute the foundation of any economy and in Wales such companies are relatively more important than in the rest of the UK. SMEs constitute 99.9% of all businesses in Wales, but provide 71% of all employment, in comparison with 57% for the UK as a whole. They represent 63% of business turnover, in comparison with 54 % as a UK average (Welsh Development Agency, n. d.). Moreover, SMEs make a significant contribution to the local economy providing services, products and more importantly employment in areas, such as rural Wales, where other companies would not be attracted (Jones-Evans, 2001: 24). Secondly, they can reflect the sociolinguistic composition of the local area and respond to the linguistic choices of their customer base and workforce. Thirdly, given their predominantly, although not exclusive, local ownership and relatively autonomous decision making, any proposals for increasing the use of Welsh would be decided locally and not by a headquarters management team located elsewhere in Wales or outside.

The choice of SMEs as the object of study has, nevertheless, obvious disadvantages in comparison with large companies of more than 250 employees. SMEs have limited number of staff, constituting a relatively small percentage of the population considered in the survey. Another handicap is the limited lack of resources to invest in language or training perceived as ancillary or marginal issues. Another characteristic of large companies which many SMEs do not share is their presence and impact on the market, especially those companies who undertake extensive advertising and marketing. Nevertheless, there is a higher probability of finding SMEs with an extensive use of the Welsh language than large companies as there aren't many companies of this size in Wales, the majority of which are English or international corporations with headquarters outside Wales. Furthermore the majority of Wale's large companies are located in the industrial South and



South-East, (Western Mail: 1999), areas with a lower proportion of Welsh-speakers.

## **5.2 Methodology, objectives and analysis of the fieldwork**

The fieldwork was carried out between September 2000 and June 2001. It involved a series of face-to-face semi-structured in-depth interviews with owners, managers and key personnel of SMEs<sup>138</sup>. The term manager will be used as an umbrella term which includes specifically fifteen owners, seven directors, seven managers and four heads of department. The main reason for choosing managers as interviewees is that their declarations carry weight. It is recognised that the opinions expressed are often personal and do not necessarily reflect the official opinion of the company. However, in this sample, even if the interviewees are not necessarily the owners of the company themselves, their position allows them to take decisions on the functioning of their companies and, as such, their opinion and perceptions, as regards Welsh, can have a direct effect on the use of this language by the company.

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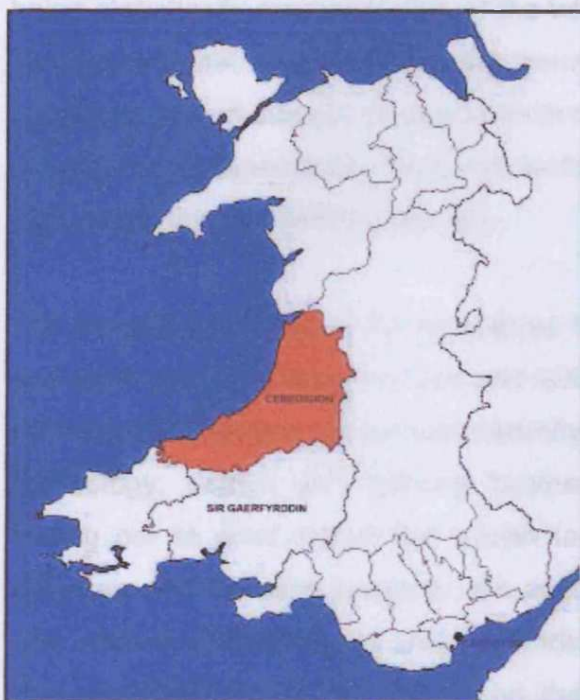
<sup>138</sup> The method of a semi-structured in-depth interview in the first part of the fieldwork was chosen in preference to the more frequent and institutionalised attitudinal scales used in language surveys. Since the research done by two social psychologists, Ajzen and Fishbein (1980), it is generally accepted that the relationship between attitudes and behaviour is not a direct one. Therefore, it does not seem possible to change behaviour by only changing the attitudes towards a specific object, in this case Welsh language. Many other factors intervene in the process of changing behaviour mostly what social psychologists call "normative beliefs" or "social norms" and what Williams & Morris call "institutionalization" or repeated and non-reflexive behaviour that the social actor takes for granted (2000: 26). These authors dismiss the Welsh Language Board's claims that changing the attitudes towards Welsh will mean an increasing use of the target language (2000: 56 and 161). Although semi-structured in-depth interviews steer the interviewee to answer a pre-set list of questions as chosen by the researcher which are also more time consuming to administer and to analyse. Nevertheless, they give more scope to the interviewees to explain and justify their opinions and actions. The total result provides a better understanding of the reasons behind the actions.

The SMEs in the sample are located in south-west and mid Wales, Ceredigion and Carmarthenshire<sup>139</sup>. In map 5.1 and 5.2 we can observe some characteristics of these two areas.

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<sup>139</sup> Before the redefinition of local authority boundaries of 1995 these counties, together with Pembrokeshire were part of a bigger entity named "Dyfed". As mentioned above, Dyfed has the second highest proportion of Welsh speakers in its workforce (42.6%). Therefore the probability of Welsh speakers among the staff of the sampled SMEs analysed is likely to be quite high.

### Map 5.1 Ceredigion



#### Census 2001

- Population: 74,941
- Welsh speakers: 52 %
- Num. Welsh speakers: 37,918

#### Economic data:

- GDP 77.3% of EU average
- Objective 1 zone (2000-06)
- 35% public sector employment
- Importance of agriculture
- Manufacturing below national average
- Small and micro businesses
- Low inward investment

### Map 5.2 Carmarthenshire



#### Population Census 2001

- Population: 172,842
- Welsh speakers: 50.3%
- Num. Welsh speakers: 89,213

#### Economic data:

- GDP 64.3% of EU average
- Objective 1 zone (2000-06)
- 50% public sector jobs
- Small size businesses
- Dependency local markets
- Low business formation
- Less inward investment

This survey, therefore, is of a qualitative nature and it has no intention of being statistically representative of the whole of Wales. Nevertheless, it could be claimed that many of the arguments and ideas could be reasonably extrapolated and thought of as a reflection of the language situation within the private sector (specifically the SME sector) and in areas characterised by a high proportions of Welsh-speakers.

The sample consisted of 33 companies from four different sub-sectors: food and drink manufacturing, tourism and leisure, retailing and the service sector, with special attention, given the diversity of this latter sector, to information technology, design and printing businesses among others.<sup>140</sup> Apart from finding out to what extent the Welsh language was used in their different activities and for what reasons, the sector of food and drink manufacturing was chosen particularly in order to understand to what extent and for what reasons Welsh was used or not on their product labels. The tourism and leisure sector is a very relevant and expanding industry in the economy of the two areas analysed, although there is a general perception that many of the owners of such business are English and not local. According to Carter (1988: 4) some areas of Wales, especially rural and coastal areas, attract English speakers opting out of the contemporary urban life. They purchase farms and start up tourism activities, such as B&B and they establish crafts industries, etc. Wales is a region that is attracting this type of immigrant, and although some learn Welsh<sup>141</sup>, many do not. Nevertheless, the inclusion of this sector in the sample can provide insights into the viability or interest of cultural tourism, and ascertain to what extent the use of Welsh is an asset or a barrier for such businesses. The two remaining sectors were chosen primarily for the direct dealings that they have with their customers, and in the case of retail

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<sup>140</sup> We are aware that any of these sectors could be analysed individually as has been done, for example, in Catalonia (see chapter 3). Nevertheless, given that no other comparable study was available when the fieldwork was initiated, various sectors were chosen in order to analyse the possible differences and approaches in the use of Welsh of these sectors.

<sup>141</sup> Company number 27 illustrates this well.

companies, their visible presence in the landscape of every village, town or city.

The sample was based on a selection of companies featuring in a previous survey undertaken by Menter a Busnes under the *Gorwelion*<sup>142</sup> project. Companies thought to have a high potential of Welsh being used, most of them with Welsh speaking owners or managers, were selected together with additional companies having non-Welsh speaking owners or managers<sup>143</sup>. In addition a private employment agency was included in the sample because it was interesting to see to what extent Welsh language skills were in demand by employers.

Some observations should be made about the selection process. All companies were contacted by telephone and briefed about the nature and the main objectives of the proposed interview. They were asked if they spoke Welsh and if that was the case the conversation was carried on in the chosen language. At this stage an attempt was made to include in the sample the same number of companies with Welsh speaking and non-Welsh speaking owners or managers, aiming to have as diverse a range of opinions as possible. However, a more positive response to participate was received from Welsh speakers than from non-Welsh speaking owners or managers. The main argument used by the latter group was that the Welsh language wasn't an issue for their everyday business and therefore they thought it inappropriate to comment on this subject. This fact gives us important information about how non-Welsh speaking owners or managers, who no doubt constitute a majority in Wales, perceive the language. We argue however that the refusal to take part in this survey is not only due to the lack

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<sup>142</sup> *Gorwelion*, or career horizons, is a Menter a Busnes programme that addresses the needs of employers for skills of all kinds including language skills. The project seeks to broaden the career aspirations of Welsh speakers and promote the Welsh language at work. As part of this project a job directory was developed which included an employers' evaluation of the utility of Welsh language within businesses (Menter a Business, 1996).

<sup>143</sup> These companies were selected from three different business directories, two general directories: Ceredigion (1998) and Sir Gaerfyrddin (2000) and a directory of food and drink companies, Welsh Development Agency (2000).

of significance of the Welsh language issue but also to its persistent controversial nature.

The general objectives of the fieldwork were to ascertain:

1. Under what conditions do companies choose to promote Welsh as a language of the workplace and/or a language for marketing purposes and self-identification?
2. What are the barriers which militate against the more widespread use of Welsh even within those companies who use Welsh to a certain extent?
3. What advantages and disadvantages do companies claim they derive from operating in a bilingual fashion?

The specific objectives of the fieldwork were to elucidate the use of Welsh in different aspects of the company's activities<sup>144</sup> together with the beliefs and opinions of the interviewees in the following seven subject areas: -

1. General questions related to:-
  - The perception of the presence and use of the Welsh language in activities related to private business in Wales, and especially in their own specific sub-sector
  - The differential involvement regarding the use of Welsh as perceived by Welsh, English and international companies
2. Employment, recruitment and training: -
  - The knowledge of their workforce in terms of Welsh language competence
  - Advantages and disadvantages of employing Welsh speakers
  - The knowledge of the Welsh language as a bonus or requirement when recruiting

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<sup>144</sup> The actual use of Welsh in the companies analysed will be dealt with in chapter 6. The data gathered through questionnaires will also shed light on which variables most influence these language uses.

- Searching explicitly for Welsh-speakers for designated posts and the difficulty in finding them
- Language training

3. Services and image: -

- The provision of linguistic choice in services and products.
- Positive or negative comments by customers related to the use of Welsh in products and services
  - Possible association between the use of Welsh and a nationalist ideology.

4. Costs and benefits, advantages and disadvantages of bilingualism:-

- Possible added value and market differentiation of products and services if Welsh is introduced
- Whether or not the use of the Welsh language is an obstacle to development or an asset to be exploited for the benefit of the company

5. Possible needs and help available: -

- The development of the Welsh language for modern business practices
- The availability of appropriate software material and the welcoming of further developments in this area
  - The search for professional help in anything related to the use of the Welsh language in the company and the knowledge of language agencies and other professionals who offer such services
  - The willingness to expand the use of Welsh if there was some financial help to do so

6. Advertising and labelling: -

- The cost-effectiveness of advertising bilingually
- The opinion of food and drink manufactures about the use of Welsh in product labels
- The Welsh language and the branding of Wales

## 7. Expectations for the future: -

- Related to the actions of the National Assembly for Wales
- Related to the decrease, increase or stabilisation of the use of Welsh in the private sector

The analysis of the interviews is divided and categorised in accordance with the main subject areas mentioned above. The opinions of the managers are grouped and described according to similarities, agreements or disagreements, and if it is the case, by sectors, location or by differences between Welsh and non-Welsh speakers. Moreover, these opinions are summarised, and not quoted directly from the transcription of the interviews, which can be found in the annexes. Usually, a particular opinion or a set of opinions are highlighted in order to exemplify and elucidate further a specific issue. Every company or interviewee, used anonymously in this chapter, has been given a number which appears in square brackets when their opinions are commented. Therefore, the name of the company is not disclosed, only their main activity, their location and, when pertinent, if he or she is a Welsh speaker or not. Nevertheless, in some cases the name of the company appears in the transcription of the interviews, quoted by the interviewee him or herself.<sup>145</sup>

## 5.3 The findings of the fieldwork: the interviews

### 5.3.1 General questions

#### 5.3.1.1 *The perception of the presence and use of the Welsh Language as a business language*

The perception that the use of Welsh for commercial dealings and other business activities in Wales is not very widespread is shared by almost all of the businessman and women interviewed, Welsh-speaking and non Welsh-speaking alike. Only three interviewees [11, 20 & 28] thought that Welsh was

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<sup>145</sup> For the transcript interviews see Annex in the CD-ROM included.



used quite extensively in local shops, though not to the same extent as English. Some remarked that even if oral Welsh is used in some companies this use is superficial and the majority of written transactions are almost exclusively in English. Many admitted that they thought of English as the language of business.

In contrast, however, the majority stressed how strong the use of Welsh by the local population is in the area where their business is located, and that there were many first language Welsh-speakers who preferred using Welsh to English, especially among the older generation, and the farming community. The use of the Welsh language in the schools of the area is believed to be very strong, but younger generations seem to be less fluent in Welsh and not using it much outside school<sup>146</sup>.

Interviewees seem to have clear mental maps of Welsh language strongholds (Williams, C.H. 1981). In general, Ceredigion and West Carmarthenshire are perceived to be very Welsh. In Carmarthenshire, Sancler to the west and Pontarddulais to the east would mark the boundaries where Welsh ceases to be important and inside this territory Cwm Gwendraeth and also the town of Carmarthen are considered to be Welsh language strongholds. Ceredigion as a whole is perceived to be very Welsh, as is Aberystwyth, Lampeter and Newcastle Emlyn to the south. North Wales, as an entity, is mentioned also for its Welshness. By contrast places such as greater Swansea and greater Cardiff, where according to the census of 2001 in terms of total numbers, if not in terms of percentages, Welsh-speakers outnumber those to be found in the study areas, are perceived to be very English.

Despite the fact that both Ceredigion and Carmarthenshire are considered predominantly Welsh speaking areas, the Welsh language does not figure as prominently within the private sector as one would expect. Thus, a young

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<sup>146</sup> This opinion contrasts with other opinions as expressed by many managers, in section 3.7.2, who were asked about their expectations of the use of the Welsh language in the future. Many placed their hopes for the growth of the use of Welsh on the ability of a new generation of Welsh-speakers.

Welsh-speaking owner of a web design company based in Ceredigion [3] commented about the possible causes of such small use of Welsh in the private sector. He argued that there are so many employment opportunities for Welsh speakers in the public sector, such as in local administration, in the National Assembly, in education and the media etc., that no one or very few work for private companies or want to start their own business. Why take any risks when it is relatively easy to find a well paid job in the public sector? However, a manager of a publishing company [4] believed that the causes for such a limited use of Welsh in the private sector in Ceredigion are due to the profound structural problems suffered by this rural area which hinders the creation of new businesses both by Welsh and, non-Welsh speaking, local residents alike. There is a lack of an appropriate transport infrastructure, for instance there is no direct train line between north and south Wales, and so the accessibility of these Mid Wales areas is very limited. Moreover, there is a lack of an appropriate set of regional economic development policies formulated by the present and previous governments. This has had a negative impact on the region which is perceived as being relatively neglected, a legacy which perpetuates a sense of injustice and regional deprivation.

Managers and owners of tourism and leisure related companies felt that the use of Welsh was fairly limited in their sector because, although the majority of the staff is local and Welsh-speaking, the majority of owners are English, have moved to the area and have not learned Welsh. It is interesting to note that none of the five of the six interviewees born outside Wales from non-Welsh speaking families [companies 5, 6, 16, 18 & 32] and have lived and worked in the area for at least the last thirty years, spoke Welsh fluently. The owner of the sixth company [27] has recently moved to Wales and although he is learning Welsh he is not yet fluent.

Regarding the other sectors analysed, managers of food and drink manufacturing companies believed that Welsh is not much used in their specific sub-sectors. Interviewees from the service sector companies considered that Welsh was used in their dealings with customers but it was, as it has been said, mainly oral. Nevertheless, a manager of a publishing,

design and public relations company [12] believed that this sector in Wales and especially the main publishing houses worked bilingually.

Although almost everybody agrees the use of Welsh in the private sector is not very widespread, many point out that there have been remarkable changes in the last ten to fifteen years. A manager of a public relations company based in Aberystwyth, [13] who can be considered a pioneer in using Welsh in this field, commented that he has seen Welsh becoming more important in recent years. Since his beginnings as an entrepreneur in 1979, when he founded his company, he has tried to convince other businesses to use Welsh as a business language and he admitted that it was very difficult to lead the way. He believes that this is no longer the case today for many businesses see the advantages of using Welsh.

#### *5.3.1.2 The difference of involvement with the issue of the Welsh language by Welsh, English and international companies*

Twelve of the twenty-seven managers or owners questioned agreed that Welsh businesses should be more sensitive to the issue of the Welsh language than should English or international companies. They thought that they should provide a language choice, especially in their dealings with their customers. If Welsh-speaking owners and managers don't use Welsh and don't look after their own language there is no hope for the language to survive, according to a Welsh-speaking owner of a hotel and golf centre in Ceredigion [9].

Nine of the twenty-six interviewed, all of them Welsh-speakers, disagreed about the suggestion that only Welsh-owned companies should make use of the Welsh language. They argued that every company doing business in Wales, especially those who deal directly with the public, should contemplate the fact that Wales is a bilingual country, therefore they should take the Welsh language into account. Those companies, declared a young owner of a web-design [3] company, are deriving benefits from Wales, thus they should pay something back to the community and show respect for the local culture and

language. Another owner of a P.R. and design company [13] said that even if Welsh-speakers are in a minority, Welsh, English or international companies should pay attention to them because every single customer counts. He said also that there is much support for the Welsh language by the population of Wales, from Welsh-speakers and non Welsh-speakers alike, thus it is becoming more normal to see Welsh in signs or leaflets. Even if these uses can seem superficial they are very important in creating a bilingual atmosphere and a sense of normality for the Welsh language.

Only three of the sample [18, 27 & 32], all of them non Welsh-speaking managers born outside Wales, believed that Welsh should not be excessively used in business as it is a hindrance to the progress of the company. They declared themselves to be internationalists and asserted that the international language of business was English. A manager of a mineral water production company based in Carmarthenshire [18] believed that Welsh-speakers ought to be careful how they treat and use their language because they tend to preclude themselves from business opportunities on the grounds of a misplaced pride in a sense of Welshness. He added that, at the end of the day, regardless of whether one agreed or disagreed that Welsh was a hindrance or not, for foreign companies such language matters are not as important as the price of the land to build factories or the probable salaries paid to prospective workers. Thus, he does not believe that foreign companies would be dissuaded to invest in Wales because of the Welsh language but rather they will invest because workers in Wales receive among the lowest salaries in the UK.

Two of the remaining three [5 & 16] argued that the location of the business is an important factor in deciding if and how appropriate it is to use Welsh. Thus, if a company is established in a strong Welsh-speaking area it is reasonable to make an effort and take the language into account to a certain extent. That is what company 16 does in practice in their Carmarthen location, where Welsh is common practice, as opposed to their other shop in Llantrisant, near Cardiff where they pay less attention to the Welsh language. Nevertheless, the manager of company 5, an organic dairy based in Ceredigion, commented

that it is highly questionable whether there is in fact much reason for the executives of those companies to make an effort to learn Welsh and use it as a business language.

The remaining interviewee to comment on the question, a young manager from a jewellery and craft shop in Ceredigion [10], argued that what should be important in deciding if Welsh has to be used by a company is the market or the customers to which they are selling their products or services. In businesses like his, he said, the Welsh language is part of their branding image, their identity as companies. However, for some companies the language is completely irrelevant, they compete in a bigger market and because there are additional costs in working bilingually, there has to be some sort of benefit to justify these costs, apart from some sort of sentiment or attachment to the language by the company. Therefore, if companies believed that using Welsh could add value to their products and find a market to sell them at slightly higher cost because they use Welsh, as do some creameries in north Wales, and Glengettie, a U.S. tea company, then it does not make any difference where the founders of the company come from, whether it be Wales or America. He did not believe that Welsh companies have any necessary duty to use Welsh in business.

### **5.3.2 Employment, recruitment and training**

#### *5.3.2.1 The knowledge by managers or owners of workforce in terms of Welsh language competence*

All but one of the interviewees were aware of the number or at least the proportion of Welsh speakers in the workforce of their respective companies. In seven of the companies, one in Carmarthenshire and six in Ceredigion, all the staff speak Welsh. In fourteen out of the thirty two companies questioned, eight in Carmarthenshire and six in Ceredigion, more than half of the staff is Welsh-speaking. Included among these companies are two of the major employers of the sample, companies 16 and 24 with 200 and 140 employees respectively. Half of the workforce is Welsh speaking in five companies,

including the third major employer of the sample, company 5 with 61 employees. Four companies have less than half of their staff able to speak Welsh and in one company only none of the staff speaks Welsh, however it counts just for one person. Thus, as was predicted in the earlier hypothesis, there is a great proportion of Welsh speakers working in the companies analysed.<sup>147</sup>

Regarding the level of fluency in Welsh of the workforce, half of the interviewees who knew the number or the proportion of Welsh speakers in their companies did not provide any information about the fluency of their workers, whereas the other half knew exactly if their staff was fluent or not in Welsh. In twelve companies all the staff who speak Welsh are first language Welsh speakers and fully competent in Welsh. In two companies the staff able to speak Welsh are reasonably fluent, and in two more companies there is a mix of fully fluent and reasonably fluent Welsh-speakers.<sup>148</sup> In just two companies the managers reported that one or two of their employees were learning Welsh at the time of the interview.

#### *5.3.2.2 The knowledge of the Welsh language as a bonus or requirement when recruiting*

When asked if the knowledge of the Welsh language was a bonus or a requirement when recruiting, only a non-Welsh speaking manager considered that speaking Welsh was neither a bonus nor a requirement in his company [5]. However, the majority of interviewees, twenty one out of twenty-nine, said that being a fluent Welsh speaker was more of a bonus, a deciding factor sometimes, but never a requirement or the main criterion to fill a post. If they had to choose between contestants with more or less the same skills and experience and one of them was a Welsh speaker they would definitely choose him or her because they have an additional valuable skill, “another string to their bow”, as a manager of a water bottling company [18] in

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<sup>147</sup> We will see in chapter 6 if this knowledge translates into actual use.

Carmarthenshire said. He added that he would only consider the ability of speaking Welsh for posts that actually would benefit from that, such as customer services. Furthermore, many of them made clear that the skills and personality of the applicant contestant were the most important criteria when recruiting, and they would always employ someone with the right skills and with the character which fitted best in the company over and above any Welsh speaking considerations.

In contrast, for the remaining seven managers, all of them Welsh speakers five of whom worked in Ceredigion, being a Welsh speaker was a requirement for filling posts. They recognised that they would not appoint someone who was not a fluent Welsh speaker and this was their explicit policy. However, two of the managers [23 and 25] would consider someone who was interested in learning Welsh fairly quickly and who showed the right attitudes towards the Welsh language. The main reasons argued were that Welsh was the principal language of the company, that many customers and clients expected them to use Welsh, and because otherwise they would not be able to do their job properly. The same two managers [23 and 25] pointed out that they had to be very careful in justifying the Welsh language as an essential skill because they could be accused of being racists. One of them, a manager of an accountancy firm in Carmarthen, [23] considered that requiring Welsh for a post was not racist because it is open to anyone to learn Welsh. He stressed that “you cannot change the colour of your skin but you can learn Welsh if you want”.

It seems clear from the opinions of the managers interviewed that the Welsh language is an important and useful skill in the marketplace and could be a deciding factor for an employer. This fact seems to corroborate the results of a Welsh Language Board survey in which being bilingual is considered as an advantage within the employment market in Wales (Welsh Language Board, 2000: 16).

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<sup>148</sup> “Reasonably” is a self-ascribed category, as to how the interviewees describe the level of Welsh of their staff. It is notoriously difficult to qualify, but nevertheless used generally.

### *5.3.2.3 Advantages and disadvantages of employing Welsh speakers*

When asked if they felt that employing Welsh speakers for certain posts was an advantage or was of some benefit for the company all but three answered positively. The principal reason they gave was they have an important number of Welsh-speaking customers who feel more comfortable dealing with them in Welsh. Five of them, a recruitment agency [22], two leisure farms [28 & 29] and two cheese manufactures [14 & 21], who also accept visits to their farms to watch the process of cheese making, said that Welsh schools are among their customers and teachers clearly prefer using Welsh, especially during the visits with their pupils in the case of the farms. Other customers which prefer to deal in Welsh, according to two managers of hotels and restaurants, [2 & 8] are media professionals and people from Welsh-speaking organisations.

Their dealings with Welsh-speaking customers is not the only reason why some employers think that it is an advantage to employ Welsh speakers. The managers of eight companies, six of them in the service sector [3, 4, 12, 13, 23 & 31] and two retail companies [25 & 10] argued that employing Welsh speakers was a question of internal efficiency and productivity inside the company because Welsh was their working language. The managers of companies, 4 and 31, both of them publishing and printing companies, said that they deal mainly with bilingual or Welsh texts and documents, thus they need designers and editors who understand Welsh and who have no problem working bilingually. They feel as well that having Welsh-speaking employees in the printing section is very useful because they can easily spot mistakes, halt the printing and make the necessary corrections, saving time and money to the company. The manager of a public relations and design company in Ceredigion [12] argued that because of the nature of part of their work, mainly dealing with the press and the National Welsh Assembly, their press releases have to be completely bilingual. Hence, employees doing this job not only have to be Welsh speakers but their level of Welsh, both spoken and written, needs to be of the highest standard possible. Obviously, the better the quality and range of Welsh speaker that exist in a company, the less remedial and oversight work has to be done in proof-reading and correcting texts and



documents in Welsh. This has a cumulative effect on the overall productivity, efficiency and image of the company.

The managers of three companies [5, 26 & 32], two of them non-Welsh speakers, thought that employing Welsh speakers did not make much difference and neither did it give them any particular advantage in the marketplace. The manager of company 32, an animal food manufacturer and retailer who deals mainly with local farmers, said that even if it is handy to have Welsh speakers as employees, farmers would still buy from them because of their competitive prices and not because they are able to deal with them in Welsh.

The second part of the question was related to the posts where managers think it is of special advantage to have Welsh speaking employees. Apart from the companies, mentioned above, where the internal working language is Welsh and require Welsh-speakers in any post, and the three who do not see any advantage in employing Welsh speakers, all the rest named posts related with the direct dealings with customers and clients. Posts such as customer services, answering the phone, sales positions and cashiers in retail companies, and the reception, the restaurant and bar areas in the case of hotels and restaurants, were positions thought to be suitable for being occupied by Welsh-speakers. Welsh speaking was also considered highly advantageous for public relations. A non Welsh-speaking manager of a water bottling company in Ceredigion [6] said that it was foolish for a company in Wales not to be able to represent themselves in Welsh and he recognised that on occasions a meeting with Welsh language media didn't take place because the Welsh speaking company's P.R. wasn't available. None of these companies have an explicit Welsh language policy regarding the position of their Welsh speaking workforce inside the company but a manager of a retail company in Carmarthenshire [16], among others, said that they try to make sure that in each department there are one or two staff able to speak Welsh to the customers.

#### *5.3.2.4 Searching explicitly for Welsh-speakers for designated posts and the difficulty in finding them*

The managers of nineteen companies, out of the twenty-eight questioned reported having looked specifically for Welsh-speakers when filling vacancies. Three of whom [3, 4 & 14] admitted that they advertise for new recruits only in Welsh. Five of the nine companies who did not look for Welsh-speakers [11, 16, 17, 19 & 24] said that they never had problems in filling vacancies with Welsh-speakers because they recruited from within the area, mainly through family and friends and that there are many Welsh-speakers among them.

However, a problem common to the majority of these companies, fifteen out of the nineteen, was the difficulty in finding fully competent Welsh-speakers in general, and a greater difficulty lay in finding those with the right skills needed to fill certain jobs. Skills such as computing, web design, accountancy, design and printing, management, and also skills in the tourism sector are some of those mentioned. A manager of a recruitment agency in Carmarthen [22] advertised a post for a career's adviser in Ceredigion and for six months no one applied for the job. Two managers, one from a retail company in Carmarthenshire [30] and another from a publishing and printing company in Ceredigion, [4] pointed out that for a company to grow and to be competitive, they sometimes need to appoint specialised staff and generally they come from outside the area, from South Wales or England, so it is less probable that they speak Welsh. Furthermore, many managers said that the best people leave the local area and move to places such Cardiff or London where they can have better salaries and a different lifestyle which they cannot obtain in these rural areas. This is especially true of the young who are usually better educated and more prepared to move. Another problem mentioned was that many young people, who have been through the school system and supposedly learned Welsh, even if they achieve a certain level of comprehension, are not fully fluent Welsh-speakers and thus they are not able to work in Welsh. The same issue was raised by two managers in Ceredigion [2 & 3] regarding the training in further, vocational and higher education where they rarely teach courses through the medium of Welsh.

The daily experience of a career's advisor from a recruitment agency in Carmarthen [22] seems to confirm many of these issues. According to her, there is a great demand for bilinguals, especially for jobs in the public sector such as in the health sector, the police or local administration. However this demand extends notably to the private sector and they have many clients in Ceredigion and Carmarthen who would only recruit Welsh-speakers. In general, she says, there are few Welsh speakers with special skills and qualifications. Moreover, there is a geographic dimension to the problem since, according to her experience, it is easier to recruit people to work in Carmarthenshire than Ceredigion, because there are people from Cardiff and Swansea who are ready to take a job in Carmarthen or surrounding area, whereas they see Ceredigion as being too far and too big a step to take. In order to find more Welsh speakers they advertise in colleges such as Aberystwyth or Bangor where there is a larger community of Welsh-speaking students who graduate in career-related subjects taught through the medium of Welsh. Nevertheless it seems that youngsters don't expect to use Welsh as a working language when they leave school or college and enter into the job market. There should be a greater effort to encourage young people to continue their studies in Welsh, when it is possible, perhaps through the provision of grants or other means of support<sup>149</sup>.

#### 5.3.2.5 *Welsh language training*

Only one company, a retailer from Ceredigion [25], at the time of the interview, provided Welsh language training for their staff, paying 100% of the costs. Two other companies, a design, publishing and PR company in Ceredigion [12] and a recruiting agency in Carmarthenshire [22] have provided Welsh language training for their staff in the past. In the case of company 22 they only sent people to improve their written Welsh outside working hours and gave them a grant to spend on books, learning material and travel expenses,

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<sup>149</sup> Menter a Busnes is running a programme called *Gorwelion*, mentioned also in footnote 5, in order to encourage young Welsh speakers to consider their ability to speak Welsh as a valuable skill when looking for a job.

but they have never sent a beginner to a Welsh language course. In company 12 the course was during working hours with support as well from the company. They all agreed that it takes a long time to become a fluent Welsh speaker if you start from scratch and it is actually up to the individual to appreciate its worth and take action. Success rates are not impressive, according to the manager of the retail company.

The rest of the companies, which constitute the great majority, did not offer any Welsh language training to their workers. Five of these companies, all of them in Ceredigion [1, 3, 10, 11 & 13] said that all of their staff was already fluent in Welsh. The main argument put forward for not providing Welsh language training was that they could not force someone to learn Welsh. It was not up to owners or managers to do so but to the individual, and if they wanted to learn Welsh there were plenty of opportunities available. Only two managers [4 & 9] felt that maybe they should be making a bigger effort in encouraging their non Welsh-speaking staff to learn the language.

Lack of resources to pay for the courses was another argument, especially with the tight budget small companies have to work within. Furthermore, it is a long term investment for a company, said a manager of a hotel in Ceredigion [2] and because employment in the tourism sector is so mobile it wouldn't pay off. Effectively only three companies [3, 4 & 9] would be willing to pay for such courses if the issue arose.

### **5.3.3 Services and image**

#### *5.3.3.1 The provision of language choice in services and products<sup>150</sup>*

The majority of companies, twenty-nine of the total thirty three, provided some sort of language choice to their customers. The choice offered ranged from a totally or almost totally bilingual service, both in oral and written activities; a

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<sup>150</sup> In chapter 6 we will analyse more thoroughly what languages are used in the most common oral and written activities in the case of those companies who returned the questionnaire. Whereas in this section we concentrate on the availability of language choice according to the managers interviewed and not the actual use.

language choice only in oral activities; and finally only limited choice in some of the company's oral activities.

However, there were fourteen companies who reported being able to provide a totally or almost totally bilingual service,<sup>151</sup> nine of them in Ceredigion and the remaining five in Carmarthenshire. The majority of them said that they made it clear from the start that they were able to provide a language choice, either through answering the phone bilingually, having a bilingual web site or asking directly if they preferred dealing in Welsh. Furthermore, the managers of six of these companies [4, 10, 13, 23, 25 & 31] stressed that they were ready to provide their services exclusively in Welsh if that was the wish of their customers. Nevertheless many of them said that although they could offer a bilingual choice sometime it was not practical or it was too expensive to justify doing so in all of their activities.

The manager of an accountancy firm in Ceredigion [1] said that although they tried to provide a bilingual service to their customers in all their activities, at times it was not practical for statutory reasons. Their activities are regulated by the "Financial Services Act of 1998" which states that finance records and other statutory documents have to be issued to the clients in English. The only way of introducing Welsh in these kind of documents would be through an official translation, which obviously would make the service more expensive. Another manager of a jewellery business in Ceredigion, [10] remarked on the impracticality of producing their catalogue only in Welsh. He argued that scarcely 15% to 17% of their customers asked for Welsh language catalogues. This was not enough to justify expenditure on a Welsh only catalogue, which is why they printed a bilingual version instead. Nevertheless, the majority of written documents, mostly letters, sent to their customers were in a monolingual version, either in Welsh or in English, therefore reducing the volume to be sent and saving money for the company. In order to know in which language they should send letters and other documents, they kept a data base with information about their customers' preferred language. They

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<sup>151</sup> Companies 1, 3, 4, 7, 8, 10, 12, 13, 15, 22, 23, 25, 31 and 33.

made it clear via a footnote in the documents sent that the customers could always change languages if they wanted.

The second group of companies, eleven in total<sup>152</sup>, are those who could provide a choice in oral activities, but are not ready to provide the same choice for all written activities. Two of them, [9 & 19], said that they did not need to show that they were able to provide a language choice to their customers, and they did not use badges or any other method to advertise the possibility of this choice. In fact, only in one company in this group, a retailer in Carmarthenshire [16], do the staff wear Welsh Language Board bilingual badges to indicate to their clients who is able to speak Welsh. Companies 9 & 19 argued that they had a high proportion of staff able to speak both languages, and because they usually knew which of their regular customers, spoke Welsh, they answered accordingly. Those who commented on the impossibility of providing a full choice in written activities said that they lacked staff with Welsh written proficiency. Another reason according to the manager of a leisure farm in Ceredigion, [29], was that it was difficult to find material such as posters or billboards of animals, plants or any other activities related to the farm in Welsh or bilingual versions. He said that some Ceredigion County Council and self-made posters were available in Welsh but the majority of their posters were published by the Nation Union of Farmers and they were exclusively in English.

All of the managers in this group stated that they did not ask their customers if they spoke Welsh or they preferred to interact in Welsh, but expected the customers to make the first move and ask for the service in Welsh. However, they said that the great majority of customers did not ask or insist on speaking Welsh, and that most people switched to English quite happily if there was not a member of the staff available at the time able to provide the service in Welsh. A non-Welsh speaking manager of a retail company in Carmarthen, [30], said that they were lucky because it had never happened that a customer insisted on speaking Welsh.

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<sup>152</sup> Companies 9, 11, 14, 16, 17, 19, 21, 24, 29, 30 and 32.

Four companies [2, 6, 20 & 28] constitute the last group who provided some sort of language choice in their oral activities. The main reason given by all of these managers for not being able to provide a regular language choice was the lack of Welsh-speaking staff. They said, as happened with the previous group of companies, that they never asked their customers if they wanted to interact in Welsh, waiting instead for the customer to raise the question.

Finally four companies, [5, 18, 26 & 27], acknowledged not to be able to provide the possibility of choosing the language of interaction with their customers or clients, although some of them produced or had produced some bilingual leaflets or other material. The manager of a hotel in Carmarthen, [26], said that they could not offer a bilingual service to their customers because the company was a subsidiary of a group of hotels which did not provide nor allow resources to be spent on bilingual services. He admitted to have once produced bilingual menus because it was a novelty at the time, but had stopped doing so because the majority of clients ordered in English.

#### *5.3.3.2 Positive or negative comments by customers related to the use of Welsh*

More than half of the managers interviewed, nineteen in total and mainly from Ceredigion, advised they had not received at all, or at least recently, any comments either positive or negative from their customers related to the use of Welsh in their company. Neither had they received demands to expand or make more use of Welsh in their respective companies. A manager from a publishing and P.R. company in Ceredigion [13] said that people came to his company because they knew they can work in Welsh and they took it for granted that they will provide services through the medium of Welsh. He added that people who were anti-Welsh would not consider doing business with them because they would feel uncomfortable with their Welshness.

For those who received comments from their customers, six managers, two from Ceredigion [6 & 29] and the remaining four from Carmarthenshire, [17, 19, 32 & 26], received negative comments. Only four companies received

positive comments about their use of Welsh [3, 18, 21 & 33] and four more, [10, 11, 22 & 31], reported having received both positive and negative comments. Even in these cases comments were not usual and they were made by a minority of their clients.

The negative comments received by six companies came mainly from Welsh-speaking customers complaining about the absence or the little use of Welsh in their companies. However, two negative comments came from non Welsh-speaking customers who complained because they were greeted in Welsh. The non Welsh-speaking manager of a wholesaler in Ceredigion [32] dismissed the complaints about the lack of use of Welsh saying that it was an excuse for something else. Usually, he said, if somebody can't pay the bill, they want to speak in Welsh. He added that since he started in his post two years ago he had been personally challenged twice because he did not speak Welsh. The manager of a water bottling company in Ceredigion [6] reported having had disagreements because of the absence of Welsh on his factory entrance sign, not with customers but with the county council, which told him that the sign had to be completely bilingual. He said that the name of the company was legally registered partly in Welsh and partly in English, and that he was not going to change it. Another manager of a leisure farm in Ceredigion [29] admitted having received comments from customers for not using enough Welsh in his company, and although it was a minority, they respected such opinions and that's why they wanted to expand their use of Welsh.

The congratulations received by four companies because of their use of Welsh came from Welsh-speaking customers who were happy to see the Welsh language used in product labels and part of the companies services. A young Welsh-speaking manager from a web design company in Ceredigion [3] said that he received many positive comments from customers who were surprised to see bilingual websites of good quality. He added that maybe people do not expect to see Welsh or bilingual websites with the same or better quality than English websites and that people do not usually associate the Welsh language with professionalism and quality.



Finally, four more companies received both positive and negative comments about their use of Welsh. Regarding the negative remarks, two came from non Welsh-speaking customers, one who complained about the use of Welsh when answering the phone [31] and the other complaining about a bilingual catalogue, which according to the customer made it more difficult to follow [10]. Both companies received greater positive comments precisely for answering the phone in Welsh and for publishing a bilingual catalogue. In the case of the company 22, a careers advisor from Ceredigion, the comments came from Welsh-speaking customers complaining that some letters written in Welsh were answered in English. Nevertheless they have received many comments encouraging the company, which merged recently with other careers advisors, to keep the same level of use of Welsh as part of their services.

#### *5.3.3.3 Possible association between the use of Welsh in business and a nationalist ideology*

Regarding a possible association between the use of Welsh in business and a nationalist ideology, the majority of those interviewed, twenty one of the twenty eight asked, did not believe this to be the case, although some of them made clarifications about the possibility that others could interpret the use of Welsh as a political statement. Four said that it was difficult to say if such an association existed, but acknowledged the possibility. Only two believed that this link existed somehow.

Eight managers among those who did not believe that a link existed between the use of Welsh in business and a nationalist ideology, answered very strongly that such a link did not exist, although half of them did not elaborate upon their answers. The other half, the managers of two accountancy firms, one in Ceredigion [1] and one in Carmarthen [23], a promotion and marketing company in Ceredigion [15], and the manager of a publishing company in Ceredigion [4] made clear that using Welsh in business did not mean explicitly that they voted or were linked in any particular way to Plaid Cymru. The latter

also said that he did not want to see only Welsh nationalists using Welsh in business.

The remaining thirteen managers who did not believe that there existed an association between using Welsh in business and a nationalist ideology agreed, nevertheless, that it was possible for such a relationship to be deduced, especially by non Welsh-speakers. A manager of a web design company in Ceredigion [3] said that some people could think that using Welsh in situations or for functions where Welsh was not usually present, could be interpreted as a patriotic or nationalist act, but in reality what he was doing was expanding the use of Welsh in domains where it should be used in the first place. He added that if Welsh was to be coequal with English it should be used in the same domains and for the same functions; to fill the gaps where there was a lack of such uses was not something patriotic, he insisted.

References to the past were also made. Eight managers thought that the link between the Welsh language use in business and nationalism was more evident in the past, but things have changed and today they did not believe it to be the case anymore. A hotel manager in Ceredigion [11] said that they maybe had to thank the protests in the past related to the Welsh language for the fact that today the use of the Welsh language is considered more normal and part of them. Effectively the majority believed that using Welsh in their businesses was something natural or normal because they were first language Welsh speakers and were educated through the medium of Welsh. A manager of a publishing and P.R. company in Ceredigion [13], said that today people expected some use of Welsh in private businesses. The manager of a recruitment agency in Carmarthen agreed with the existence of these expectations by the public, and stated that businesses are merely responding to the needs and demands of their customers who want to deal with them in Welsh.

Managers who doubted the existence of such link [7, 12, 19 & 25] provided answers similar to those of the previous group of managers who did not believe that such link existed, but granted the possibility of such an

interpretation. A hotel manager in Carmarthenshire [19] said that there could be a link between the level of spoken Welsh and being politically active for a certain party. But this was possibly more evident in places like Cardiff where they have become very politically aware regarding Welsh language issue over the last twenty years. Nevertheless, she also said that in Carmarthenshire the use of Welsh was natural.

The idea that business comes first was expressed by four managers [2, 8, 12 & 33], from both groups of companies. They said that they have to be very careful, to keep out of politics and not make enemies with potential customers. They insisted that working in the private sector is very competitive and because they are based on profits they have to be very pragmatic and keep all their clients and customers happy, both Welsh and non-Welsh speakers alike.

The two remaining companies, [10 & 27] declared that they believed in the existence of such a link and that it was very evident in some companies. The manager of company 27, a hotel in Ceredigion, said that the association of Welsh with a nationalist ideology was a negative factor for businesses and there are economic reasons which make this link unsustainable. The testimony of the manager of a jewellery shop in Ceredigion [10] provides us again with very interesting and revealing facts. He said that the origins and inspiration of his company, founded by his parents thirty years ago, are rooted in a political statement; the will by his parents to bring up a Welsh speaking family in a Welsh-speaking area. It was a cultural statement too, the will to teach both the people of Wales and outside about Wales's heritage, about Welsh myths and legends and raise awareness of Welsh history and traditions and that's why they make products inspired by these stories. His attitude however is completely different from that of his parents. Business and its health come first and before any political statement or vision. If they can make a profit and still inspire national pride and patriotic feelings, it is a good thing, but never to the detriment of business.

### **5.3.4 Advantages and disadvantages; costs and benefits of bilingualism**

#### *5.3.4.1 Advantages and disadvantages of using Welsh*

The majority of the managers interviewed, twenty-eight of the total of thirty three believed that using Welsh conferred or could confer more advantages than disadvantages to their companies. Nevertheless, two of them [6 & 30], both non Welsh-speakers, were very cautious and admitted that it was an advantage locally and to a certain extent if handled carefully. Four managers, two Welsh-speakers [10 & 26], and two non-Welsh speakers [5 & 32] did not see the use of Welsh in business either to be an asset or a problem. Only a non-Welsh speaking manager of a bed and breakfast in Ceredigion [27] thought that using Welsh was definitely something negative for business. He thought that apart from being expensive, using Welsh was simply divisive.

Managers believed that many advantages derived from using Welsh. Ten of the twenty eight believed that the principal advantage was that using Welsh differentiated the company in the market place and from competitors who could not offer a language choice to their customers. A manager of a cheese producing company in Ceredigion [14] who used Welsh to label their products said that using Welsh established the company as Welsh and she believed that this fact helped them to sell more products. Nevertheless, the manager of a retail company in Carmarthenshire [30] said that the limited use of Welsh in logos and other marketing material was enough to make clear to customers that they are a Welsh company. The manager of a marketing, design and P.R. company in Ceredigion [13] made a very interesting comment about the differentiation factor that presupposed the use of Welsh. He said that although there were rising expectations from customers to see the Welsh language more widely used in private businesses it was still not the norm in this sector. Therefore, the use of Welsh could help to differentiate companies who made a clear use of Welsh. Nevertheless, the more the Welsh language becomes a norm the less added value it will have in the market place. Indeed, value can be added to products or services that are especial or exceptional. Currently,

offering products and services in Welsh is still unusual, therefore those who do offer them can attract attention from customers and derive benefits from it because many would buy or prefer them simply because such items are in Welsh. More importantly, customers might be willing to pay relatively higher prices for them. Nevertheless, when there is a general supply of a product or service, in this case the use of Welsh more generally in businesses, it will cease to have a competitive advantage or lose its added value. In fact this would be very positive for Welsh as it would mean that it has become extensively used in business. Unfortunately Welsh, is still far from reaching this stage in the foreseeable future.

Eight managers admitted that using Welsh in their dealings helped them in attracting Welsh-speaking customers. More significantly, apart from attracting Welsh-speaking customers, it did not deter non Welsh-speaking customers, because the great majority did not disapprove of Welsh being used, therefore, they had much to gain and nothing to lose, said a retailer in Carmarthen [17]. Another advantage gained from using Welsh, according to seven managers, was the enhancement of their services. They believed that being able to provide a language choice made their services better. Moreover, five more managers thought that the fact that they spoke Welsh did not necessarily mean that Welsh-speaking customers would choose to buy from their company but it made them feel closer and more comfortable. A manager of a home furniture company in Carmarthen [19] said that using Welsh made a difference for major purchases, especially because they had many elderly Welsh-speaking customers who much preferred dealing with them in Welsh rather than in English.

In the tourism sector six managers agreed that using Welsh could be a distinct advantage. They said that many tourists or visitors liked to hear and see the Welsh language being spoken and used on the streets and shops. It is an added attraction and they are very surprised to see that Welsh is a living language.

Four managers believed that using Welsh was neither an advantage nor a disadvantage, although one of them [26] admitted that it made Welsh-speaking customers feel much comfortable, thus there was not direct effect on the profits of the company. The manager of an organic dairy [5] also agreed that using more Welsh did not make any difference to their sales and neither did it add value to their products or give them any commercial advantages. They had to get on with trading in the commercial world, he said, and Welsh was not the language to do so. He added that he was conscious of the fact that his company had a very strong Welsh image because the previous owners who are Welsh-speakers are still involved as consultants for external publicity. Obviously, they speak Welsh naturally in conferences and meetings, thus helping to maintain this Welsh image. However, in reality, it is a false image because nobody else in the company is projecting this kind of image anymore. Nevertheless, he acknowledged that having a Welsh appearance has been an advantage in the past, and the Welsh language has been key, for networking and lobbying Welsh institutions and authorities, and using Welsh in many meetings, has been very important for the growth of the company and the acquisition of grants. However, this Welsh link is becoming less significant in the future as the company will be run more objectively and remotely by the US parent company.

Six managers, all of them Welsh-speaking, said that they used Welsh in their companies because they felt more comfortable as Welsh was their mother tongue, and simply, because they wanted to do so. The manager of a jewellery shop in Ceredigion [10] said that even if they decided not to use Welsh to sell their products they could still sell them as something special and half of their customers would not see the difference. Therefore, it would not pose any problem to the company. Nevertheless, he insisted that they used Welsh because it was their background and it would be too odd not to use Welsh.

#### *5.3.4.2 Costs and benefits of bilingualism*

The majority of managers thought that Welsh was not an obstacle to business. Eight declared that it made commercial sense to use Welsh in business. Six more said that they definitely did not lose money because they used Welsh, on the contrary it paid off. Two Welsh speaking managers from Ceredigion [3 & 4] agreed it paid off because using Welsh was crucial and formed the reason why they were in business in the first place. They added that the majority of their customers were Welsh speakers who choose to deal with them precisely because they could interact with them in their preferred language.

Whereas using Welsh to some extent can be considered as something positive for business by the majority of interviewees, total or quasi total bilingualism would be more of an obstacle or a barrier to progress and development than of benefit for the company. Nineteen managers alleged that if they had to do everything bilingually it would increase costs substantially and it would be an obvious disadvantage to the competitiveness of their companies. Some argued that in order to work bilingually they would have to appoint new staff, competent both in oral and written Welsh, and as was mentioned above, it is not always easy to find staff with such skills. Furthermore, translation requirements would increase costs as would producing, printing and distributing bilingual information. A manager of a jewellery store in Ceredigion [10] said that in addition to the actual costs of printing material in Welsh, etc., bilingualism was time consuming because of translation, and because the proof reading of documents took twice as long, even if it was done within the company. Indeed, two other Welsh-speaking managers from Ceredigion [3 & 8] reported that they undertook some tasks bilingually because they possessed the necessary skills. However, if they had to contract work out to a translation agency or a design company etc, they could not afford it. Thus they acknowledged that some companies, that lacked Welsh language skills within the company, would have many difficulties in producing bilingual material.

Only three companies [13, 23 & 25], when asked if bilingualism increased their costs answered that it might have, but not unduly, if it was carefully

planned. Finally, three managers [9, 10 & 29] did not know if bilingualism paid off. They said it was difficult to say how many customers were attracted because they had bilingual signs, leaflets or because they could speak Welsh, but nevertheless they would continue using Welsh.

### **5.3.5 Concerns, needs and help available**

#### *5.3.5.1 The development of the Welsh language for modern business practices*

A question asked to both Welsh and non Welsh-speaking interviewees, was if they thought that the Welsh language was a sufficiently developed language for modern business practices. Almost all of the Welsh-speaking managers interviewed believed that, in general, the Welsh language could be used for everything. Nevertheless, the majority of interviewees who believed that the Welsh language was ill equipped to cope with modern practices were non-Welsh speakers.

Although the majority of interviewees, twenty three of those asked, believed that Welsh was a suitable language to be used for modern business practices, less than half were completely confident that there was no problem at all with Welsh being used to discuss complex matters in all their fields of expertise. They strongly believed that Welsh was robust enough for general business practice, that it was a flexible language able to create new words and that it could change easily, as do all languages. A manager of a B&B in Ceredigion [8] said that it is true that Welsh borrows many words from English, but which language does not do so nowadays? A manager of an accountancy firm in Carmarthen [23] said that in business you need to know to what extent your clients understand what are you saying and you have to adapt to their level of Welsh in order to make them feel comfortable and not self-conscious about their deficiencies. Thus, sometimes you will need to switch to English or use English words because the customers are not familiar with the Welsh version. He believed it is not a matter of lack of terminology, but a lack of language proficiency and self-confidence on the part of many Welsh speakers.



The majority of those who thought that Welsh was in general a developed enough language to be used for business practices felt, however, that sometimes it was difficult to find established terminology and they had to use English words instead. Moreover, they added that they had problems translating from English to Welsh, especially with jargon. Two managers from Ceredigion [3 & 10] said they had created words themselves when they could not find a standardised version in Welsh, but they admitted that it was difficult to do it by themselves because they were not specialists. Many remarked that they had a dilemma when deciding which type of Welsh they should use, a spoken more popular Welsh or a formal "proper" Welsh. If they used formal Welsh they feared that customers and staff would not be able to understand it. Indeed, six managers admitted that either themselves or people they knew had problems sometimes with the formal Welsh used on TV news and official forms.

All of them would like to see improvements in this area and five managers [3, 10, 12, 22 & 25] agreed that they would welcome the development of a strategy or the creation of a terminology centre for the Welsh language. This centre should be in charge of not only coining new terms but in creating a Welsh standard, to help avoid inconsistencies and confusion when translating, making it easier to find the words needed by a good diffusion programme. They should spread the use of these terms primarily through all levels of education. Although the creation of databases, dictionaries and specialised glossaries with new terms was important, many warned that they would not be useful unless the Welsh language was actually used for many functions.

By contrast it was interesting to see how non-Welsh speaking interviewees perceived the Welsh language. All save two of non Welsh-speaking interviewees [16 & 30] thought that the Welsh language was ill equipped to cope with modern terminology. One of the arguments used by a manager of an organic dairy based in Ceredigion [5] to justify this point of view was that when listening to Welsh speaking people having a conversation about business it seemed to him that the speakers switched often and easily from Welsh to English when they couldn't find a word in Welsh to express

themselves. Also, he often observed Welsh speakers using English words but making them sound phonetically Welsh. Another problem mentioned by a manager of a water company in Ceredigion [6] was that in searching for an official translation for a particular word they came across with too many different possibilities. This lack of standardisation hindered the development and practice of Welsh as a language of commerce and business.

#### *5.3.5.2 The use of computer software in Welsh and the welcoming of further developments in this field*

About three quarters of the interviewees reported that they did not use any computer software in Welsh. The majority said that they only used American software and they really did not need software in Welsh. Four managers [2, 9, 17 & 29] admitted not knowing if any software in Welsh existed. Two managers, both in Ceredigion, one from a hotel in [2] and the other from a leisure farm [29], said that they would find it very useful to have a spell-checker for Welsh, especially because it would make writing letters in Welsh easier, but they could not find any. Five more managers [8, 11, 12, 15 & 20] said that they knew about a spell-checker for Welsh, and three of these companies [12, 15 & 20] knew that it was named *Cysill*, but they did not use it in their businesses. A non-Welsh speaking manager of a wholesale company in Carmarthen [32] said that he had tried to find software to translate automatically from Welsh to English and vice versa, but he did not think that it existed and would very much like to see automatic translation software being developed for Welsh.

The ten companies using some software in Welsh used mainly the spell-checker *Cysill*. Nevertheless two managers who used this spell-checker [1 & 10] did not think that the programme was ideal because it caused problems in their computers. Only one manager, of a recruitment agency in Carmarthen [22], also used the Welsh-English-Welsh dictionary *Cysgair*, and two other managers [10 & 25] said that the databases they used allowed some use of Welsh. They pointed out the lack of choice available in this field and the majority would like to see improvements in the availability and the quality of

such material mainly in spell and grammar checking, and in-built dictionaries or thesaurus and automatic translation. A manager of a jewellery store in Ceredigion [10] said that he very much doubted he would buy and use any other type of software programme in Welsh, such as a spreadsheet or an accountancy programme, if they were made available. He would be tempted to buy them not because they were good but because they were in Welsh. He feared that given the perennial updating of IT, programmes in Welsh would be difficult to update and consequently become obsolete very easily. Another reason for not using any other type of programme in Welsh would be the difficulty his staff would have in working with such programmes.

Other interesting comments came from the manager of a publishing company in Ceredigion [4]. He said that although he would like to see improvements in this field he considered that there were other priorities to look at in terms of expanding the use of Welsh. He said that there were more important priorities than developing software in Welsh, such as maintaining the Welsh language alive and used socially in our communities, in everyday situations at work and in businesses.

Finally, only three managers [3, 10 & 25] were aware that Microsoft™, with a grant from the Welsh Language Board, were preparing a Welsh spell-checker that could be plugged into a Microsoft Office XP environment<sup>153</sup>. The three managers agreed that it was a very positive development and they very much welcomed it.

#### *5.3.5.3 The search for professional help in relation to the use of the Welsh language in the company and the knowledge and contact of language agencies or other professionals who offer such services*

The majority of the managers, twenty of the thirty-one questioned and five of them non-Welsh speaking, reported not having looked for professional help in matters related to the use of Welsh in their companies. All but two of them

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<sup>153</sup> The Microsoft Welsh spell-checker was made available in October 2001 and can be downloaded gratis from the Welsh Language Board web site.

said that they did not really need such assistance, either because they could deal with Welsh language matters themselves, inside the company; because they used little and simple Welsh with they could cope; or because they could count on family and friends who were proficient in Welsh if they ever needed help with translation. Moreover, two of these managers, both Welsh-speaking [10 & 15], admitted that although translating to Welsh was not part of their services they had actually helped voluntarily friends in other companies or organisations with translation of letters and other short documents. The two remaining managers in this group that had not looked for professional help [2 & 17] said that in order to extend the use of Welsh in their companies they would have to teach Welsh to their staff and they did not have the resources necessary to invest in such long term commitment.

The eleven<sup>154</sup> managers who reported having contacted professionals in relation to the use of Welsh in their companies did so because they needed translation, usually from English to Welsh. Seven of them did not use professional translators regularly, only for specific documents or a set of words. The manager of a PR and marketing company in Ceredigion [13] said that even if he had contracted professional translators, and still did so sometimes, he preferred to deal with this type of work inside the company because he had bad experiences with very expensive and poor quality translations. When translating from English to Welsh you need to work sentences differently; it does not work translating word for word. The manager of a publishing, design and public relations company in Ceredigion [12] had similar experiences and is why they always checked the translated documents before giving it the go ahead. The remaining four companies [12, 22, 23 & 25] said that they were regular users of professional translators because they use such an amount of Welsh and for so many documents that they could not deal with these tasks internally. The manager of a recruitment agency in Carmarthen [22] was even considering contracting a permanent professional translator in the near future.

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<sup>154</sup> Companies 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 12, 13, 20, 22, 23 and 25

When asked if they knew of any public agencies or other professionals able to provide them with advice and help in relation to the Welsh language only four answered negatively [17, 20, 27 & 32]. Twenty-seven managers either knew or had contacted a public agency dealing with Welsh language issues. The Welsh Language Board was mentioned the most, by nineteen managers, and three of them could name the Boards' services or documents they had found useful for their businesses. These were "Canllawiau dylunio dwyieithog/ A Guide to Bilingual Design" [10], the "Llinell Gyswilt â'r Gymraeg/ Link line to Welsh" [12] and "Gwobr Pecynnu Bwyd/ Food and Drink Packaging Award" [14].

Menter a Busnes was mentioned by six managers, two of which admitted that it had not been of much help in their specific cases [3 & 4]. Nevertheless, two other interviewees said that their projects, specifically "Croesawiaith" [7], and "Cwysi" [29] had been very useful and they were very happy with Menter's support.

Local Language Initiatives or Mentrau Iaith were mentioned by five managers, [3, 16, 21, 23, 25 & 33], and although none of them contacted the agency for assistance they were very pleased that agencies like that existed.

Other agencies or public institutions where managers believed they could turn to if they needed help with the Welsh language were the University [2, 3, 5 & 6]; Welsh Development Agency [5 & 6]; Welsh Tourist Board [11 & 13], although the manager of a hotel in Ceredigion [11] did not regard very highly the services offered by this agency; and finally Antur Teifi which was mentioned by just one interviewee [28].

#### *5.3.5.4 The willingness to expand the use of Welsh if there was some financial help either through direct grants or through tax relief*

More than half of the managers and owners interviewed would welcome in principle financial assistance by public authorities to reduce the costs of bilingualism in their companies. They said that they would be willing to

increase the use of Welsh if these resources were available because they would assist them on possible increase of costs if the use of Welsh was extended. They thought that it was a positive move that the Welsh language was being promoted further in private businesses.

Only two managers thought that financial assistance would not make any difference to their specific business and would definitely not have an effect on the increase of the use of the Welsh language. A Welsh-speaking owner of a hotel and golf centre in Ceredigion [9] said that companies like his were competing in the bigger market and English is the predominant language. He did not think that grants or any other type of financial assistance would encourage businesses to become more competitive nor did they believe that companies would be any better because they used Welsh. The other interviewee with a similar point of view is a hotel manager in Carmarthen [26]. He was very sure it would not make much difference to his company because Welsh was of no help to his business. Nevertheless, he believed that it could be useful and work as an incentive for other businesses.

The rest of the managers, nine in total, doubted the efficiency of such measures as an incentive to increase the use of Welsh in their own businesses. However, many of them agreed that if there were financial help available they would take advantage of it. The manager of a PR and design company in Ceredigion [12] doubted that money was the answer to most things related to Welsh although it might help. Practical measures to increase and stimulate the use of Welsh was needed urgently she felt. One such measure proposed was a guide to business of all kinds that can work bilingually, a kind of "Who's Who" for bilingual businesses in Wales. She said that only through leadership and fine examples would companies think about using Welsh and maybe make a move in that direction.

An interesting comment came from the manager of another PR and marketing company in Ceredigion [13]. He said that direct or indirect financial help would not be pertinent in his case because his company already worked mainly in Welsh. It would be very difficult to change an existing company which works

mainly in English to make more use of Welsh as a working language. However, he said, there is a great potential in areas such as Ceredigion, Carmarthenshire, Gwynedd and Ynys Môn to create companies with what he called a “Welsh ethos”; that is, companies which are directed and administrated through the medium of Welsh. There is a great potential to create this type of company in sectors such as new and information technologies that would employ ten to twenty workers and which would have a major and immediate impact on the local economy. He agreed though that it is true that many things can be done to encourage more use of Welsh in companies that work in English, especially in those posts with direct dealings with the public. Such measures would include improving the ‘presence’ of Welsh and making the business environment more Welsh. However, he insisted, it is not enough if we want to see the Welsh language making real progress.

When asked which type of financial incentive they would prefer, either through direct grants or indirectly through tax relief, almost three-quarters thought that tax relief seemed a good idea in principle. A retailer from Ceredigion [25] thought that it would make a marked difference for many businesses wishing to use more Welsh and could be dealt with in a way similar to that in which companies are able to deduct from their taxes any investment in IT equipment. However, half of those who believed that tax relief was a good idea expressed concerns about how it might work in practice. Two companies [16 & 30] said that it might only work for companies in areas where Welsh is predominant and for companies who work mostly in Welsh; two other managers [5 & 31] said that its effectiveness would depend on how much money companies would save and if it was worth the trouble; another manager [29] had doubts about the practicality and probability of a measure of this being implemented by the government; and finally two more managers [15, 22] expressed concerns about the way this could be monitored.

Indeed, the manager of company 22, a recruitment agency in Carmarthen, said that a scheme like that would raise similar problems to those found in the monitoring of the use of Welsh in the public sector. According to her the

Welsh Language Board was not given enough responsibility and resources to monitor effectively the use of Welsh by public bodies. A similar scheme for private business, she feared, would face the same problems, thus lacking efficacy and failing to advance the use of Welsh. The manager of a promotion and marketing company in Ceredigion [15] expressed similar views regarding the problems of monitoring the use of Welsh in public organisations. Unfortunately, he said, many of these public bodies made a tokenistic use of Welsh. This is why he urged greater improvements in public organisations and institutions before embarking on similar ventures for private businesses.

Precisely because of the impracticality and difficulties in monitoring and controlling indirect financial help to companies, the remaining seven companies favoured the idea of direct grants. The manager of a florist in Carmarthen [20] agreed that grants were a better way to advertise and raise awareness of the use of Welsh, but said that the existing grants were very small and could be used only to change a monolingual sign to a bilingual one. The jewellery shop manager in Ceredigion [10] also raised the insufficiency of current grants. Nonetheless, he maintained that grants were the best way to promote Welsh because it derived from a transparent system and it was easier to target where they were needed.

### **5.3.6 Marketing, advertising and labelling.**

#### *5.3.6.1 The use of Welsh in advertising and marketing*

Small and medium businesses have relatively limited resources to spend on advertising and marketing. Nevertheless, the majority of companies were engaged in advertising and marketing while only a few admitted spending too much on promotion and advertising. Nine companies advertised only to some extent but were engaged in other marketing activities and only one company [21] did not advertise at all. English is the predominant language used for advertising, although Welsh is also relatively used, some times only symbolically. Indeed four managers said that they used some Welsh words in adverts, such as “croeso” and others [10, 17] or to specify that they spoke



Welsh [8, 28]. They believed that this limited use of Welsh, although tokenistic, was sufficient to make clear to their customers that they were a Welsh-speaking company. The manager of a wholesale company in Carmarthen [30] believed that using Welsh only in the company logo, if for nothing else, made it abundantly clear that they were a local company and customers could use Welsh when buying from them.

The most popular advertising medium used by thirteen managers were the local newspapers, such as the *Cambrian News*, *The Carmarthen Journal*, *The Teifside* or *Y Cymro* and *Papurau Bro*. Of these six companies advertised only in English, five did so bilingually [1, 2, 9, 20 & 25] and two [11, 31] used only Welsh to advertise their company in *Papurau Bro*. Another six managers advertised in newspapers whether British newspapers [10 & 26], English medium Welsh newspapers, such as the *Western Mail* [17], or without specification [4, 6, 18 & 22]. The majority of the adverts were in English with only one company placing bilingual adverts [22].

Eight companies advertised in specialist magazines and local radio. Whereas English predominated in the specialised magazines, Welsh predominated on radio adverts. Three companies advertised bilingually on the radio [25, 29 & 33] one company used some Welsh [7] and another advertised their company only in Welsh [9]. Two companies placed radio adverts in English [16 & 19]. Regarding the adverts in specialised magazines, half of them were placed by companies in the tourism sector [2, 8, 9 & 11], three more were manufacturers of food and drink [6, 24 & 32] and finally, a publishing, design and public relations company [12]. Of these eight only two companies used some Welsh [2 & 12] in this kind of advertising. One manager believed that they had used some Welsh to advertise his company but he was not sure [32]. A hotel manager in Ceredigion [2] reported having once placed a monolingual Welsh advert in a tourism magazine which is published mainly in Welsh. However, he was very sceptical about the utility or effectiveness of monolingual Welsh adverts, because they could not reach as many people as they would if they were in English. He felt that his action was more by way of a donation rather than a serious attempt at advertising.

Golwg, a Welsh medium weekly magazine, was used by five managers to advertise their respective companies, one company placing bilingual adverts [1] and the remaining four placing monolingual Welsh adverts [4,10,14 & 31]. In fact, the manager of a jewellery shop in Ceredigion [10] said that they used either Welsh or English depending in which publication they placed the advert, as did two other companies [12 & 15] in order to avoid bilingual adverts which were considered to be too expensive. Furthermore, two publishing companies [4 & 31] chose to advertise their books in the respective language in which they were published.

Other media used to a lesser extent were the Yellow Pages and television. Five companies placed adverts in the Yellow Pages, where two companies advertised using only English [20 & 23], another used some Welsh [10] and just one advertised his company bilingually [1]. Finally, only three companies placed adverts on television, two without specifying the channel and through the medium of English [16 & 18] and one on S4C in Welsh [17]. The manager of a retailing company who advertised on S4C believed that advertising on other commercial channels, such as HTV, was more effective than advertising on the Welsh medium channel. He said that it was simple to guess why, there are more English-speakers than Welsh-speakers in Wales. Nevertheless he still believed that in his case, advertising on S4C made sense because the majority of his customers were from 'Welsh Wales', where the Welsh language was widely understood and spoken.

Almost all companies engaged in various marketing activities, such as the publication of brochures, catalogues, posters, newsletters and other promotional material<sup>155</sup>. Two of the six companies that published brochures used Welsh to a certain extent [5 & 28] and one company, a cheese

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<sup>155</sup> Many companies gave me samples of their marketing materials, such as newsletters, brochures or labels. Nevertheless, because not all the interviewees were asked to report in detail on their marketing activities it is likely that the degree of their involvement in marketing is under reported. This is evident, as we will see in chapter 6, if we compare these declarations with those reported by the companies that completed and returned the questionnaires.

manufacturer in Carmarthen [21] produced totally bilingual brochures. The manager of a farm and leisure centre in Ceredigion [28], said they used Welsh for brochures sent out to schools. Four companies reported having catalogues, two of them completely bilingual [4 & 10] and one company [12] published a Welsh only catalogue to advertise Welsh books, aimed mainly at schools. Three other companies [5, 6 & 30] produced posters and other promotional material bilingually.

However, the Internet was by far the most popular medium for promoting goods and services. At the time of the interviews in 2000-2001, thirteen companies had established websites. By 2002 ten more companies, making a total of twenty-three of the sample's thirty-three companies had active websites. Recent investigation of the current websites reveals that seven of the thirteen websites established by 2000-2001 were completely bilingual and continue to be so today. Five companies are in the service sector [3, 4, 12, 13 & 31] and two in the retail sector [10 & 25]. The bilingual websites provide a language option at the starting page which allows the user to view the same content in either Welsh or English. Another two websites from this first set of companies are almost entirely in English, apart from a few words in Welsh. Thus the organic dairy in Ceredigion [5] uses the Welsh sentence "Bwyd da o Gymru" –Good food from Wales– and a promotion and marketing company in Ceredigion [15] employs the sentence "Gwaith drwy gyfrwng y Gymraeg" – Work done through the medium of Welsh. Of the ten companies which did not have websites at the time of the interviews but do so now, only 2 are completely bilingual, a recruitment agency in Carmarthen [22] and a B&B in Ceredigion [27]. Therefore, only 9 websites of the twenty-three are totally bilingual, and contain a symbolic use of Welsh.

Other marketing activities reported by interviewees were the participation in shows, competitions and other similar events where all four of the companies participating in such events [45 18, 21, 24] reported using Welsh. Two more companies, both from the service sector [8], promoted their company through sponsorship of events [23] or special pages in newspapers [13] either in Welsh only or occasionally bilingually.

When interviewees were asked if it was cost-effective to advertise and produce marketing material bilingually many admitted that it was quite expensive, especially if everything was done in the two languages. Some expressed concerns at the fact that with a limited space available, because adverts could be very expensive, they had to supply double the amount of information and if it was not done properly the advert and other material could look cluttered and confusing. In general managers found it difficult to know exactly if using Welsh in adverts and other promotional activities paid off, but that is what they wanted to do. A manager of a recruiting agency in Carmarthen [22] said that although bilingual adverts and marketing material were more expensive, she was sure that they would receive complaints from customers if they did it only in English, which is why they carried on doing it bilingually. Nevertheless three managers [2, 6 & 12] said that if it is done properly it need not cost more. A manager of web design company in Ceredigion [3] said that in placing bilingual adverts what they lost in detail they gained in marketing, service and product differentiation. Finally three managers [8, 16 & 29] admitted that maybe they should use more Welsh to promote their companies and that they might do so in the near future.

#### *5.3.6.2 The use of Welsh in product labels*

The symbolic use of Welsh is very clear when analysing the language use on labels of food and drink companies, comprising seven of the total sample. The use of Welsh is limited to two or three words and none of them used Welsh in tables or compulsory information on the back. This symbolic use is especially evident in four of the seven companies [5, 6, 18 & 24]. The presence of Welsh in these companies' product labels varied from the use of a part Welsh part English branding name in the case of a water bottling company in Ceredigion [6]; the use of the designation "Bwyd o Gymru" –Food from Wales– at the back of the label [5 & 18]; a bilingual subtext "Wild Welsh Water / Dŵr Gwyllt Cymru" [18], and labels with bilingual product names [24]. Nevertheless, this last company, a creamery in Carmarthenshire, used Welsh only in three of their products, those that the company called Welsh produce, among them,

Welsh butter which sold well among tourists and visitors to Wales. Similarly, an organic dairy in Ceredigion [5], although not using Welsh for packaging and labelling other of their many dairy products, besides using the above mentioned designation “Bwyd o Gymru”, had decided to use some Welsh, to name the product, in the package of their new Welsh butter.

At interview, the non-Welsh speaking manager of this organic dairy said that for Welsh-speaking customers it would seem natural that the company used Welsh sometimes and for those outside Wales, particularly English customer, the use of Welsh would be taken as an authentication that the product comes from Wales. He added that he perceived this to be a selling advantage, because he believes that there is a positive link for dairy products to be produced in Wales<sup>156</sup>, although the Welsh language might not intervene in this.

The use of Welsh to identify the product with Wales, and therefore associate the product with a particular perceived positive image of Wales, which could be considered a symbolic use of the language, can be found also in the two water bottling companies in the sample. The non-Welsh speaking manager of company 18 based in Carmarthen said that since the company decided to change the label and add a subtext in Welsh, plus the designation ‘Bwyd o Gymru’, their sales went up between 10% and 15%. He attributed the increase in sales both to the use of Welsh and to the new attractive Celtic design of the label. He acknowledged that it was very well received by Welsh speakers when the new bottle and label was launched at the National Eisteddfod, 2000. The decision to use Welsh on the new label, together with the general ideas for its design, had come from the local workers. Their design and advertising company based in England came back with a selection

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<sup>156</sup> In a press release, on the 29<sup>th</sup> of October 2001, to launch their new Welsh butter they claim that the company “is a successful Welsh brand and the company feels it appropriate to mark this heritage by developing a bilingual identity for the new butter. Consumers tell us they see it underlining the provenance and integrity of [their] products”. In the same press release they give information about the Welsh language in Ceredigion, they mention the antiquity of Welsh literature and describe the status of the Welsh language in contemporary Wales.  
<http://www.rachelsorganic.co.uk/news/articles/005.html>

of designs with the ideas of the workers but there was no Welsh on the label because they thought that the company did not need Welsh to sell on the English market. Nevertheless, the manager, following the opinion of the majority of his workers, insisted on using Welsh to emphasise their pride in the fact that their water came from Wales. He thought it was safe to sell the water to the English market with some Welsh on the label because he believed the perception of Wales is changing, as has been commented before in the chapter. However, despite the success of the new label, he did not think they would increase the amount of Welsh on it, arguing that they didn't want it to look cluttered and also because, although they were the leading bottled water supplier in Wales, their main target market was still England.

A similar opinion was expressed by the manager of the other bottling water company [6] regarding a possible increase of the use of Welsh in their labels. It would be possible to design a label to sell exclusively to the Welsh market, he said, but their main market was clearly outside Wales. Regarding the use of bilingual labels he said that the company's idea was not to dress the bottle too much and to use as little information as possible, while remaining legal. Furthermore, he said that it could be dangerous to fit twice the same information, in English and in Welsh, in a limited space because it could lead to demands from customers that this mandatory information was not immediately accessible or visible enough. He admitted, nevertheless, that they used bilingual labels for the Canadian and Belgian markets because it was compulsory.

In contrast with this first set of companies, three other companies, both cheese producers [14 & 21] had labels with a fair amount of Welsh on them. They both have Welsh language branding names and designate the name of the product bilingually, although not using Welsh on the front label subtext or to list the ingredients. The manager of company 21, based in Ceredigion, said that they decided to design a new label for their cheeses where Welsh was more prominent. Her reason is that Welsh is becoming more important and although it is a bit more expensive to have bilingual labels, she thinks that clear benefits are obtained. The manager of company 14, based in

Carmarthenshire, said that they used Welsh for labelling because they were a Welsh-speaking family and felt it to be completely natural to use their first language. She added that it was important for them to show that the product came from Wales and the Welsh language made the link more apparent. She said that it was definitely cost-effective to use Welsh on the label because their products sold very well in England, especially London. Thus, in this case the use of Welsh, although more extensively used, cannot be considered to have an exclusively communicative function because it also has a clear symbolic dimension.

The same could be said about the only company of the seven food and drink producers, that had an almost completely bilingual label, apart from the compulsory designation “product of the U.K.”, which has to be in English. This company, a wine producer in Ceredigion [7] with a Welsh language brand name used two separate labels, placing the Welsh version on the front of the bottle and the English version on the back. But, although they sell their wine to local shops their main buyers are tourists who visit their vineyard and appreciate very much seeing Welsh used on the labels.

Apart from the manufacturers of food and drink two retailers, one who labelled their own products [30] and another who sold Welsh produce [25], were asked what they thought about the use of Welsh for product labelling. The non-Welsh speaking manager of the wholesale company, [30], said that they labelled bilingually their own packaged products, such as sugar, cheese or coffee etc., mainly because they were a Welsh company. He added that it was a little more expensive to produce bilingual labels but it was cost-effective. On the contrary, the manager of the other retail company who sold speciality Welsh foods, [25], believed that bilingual labelling was more expensive and the price of the product included these extra costs. Nevertheless, he thought that there is a special place for Welsh to be used and to be considered a unique selling point on the speciality foods market. He said it makes these products more obviously Welsh, helping to differentiate them within the market.

Finally, the manager of a PR, design and marketing company in Ceredigion [12], which provides services to food and drink sector companies, said that they usually suggest to, and encourage their clients to use Welsh in packaging and labelling. According to her, it gives their products an added value and, again, it helps to differentiate them in the market. Using Welsh they certainly attract Welsh-speaking customers that are very supportive of Welsh being used in labels. She also thinks that using Welsh language slogans such as “Cynnyrch Cymreig” –Welsh produce– or “Wnaed yng Nghymru” –Made in Wales– are very powerful, and there is a need to encourage people to appreciate Welsh being used more naturally for packaging and labelling.

#### *5.3.6.3 Welsh language role in defining Wales’s brand image*

Only companies from three sectors, manufacturers, retailer of food and drink [6,18 & 25] and tourism and leisure sector [2, 15, 19 & 27] were questioned about the role that the Welsh language plays or might play in Wales’s image. They were asked if they thought that using Welsh could help to differentiate their products or services, provide visitors a distinct sense of place which is different from England, Scotland or Ireland in the case of tourism sector companies and some added value or positive image in food and drink products.

The majority agreed that Wales does not have a clear branding image to sell to the outside unlike the Scottish, the Irish and the English, who have strong images and symbols which visitors can identify easily. Nevertheless, they commented that there exist two main stereotyped and contradictory images of Wales, anchored in its past and both negative according to the interviews, images which are present elsewhere in the UK but not to the same extent. One image relates to Wales’ heavy industrial tradition of coal mines, iron and steelworks, and the concomitant image of choir singing. A second image conveys a bucolic but remote and out-dated society as reflected by the film “How green is my valley”, which still persists. Another image, related to Wales’ radical past including the burning of holiday homes is also present and causes much harm to Wales’s image. The manager of a hotel in Ceredigion [2] said



that he went to New Zealand with some representatives of the Welsh Tourist Board in order to promote Welsh tourism. They talked about the recent and important changes that have happened in Wales and about the revitalization of the Welsh language. They emphasised the fact that the times of coal mining and choir singing are over, but that is what the audiences wanted to hear, this is what Wales is associated with, he said. Many blamed the Welsh Tourist Board for not investing enough in the promotion of Wales and in not creating a much needed newer and coherent branding image.

Nevertheless, two managers of mineral water production companies [6 & 18] said that the image of Wales is changing slowly and that they are contributing to such changes through the branding of their products. The manager of company 6 said that they are attempting a dual promotion both of a new image for Wales and simultaneously promoting a product which is closely related to the land from which it comes. He added that they wanted people to understand that the majority of Welsh territory occupies space with very low industrial use and remains one of the few areas where there is a genuine rural environment.

Regarding the possible role of the Welsh language in branding products and services all of the interviewees were very cautious in admitting that it could be of some help. Only two managers [26 & 27] said without doubt that Welsh had a clear role in attracting people to Wales and to Welsh products, although acknowledging the fact that many people do not see it that way. The rest of the managers said that it could be positive if it was used properly or constructively. They understood 'properly' as not over-using Welsh and being careful not to make Welsh a barrier for trade.

It is interesting to note two non-Welsh speaking managers of hotels, one in Carmarthen [19] and the other in Ceredigion [27], questioned the appropriateness of bilingual road signs and the name of Ceredigion, respectively. The manager of company 19 thought that bilingual road signs were dangerous and confusing, especially having Welsh above the English. The other manager thought that changing the name of the county from

Cardiganshire to Ceredigion has had a negative impact on tourism in the area because people did not recognise the place, thus it was more difficult to associate it with a specific image.

### **5.3.7 Expectations for the future of the Welsh language**

#### *5.3.7.1 Expectations of the actions of the National Assembly for Wales to promote Welsh*

The overwhelming majority of the managers, twenty-three of those interviewed, declared that, although it was still early days to see any concrete actions by the National Assembly, they expected the government to be proactive in the promotion of the Welsh language.<sup>157</sup> It has to be said, nevertheless, that seven of these managers were more hopeful than certain that this was going to be the case. In general they also expected the Assembly would implement favourable policies to support the Welsh language and that such actions would have a strong influence or impact on the situation of the language. A manager of a web design company in Ceredigion [3] saw the Assembly capable of affecting the way people, both non-Welsh and Welsh speakers, perceive the Welsh language and bilingualism in Wales. In order to do so they had first of all to make bilingualism a norm and a way of working inside the Assembly. Two other managers, [12 & 22] stressed the importance of the Assembly acting as an example of how bilingualism could work. If the Assembly did not put bilingualism into practice they could not expect society to follow their recommendations or policies. Therefore the best the Assembly could do to promote bilingualism was to act as a model that could be followed by the rest of the society.

The main reason why the managers interviewed were confident of the future actions of the Assembly to promote Welsh, were because they felt that,

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<sup>157</sup> The Government of Wales Act of 1998 established the National Assembly for Wales and, after the elections of the 6<sup>th</sup> of May 1999, its first plenary session was celebrated on the 12<sup>th</sup> of May 1999. The interviews were carried out between September 2000 and June 2001, between the first and the second year of the beginning of the functioning of the National Assembly for Wales.

although it was not at the top of the list of their priorities, there certainly was a political will among the members of the Assembly to further and safeguard the Welsh language. They said that many members of the Assembly were Welsh speakers, and some of those who were not Welsh speaking were starting to learn Welsh. Two managers [10 & 28] stressed also the stronger role Plaid Cymru had in the new governing body, and they expected its members to further the cause of the language inside the Assembly. In fact, a manager of a PR and marketing company in Ceredigion [13] said that although there are individuals inside the Labour and the Liberal Democrat's parties who are very committed to the Welsh language, the same cannot be said about the majority of their members. Therefore, the only way to see remarkable changes in the situation of the language would be through the strengthening of the position of Plaid Cymru inside the Assembly. A manager of a jewellery shop in Ceredigion [10] said that although he expected the Assembly to be proactive in the promotion of Welsh, it would be very difficult for the Assembly to significantly increase financial resources to do so. He believed that it would find opposition from many non-Welsh speaking members of the Assembly who would rather see the money expended on health and education, than on the Welsh language.

Many managers commented that although the Assembly did not possess the powers which the Scottish Parliament has, they believed that there were many ways the Assembly could safeguard the future of Welsh. For instance, they could encourage and gain the sympathy and consensus of the English-speaking majority to make them understand the importance of the Welsh language [8 & 20]. They could focus on education and give the opportunity to every child in Wales to learn both languages fluently [6, 26, 28 & 31]. They could regulate planning and housing in those areas where Welsh is the main language and which are attracting a great number of English immigrants, who, in the majority of cases, do not make any effort to learn Welsh [25 & 28].

The main reason why seven<sup>158</sup> of the interviewed managers were not expecting too much from the Assembly in relation to the promotion of the Welsh language was its lack of real powers to do anything dramatic to secure a future for Welsh. Three of the seven would like to see those powers increased [4, 9 & 17]. Three more managers were very sceptical about the real interest of politicians in promoting Welsh [2, 4 & 33], especially among members of the Labour Party, the majority party in the Assembly [8]. Therefore, although wishing that the Assembly would do something to further and promote Welsh they did not expect great changes.

Fifteen of the thirty three interviewed were asked if they would support a new Welsh Language Law that would extend to the private sector the obligation to provide bilingual services to their customers. The majority, nine<sup>159</sup> of the total fifteen managers questioned, would completely disagree with a law of this nature. They said that there were other ways to promote the use of Welsh in private businesses. They much preferred pursuing dialogue with business owners and managers, encouraging, helping and persuading them rather than forcing them to do something that they might oppose outright. They added that a law that would force business to invest involuntarily and without knowing clearly the economic benefits they would obtain from using Welsh could be very counter-productive. Moreover it could stimulate the danger of provoking and rousing anti-Welsh feelings which would have a negative impact on the perception of the language.

Three managers [10, 15 & 25] believed that if there were financial incentives for companies who used Welsh many businesses would make the effort of increasing their use of Welsh. The manager of a web design company in Ceredigion [3] said that he personally felt that companies which provided services to the wider public should be able to do so bilingually. Nevertheless, the only effective way he saw of making those companies which ignored their Welsh-speaking customers change was not through persuading the companies directly but through changing the attitudes of Welsh-speakers

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<sup>158</sup> The managers of companies 2, 4, 9, 11, 17 and 20.

themselves to perceive the lack of bilingual services as something negative, making bilingualism the norm. Only then would companies start paying attention to Welsh. The manager of a jewellery shop in Ceredigion [10] did not think that Welsh will secure its future only through legislation. He thought a new law would not make much difference because according to him even the last law of 1993 has not been completely successful in terms of improving the provision of Welsh services by public organisations. He added that a secure future for the Welsh language requires the recognition of fluency in Welsh as a valuable skill on the job market. That is, to believe that learning Welsh, as happens already in many areas of South Wales such as Cardiff, would mean better jobs and a better life. He added that only by using Welsh in every opportunity would the language be made safer, and he saw a challenge for organisations responsible for the Welsh language to persuade people to ask for Welsh language services in any occasion.

Also of interest was the opinion of the owner of an accountancy firm in Carmarthen [23] regarding a new possible law which would compel the private sector to use Welsh. He said that if a law was passed compelling every accountancy firm to provide a bilingual service, it would be detrimental to his company, as they already provided a fully fledged bilingual service to their customers. They would lose the single advantage they already had in being able to provide such services. This is linked to the idea that Welsh has an added value when used in products and services and were its use to be generalised it would lose this added value together with benefits which companies derive from it. He added that if other companies had not seen the advantages that could be obtained by providing services in Welsh and had not seized the opportunity he did not think that they should benefit from it. He also said that, if any law was passed it should focus mainly on big companies such as the utility companies who provide services to everyone.

The six managers who in principle agreed on the passing of a new law [4, 7, 6, 12, 17 & 22], believed so for different reasons. The manager of a retail

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<sup>159</sup> The managers of companies 1, 2, 3, 10, 15, 16, 23, 25 and 32.

company in Carmarthenshire [7] said that even if he would have to invest on making his company more bilingual every business would have to do so, thus it would not affect much the competitiveness of his company with the others. He also said that such a law would give an advantage to Welsh-speakers when looking for employment. Two more managers [7 & 8] said that although they agreed with the passing of a new law they did not see it happening in the short term. Two other managers [4 & 12, 10, 12], although approving of a Welsh language law, stressed the naivety in thinking that legislating was the solution to the Welsh language. The manager of a publishing company in Ceredigion [4] said that in order to strengthen the language there is a need to strengthen the community that speaks the language and this requires the strengthening of the economy, which supports such communities. Therefore more than legislation is needed for this to happen. What is needed is a long term strategy which would include housing and planning issues together with an economic development plan for the areas where Welsh was the majority language and is now in decline for lack of appropriate development.

#### *5.3.7.2 Expectations related to the decrease, increase or stabilisation of the use of Welsh in the private sector*

As a final question the interviewees were asked if they thought the use of Welsh would increase, decrease or remain stable in the near future and long term, both generally and in the private sector. The great majority, over three-quarters of the interviewed, answered that they expected the use of Welsh to increase in the long term, both in society generally and in businesses specifically. However, for four of the managers [8, 9, 14 & 31] the possible increase in the use of Welsh was more a wish or a hope rather than a certainty. Three other managers commented [16, 19 & 25] that they did not expect to see an increase in the use of Welsh in businesses evenly across Wales, but it was more likely that its use would increase in areas where Welsh already has a strong presence. A manager of a retailing company in Carmarthen [17] said that although he expected the use of Welsh to increase in private businesses he did not see Welsh becoming the main language of Wales nor the main language for business. Only two managers [6 & 18]

declared that although the use of Welsh would remain the same or increase in the short to medium term, they expected it to decrease in the long term. Three managers [4, 26 & 27] declared not seeing Welsh increasing in businesses and they believed that it would remain stable. Two more managers [28 & 33] said they found difficulty in making predictions because it was a very complex issue.

Six of the managers who believed that the use of Welsh was going to increase in the long term said that they already saw its use and importance increasing in the present day. A recruiting agency manager in Carmarthen [22] said that if the rising demand from employers for Welsh speaking staff is taken as a measure of the potential use of Welsh in the private sector, she was certain that Welsh was being used increasingly and expected that it would continue to do so. In relation to the perception of the current use of Welsh, the manager of a publishing company also in Carmarthen [32] said that he is selling more books in Welsh than he used to some years ago. Thus, according to him not only are more people learning to speak Welsh but they also have a better proficiency in the language.

Ten of the twenty four managers that were confident that the use of Welsh will increase both in society at large and in businesses specifically, believed so because of the rising numbers of children who are actually receiving education in Welsh medium and bilingual schools. A manager of an accountancy firm in Ceredigion [23] said that there are thousands of children being educated through the medium of Welsh, and although he did not expect them all to become fully fluent in Welsh when they reach adulthood or use Welsh regularly when they left school, he was confident that many would. Moreover, he is sure that these children will expect Welsh to be used more naturally and would not be afraid to demand services in Welsh. Nevertheless, some managers expressed concerns about the use of Welsh by the younger generation. Theoretically, youngsters should be well equipped to deal in either of the two languages of Wales but some noticed worrying signs of young people not making extensive use of the Welsh language. This is something that should be tackled urgently according to some of the interviewees.

Seven other managers expected the use of Welsh to increase, as the promotion efforts of National Assembly and other organisations such as the Welsh Language Board or the Language Initiatives, pays off. Nevertheless, the advance of Welsh will not be free of difficulties. Four of the managers interviewed [9, 14, 27 & 28] observed that a rising number of mainly English immigrants are buying properties and settling in hitherto very strong Welsh areas. This, in principle, is very positive for the vitality and sustainability of rural communities, but it is certainly a problem for the vitality of Welsh as a community language, because the majority of these newcomers are not learning Welsh.

The only two managers, both non Welsh-speaking, who declared that the use of Welsh in businesses would slowly decrease in the long term believed so for different reasons. The manager of company 6 said that we will be living in a technology-based society and he could not foresee the Welsh language catching up with new technologies. The other manager [18] believed that the language would decrease because as the older Welsh-speaking generation is disappearing, the new one will not use the Welsh language as extensively.

Finally, the three managers who believed that Welsh would remain stable [4, 26, 27] said that its use would not increase naturally. The manager of a publishing company in Ceredigion [4] said that without proper intervention and investment from the National Assembly and other organisations in charge of the promotion of Welsh, the language would continue to struggle. The manager of a retail company in Carmarthen [33] who was not sure what would be the future for the Welsh language was of the same opinion. She said that the language would not progress without steady intervention and she believed the Assembly could do much more to promote the language, starting with demanding the use of Welsh of those companies who were receiving either grants or any sort of financial help from them.



## 5.4 Summary and conclusions

### *General Questions*

The use of Welsh in the private sector in the areas analysed is perceived by the interviewees to be very marginal, despite the fact that both Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion are considered predominantly Welsh-speaking areas. We can also say that Welsh is perceived as being used more for oral communications than for written transactions. We will see in the next chapter that this perception is actually true in the companies analysed. This has an obvious relation to the level of fluency among Welsh-speakers as regards their different linguistic abilities. Normally, as is the case in all languages, the levels of oral competency are higher than written ones. Consequently, not having a sufficient ability for writing in Welsh limits its use in written transactions. Nevertheless, the ability to speak and write Welsh, although necessary, is not sufficient to transform it into actual use, as other factors mainly self-confidence and social norms have a great influence on this process.

Although English is the main language of business, many managers specified that there have been remarkable changes, for Welsh is used far more in private business than was the case ten to fifteen years ago. The perception that something is changing can be interpreted very positively. However, this is simply a general perception and only studies using stable indicators<sup>160</sup> to analyse changes over time can demonstrate if such changes have actually occurred.

There were more interviewees who held the opinion that Welsh businesses should be more sensitive to the issue of the Welsh language than English or

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<sup>160</sup> Studies using indicators are very common to analyse changes in language use in Catalonia. The *Indexplà* is one such method employing indicators to analyse changes in language use in both public institutions and private bodies. It is a very useful tool for language planners to visualise what changes their actions have produced and more importantly what further actions are needed to improve and extend the use of the language.

international companies, than those, who believed that every business operating in Wales should pay attention to the Welsh language. It seems clear that the Welsh language is not yet perceived as a language that could be used in every business, be it Welsh owned or not. Although, it is quite indicative that all of those who believed Welsh could be used everywhere were all Welsh-speakers. Perhaps, it seems still too alien or unrealistic to the majority that international companies would find any benefit or interest to use Welsh in their business activities and they find more probable that a Welsh-owned company would be more aware that Welsh exists.

### *Employment, recruitment and training*

All but one of the interviewees knew the number of their staff that were able to speak Welsh, although, only half knew precisely the level of fluency of in Welsh of their staff. The majority of managers said that being a fluent Welsh speaker was more of a bonus, a deciding factor sometimes, but usually not a requirement nor the main criterion to fill a post. Moreover, the majority felt that employing Welsh speakers for certain posts was an advantage for the company especially because they had an important number of Welsh-speaking customers that preferred dealing with them in Welsh. Also, it is very significant to note that some managers claimed that employing Welsh speakers was a question of internal efficiency and productivity inside the company because Welsh was their working language therefore, in these cases fluency in Welsh was essential.

The majority of companies reported having looked specifically for Welsh-speakers when filling vacancies. Also, the fact that even in companies with non-Welsh speaking managers or owners the Welsh language was deemed to be useful for certain situations highlights its utility in the economy. A corollary to this is the high employability of Welsh speakers in the eyes of non-Welsh speaking managers and owners. Yet, this is limited to some posts related mainly and perhaps understandably, to direct dealings with customers, such as receptionists, customer care and in some cases with the press. A Welsh Language Board survey (2000) seeking to find out about the actual and future

demands for bilingual skills in the workplace came up with similar results, even though the survey showed that public bodies are still more likely to employ bilingual staff than private companies<sup>161</sup>. Similar results can also be found in a survey in North Wales commissioned by CELTEC<sup>162</sup>. According to its authors, Jones, Bebb and Davies (2001), it seems clear that all the interviewed employers, including those who made no use of Welsh in their business at present, value an employee with bilingual communication skills.

However, a problem common to the majority of the companies in the sample was the difficulty in finding fully competent Welsh-speakers in general, and a greater difficulty was in finding those with the right skills needed to fill certain jobs. Despite claiming that Welsh language skills were necessary for their staff, only one company provided Welsh language training for their staff, most generally believed that it was not their responsibility to teach Welsh to their staff but it was the education system which was responsible for such skills training and up-dating. Although the teaching of Welsh up to the age of 16 is compulsory since the creation of the Welsh Curriculum, after the Education Reform Act in 1988, many young Welsh finish their compulsory education not being fully fluent Welsh speakers, especially those who learn Welsh as a second language, which is the great majority. Also as the compulsory teaching of Welsh in secondary schools became standard in recent years, provoking much confrontation between politicians and some parents opposing the scheme, many children did not learn any Welsh after leaving primary school. Moreover, according to Jones, Bebb and Davies, there are very low levels of vocational training provision through the medium of Welsh due to structural deficiencies such as lack of Welsh speaking trainers and assessors, lack of materials available in Welsh and lack of specific funding to deliver Welsh medium training to name a few (2001: 74-103). The same can be said

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<sup>161</sup> According to the survey 50% of respondents employed by public bodies and 24% of those working for private companies said that employers recruited people with bilingual skills wherever possible (Welsh Language Board, 2000: 16)

<sup>162</sup> CELTEC was the Regional Training and Enterprise Council for North Wales. Since the passing of the Learning and Skills Act in July 2000 it is now a new National Council for Education and Training for Wales, known as ELWa, which is responsible for planning, funding and improving the quality of all post-16 learning outside the higher education sector.

about the limitations regarding the provision of higher education where subjects taught through the medium of Welsh are still in a minority.

This is obviously a vital area for the development of the Welsh language. Without an improvement in the provision of teaching of Welsh and through the medium of Welsh at all levels of education, further growth and use of Welsh as a working language will be hindered. Nevertheless and despite the many limitations, the fact that Welsh is perceived as a valuable and sometimes as a decisive skill in the workplace and, therefore Welsh-speakers can have an advantage over those who do not speak Welsh when looking for a job, is crucial for the prestige of the language. Perceptions of usefulness and prospects of a better future, among other factors, weigh heavily on whether or not parents will choose to transmit the language to their children and to ensure that they receive an education in the language.

#### *Services and image*

The majority of companies provided some sort of language choice to their customers. The choice offered ranged from a totally or almost totally bilingual service, both in oral and written activities by fourteen of the companies; a language choice only in oral activities in eleven companies; four companies only offered limited choice in their oral activities and finally four other companies were not able to provide this choice, three of them owned by international companies and the fourth had an English owner.

The interviewees also remarked on the general passiveness of Welsh speaking customers in claiming services and products in Welsh. They tend to switch easily from Welsh to English and they certainly don't complain about the lack of such services through the medium of Welsh. The majority of the interviewees had not received comments nor demands to expand or make more use of Welsh. Even in the case of those who received comments they were not common and were made by a minority of their clients. Normally, Welsh speakers don't complain as they feel that they are causing trouble and therefore tend to avoid confrontation. Some comments made by non Welsh-

speaking interviewees seem to corroborate this belief. Only a small minority, what we might call “language militants”, are ready to voice such demands and even then one wonders for how long such a position can be sustained, especially if such demands tend to be dismissed and results do not follow. This makes clear that basing the provision of Welsh language services upon the demand from customers for such services does not help in expanding the use of Welsh. But if such demands and, more importantly, the actual use of the language by customers when dealing with private businesses are not realised, businesses will not change their provision. What is needed is more complicated because it will entail changing the social norm that asking for services and products in Welsh is a nuisance.

Regarding a possible association between the use of Welsh in business and a nationalist ideology, the majority of those interviewed did not believe this to be the case, although some of them offered clarifications about the possibility that others could interpret the use of Welsh as a political statement. References to the past were also made as some managers thought that the link between the Welsh language use in business and nationalism was more evident in the past, but things have changed and today they did not believe this to be the case anymore. Therefore, it seems that the language issue is being de-politicised, although not yet completely. In principle, this seems very positive if a language such as Welsh is to be perceived by their speakers and non-speakers alike as a “normal” language, a language not different from other languages which can be used everywhere and for everything. That is, it is what is said that matters and not the language you use. Nevertheless, other questions arise from the de-politicisation of the language. For instance, is it possible for Welsh-speakers to demand an increase in the presence of the Welsh language in all kinds of services, including those in the private sector, without linking such claims to political, historical or identity issues? And could the de-politicisation of the language lead to a linguistic demobilisation of their speakers?

*Costs and benefits, advantages and disadvantages of bilingualism*

The majority of the managers interviewed believed that using Welsh accrued more advantages than disadvantages for their companies. The main advantage that Welsh offered to these companies was a differentiation and a competitive edge in the market place over other companies who could not offer a language choice to their customers. Thus, many claimed that using Welsh in their commercial dealings helped them to attract Welsh-speaking customers and most importantly did not repel non-Welsh speaking customers. Other reasons argued in favour of the use of Welsh was that it helped to enhance the company's services at the same time that it made customers feel closer and more comfortable when dealing with them through the medium of Welsh. Although in a minority, there are companies that claim that using Welsh was crucial and was the reason why they were in business in the first place. The majority of their customers were Welsh speakers who choose to do business with them precisely because they could interact with them in their preferred language.

It is significant also that the majority of interviewees that used Welsh in their companies as their main working language did so because they were mother-tongue Welsh speakers and spoke Welsh naturally regardless of possible benefits or advantages to the company. We could claim therefore, as agencies such as Menter a Busnes have done, that increasing the number of Welsh-speakers who start up or are involved in private businesses would have a positive effect on the use of Welsh as a working language and more importantly in the provision of services and products by these companies through the medium of Welsh.

Nevertheless, whereas using Welsh to "some extent" can be considered as something positive for business by the majority of interviewees, total or quasi total bilingualism would be perceived more as an obstacle or a barrier to progress and development rather than a direct benefit for the company. They claimed that total bilingualism would make products and services more expensive and time consuming as the costs of translation, producing, printing and sending out bilingual information would increase substantially. This would be an obvious disadvantage to the competitiveness of their companies. Some

argued that in order to work bilingually they would have to appoint new staff, competent both in oral and written Welsh, and as mentioned previously, it is not always easy to find staff with such skills. This, together with costs, which would not be matched or surpassed by obvious financial benefits are the major constraints to the development of the use of Welsh in private businesses.

*Possible concerns, needs and help available*

Almost all of the Welsh-speaking managers interviewed believed that, in general, the Welsh language was able to be used for everything and everywhere including for businesses practices. It is significant, however, that the majority of interviewees who believed the contrary were non-Welsh speakers. The fact that non-Welsh speakers have doubts about the functionality of the Welsh language for modern practices implies that the Welsh language has still not achieved a negative-free image as might be believed. In fact the majority of those who thought that Welsh was in general a developed enough language to be used for business practices felt, nevertheless, that sometimes it was difficult to find established terminology and they had to use English words instead. All of them would like to see improvements in this area and some said that they would welcome the development of a strategy or the creation of a terminology centre for the Welsh language. The availability of Welsh terminology in all fields is again a key element ensuring and facilitating the development and growth of the Welsh language. As the worlds of business together with science, the media, etc. are in a constant state of change and innovation, it is fundamental that new terminology is continually created and standardised if Welsh is to be a complete medium of communication. Such issues were echoed in the 2002 review on the Welsh language by the National Assembly for Wales where several calls were made for the establishment of a new national body in charge of the creation of Welsh terminology and the standardisation of the Welsh language (National Assembly for Wales 2002: 9).

Regarding the use of computer software, the majority of interviewees reported using software in English and most were not aware of the existence of any software in Welsh. The type of software used depended on the activity of the company but the most used programmes were word processors, spreadsheets and databases. They pointed out the lack of choice available in this field and, although it was not felt to be a priority, many would like to see improvements in the availability and the quality of such material, especially in spell and grammar checking, and in-built dictionaries or thesaurus and automatic translation. Microsoft developed a Welsh spell checker and hyphenator with funding from the Welsh Language Board and in collaboration with Canolfan Bedwyr, the creators of other software in Welsh such as *CySill* and *CysGair*. The programme was made available in October 2001 and can be downloaded free from the Welsh Language Board web site where there is more information about many other computer resources. Moreover, in December 2004 the Welsh Language Board launched a Welsh language interface pack for Microsoft Windows XP and Office 2003. This is a field which is developing fast as the Welsh Language Board is investing substantially in forwarding the use of Welsh in ICTs. (WLB, IT Strategy for the Welsh Language). Today many activities in the workplace involve the use of computers; in fact they have become indispensable for the way we work. If the Welsh language is not present in this technological revolution it will never progress as a working language and therefore its perceived usefulness and prestige will weaken. Therefore, any development of software or computer resources facilitating the use of Welsh in the workplace would be an important advance to increase its use.

The majority of the managers reported not having looked for professional help in matters related to the use of Welsh in their respective companies. All but two of them said that they did not really need such assistance, either because they could deal with Welsh language matters themselves within the company; because they used little and simple Welsh; or because they could count on family and friends who were proficient in the Welsh language when help was required. All but four interviewees knew of public agencies or other professionals able to provide advice in relation to the Welsh language, with



the Welsh Language Board as the agency interviewees mentioned the most. The fact that the majority of interviewees were aware of agencies that could provide assistance with the Welsh language means that these agencies are achieving a certain level of presence or visibility which is crucial to get their messages across.

More than half of the managers interviewed would be willing to increase the use of Welsh if financial help was available. When asked which type of financial incentive they would prefer, either through direct grants or indirectly through tax relief, almost three-quarters thought that tax relief seemed in principle a good idea, nevertheless many expressed concerns about how it could work in practice and the probability that such measures would be taken. Those who preferred a grants system to promote Welsh in private businesses complained about the scarcity of current grants. During the research period some small grants were available from the Welsh Tourist Board for producing bilingual signs in the tourism and catering sectors and from the Welsh Language Board "Small Grants Scheme" to assist in the production of bilingual promotional material such as packaging, leaflets, websites and also signs. Although limited, such assistance can encourage owners and managers of private companies to publish and produce bilingual material. Tax relief together with grants have been successful in Catalonia in stimulating the use of Catalan in private businesses. Nevertheless, in Wales the Welsh Language Board is struggling to make a major impact to increase the use of Welsh primarily because of the limited resources which are allocated by government. Furthermore, the Welsh Language Act of 1993 does not compel the private sector to use Welsh and consequently the Welsh Language Board is not obliged to promote Welsh in the private sector. Measures such as tax relief to stimulate the use of Welsh in the private sector are without a legal basis to do so would be very difficult to progress and implement.

#### *Advertising, marketing and labelling*

English is the predominant language used for advertising, marketing and labelling, although Welsh is also relatively well used compared with other

company activities. Some companies, such as those which have Welsh as the main language of the company, advertise only in Welsh occasionally. It is noteworthy, for instance, that companies that do not use Welsh as a working language use some Welsh for marketing purposes. Nevertheless, these uses are predominantly symbolic and not communicative, especially in food and drink products and in the tourism sector. Many believed that a limited use of Welsh, although tokenistic, was sufficient to make clear to their customers that they were a Welsh-speaking company.

The symbolic use of Welsh for marketing purposes, particularly in the food and drink manufacturing and tourism sectors, is closely related to a conception of a certain branding image of Wales. The majority of interviewees in these two sectors agreed that Wales, unlike Scotland, Ireland or England, did not have a clear branding image to sell outside and there were few symbols that visitors could identify easily with the country. Moreover, if any image is projected at all, given so much ignorance about Wales, it is fragmented, stereotyped and contradictory, picturing a country with a heavy industrial tradition, a bucolic, remote and out-dated image forged by films such as "How Green Was My Valley" or a nation of radicals and holiday home burners. Nevertheless many managers believed that Wales' image is slowly changing from being perceived, especially in the neighbouring England, as a heavy industrial region to a land which is green, clean and with striking natural beauty. Some of the companies in the sample are trying to contribute to project this image with their products at the same time that they benefit from associating them with Wales. One way to clearly relate the product to Wales is to use Welsh, to a certain extent, as an authentication or differentiation factor.

Research related to branding and Wales' image seems to corroborate these perceptions. Smith (1998), in his study about the impact of the Welsh image in inward investment from England, concludes that Wales lacks a single coherent and positive identity and that there is much ignorance relating to the Welsh language, especially in London and the South East of England. He stresses the importance that a strong and positive image of Wales can have for the competitiveness of a nation, not only for tourism, but for the economy

as a whole. Given the need to form and spread a positive image of Wales two organisations, “Budd Cymru: Positively Wales” and the “Branding Wales Group”, were established in the mid 1990s with the intention of creating a positive branding image for Wales where the Welsh language is presented as an asset and something that can add to the perception of Wales as unique and special country (Branding Wales Group, n.d.). Furthermore, the Welsh Tourism Board (2000) in its recent strategy to promote tourism highlights the benefits of presenting Wales as a country with a “strong cultural and linguistic tradition” and using Welsh as an asset to accentuate its uniqueness.

### *Expectations for the future*

Regarding the expectations for the future of the Welsh language it seems that the great majority are confident that the use of Welsh is going to increase in the long term, both in society generally and in businesses specifically. The Welsh Language Board survey produced similar results. When asked if Welsh was going to continue as a living language for the foreseeable future, 75% answered that it probably or definitely will (2000: 8). Having positive expectations regarding the future of Welsh, although not necessarily guarantees its continuity, is a sign that the prestige of the language is increasing and an indication that the days when Welsh was thought to be a dying language might be over.

The great majority also declared that, although it was still early days they expected the National Assembly for Wales to be proactive in the promotion of the Welsh language.<sup>163</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> Since the interviews for the fieldwork were finished the National Assembly’s Culture and Education and Lifelong Learning Committees spend more than a year undertaking a policy review on the Welsh language. The outcome of the review was published in the report “Our Language: Its Future” (2002). This comprehensive report highlighted several issues which were very valuable in establishing a strategy to accomplish the Assembly’s objective to create a bilingual Wales. The Welsh Government’s strategy “Iaith Pawb: A National Action Plan for Bilingual Wales” (2003) is the principal guide to accomplish such objectives. Thus, in a sense the Welsh Government has been proactive in embracing the importance of Welsh for the Welsh society as a whole. It remains to be seen if the plans and actions figuring in the

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strategy will be fully implemented in the near future, and whether the lacunae identified in Williams (2004) will be addressed.

## **6 THE USE OF WELSH IN SMEs IN CEREDIGION AND CARMARTHENSHIRE: ANALYSIS OF QUESTIONNAIRES**

### **6.1 Introduction**

It is evident that the adoption of Welsh for business use has been an increasing element of public discussion and private practice over these past decades. However, little *a priori* evidence is available to suggest which are the determining or operative factors whereby one can predict the likelihood of significant amounts of Welsh being used in companies either within the workforce itself or in the dealings with customers and suppliers. If the pertinent factors in the decision-making process can be identified, then it is probable that language promotion policies can better target the crucial areas of activity within relevant businesses, especially in the absence of a legal framework which requires companies to use Welsh.

Both this chapter and the previous one report on the findings of an original fieldwork project which sought to investigate to what extent the Welsh language is used in different activities of SMEs, both for internal and external communications. The original fieldwork was undertaken between September 2000 and June 2001. In the intervening time there are some areas where the use of Welsh has changed, and increased somewhat. Nevertheless, recent interviews confirm that in general terms the broad trends identified by the fieldwork have remained unaltered.<sup>164</sup>

The formal interviews examined in chapter 5 were supplemented by a questionnaire that every interviewee was requested to complete and return. The aim of the questionnaire was to gather background information both from interviewees and companies in order to better understand the language profile of companies and to complement the data gathered in the personal

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<sup>164</sup> Interviews with anonymous SME respondents, WLB staff and members, where carried out during November 2005.

interviews. Therefore, in this chapter we will present and analyse the findings of these questionnaires in three different parts:

1. The first part will provide an analysis of the general information regarding the companies' activities and business profile.
2. The second part will concentrate on analysing the interviewees' language competencies and uses in the company.
3. The third part will focus on analysing in detail the use of Welsh and English in the companies' various activities.

Finally, we will try to categorise the companies according to their use of Welsh and discern which variables are more likely to influence a greater use of Welsh.

## **6.2 Objectives, methodology and analysis of questionnaires**

The objective of this second part of the fieldwork, based on the analysis of the data gathered through a structured questionnaire, was twofold. First, to collect background information about the company, the interviewee's language competencies as well as to undertake a linguistic audit of the major aspects involving the company every day's activities. Secondly, to complement the interviews in establishing which variables or combination of variables has the most effect on the use of the Welsh language in the companies analysed. Is it possible to identify a distinct set of preconditions or triggering factors which impel some companies to make extensive use of the Welsh language and other companies not to? If this is the case, what are these variables which influence such decisions?

The most likely variables which can be considered to have a possible effect on a range of Welsh language use in private companies are the following:<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>165</sup> In keeping with the comparative perspective adopted in this thesis, the selection of variables has been made from different sources, but most significantly from an internal working document of the Consorci per a la Normalització Lingüística (1997)

1. Ownership (and head office location);
2. Size (number of employees);
3. Geographic location;
4. Sector of activity;
5. Date of establishment;
6. Market area;
7. Language abilities of owners/managers;
8. Language abilities of staff/workforce;
9. Language abilities of customers;
10. The opinion of owners/managers as to the importance of the Welsh language;
11. Official regulations or public assistance;
12. Commercial trends and fashion;
13. Wider intellectual and political views regarding support for bilingualism in the economy;
14. Educational impact of 'new' social reality.

The three variables of size, geographical location and sector of activity will not be fully considered in this particular survey. In order to be able to determine whether the size has an effect on the use of Welsh, it would have been necessary to include in the sample equal numbers of companies of different sizes, including large companies, which is not the case in this particular survey. Moreover, the majority of the companies in this sample are small, and there are only three medium sized companies. Therefore, it is difficult to obtain any significant information to ascertain the effect of this particular variable on the use of the Welsh language.

In the same way the geographical location variable is partial, as we only consider companies from two counties, Ceredigion and Carmarthenshire, and therefore we can only make strict comparisons between these two areas. For

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and from the first general survey of the use of Catalan in large private companies, Tudela (1992).

a complete understanding of how the location of a company affects its language use, the sample would have needed to include companies from all over Wales. Nevertheless, we can presume that, other things being equal, companies located in areas with higher percentages of Welsh speakers, such as Gwynedd or Anglesey, would likely use more Welsh than companies located in counties such as Newport, Monmouthshire or Blaenau Gwent.

Regarding the variable related to the sector of activity the sample includes companies from four different sectors, manufacturing of food and drink, tourism and leisure, retail and the service sector. As mentioned in the previous chapter any of these sectors and their sub-sectors could be analysed individually and comprehensively, as we saw in Chapter 3 was the case of the Catalan language.<sup>166</sup> However, given the paucity of studies focusing on the use of Welsh in the private sector, and recalling the hypothesis that the use of Welsh in this sector is extremely limited, it was vital that one should start with an investigation of these companies in different sectors<sup>167</sup> which had a high potential of Welsh being used.

This is to ascertain why Welsh was used to varying degrees in their communications and commercial activities. Logically, if one can understand the decision-making process in the most favourable circumstances, one can extrapolate to the least favourable circumstances and prioritise the limited additional resources available to the most fruitful contexts. Also by concentrating our attention on predominantly Welsh-speaking locales, it was anticipated that local networks, diffusion-innovation practices and elements of synergy would come into play.

Variables 10 to 14 have already been discussed in the previous chapter. Nevertheless, we will return to some of the main ideas from the interviews in the conclusion of this chapter. The attempt to establish which variables or combination of variables seems to have the most effect on the use of Welsh in

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<sup>166</sup> See footnote 140 on page 236 (Chapter 5).

<sup>167</sup> The reasons for the selection of the sectors have been already explained in chapter 5.



the companies analysed will be based on the interplay of the remaining variables—namely, ownership, date of establishment, market area and language abilities of managers, staff and customers.

The methodology used in this second part of the fieldwork was a structured questionnaire which interviewees could choose to complete in either English or Welsh.<sup>168</sup> It was handed to them at the end of the interview together with a stamped addressed envelop for them to return.

The questionnaire is divided into three main sections. The aim of the first two sections was to gather all the variables necessary from both the company and the interviewee. The third section is an actual audit of the company's language uses in their every day activities. These sections cover the following topics:

1. General information about the interviewee and company's activities (number of employees, company's activities by geographic area, existence of branches or headquarters, etc.). This section also contains a question related to the proportion of the company's staff and customers able to speak Welsh.
2. The interviewee's language competence, patterns of use inside the company and confidence in speaking and writing Welsh, both in formal and informal situations.
3. Detailed oral and written language use in most aspects of business activities, both internally and externally.<sup>169</sup>

Before explaining how the data gathered has been analysed and presented it is necessary to clarify one specific aspect of the question related to the market area of the companies' activities in the first section of the questionnaire. In this

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<sup>168</sup> See appendix for the questionnaires used, in English and Welsh.

<sup>169</sup> External activities are those which imply dealing with customers and are market-orientated. Activities which involve dealing with other organisations both public and private such as other businesses or public institutions are also considered external. Internal activities are those related to the administration and internal functioning of the company such as staff meetings or contracts, etc.

question, interviewees had to indicate what approximate percentages and numbers (when possible) of their customers, suppliers and turnover came from the local area, from Wales, the rest of the UK or from abroad. The majority of the interviewees who returned the questionnaire did not provide numerical data. Therefore, the numerical data provided by a few of them will be excluded explicitly in the analysis.

Finally, the data gathered has been analysed using an MS Excel spreadsheet from which different types of charts have been derived to present the data.

### 6.3 The findings of the fieldwork: the questionnaires

From a total of 33 managers interviewed, 26 returned the questionnaire, which is more than 78% of the total sample. Therefore, the comparisons between the data provided in the interviews and the questionnaires will be limited to 26 cases where we have both the interview and the returned questionnaire.

A first set of very revealing data can be obtained when comparing the language used in interviews with the language chosen to fill in the questionnaires (table 6.1). Of the 26 interviews 20 were conducted in Welsh, but only 15 of the interviewees choose to complete the questionnaire in this language. Therefore, even though a majority of Welsh speakers interviewed in Welsh also completed the questionnaire in Welsh, 5 others choose to use English instead when completing their answers.

**Table 6.1 Language of Interviews and questionnaires**

	<b>Welsh</b>		<b>English</b>	
	Num.	%	Num.	%
<i>Interviews</i>	20	76.9	6	23.1
<i>Questionnaires</i>	15	57.6	11	42.3

As we will see in more detail in section 3.2 below, there is a clear connection between language use and confidence. All five Welsh-speaking interviewees

who completed the questionnaire in English revealed that they did not feel very confident or, in some cases, not confident at all, when using Welsh in neither formal nor informal written activities. Comparing the use of Welsh in interviews and questionnaires by county or sector would not be significant because the sample used is not statistically representative.

#### **6.4 The companies: general characteristics**

Table 6.2 provides a profile of the companies in the sample. The majority of the companies are small, with only three of them having more than 50 employees. In terms of ownership the great majority, 21 out of the 26, have Welsh owners 18 of whom are Welsh-speakers. Of the remaining five businesses, one is British-owned and the rest are owned by foreign companies. Also the majority, 20 in total, have their headquarters located in the area, whereas 3 are subsidiary branches of other companies located outside Wales. Two other companies, number 16 and 22 in table 6.2, are branches of companies located elsewhere in Wales. Nine of these companies have Welsh names, 11 have English names, 5 are bilingual and one company has a registered name containing both languages.<sup>170</sup>

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<sup>170</sup> The difference between having a bilingual name and a name containing both Welsh and English is that the former has in fact two names, one in English and the same one in Welsh, whereas the latter has one name where one part of the sentence is in Welsh and the other part is in English.

Table 6.2 General characteristics of companies

Sector of activity	Main Economic Activity	Company name	Location	Date of founding	Type of branch <sup>171</sup>	Country of ownership	N. of employees Full T.	Part T.	Type of company
1 Service	Accountancy Consultant	Welsh	Ceredigion	1995	H	Wales	3		Small
2 Tourism & Leisure	Hotel & Catering	Bilingual	Ceredigion	1972	H	Wales	15		Small
3 Service	Information Technology	Welsh	Ceredigion	2000	H	Wales	3		Small
4 Service	Publishing & Printing	Welsh	Ceredigion	1967	H	Wales	18		Small
5 Manufacture	Organic Yoghurt Production	English	Ceredigion	1982	SB	USA	61		Medium
6 Manufacture	Water bottling	Both lgs.	Ceredigion	1989	H	Italy	22		Small
7 Manufacture	Wine-making	Welsh	Ceredigion	1987	H	Wales	2	7	Small
8 Tourism & Leisure	Hotel and Catering	English	Ceredigion	1995	H	Wales	3		Small
9 Tourism & Leisure	Hotel & Golf centre	English	Ceredigion	1966	H	Wales	22		Small
10 Retail	Jewellery & crafts	Welsh	Ceredigion	1971	H	Wales	7		Small
11 Tourism & Leisure	Hotel & Catering	English	Ceredigion	1850	H	Wales	6	20	Small
12 Service	Publishing, Design & PR	Bilingual	Ceredigion	1989	H	Wales	17		Small
13 Service	Marketing, Design & PR	Welsh	Ceredigion	1979	H	Wales	15		Small
14 Manufacture	Cheese Producer	Welsh	Ceredigion	1987	H	Wales	4		Small
15 Service	Promotion & Marketing	English	Ceredigion	1991	H	Wales	10	8	Small
16 Retail	Home furniture	English	Carmarthenshire	1990	SB	Wales	200		Medium
17 Retail	Home & Garden retail	English	Carmarthenshire	1989	H	Wales	15		Small
18 Manufacture	Water bottling	English	Carmarthenshire	1995	SB	Belgium	20		Small
19 Tourism & Leisure	Hotel & Catering	English	Carmarthenshire	1968	H	Wales	35		Small
20 Retail	Florist	Bilingual	Carmarthenshire	1985	H	Wales	4		Small
21 Manufacture	Cheese Producer	Welsh	Carmarthenshire	1984	H	Wales	4		Small
22 Service	Recruitment Agency	Bilingual	Carmarthenshire	2001	SB	Wales	10		Small
23 Service	Accountancy Consultant	Bilingual	Carmarthenshire	1989	H	Wales	8		Small
24 Manufacturing	Dairy Producer	English	Carmarthenshire	-	SB	UK	140		Medium
25 Retail	Welsh Produce	Welsh	Carmarthenshire	1979	H	Wales	19		Small
26 Tourism & Leisure	Hotel & Catering	English	Carmarthenshire	-	SB	Intl.	30		Small

<sup>171</sup> H= Headquarter; SB= Subsidiary Branch

#### **6.4.1 Geographic location of companies' activities**

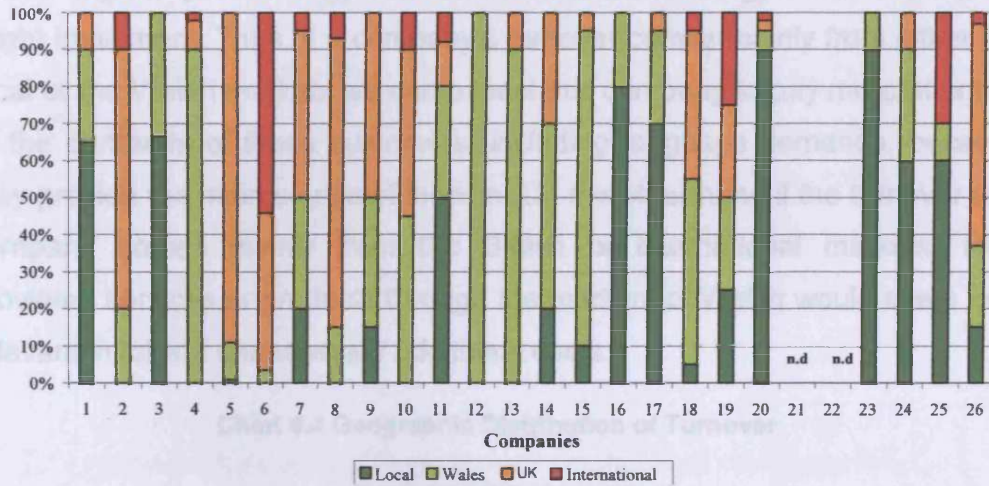
One of the factors which one would expect to have a great effect on the language use of private companies is the geographical location and/or market area of their activities involving customers, suppliers and annual production turnover. Logically, it can be presumed that the more local the activity the greater the probability is that this activity will be carried out through the medium of Welsh. Therefore, if the majority of customers of a company come from near the area where they operate or from within Wales, there are more possibilities that such customers will speak Welsh and deal with the company through the medium of Welsh. Alternatively, if a company operates mainly in the British or international markets, the dealings with their customers or suppliers will most probably be in English and on occasion in other languages.<sup>172</sup>

As can be seen in chart 6.1 the majority of customers of the surveyed companies, 66.7%, are located in Wales, 30.9% of which come from their local area and 35.8% from the rest of Wales. The second important market for these companies is the British market comprising 26.6% of customers. Finally, the companies sampled have a marginal presence in the international markets as only 6.7% of their customers are from abroad. The distribution of customers by company in chart 6.2 reveals that six of the twelve companies with foreign customers are tourism and leisure companies [2, 8, 11, 19 & 26] or companies whose products are orientated to tourism consumption. This is the case of company 25 which is the second company with the highest number of foreign customers. The company with the largest number of overseas customers is company number 6, a water bottling company owned by Italian shareholders.

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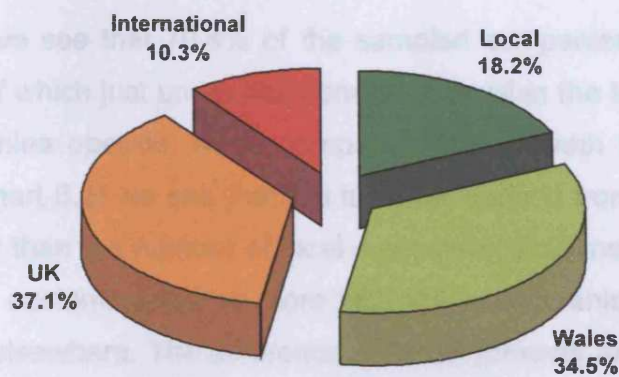
<sup>172</sup> A detailed breakdown of the different categories by company is available in annex 2.

**Chart 6.2 Geographic Distribution of Customers by Company**



Regarding suppliers (chart 6.3) we see that just over half are located in Wales, of which 18.2% operate near the businesses with which they trade. 37% of suppliers come from the rest of the UK and 10.3% are companies from abroad. If we compare such percentages with those related to customer profiles we can presume that there are less possibilities that the dealings between company and supplier would be in Welsh, but even so, over half of these suppliers (52.7%) are located within Wales.

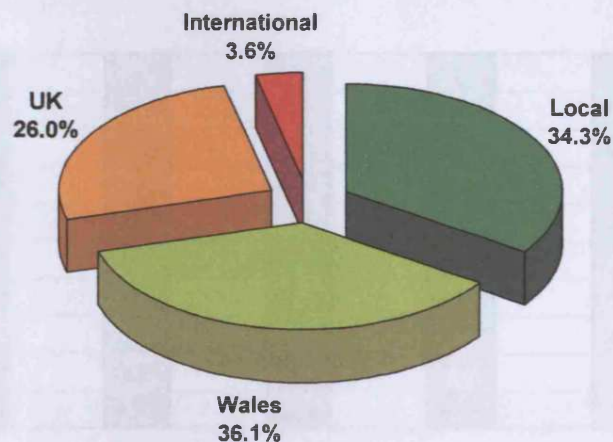
**Chart 6.3 Geographic Distribution of Suppliers**





The geographic distribution of a company's turnover can also be decisive in influencing the particular type of communications' strategy which a company might implement. Thus, if a company's turnover comes mainly from either the local or the Welsh markets we can expect this company to pay more attention to the demands of these customers, including language demands, because they provide the main source of income. On the other hand if the turnover of a company comes mainly from the British or international markets, then providing services or products through the medium of Welsh would seem less relevant involving unnecessary additional costs.

Chart 6.4 Geographic Distribution of Turnover

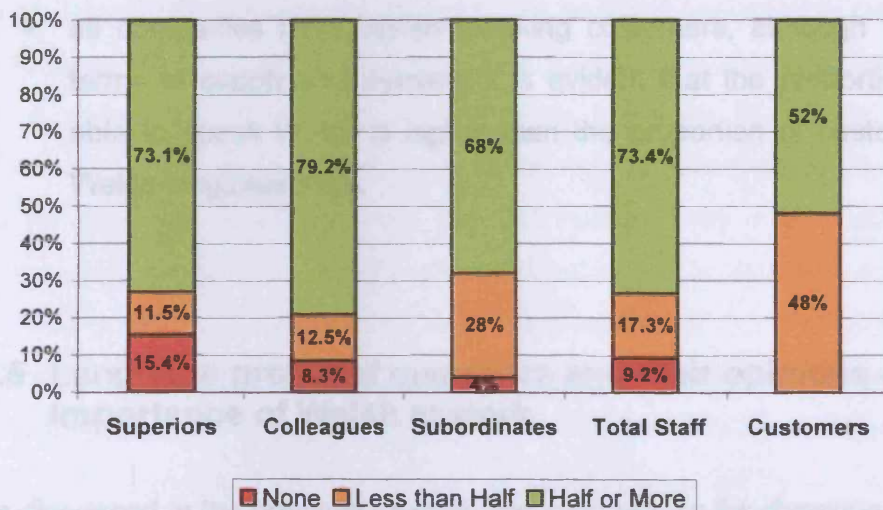


In chart 6.4 we see that 70.4% of the sampled companies' turnover comes from Wales of which just under half comes from within the local area in which these companies operate. If we compare this data with the distribution of customers (chart 6.2) we see that the turnover derived from the local area is slightly higher than the number of local customers. This means that local and Wales based customers spend more with these companies than customers coming from elsewhere. The difference between turnover and customers from abroad is the highest of the four areas. Thus, although 6.7% of customers come from abroad they only provide 3.6% of the companies' turnover. We can deduce therefore, that generally the local and Welsh markets are very important not to say vital for these companies.

## 6.4.2 Proportion of staff and customers able to speak Welsh

The last question of the first part of the questionnaire was related to the proportion of staff and customers able to speak Welsh in each company. The category "staff" was divided in three sub-categories: superiors, colleagues and subordinates in order to observe if there were any major differences between them. Interviewees who were the owners were asked to include themselves in the "superiors" category.

**Chart 6.5 Proportion of Companies Where Staff and Customers Are Able to Speak Welsh**



In chart 6.5 we can see that whereas in almost three quarters of the companies (73.4%) half or more of their staff are able to speak Welsh, there are less companies (52%) where more than half of their customers are Welsh-speaking. In other words, the staff of most companies have a proficiency in Welsh which far outstrips the current demand made upon them by their customers. Significantly, although all companies possess staff who are not able to speak Welsh, especially among the superiors or owners category, all companies have Welsh-speaking customers to some extent.

To sum up, these are the main characteristics of the sampled companies:



- The majority are small businesses.
- 80% have Welsh-born owners of which 86% are Welsh-speakers;
- 77% have their headquarters or only base in the area;
- the majority of their customers, 66.7%, live in Wales, of which 31% live near the area where these companies operate;
- 52.7% of their suppliers are located in Wales, of which 18.2% operate near the sampled companies;
- 70.4% of their turnover comes from Wales of which 34.6% comes from the local area where they are based;
- in 73.4% of these companies half or more of their staff are able to speak Welsh;
- all companies have Welsh-speaking customers, although in simple terms of supply and demand it is evident that the proportion of staff able to speak Welsh is higher than the proportion of customers with Welsh language skills.

## **6.5 Language profile of managers and their opinions on the importance of Welsh at work**

As discussed in the previous chapter, the main reason for choosing managers as interviewees is that their declarations carry weight. Therefore, their opinion about the importance of the knowledge of Welsh at work can have an effect both on their recruiting policies and the use of the language for different functions inside the company. However, it is not only their opinion about the importance of Welsh as a working language which can have an impact on the use of Welsh in the company, but also the managers' actual language abilities. Thus, their own use of Welsh, their confidence when speaking, reading or writing in Welsh in different every day situations can be critical. Consequently, while the aim of the first part of the questionnaire was to obtain a profile of the companies, the second part aimed at identifying the language

profiles of interviewees together with their perceptions about the usefulness of the knowledge of Welsh, English and other languages at work.

One important aspect to be considered when analysing the data is that the Welsh language competence, use and confidence of interviewees is self-assessed. Therefore, the results can only be an approximation of a complex reality. Speakers of minority languages tend either to upgrade or to downgrade the level of their knowledge of the language, possibly due to misconceptions of language correctness. The upgrading or downgrading of their knowledge of the language is related to the social prestige<sup>173</sup> of this language. If the language has high social prestige speakers will tend to upgrade the level of its knowledge as the language is seen as a valuable skill, even though they might not be as fluent as they declare. By contrast, if a language has a low social prestige, their speakers will tend to disguise or to downgrade their knowledge although they might be fully fluent speakers. Furthermore, speaking or using dialects can be interpreted as using “the wrong kind of language” and for that reason they might not consider themselves as fluent speakers either. Another factor that has an effect on fluency is use and, more importantly, opportunities of using the language for different functions and different in registers. Minority languages can be characterised for having a limited range of registers and contexts where to use the language. This is also one of the weaknesses of official language censuses for they are also self-assessed. The results have always to be balanced with an analysis of the perceived prestige of the language and actual language use surveys.

### **6.5.1 Managers' language abilities**

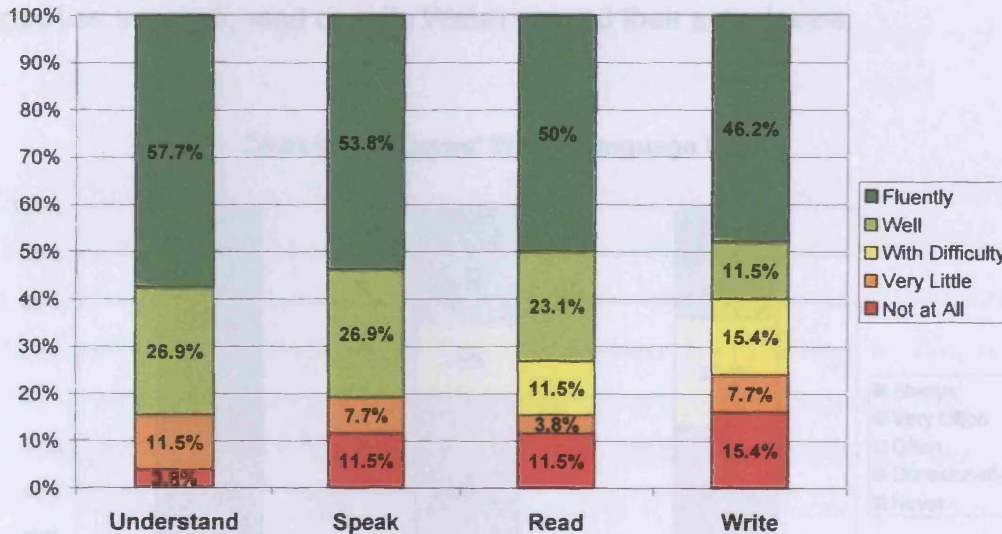
Regarding the capacity of managers in the four different cognitive abilities in Welsh we can see from chart 6.6 that the majority of them reported that they

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<sup>173</sup> Williams and Morris define language prestige as “the value of a language for social mobility” (2000: 20). This concept of language prestige is considered by the authors as a key variable and the most important motivating force in the process of language production and reproduction.

understand, speak, read and write Welsh either fluently or well. Indeed, 84.6% of managers understand Welsh fluently or well; 80.7% speak Welsh fluently or well; 73.1% state they were able to read Welsh fluently or well and finally 57.7% also write Welsh fluently or well.

**Chart 6.6 Managers' Welsh Language Competence**



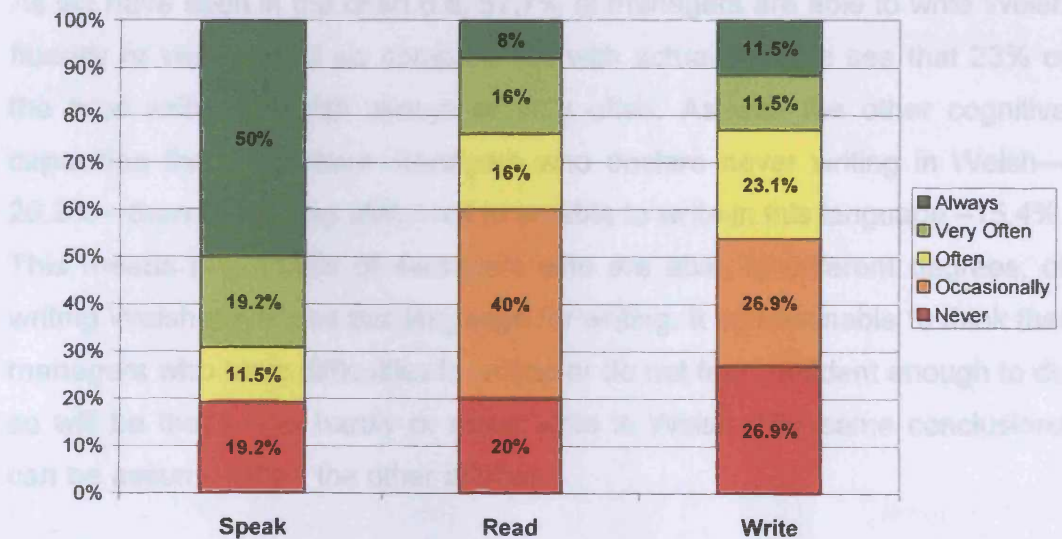
We also see a classic gradation between the different cognitive abilities. Indeed, there are more managers able to understand and speak Welsh fluently or well than those who are also fluent or almost fluent reading or writing Welsh. Also, it is only in these two last cognitive abilities where we find managers expressing difficulty, especially in writing the language.

Although reading and writing Welsh fluently is less common among these managers, the potential for Welsh being used in all three active cognitive abilities, speaking, reading and writing is still quite high. Nevertheless, the capacity of speaking, reading or writing does not translate automatically into behaviour; that is, into actual use. Other factors, such as confidence, habit or an encouraging or discouraging context, will influence their language uses. Therefore, it remains to be seen to what extent the capacities displayed by these managers are replicated in their self-assessed everyday language uses.

### 6.5.2 Managers' Welsh language use: speaking, reading and writing.

Comparing chart 6.6 and chart 6.7 we can observe the differences between capacity and behaviour, this is, between language competence and language use. Leaving aside the capacity to understand Welsh, which is a passive one and cannot be matched with a question on use, which is active, we see that in general terms capacity does not translate fully into behaviour. The manager's capacities to speak, read or write Welsh exceed their actual uses.

Chart 6.7 Managers' Welsh Language Use



If we compare the managers' competence to speak Welsh with how often they actually speak it, we can see that whereas 80.7% declare to be able to speak Welsh fluently or well, only 69.2% did speak Welsh always or very often, a difference of 11.5% between capacity and behaviour. Nevertheless, if we add the parameter "often" to the other parameters of language use—"always" and "very often"—we see that capacity and use match exactly, with 80.7% being able to speak Welsh and the same 80.7% declaring that they speak Welsh either always, very often or often. In any case, the difference between capacity and behaviour in speaking Welsh is lower than for the other competencies. At the other end of the spectrum, 11.5% of managers affirm not being able to speak Welsh at all. Comparing this percentage with the percentage of managers who never speak Welsh –19.2%– we can observe



that only 7.7% of managers who are able to speak Welsh to varying degrees, never speak it.

Regarding the ability of reading Welsh, the gap between capacity and behaviour is the largest of the three. 76.9% of managers are able to read Welsh fluently or well, whereas only 24% read Welsh always or very often, a difference of 52.9%. Moreover, the same proportion of managers who are not able to speak Welsh are unable to read it, but in this case a slightly higher proportion of managers that are able to do it—8.5%—never read Welsh.

As we have seen in the chart 6.6, 57.7% of managers are able to write Welsh fluently or very well. If we compare this with actual use, we see that 23% of the total write in Welsh always or very often. As with the other cognitive capacities there are more managers who declare never writing in Welsh—26.9%—than those who affirm not to be able to write in this language—15.4%. This means that 11.5% of managers who are able, to different degrees, of writing Welsh never use this language for writing. It is reasonable to think that managers who have difficulties in writing or do not feel confident enough to do so will be those who hardly or never write in Welsh. The same conclusions can be assumed from the other abilities.

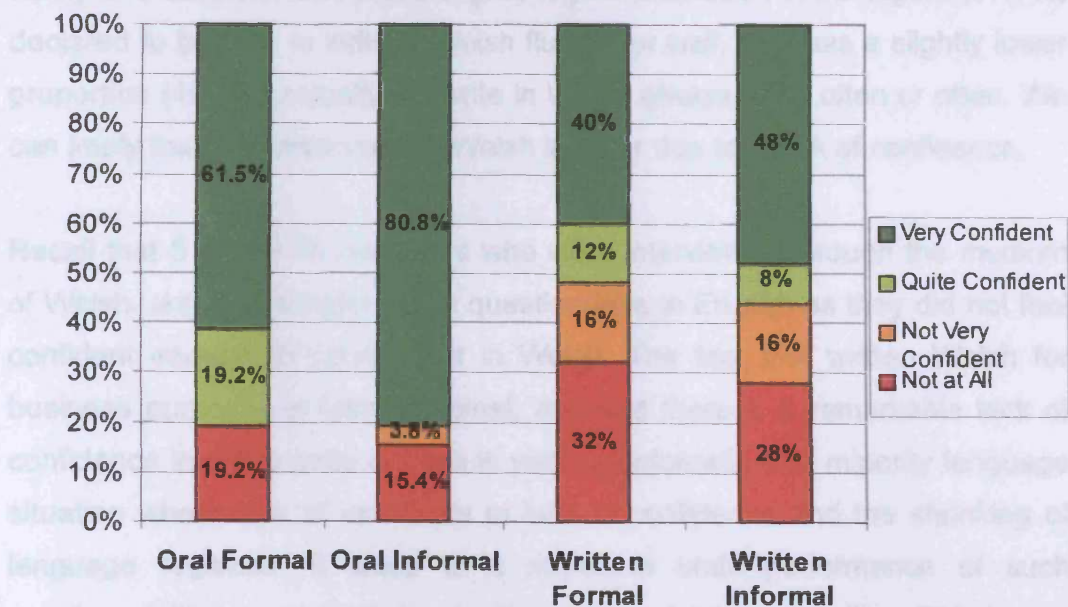
It will be also interesting to observe the correlation between habits of use of Welsh by managers or owners and the actual use of Welsh in their respective companies. Logically, on the one hand, we can expect a higher use of Welsh in companies whose managers or owners declare to use Welsh always or very often. On the other hand, companies whose managers do not speak Welsh at all or do so very rarely should show a lesser use of Welsh in their everyday activities. If there is a clear correlation between these two parameters we would have identified one of the variables which has an effect on the use of the Welsh language in private companies. This in turn would allow language planners to find strategies which best assist in realising the potential that companies with Welsh language speaking managers or owners present in terms of Welsh language use. Nevertheless, we can also be sure

that this variable—the language abilities of owners/managers—is not the only variable which effects Welsh language uses in private companies.

### 6.5.3 Managers' confidence when using Welsh

Language use is not only conditioned by the ability or competence of an individual speaking a specific language, as other factors might intervene. One of the possible factors is confidence. The confidence that one has speaking a language has also an effect in its use. In principle, the less confident one feels using a language the lower the use of that language will be. By contrast, confidence will increase when increasing its use. Actual use will only increase as and when individuals feel that they need to do so, and most importantly if there are clear opportunities to use Welsh in every situation.<sup>174</sup>

Chart 6.8 Managers' Confidence Using Welsh in Different Situations



<sup>174</sup> Williams and Morris conclude from their fieldwork that “for fluent speakers the use of workplace Welsh, whatever form it may take, is not a problem, and when it is possible to use the language in work, they do so” (2000: 151). They also argue that the main factor which translates competence into use is not attitude, but competence availability, this is, when the possibility of using Welsh exists (idem: 94).

Looking at chart 6.8 we can see that 80.7% of managers feel very or quite confident speaking Welsh formally. This proportion matches exactly and coincidentally the proportion of managers who declared to be able to speak Welsh fluently or well (chart 6.6). It also coincides with the proportion of managers who declared to speak Welsh always or very often (chart 6.7). When speaking Welsh informally almost exactly the same proportion of managers (80.8%) say they feel very confident.

Regarding the written use of Welsh we can observe that a higher proportion of managers don't feel at all confident when writing in Welsh, compared with the confidence showed in oral interactions. Thus, 48% of managers do not feel confident at all or not very confident when writing formally, and 44% in informal writings. By contrast, around half of the managers (52%) feel very or quite confident writing Welsh formally, around 30% less than speaking Welsh very or quite confidently. When comparing confidence in writing Welsh with ability and use, it seems that a slightly higher proportion of managers (57.7%) declared to be able to write in Welsh fluently or well, whereas a slightly lower proportion (46.1%) actually did write in Welsh always, very often or often. We can imply that the written use of Welsh is lower due to a lack of confidence.

Recall that 5 of the 20 managers who were interviewed through the medium of Welsh, actually completed the questionnaire in English as they did not feel confident enough to complete it in Welsh. The fact that written Welsh for business purposes is fairly marginal, and that there is a remarkable lack of confidence in these sorts of uses is very symptomatic of a minority language situation where lack of use leads to lack of confidence and the shrinking of language registers. It leads to a structural under-performance of such speakers failing to reach their potential communicative capacities. This in turn reduces the existing opportunities for interchange and consequently makes it all the more difficult to strengthen such exchanges by the external intervention of language promotion or economic agencies.

#### **6.5.4 The importance of the knowledge of Welsh, English and other languages at work.**

In order to have a clear picture of the language profile of managers and considering the impact that their opinions have regarding everything that affects the company, it was considered valuable to ask them what importance they placed on the knowledge of Welsh, English and other languages at work in their respective companies. Even though we can already deduce from the answers to different questions of the interview<sup>175</sup> which managers place greater or lesser importance to the knowledge of Welsh in the workplace, it was interesting to compare their evaluation with the actual use of Welsh in their companies, that is why a direct answer was needed. Can we say that there exists a correlation between the importance that managers place to the ability of speaking, reading or writing Welsh at work and the actual use of this language in different company's activities? In other words, companies whose managers give greater importance to the knowledge of Welsh show a higher use of Welsh. Conversely, we might ask if there is a lower use of Welsh in those companies whose managers or owners give lesser or no importance to the Welsh language? We will come back to this point in the next section once we have analysed the language use in the different companies' external and internal activities.

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<sup>175</sup> See chapter 5, mainly sections 5.3.2, 5.3.4 and 5.3.6.



**Chart 6.9 Importance of the Knowledge of Welsh According to Managers**



In chart 6.9 we can observe that, from the different cognitive capacities, the abilities which managers or owners rank the greatest importance are the knowledge and the capacity of speaking Welsh. It is quite remarkable and positive that half of the managers believe that understanding and speaking Welsh is essential in their work place. But, does this mean that in 50% of the sampled companies' workers are not able to do their job unless they both understand and speak Welsh?

In chapter 5, section 3.2.1 it was reported that only 7 of the 33 companies contained an entirely Welsh speaking staff. This means that although half of the managers consider that the knowledge of Welsh is essential in their respective companies this seems not to correspond with reality. It might be true for the 7 companies<sup>176</sup> whose entire workforce speaks Welsh, but not for the remaining 6 companies, where not all staff are Welsh speakers. This can be interpreted as more of a wish on behalf of these managers than a reality. However, this perception of the essential presence of the Welsh language in the workplace tells us more about the perceived usefulness of Welsh and the status of the language than its real use. We will corroborate this point in the next section after analysing the actual oral use of Welsh for different activities.

<sup>176</sup> See section 5.3.2.1.

Concerning the other cognitive abilities, reading and writing in Welsh are regarded by managers as less valuable than understanding and speaking the language. The same proportion of managers, almost 31%, consider that being able to read and write Welsh is essential, whereas they place greater importance on reading (38%) than writing in Welsh (30.8%). Nevertheless, we have to take into account that the evaluation of usefulness of reading and writing Welsh in the workplace is closely linked with the profile of the different jobs in the company. Also, in some sectors such as the service sector rather than the manufacturing sector, there will be more jobs requiring reading and writing skills whatever the language.

**Chart 6.10 Importance of the Knowledge of English According to Managers**

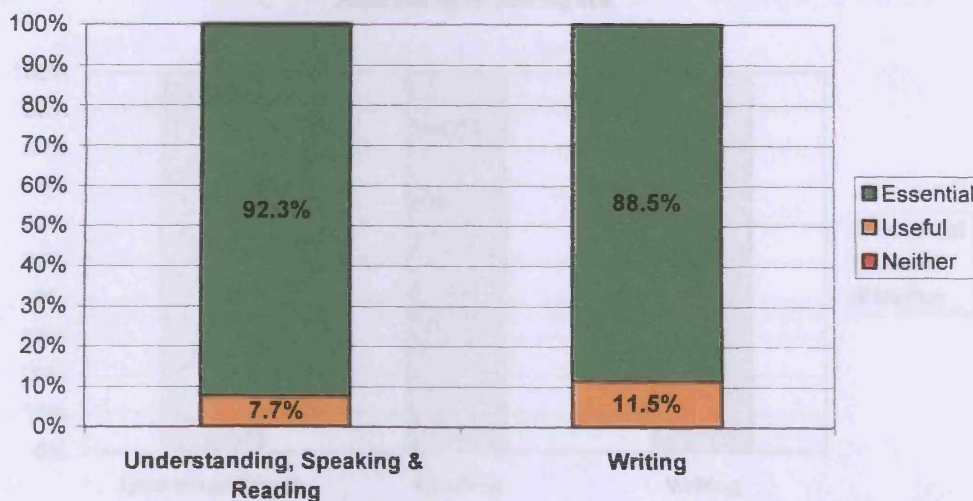


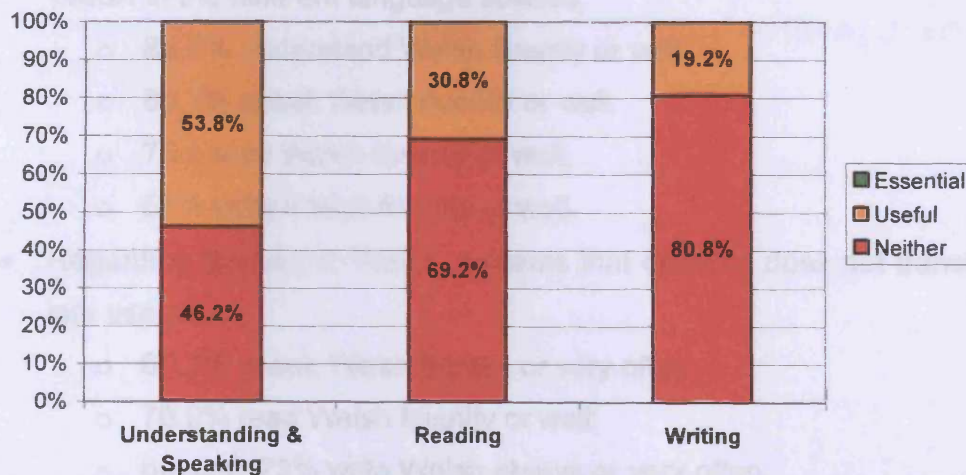
Chart 6.10 corroborates what seems obvious; namely that English is the indisputable necessary language in the workplace in Wales. It is actually surprising that some managers consider that it is useful rather than essential to be able to understand, speak and read English in order to do their jobs properly in their respective companies. However, there are a few companies in the sample which use Welsh as their main working language and for some tasks maybe they may not need English at all. As regards written English, 11.5% consider this skill more useful than necessary. As was mentioned



previously in the case of Welsh, this might be due to the fact that for certain jobs the capacity to write English correctly might be less essential.

It was also considered useful to ask managers about the importance of the different cognitive skills in other languages. Looking at chart 6.11 we can observe that none of the managers considered the knowledge of other foreign languages to be essential in the workplace. Just over half of managers (53.8%) believed that understanding and speaking other languages was useful. 69.9% of managers considered that being able to read foreign languages was neither necessary nor useful. Finally, even a greater majority, 80.8% considered the capacity of writing these languages as unnecessary and useless in their companies' everyday activities.

**Chart 6.11 Importance of the Knowledge of Other Languages According to Managers**



These answers fit quite logically with the profile of the companies. As we have seen in section 3.1.1 above, the majority of sampled companies have a strong local or Welsh profile. Only 6.7% of their customers come from abroad and they only provide 3.6% of these companies' turnover. Thus, it is understandable that for these companies having staff who are fluent in other languages is clearly not a priority; not even for tourism sector companies, whose customer's profile is more international.

Interesting contrasts may be made with the results regarding Welsh. If we compare chart 6.9 with chart 6.11 we can observe very graphically that the knowledge of Welsh is more relevant in these type of companies than the knowledge of foreign languages. Having foreign language skills seems to be less important or vital for English speakers to access different kinds of jobs. English is the international lingua franca of business. Although there are many parents in Wales who argue that it is more useful for their children to learn languages such as French, Spanish or German, than to study Welsh, these findings show that for some sections of the labour market in Wales, the contrary appears to be the case.

To summarise, these are the main findings:

- The majority of managers are fluent or have a good knowledge of Welsh in the different language abilities:
  - 84.6% understand Welsh fluently or well;
  - 80.7% speak Welsh fluently or well;
  - 73.1 read Welsh fluently or well;
  - 57% write Welsh fluently or well.
- Regarding the use of Welsh, it seems that capacity does not translate into use, as:
  - 69.2% speak Welsh always or very often;
  - 76.9% read Welsh fluently or well;
  - but only 23% write Welsh always or very often.
- The great majority of managers feel more confident in using Welsh for oral than for written activities, but whilst they feel confident in either oral formal or informal interactions, they feel less confident when writing formally than informally.
- When taking into account the importance or value that managers give to Welsh, English and other languages in the workplace:
  - Half of the managers believe that understanding and speaking Welsh is essential, although this does not seem to translate into actual use;

- the ability of writing and reading Welsh are less valued by managers;
- English is without doubt the indisputable, necessary language in the workplace;
- Welsh is more valued than knowledge of other languages, which are not considered to be of importance in the workplace.

Our evidence hitherto suggests that companies demonstrate a high capacity of using Welsh as the majority of managers and a significant proportion of staff is able to use Welsh in the different cognitive capacities. Moreover, the majority of their customers are Welsh, and are mostly local customers. It remains to be seen if this capacity translates into use.

## **6.6 Language use in the companies' oral and written, Internal and external activities**

The aim of the third part of the questionnaire was to undertake a linguistic audit of the companies in the sample. This linguistic audit will allow us to understand to what extent Welsh, and also English, are used in their everyday activities. The activities selected are not exhaustive, but are a range of the main common tasks carried out by any private company.

Interviewees had to choose different options when evaluating their company's language uses. These choices ranged from: "only Welsh", "mainly Welsh", "both languages equally" or "bilingually", "mainly English" and "only English".

This section was divided into four main subsections. It was important to distinguish between oral and written activities and also between internal and external activities. If we take into account all the previous information about the different abilities in Welsh of managers and staff, as well as the proportion of Welsh-speaking customers, in principle, it is expected that the oral use of Welsh will be higher than its written use. Moreover, the use of Welsh is

expected to be different for the internal and external functioning of these companies. It is also probable that the use of Welsh in internal and external activities is underpinned on different factors. We will come back to these hypotheses at the conclusion of this section.

The results of each subsection are presented in two types of charts:

- A chart demonstrating the total average use of Welsh and English in each particular activity.
- A chart detailing the percentage of use of Welsh and English for each different activity.

It has to be borne in mind that not all companies perform all the activities proposed. Therefore the results, especially the percentage of language use in every activity, will be modified by the number of companies which actually perform a given activity.

#### **6.6.1 Oral language use in external activities**

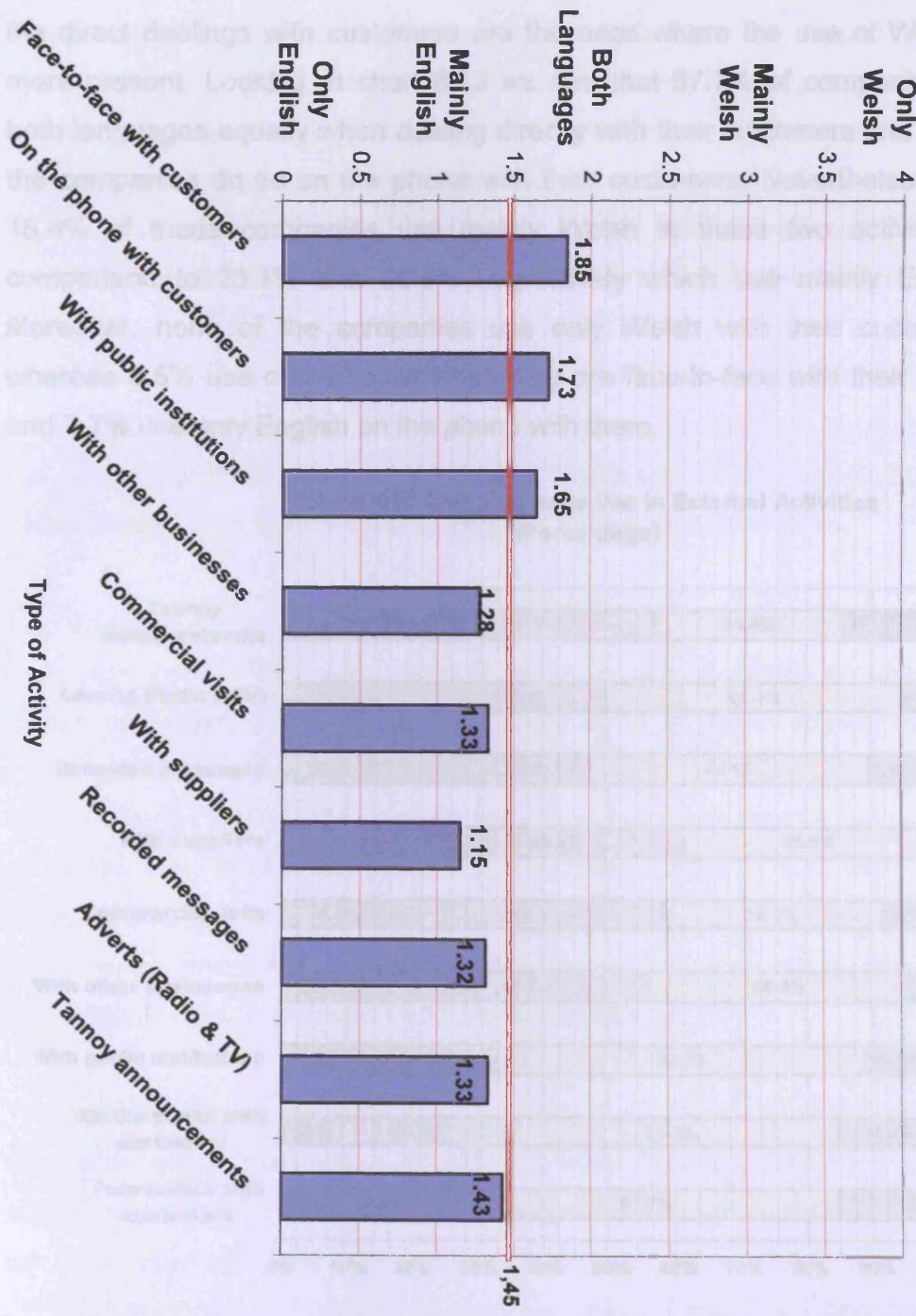
On a scale from 0 to 4, in which 0 means that the only language used in a given activity is English, and 4 means that the only language used is Welsh, the average use of these two languages in all the activities is 1.45. If we consider that 1 means that a given activity is mainly done through the medium of English and 2 that both languages are used more or less equally or bilingually, the average figure is slightly closer to the category “mainly English”. Thus, we can consider that the language that sampled companies mostly use for their external relations is English, although Welsh is not completely absent from this type of activity as we will see in more detail in chart 6.12.

Looking at chart 6.12 we can observe that the average use of both languages in some activities is closer, but not quite, to the category 2, this is, to the equal use of Welsh and English. Of all the oral external activities, it is in face-to-face relationships between company’s staff and customers (1.85) is where Welsh is more present, followed closely by the conversations on the phone between

customers and staff (1.73). The language uses of these activities are highly dependent on the language used by the person answering the phone. In the case of an answer machine, it would depend on the language or languages used on the recorded message, which in this sample the average use is 1.32, that is, mainly in English. If the person answering the phone in a company uses both languages by default, this will encourage the use of Welsh if the interlocutor is a Welsh speaker. The use of English only will, in the majority of the cases, inhibit Welsh speakers from using Welsh. It is also true that in many cases people answer the phone bilingually but are not able to carry on with the conversation in Welsh. This is very common in the public sector where by law there has to be a clear choice of language when dealing with the public. This creates a false expectation for Welsh speakers and can induce them to avoid using any Welsh when speaking on the phone with an unknown person.

It is quite remarkable that of all the company's oral activities, those related to direct dealings with customers are those where the use of Welsh is most important. Looking at the chart below, it is clear that the use of Welsh is most important in face-to-face dealings with customers, on the phone with customers, and with public institutions.

Chart 6.12 Oral Language Use in External Activities  
(Total Average)

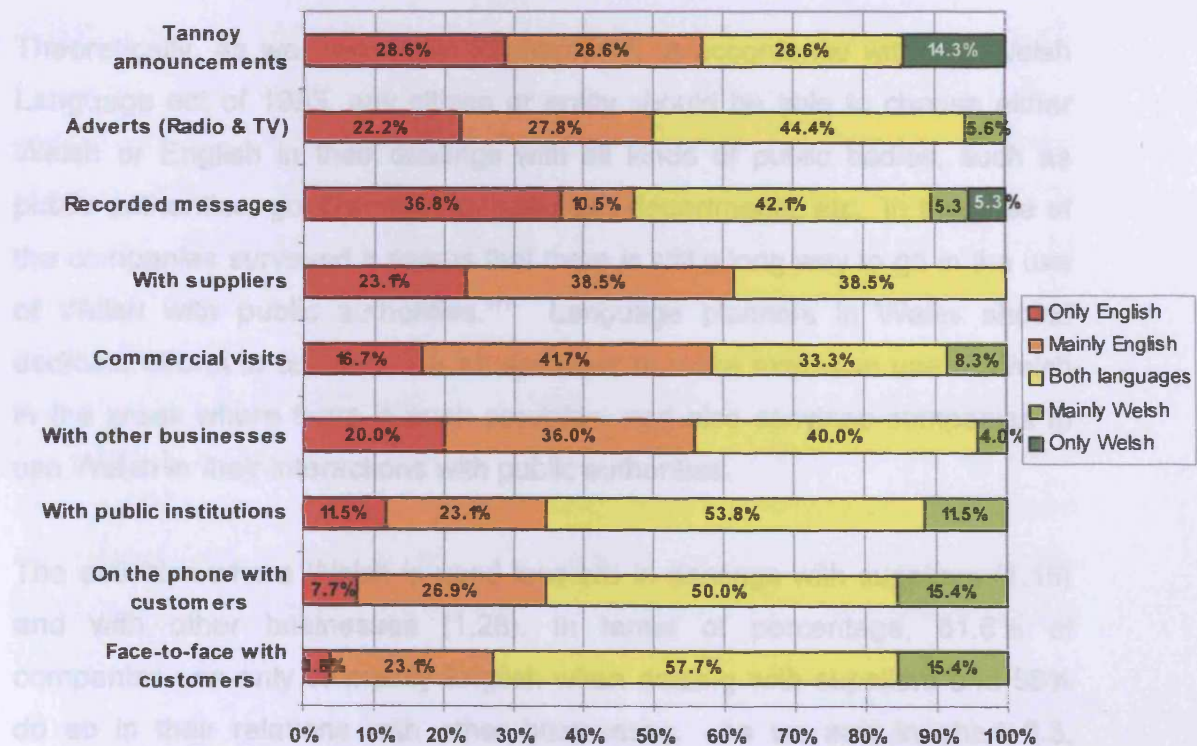


In spite of these figures and comparing them with the ones we have seen previously in Section 3.1.2, specifically in chart 3.5, it is clear that the potential use of Welsh between staff and customers that these companies presented is not actually being realised. As we saw in chart 3.5, in almost three quarters of the companies half or more of their customers are Welsh speakers.



It is quite remarkable that of all the company's oral activities, those related to the direct dealings with customers are the ones where the use of Welsh is more present. Looking at chart 6.13 we see that 57.7% of companies use both languages equally when dealing directly with their customers and half of the companies do so on the phone with their customers. Nevertheless, only 15.4% of these companies use mainly Welsh in these two activities in comparison to 23.1% and 26.9% respectively which use mainly English. Moreover, none of the companies use only Welsh with their customers, whereas 3.5% use only English when they are face-to-face with their clients and 7.7% use only English on the phone with them.

**Chart 6.13 Oral Language Use in External Activities  
(Percentage)**



In spite of these figures and comparing them with the ones we have seen previously in section 3.1.2, specifically in chart 6.5, it is clear that the potential use of Welsh between staff and customers that these companies presented is not actually being realised. As we saw in chart 6.5, in almost three quarters of the companies half or more of their customers are Welsh speakers.

The third activity in which Welsh is well represented is in the relation between the company and public institutions. As we see in chart 6.12, the average use of both languages is 1.65; this is, above the total average and close to the category “both languages”. In chart 6.13 we can observe that, effectively, 53.8% of companies use both languages equally when they deal with public bodies. Nevertheless, in common with the relation between company and customer, there are a majority of companies that use mainly English (23.1%) when dealing with public institutions, as only 11.5% use mainly Welsh in these interactions. Furthermore, 11.5% report using only English with public bodies, but none of the companies report using Welsh exclusively, although as we have already seen they have the capacity or the potential to do so.

Theoretically, as we have seen in chapter 4, in accordance with the Welsh Language act of 1993, any citizen or entity should be able to choose either Welsh or English in their dealings with all kinds of public bodies, such as public authorities, government agencies and departments, etc. In the case of the companies surveyed it seems that there is still a long way to go in the use of Welsh with public authorities.<sup>177</sup> Language planners in Wales should dedicate efforts to convince Welsh speakers to make extensive use of Welsh in the areas where there is such provision, and also convince companies to use Welsh in their interactions with public authorities.

The activities where Welsh is used less are in dealings with suppliers (1.15) and with other businesses (1.28). In terms of percentage, 61.6% of companies use only or mainly English when dealing with suppliers and 56% do so in their relations with other businesses. As we saw in chart 6.3, although suppliers of these companies are mainly located in Wales (52.7%), the relations with UK and international suppliers are very high, thus diminishing the opportunities of using Welsh as a business language in this

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<sup>177</sup> As we have seen in Chapter 3, the use of Catalan in the public sector has produced a spill over effect in terms of language use to the rest of the society's activities, including business and labour activities.

type of relationship. Welsh is thus, a lesser-used language in business-to-business relations.

### **6.6.2 Written language use in external activities**

Following the same scales we have seen previously in oral activities, the average use of Welsh and English in written external activities is even lower than in oral ones (1.28). Thus, we can say again the English is the predominant language for written external activities. As was the case with oral activities it will be interesting to analyse which of these activities does Welsh have a presence and in which can Welsh be considered marginal. Chart 6.14 reveals that the activities or areas where Welsh is used more are in general those related to the external image of a company. The five activities where Welsh has, on average, a greater presence are (in descending order): signage (1.81), recruitment advertising (1.71), brochures and leaflets (1.60), display and exhibition material and billboards (1.56). The only one of these activities which is not related to the image of the company, and has a more functional character, is recruitment advertising. It is interesting to note proportionally (chart 6.15) that 19% of companies reported to advertise job vacancies only in Welsh, and 4.8% mainly in Welsh. In fact, it is the only activity where the percentage of the category “only Welsh” is quite significant. Furthermore, 33.3% report to advertising their jobs bilingually. As we have seen previously in the chapter (3.2.4), 50% of managers interviewed considered that understanding and speaking Welsh was essential in the workplace. Thus it seems that at least formally, the Welsh language is valued for job recruitment.

It is very interesting to note that of all activities, companies' signs and brochures and leaflets is where there is a greater presence of Welsh. In terms of percentages, 65.4% of signs are bilingual, 7.7% are only in Welsh and the same proportion (7.7%) are only in English. Moreover, 60% of brochures and leaflets are bilingual and 4% are mainly in Welsh. Somehow, it is not that surprising if we consider that signage and other promotion material has been one of the first areas where language planners turned their attention to their

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activities to promote the use of Welsh in the private sector. Indeed, the Welsh Language Board's "small grants scheme" was directed mainly at encouraging and assisting companies to change their company signs to be in Welsh or bilingually and to use Welsh in promotional material.



Chart 6.14 Written Language Use in External Activities (Average)

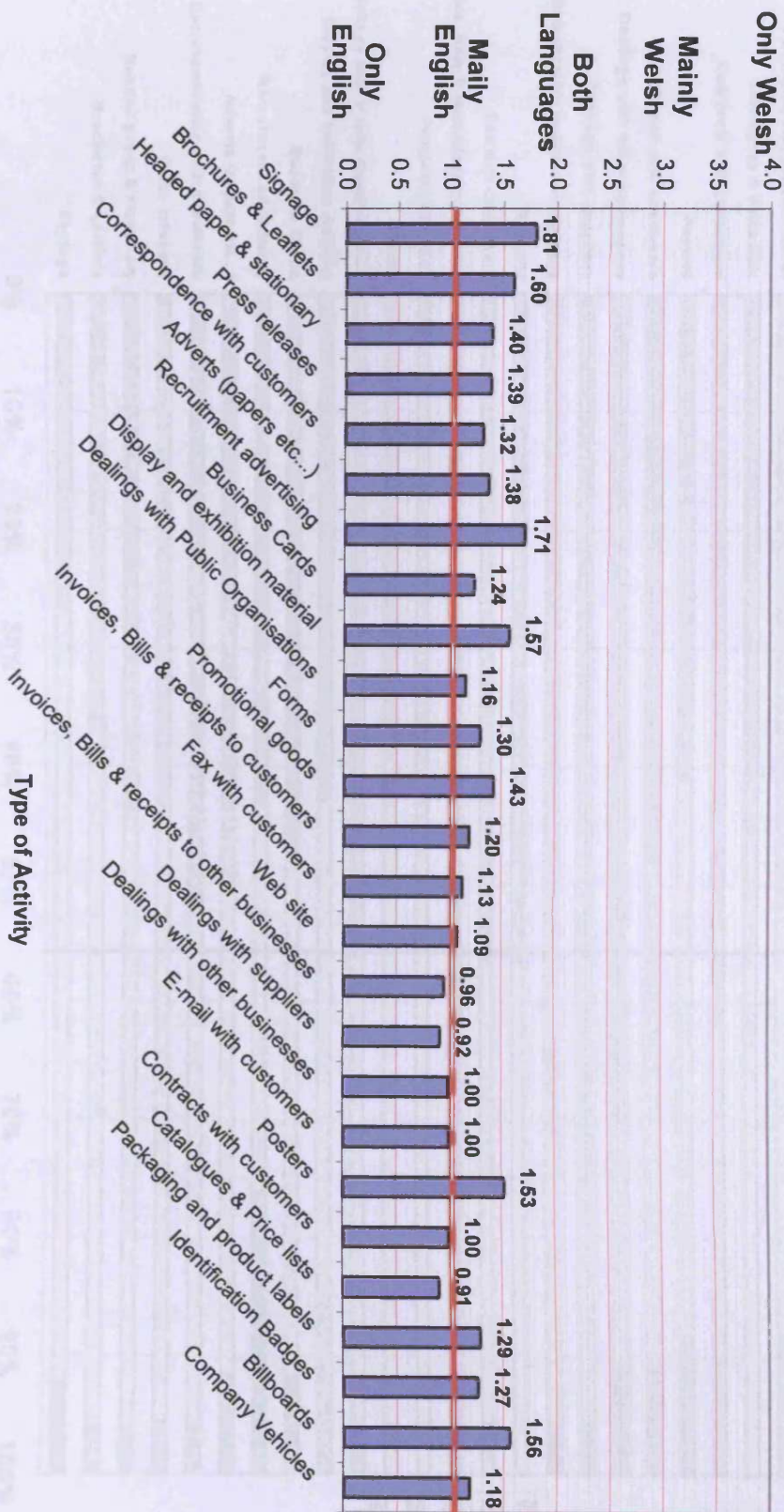
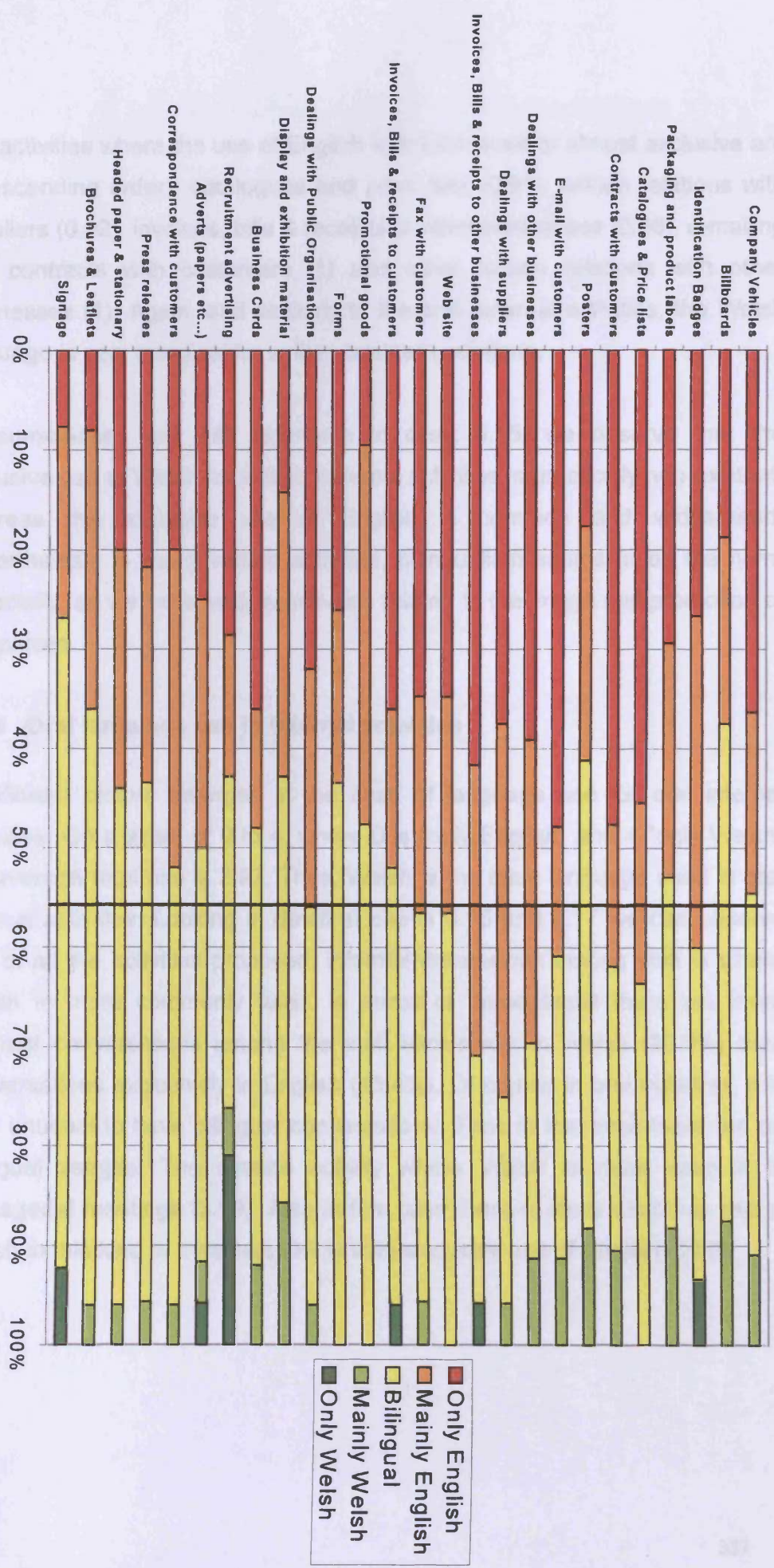


Chart 6.15: Written Language Use in External Activities  
(Percentage)



The activities where the use of English is predominant or almost exclusive are (in ascending order): catalogues and price lists (0.91), written relations with suppliers (0.92), invoices, bills & receipts to other businesses (0.96), e-mailing and contracts with customers (1) and other written relations with other businesses (1). Again, and similarly to the oral external activities, the Welsh language is very marginal for written business relations.

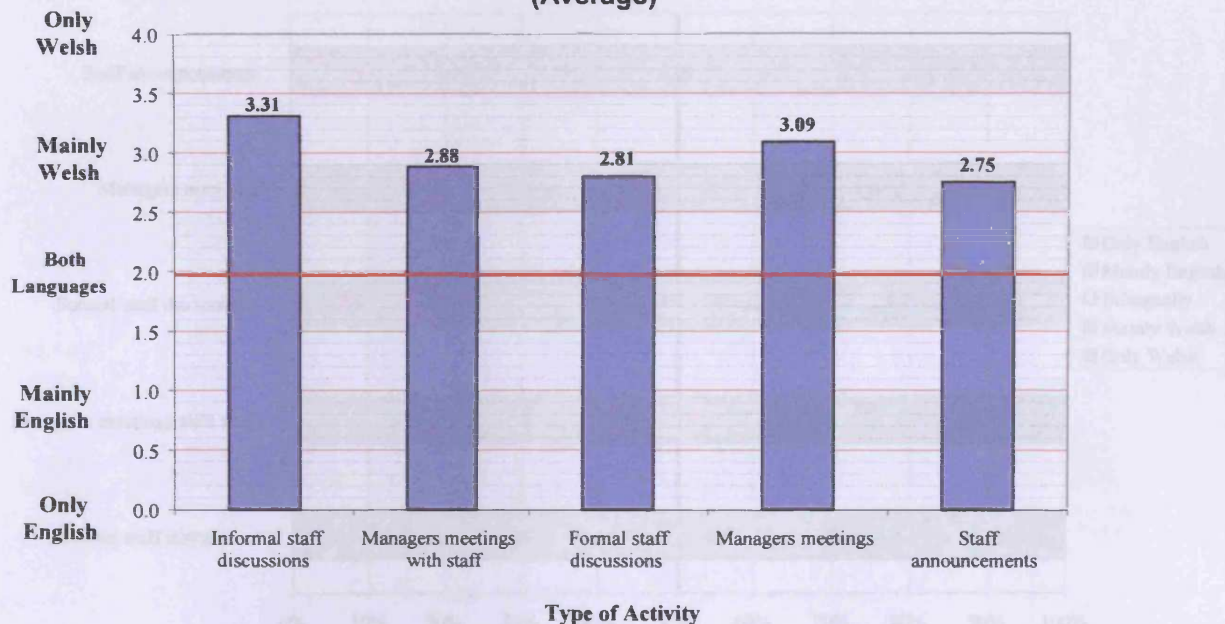
To summarise, and with reference to chart 6.15, we observe that the exclusive use of Welsh for written external activities is practically non-existent, whereas the exclusive use of English is common and widespread. Nevertheless, in many written activities, bilingualism seems to be the norm especially, as we have said, in activities related to the image and promotion of companies.

### **6.6.3 Oral language use in internal activities**

A different picture emerges in the case of language use for oral internal activities. On a scale of 0 to 4, where 0 is “only English” and 4 “only Welsh” the average total use is 2.97. Thus, Welsh is the main language used in oral internal activities. Looking in detail at charts 6.16 and 6.17 we can observe that of all the activities proposed, informal discussions among staff is where Welsh is more commonly used. In terms of percentages there are more informal conversations among the staff exclusively in Welsh (30.8%) than conversations exclusively in English (15.4%). Of course in oral activities, it is very unusual to have bilingual conversations. Thus in this case there are no bilingual usages. The second activity where Welsh is more used is in managerial meetings (3.09). Also in this case there is more exclusive use of Welsh in this kind of meetings (39.1) than exclusive use of English (34.8).



**Chart 6.16 Oral Language Use in Internal Activities  
(Average)**

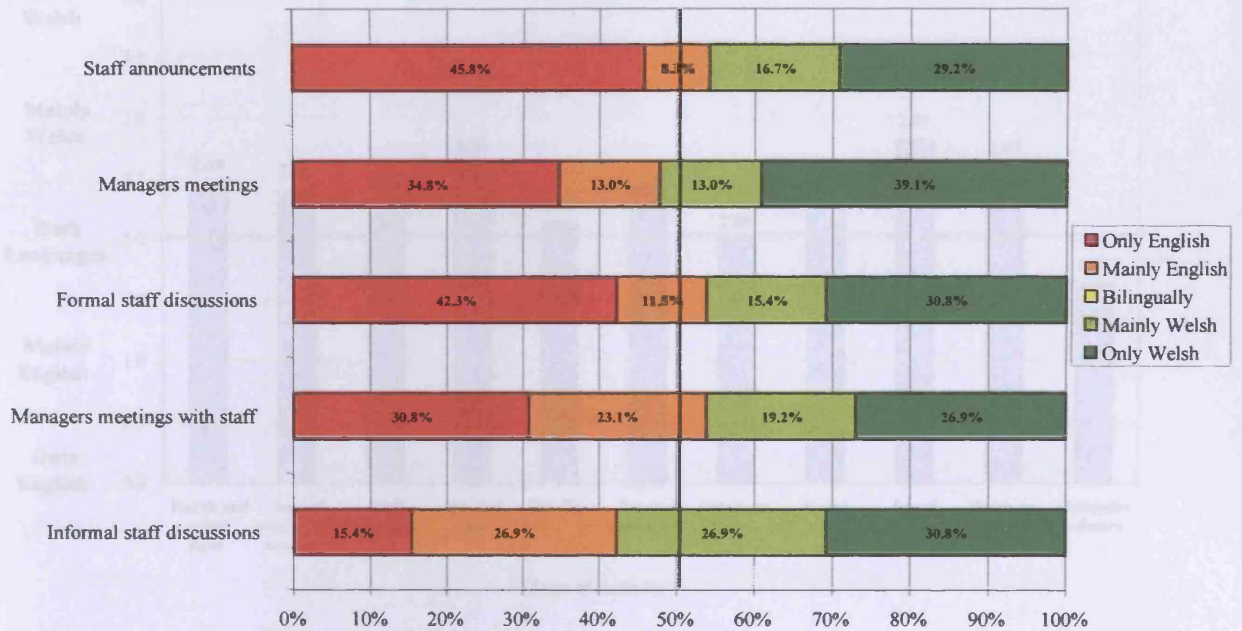


Although Welsh is considerably used in staff announcements and for formal staff discussions, these are the activities which demonstrate a lower use of Welsh in comparison to the other activities.

As was noted previously in the chapter (3.1.2), the companies analysed presented a high potential of Welsh being used, as in almost three quarters of these companies half or more of their staff was Welsh speaking. Although the potential use of Welsh has not been translated into its use in external activities, it is being realised in oral internal activities.



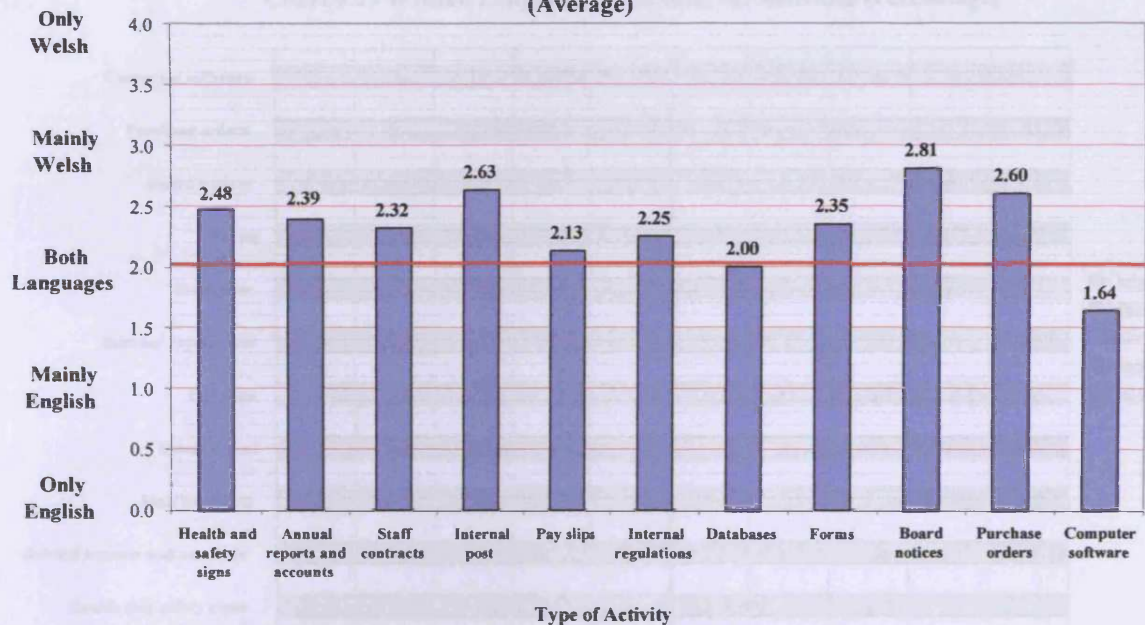
**Chart 6.17 Oral Language Use in Internal Activities (Percentage)**



#### 6.6.4 Written language use in internal activities

The presence and average use of Welsh in internal written activities is higher (2.33) than its use in external written activities (1.28) but lower than for internal oral activities. Looking at chart 6.18 we can observe that the activities where Welsh has more presence, although it is not the main language, are (in descending order): board notices (2.81), internal post (2.63), and purchase orders (2.60). The activities with a lower presence of Welsh are (in ascending order): computer software (1.64), databases (2) and pay slips (2.13).

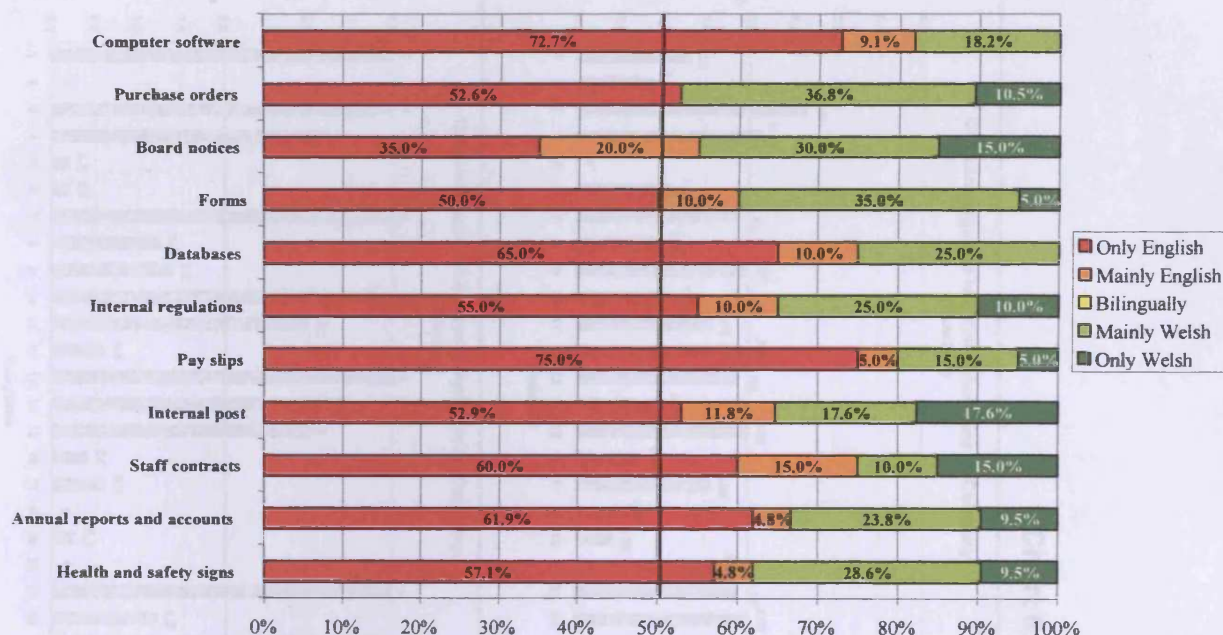
**Chart 6.18 Written Language Use in Internal Activities  
(Average)**



In terms of percentages, if we look at chart 6.19, we can observe that, English is the almost exclusive language of computer software and databases. Whilst 72.7% of computer software is exclusively in English, there is no exclusive use of Welsh in relation to software. It is important to note nevertheless, that when the fieldwork was undertaken there was almost no availability of computer software in Welsh. Only very basic Welsh spellchecker (Cysill) and thesaurus (Cysgair) were available. This is a field which has developed dramatically recently and continues to develop rapidly thanks to the initiatives undertaken by the Welsh Language Board in the field of ICT. As we have seen in chapter 4 there are now a large and varied array of ICT products in Welsh including Welsh Language interface packs for Microsoft Windows XP and Office 2003. Although availability does not necessarily mean use, it is very probable that the use of Welsh software has increased.



Chart 6.19 Written Language Use in Internal Activities (Percentage)



To sum up, these are the main findings regarding oral and written language use in both external and internal activities:

- There is more oral than written use of Welsh in the companies surveyed;
- Welsh is substantially used more in internal than external activities;
- although Welsh is not the main language in dealing with customers, it is used to a certain extent, and it is the activity which presents more use compared with other oral external company activities such as business-to-business relations where the use of Welsh is practically negligible;
- it is in aspects related to the external image of a company, such as signs, brochures, leaflets, promotional material etc, where Welsh is more present, rather than in more functional activities, such as relations with suppliers. Nevertheless, Welsh is used less in written external activities, than in any other area of activity;
- if Welsh is used at all, it is more likely to be used in informal than formal activities, both in oral and written form

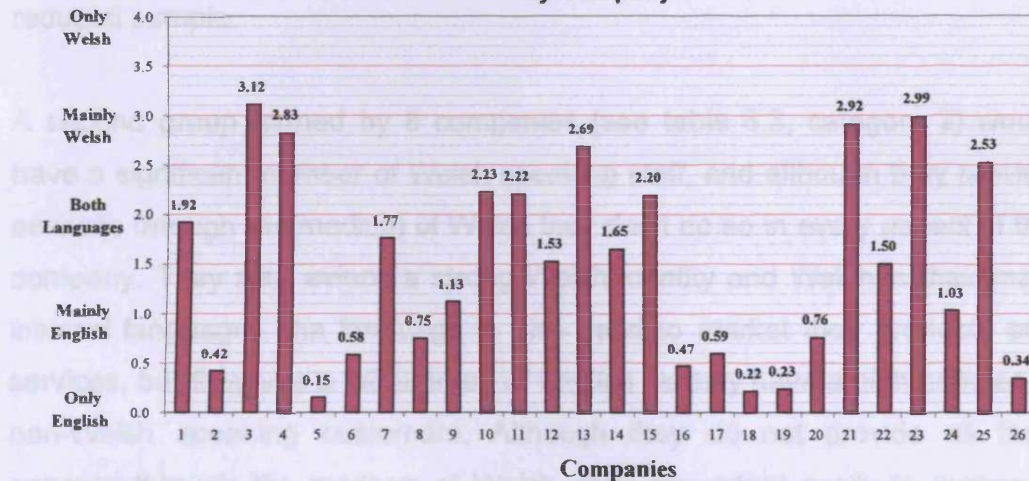




## 6.7 Language use by company

The pattern of language use we have seen previously makes itself clear when analysing individual companies. English is the main language used in the majority of company's activities and Welsh has a higher or lower presence depending on the type of activity. Thus, it is more likely that Welsh will be used in oral and written internal activities than in oral and written external activities.

Chart 6.21 Average Use of Languages in all Activities by Company



Looking at chart 6.20 and 6.21, we can readily identify three types of companies according to their use of Welsh:

The first category is comprised of a small group of companies (6) (see table 6.3, category 1) where the Welsh language is the main working language because there is a strong presence of Welsh speaking staff. In these companies Welsh has both a communicative function and a symbolic one. Welsh is used for internal administrative purposes and in dealing with customers. Moreover their external image is also Welsh. Being able to provide services in Welsh is one of their main differentiation assets as they attract Welsh speaking customers whose preferred language is Welsh. In fact, the

majority of their clients are Welsh speakers. These companies have a strong Welsh identity, mainly as a result of the strong convictions towards the significance of the Welsh language held by their owners and managers. In terms of structural characteristics, these companies are all small businesses, their company names are in Welsh (apart from one which is bilingual), and they are not branches of other companies. Moreover, their capital is Welsh and the majority are service sector companies (information technology, publishing & printing, marketing, design & PR and accountancy consultancy). The other two companies are in food manufacture (cheese) and the selling of Welsh produce. Geographically half are located in Ceredigion and half in Carmarthenshire. It is difficult to discern if the date of the company's foundation has any impact on their degree of Welshness, particularly with a reduced sample.

A second group formed by 8 companies (see table 6.3, category 2) would have a significant number of Welsh speaking staff, and although they provide services through the medium of Welsh they don't do so in every aspect of the company. They also evince a strong Welsh identity and Welsh is their main internal language. The language is also used to market their products and services, but they use a fair amount of English as they have a high number of non-Welsh speaking customers. Although they do not provide all their services through the medium of Welsh, they can adapt easily to customer language demands if it is the case. These companies are also small businesses, all but one is located in Ceredigion and half of them have Welsh language company names, two of them have bilingual names and the remaining two are in English. Furthermore, half of these companies are in the service sector (accountancy consultancy, publishing, design & PR, promotion & marketing and recruitment). Two more companies are food & drinks manufacturers (wine and cheese), one is a retail business (jewellery & crafts) and the remaining company is a hotel. Like the previous companies this group also has Welsh owners and, save for one company, Welsh headquarters also.

The final group is constituted by the majority of the companies (12) (see table 6.3, category 3). Their exclusive or main working language is English, even if

there might be a fairly important presence of Welsh speaking staff, which allows for the Welsh language to be used, mainly to deal with Welsh-speaking customers which are not in the majority. In these companies, especially in the manufacturing of food and drink sector, the Welsh language has a symbolic function for product differentiation, so that the use of Welsh is very superficial and has practically no functional role in their business affairs. The majority (9) has English company names, two have bilingual names and one has a name in which both languages are used. Geographically, the majority (7) are located in Carmarthenshire and the rest (5) in Ceredigion. Although the majority are small businesses, all the medium businesses in the sample are included in this category.

Table 6.3 Companies grouped by category

Sector of activity	Main Economic Activity	Company name	Location	Date of founding	Type of branch <sup>178</sup>	Country of ownership	N. of employees		Type of company
							Full T.	Part T.	
3	Service	Information Technology	Ceredigion	2000	H	Wales	3		Small
4	Service	Publishing & Printing	Ceredigion	1967	H	Wales	18		Small
13	Service	Marketing, Design & PR	Ceredigion	1979	H	Wales	15		Small
21	Manufacture	Cheese Producer	Carmarthenshire	1984	H	Wales	4		Small
23	Service	Accountancy Consultant	Carmarthenshire	1989	H	Wales	8		Small
25	Retail	Welsh Produce	Carmarthenshire	1979	H	Wales	19		Small

Category 2 Companies with a bilingual identity									
1	Service	Accountancy Consultant	Ceredigion	1995	H	Wales	3		Small
7	Manufacture	Wine-making	Ceredigion	1987	H	Wales	2	7	Small
10	Retail	Jewellery & crafts	Ceredigion	1971	H	Wales	7		Small
11	Tourism & Leisure	Hotel & Catering	Ceredigion	1850	H	Wales	6	20	Small
12	Service	Publishing, Design & PR	Ceredigion	1989	H	Wales	17		Small
14	Manufacture	Cheese Producer	Ceredigion	1987	H	Wales	4		Small
15	Service	Promotion & Marketing	Ceredigion	1991	H	Wales	10	8	Small
22	Service	Recruitment Agency	Carmarthenshire	2001	SB	Wales	10		Small

Category 3 Companies which use mainly or only English									
2	Tourism & Leisure	Hotel & Catering	Ceredigion	1972	H	Wales	15		Small
5	Manufacture	Organic Yoghurt Production	Ceredigion	1982	SB	USA	61		Medium
6	Manufacture	Water bottling	Ceredigion	1989	H	Italy	22		Small
8	Tourism & Leisure	Hotel and Catering	Ceredigion	1995	H	Wales	3		Small
9	Tourism & Leisure	Hotel & Golf centre	Ceredigion	1966	H	Wales	22		Small
16	Retail	Home furniture	Carmarthenshire	1990	SB	Wales	200		Medium
17	Retail	Home & Garden retail	Carmarthenshire	1989	H	Wales	15		Small
18	Manufacture	Water bottling	Carmarthenshire	1995	SB	Belgium	20		Small
19	Tourism & Leisure	Hotel & Catering	Carmarthenshire	1968	H	Wales	35		Small
20	Retail	Florist	Carmarthenshire	1985	H	Wales	4		Small
24	Manufacturing	Dairy Producer	Carmarthenshire	-	SB	UK	140		Small
26	Tourism & Leisure	Hotel & Catering	Carmarthenshire	-	SB	Intl.	30		Medium

<sup>178</sup> H= Headquarter; SB= Subsidiary Branch



It is also very significant that all companies owned by international or UK capital are included within this group, and five of them are subsidiaries of other companies. Regarding their sector of activity, 5 of them are in the tourism & leisure sector, 4 are food & drinks manufactures (dairy producers and water bottling), and the remaining 3 are retail businesses (furniture, household appliances and flowers and garden).

## **6.8 Conclusions**

Over the previous chapter and the present one we have come to realise that English is still the main language to conduct business in Wales. Furthermore, the perceptions by business people themselves of the scarcity of such use are abundantly evident in the survey results we have analysed. Indeed, the average use of Welsh is fairly low but we have to bear in mind that there are more companies who make almost no use of Welsh than those who's exclusive or main language in Welsh. Nevertheless, we can say that the use of Welsh is not completely absent and has a role to play in many aspects of the company's different activities. We have seen that oral language use is quite widespread, and when there is customer demand many companies are able to adapt to such demand. But, can we say that Welsh can operate as a business language in certain contexts? This is to say, is there a market niche for the language to operate as a functional language of business? And more importantly, what motivates its use? Which variables are more likely to influence the use of Welsh?

In many of the small and medium companies surveyed, the majority of which are small, Welsh is used naturally for internal activities, especially in informal oral interactions, as their managers, owners and staff are first language Welsh speakers.

Nevertheless, capacity does not seem to translate into actual use in other internal and external activities. Written external activities are mainly conducted in English and it is only in aspects related to the external image of

a company, such as signs, brochures, leaflets, promotional material etc, that Welsh is more present, rather than in more functional activities, such as in relations with suppliers, with other businesses etc. Moreover, although Welsh is not the main language in dealing with customers, it is used to a certain extent, and it is the activity which presents more use compared with other oral external company activities. Nevertheless, another trait that seems fairly widespread from the point of view of the interviewees is the passiveness of Welsh speaking customers in claiming services and products in Welsh. They tend to switch easily from Welsh to English and they certainly don't complain about the lack of such services through the medium of Welsh. There is a need to encourage customers to demand services and goods through the medium of Welsh and most importantly to encourage making extensive use of Welsh in all the contexts where it is possible to do so.

Language use occurs generally in the absence of any planning or any conscious decision on behalf of owners or managers to intervene in the language profile of the company. Only a very small number of companies consciously plan their language profile and it is precisely the managers with the strongest convictions who articulate the importance of using Welsh in business. Of course they are in business to make a living, but the Welsh language is central to their activities and part of their success. Perhaps the dominant conscious "intervention" in the majority of companies is when they are recruiting Welsh speaking staff. A second area of conscious intervention regarding Welsh occurs, as in the case of food and drink companies, when deciding to use the language, even if superficially, to market their products.

Regarding the recruitment policies, the capacity to speak Welsh is very valuable as half of the managers believe that understanding and speaking Welsh is essential in the workplace. However, as many of the managers interviewed also pointed out, it is increasingly difficult to find Welsh speakers with the right skills, to occupy certain posts. What might be the cause of such a shortage?

Part of the answer must surely be the high employability of Welsh speakers in other sectors.<sup>179</sup> The public sector has increased significantly in the past few years, certainly it has quickened since the establishment of the Welsh Assembly, and young and skilled Welsh speakers have been highly sought after. Also with the extension of “Welsh Language Schemes” in many public authorities, there has been an increase in the demand for Welsh speakers to fulfil the obligations stated in these language schemes. Another sector which has expanded and attracted a great deal of Welsh speakers is education, from kindergartens, primary schools, to secondary schools, especially since the extension of the compulsory teaching of the Welsh language as a core subject up to the aged of 16, and the increased demand for new Welsh medium primary schools. The media industry is also employing a large community of Welsh speakers and it continues to be a very attractive career in which it is possible to work through the medium of Welsh. With all these opportunities available to Welsh speakers, some of which with offer very attractive salaries, commentators ask why would they settle for lower paid jobs in SMEs? Thus, the difficulties that businesses in rural areas are having in recruiting Welsh speakers can be largely due to demand and supply factors. Simply put, there is more demand for Welsh language skills than there is on offer. This demonstrates the economic value that the Welsh language has for employability.

Such arguments, can also explain the relatively low presence of Welsh speakers as owners of companies in rural areas. Again, why would potential owners expose themselves to risks and uncertainties which such a choice entails, especially with the many structural difficulties that exist in rural Wales? Establishing new companies in rural areas is very difficult for Welsh speakers and non-Welsh speakers alike. There are structural barriers that hinder such process: a scattered population to service and to sell to, a lack or deficiency of communication infrastructures, a lack of financial and guidance support, a

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<sup>179</sup> The possible reasons for the low presence of Welsh speakers in private businesses were already suggested in the interviews by one of the managers. This idea has also arisen with recent interviews with business owners.

lack of possible employees with specific skills, etc. Therefore, the high employability of Welsh speakers in other sectors and the many structural barriers and difficulties in creating new businesses, are more likely to be the causes of the scarcity of Welsh speakers in the private sector and less so the traditional and culturally- embedded lack of entrepreneurial spirit and initiative in starting business as claimed by Menter a Busnes.<sup>180</sup>

As regards the symbolic use of Welsh for marketing purposes, some of the companies in the food and drink sector see a limited use of Welsh as something which can serve differentiate their products in an increasing competitive market. If in the past five past years there has not been a significant or perceivable increase of the use of Welsh as a functional language in businesses in general nor in SMEs in particular, what has certainly increased its symbolic use in packaging and labelling, especially but not exclusively, in food and drink products. Using a limited amount of Welsh in their packaging, their product can be symbolically linked to the “land”, and to an idea of Wales which is “authentic”, “organic”, “traditional” and “pure”, an image of Wales which is positive. Also, the use of Welsh reinforces or validates the “traceability” of products, a marketing technique that adds value to products which provide information on their origin, and are very fashionable in the market, especially in up-market retail sector and shops.<sup>181</sup> The Welsh language seems to have a positive symbolic value for marketing and labelling purposes. Wales is changing from being perceived, especially in neighbouring England, as a heavy industrial region to a land, which is green, clean characterised by a striking natural beauty. This image is benefiting sectors such as tourism and food and drink manufacturing where the Welsh language can be used, and it is used to a certain extent, as an authentication or differentiation factor. Although a positive image of Wales and Welsh is useful for many companies which sell this kind of product it is limited to a symbolic use of the language. Thus, although the language is used in a positive way it

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<sup>180</sup> See chapter 4 for the discussion on this issue and of Menter a Busnes’ activities and *raison d’être*.

<sup>181</sup> The idea of traceability for organic and luxury food and drink products is an off shoot of “ethical consume” or fair trade products.

is also very superficial and has little to do with the functional and actual use of Welsh for day to day business activities. What is positive about this is that many business people no longer hold a negative image of the language and are willing to accept that Welsh can add value to certain products.

In conclusion we can say that small indigenous companies, owned by Welsh speakers, especially those in the service sector, are more likely to use Welsh as a functional business language. By contrast, bigger companies, with international capital and non-Welsh speaking owners, especially those in food and drink manufacturing, are less likely to use Welsh as a functional all-purpose business language. In other words, the more local a company is, in terms of activity, customers and capital, the more likely that Welsh can be adopted as the main business language.

However, structural constraints in rural Wales, the high employability of Welsh speakers in other sectors, the effects of economic globalisation, economies of scale, the constant change in the structure and ownership of companies, and the volatility and variability of markets, all militate against the more widespread use of Welsh in the private sector. In essence, structural characteristics are not favouring the creation and development of indigenous companies, which is where the Welsh language can best find market niches to operate as a functional language. Therefore the planning and promotion of the use of Welsh in businesses needs to be tackled in a holistic way, taking into consideration both economic and linguistic elements. A piece meal approach will be always inefficient and contra productive. In order to do so, there is a need to develop a comprehensive understanding of the relationship between economy and language. Finally, it is imperative to analyse further, with statistically representative surveys, the use of Welsh in the private sector in Wales as a whole. Without the necessary robust data, language planners will be ill equipped to intervene accordingly, and to evaluate the success of their intervention.

## 7 CONCLUSIONS

It has been a relatively long time since Wales and Catalonia began the process of institutionalising and normalising their respective languages: Welsh and Catalan. Since the last decade of the nineteenth century, Wales has struggled to gain recognition for its separate national character. From the mid 1940s onwards, and especially during the 1960s, significant sections of the Welsh population began to mobilise and protest against the unequal treatment of Welsh, in comparison with English, by the state and campaigned for the promotion of the Welsh language. Societal pressure and the emergence of the Welsh Language Society as a vanguard action group helped to increase both the status and the opportunities to use Welsh in new domains of public life. Confirmation of the new reality was gained with the passage of the Welsh Language Act in 1993 which made it possible to use Welsh in a number of public sector activities and established the Welsh Language Board on a statutory basis.

In Catalonia the process of recovery and normalisation of the Catalan language started in the second decade of the twentieth century with works of standardisation and modernisation of Catalan. The Spanish Civil War and the subsequent highly centralised regime imposed by General Franco interrupted this process of recovery in 1936. For just under 40 years only Spanish could be used in public life. Catalan was relegated to the status of a "family language" and kept far away from the echelons of power and prestige. Nevertheless, throughout the years of the dictatorship, Catalan individuals and organisations, both from the clandestine inside, and in exile outside the country, strove and mobilised, often under highly adverse circumstances, to protect the Catalan culture, language and identity. After Franco's death in 1975, there began a complex process of democratisation, which instituted the beginnings of legitimisation and institutionalisation for the Catalan language.

Having presented a detailed overview of these twin processes in this thesis, I conclude that although Welsh and Catalan operate within different

sociolinguistic situations, they nevertheless share many common difficulties and face similar challenges in promoting their respective languages, especially in the private sector. Chart 7.1 is a summary of these common elements which face both Catalan and Welsh and by implication several other European minority language contexts. In fact the overarching European experience together with the more programmatic work of the Network of European Language Boards suggests that in the medium-term closer, more structured common projects will emanate from the new framework. One of the key projects which should be addressed is the subject of this thesis and it is my conviction that the evidence presented here will assist in the determination of which aspects of language promotion in the private sector to develop. Critical to this success is the understanding that customer behaviour is rarely the result of single, autonomous decisions. Rather language related behaviour is deeply embedded within social norms and expectations. Tackling bilingual signage or even increasing the language awareness of employees will not address this fundamental reticence by customers to switch from the hegemonic language to the subordinate. Moreover, although the two countries have different political potentials for promoting their indigenous languages, both have built up considerable expertise in language planning through their language planning agencies. Also, both have seen the active leadership of responsible governments in providing a legislative push to help create new opportunities for languages to establish themselves within new domains. In time, once such patterns of language use are recognised, then additional, innovative programmes for extending the range of language use within the private sector may be entertained.

The following is as summary of some of the main elements analysed in this thesis.

### ***Language density and language use***

Welsh and Catalan have different densities in relation to the number of potential and active speakers. Welsh has experienced a significant increase in the number of speakers according to the latest census, whereas Catalan has

experienced a slight decrease in the knowledge of the language, as a result mainly of the large number of fairly recent migrants. Both languages are struggling to secure intergenerational language transmission. Whereas intergenerational transmission of Catalan seems secured, as almost all of the population of Catalan origin usually speaks Catalan, we cannot say the same for non-Catalan speaking families. Regarding Welsh, there are still many Welsh-speaking parents who do not pass the language on to the next generation. The crucial factor appears to be the difficulties in transmitting the language in linguistically mixed families, especially in communities with a low density of Welsh speakers. Although the education models of both countries are different, schools in both countries are acting as a complementary agency of language reproduction. Nevertheless they cannot sustain the growth and use of the language in isolation. Both languages need to be perceived as useful and pertinent for every social situation. Therefore it is of paramount importance that language planning agencies encourage language transmission and secure educational provision. In Catalonia the key initiative to sustain is the various immersion programmes for newcomers, particularly *aules d'acollida* [intensive late immersion classes], while in Wales the key factor is to develop the varieties of Welsh-medium education.

### ***Language and migration***

Both language communities have experienced and currently experience migration fluxes. Immigrants who moved to Catalonia in the 1950s and 1960s are not usual speakers of the language although the majority understands Catalan, while their second and third generation descendants are Catalan-speakers. However, despite their proficiency in Catalan, Spanish continues to be their preferred language in every day activities. Immigration from outside the European Union into Catalonia is not as large as in several other EU countries. However, it is certainly increasing and it has an impact on Catalan because the language of social integration of these new immigrants is likely to be Spanish, especially in urban areas. Catalonia is also a receiver of affluent Europeans who choose to settle or retire in the country. Although many learn Catalan the majority does not. Similarly in Wales, many English-speaking



migrants settle in Welsh-speaking communities which experience demographic change as young Welsh-speakers leave these communities in search of employment and perhaps a different way of life. The Catalan government has been implementing policies to integrate migrants and new policies are in place to integrate the new waves of migration. What is undeniable is that part of the future of the language depends on how successfully this new wave of newcomers will integrate linguistically within their new home environment. Likewise the vitality of the Welsh language in *Y Fro Gymraeg* also depends on how successfully new migrants are integrated linguistically into the community. Schemes such as “volunteering for the language” are valuable resources in encouraging language learning among immigrants. They also are very influential in engaging local speakers in the process of strengthening the use of their autochthonous language within their own communities and regaining both language loyalty and responsibility for its future use.

### ***Political capacity and will***

Both Catalonia and Wales now possess devolved institutions, a fully fledged Parliament in Catalonia and in Wales a National Assembly for Wales with considerable secondary legislative powers.

The Generalitat, which for most of its existence has been run by a conservative nationalist party-CIU- and is currently run by a coalition of three parties—PSC (Labour party), ERC (Catalan Republicans) and ICV (Left Green party)-have been and continue to be very committed to promoting and securing Catalan as the main language of public institutions and the education system, as well as increasing the pressure on the private sector to deliver services in Catalan. Thus, the cross-party support for Catalan has enabled, through the allocation of public resources, the development and professionalisation of language planning agencies which are part of the administration of the government.

Wales has a relatively new devolved institution, the National Assembly for Wales which is still evolving and changing. Nevertheless, before the establishment of the Assembly, the central government created the Welsh Language Board as an agency with limited powers to promote and facilitate the use of Welsh, mainly in the public sector. Over the years the WLB has evolved considerably, gaining in expertise and professionalism. It now has an increased budget which allows it to be much more active and innovative in the promotion of Welsh. However, as the devolved Assembly changes and reconfigures its operations with the possible merging of the WLB into the central administration it is uncertain whether or not the Board will have the same discretion over the promotion of Welsh. This will depend greatly on the political will of the party or parties in power. While in Catalonia the language is an established cross-party issue, it might not be the case in Wales. Although the official messages emanating from the current government –a Labour minority government- are positive, it remains to be seen if the appropriate actions required will materialise.

### ***Language rights***

Both in Wales and Catalonia language legislation has been passed to promote the use of the autochthonous languages. While the Catalan legal system has specified language rights, the Welsh regime is not a classical rights-based model and is far more dependent on precedent and the exercise of discretion at a number of levels, in keeping with British conventions.

In Catalonia the latest language law of 1998 guarantees the rights of Catalan speakers in the public sector and in some sections of the private sector. The Catalan legal regime has facilitated the Catalanisation of all public institutions mainly by requiring all civil servants to demonstrate their knowledge of Catalan in order to enter public service.

The Welsh Language Act of 1993 consciously avoids any discourse pertaining to rights and is more of an enabling framework to use Welsh in certain areas, mainly the public sector and the courts of justice. Although the act has

certainly endorsed the use of Welsh in the public sector it has not guaranteed the rights of Welsh speakers to exercise that choice. Thus, although some public bodies function mainly in Welsh, such as Gwynedd County Council, in the majority of these bodies, Welsh is an add-on issue and not an integral part of their structure.

We recognise that strong language legislation based on language rights does not guarantee the maintenance of a language per se. Neither can it sustain language use by itself. But it can certainly operate as a very valuable resource to underpin language planning efforts to revitalise a language.

### ***Language use and promotion in the private sector***

The use of Catalan and Welsh in the private sector is difficult to gauge as a whole because it is so large, very complex and undergoing constant change. Undoubtedly the sector's presence and influence in the peoples' everyday lives is significant as a great number of their activities involve contacts with this sector, both as workers and consumers. It is therefore a vital sector so as to measure the communicative value and prestige of a language. If a language is used for producing and providing goods and services, then for consumer and labour relations alike its perceived and actual utility will be greater. This, hopefully, will have a positive impact so as to persuade some who do not yet speak the language to take steps to learn and use it.

Catalan has come a long way since the beginning of the recovery of democracy. The language has lost its stigma in business and labour communications. However, despite supportive legislation, which does not extend to all parts of the private sector, it has not yet established itself as the main language used for these activities.

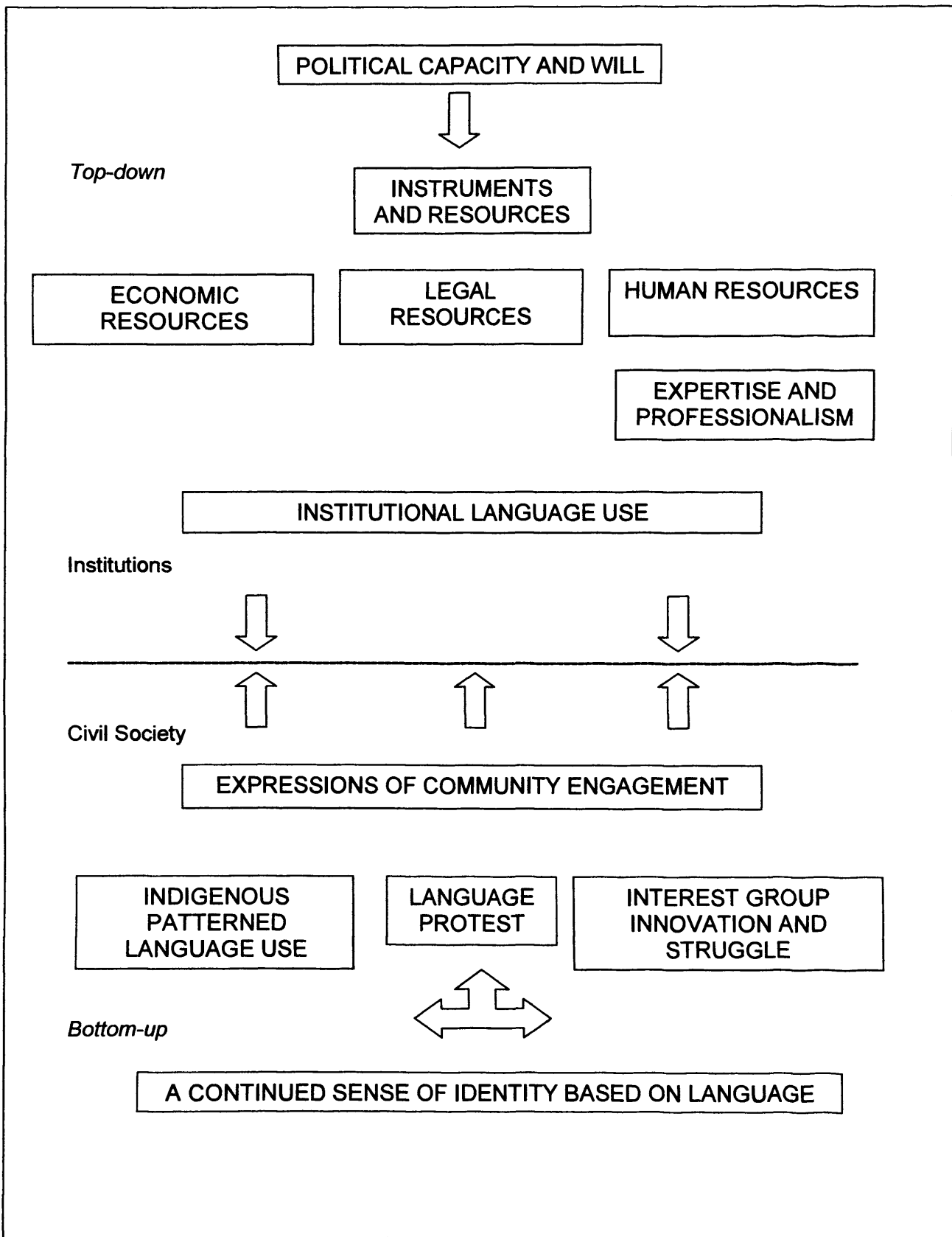
Welsh has a limited use as a working language in the private sector. Even in environments where there is a high potential of Welsh being used, such as in SMEs owned by Welsh-speaking businessman or with a high percentage of Welsh-speakers in its workforce, English is still the main language of business.

Nevertheless, there are some improvements with an increase of a positive symbolic use of Welsh in packaging and labelling of food, or an increase in the use of Welsh in shop signs and other company material. Yet it must be remembered that in terms of an overall language equalisation strategy such measures are extremely superficial.

Both Catalan and Welsh face similar challenges in order to spread the language in this sector. Chief of these is the fact that neither economic globalisation nor the advantages of economies of scale favour the development of smaller languages. Consequently, and in strictly rational terms, the markets favour the use of state-wide and international languages of trade.

The fact that Catalan faces so many difficulties in spreading to the private sector, despite the presence of a strong legislative framework, and the constant investment and innovative programmes adopted by language planning agencies, proves how complex and daunting this form of operation is to carry out.

**Chart 7.1 A Generic Model of Language Planning Factors and Processes**



In sum, and by reference to chart 7.1, we conclude that the process of language recovery is both complex and long-term. Both top down planning and bottom up pressure react the one to the other. However, civil society *per se* is not capable of making a language self-sustaining, because sometimes there is no choice or opportunity to use the minority language. There is no doubt that having powerful institutions and resources to promote a language, such as strong legislation, economic and human resources, is an essential asset. Nevertheless, drawing from the Catalan experience we see that institutions exerting direct and interventionist language policies can simultaneously foster resentment among sectors of society who are not yet linguistically integrated and also demobilise or even emasculate activists within civil society because they feel that the task of promoting the language now depends on responsible institutions. In truth the task of securing a minority language has to be shared both by institutions and by individuals acting in concert. Thus, there is a need for constant mobilisation fuelled by a continued sense of identity through the language.

Often in the past, it was assumed that if sufficient numbers of people so desired a particular language would be valued, transmitted and utilised as a result of the aggregation of a great number of individual decisions. But piecemeal language production and reproduction will no longer suffice and cannot compete with competitor languages, unless there is a sufficiently strong attachment and supportive infra-structure in place so as to secure for the general public a range of worthwhile language choices. The relationship between the citizen and the state in contemporary Europe is being recast as a result of a number of structural forces and global trends. The relationship between the state and its minority language speakers is also being modified by the same forces and by others germane to that specific nexus.

In the case of the regionalised state, or the local state, some elements of success have been remarkable and in their respective ways, both Catalonia and Wales, have demonstrated considerable skill in securing a more prosperous future for their respective national languages. However, in terms of increasing the use of such languages within the private sector, Catalonia

has achieved what Wales has yet to face, namely the incorporation of the indigenous language as a key ingredient in the practice of economic exchange, knowledge and wealth creation. The time has surely come to recognise that, if the benefits of bilingualism, respect for language diversity and acknowledgement of the virtues of self-government are to survive in more than a perfunctory or symbolic manner, this will call for a very different understanding of what role the Welsh language will be expected and allowed to perform in the private sector than has been demonstrated in recent years.

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\* Titles of books and articles in English and Welsh are presented in capitals, whereas those in other languages are not capitalised, following their respective quoting traditions.

