

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE WELSH LANGUAGE AND HIGHER EDUCATION PARTICIPATION AND EXPERIENCE



Adam Robert Pierce

School of Social Sciences

Cardiff University

This thesis is submitted in fulfilment of the requirement for
the degree of:

Doctor of Philosophy

2023

Abstract

Both the Welsh language and Welsh medium higher education are key policy agendas for the Welsh Government. Recent and notable policy developments in these areas include the commitment towards, and the expansion of Welsh medium higher education and the establishment of Y Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol in 2011, alongside the passing of the Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011. Such developments have resulted in the Welsh language and Welsh medium higher education alike becoming increasingly embedded within the organisational structure of the higher education sector in Wales. As a result, the Welsh language now enjoys greater visibility and status across the HE sector than it has ever before. Despite such significant policy developments that has, and continues to directly impact the Welsh language, Welsh medium higher education and Welsh speaking students across the HE sector in Wales, rather surprisingly, there is a dearth of empirical research that exists on bilingual Welsh-English speaking students at this level. This study addresses this lacuna and examines the relationship between the Welsh language and higher education participation and experiences amongst current bilingual undergraduate students. By foregrounding language as the central focus of bilingual students' higher education (choices and) experiences, the study explores how and to what extent (the Welsh) language is situated and negotiated within the various aspects of their university life: namely their learning/academic and their social lives and experiences. The study employs a mixed method approach. It combines quantitative online survey (n=943), secondary data analysis of official statistics, alongside qualitative, in-depth face-to-face interviews (n=36) with Welsh speaking undergraduate students. To date, this is the largest piece of empirical research that explores Welsh speaking students' experiences of higher education. The study demonstrates that for these bilingual students the higher education sector becomes a site of constant negotiation between two languages – between the Welsh language, a minoritized language, and English, the lingua academia. Language choices and considerations are continuously negotiated and navigated by these students throughout their time at university and are not a fixed nor a pre-accounted choice simply made before arriving at HE. This is particularly true of bilingual students' academic and learning experiences. The study demonstrates how the Welsh medium learning experiences of students are often problematised due to the various institutional and pedagogical challenges and barriers they frequently encounter in their attempts to engage with Welsh medium higher education, and to use Welsh as an academic language. The negotiating of two languages for academic purposes alongside the continuous navigation of these various barriers typify the bilingual student's learning experience at university. Implications of these findings toward policy and practice are discussed. Additionally, several recommendations are made aimed at developing and improving the Welsh medium learning experiences of bilingual students at this level.

Acknowledgments

This thesis would have not been possible without the assistance of several people who have helped me over the course of its undertaking.

Firstly, I would like to express a big thank you to my supervisors Prof. Chris Taylor, Dr. Mark Connolly, and Dr Rhian Barrance for their continued support, encouragement, and guidance over the last few years. Your comments and feedback on countless drafts of my work have been invaluable. Thank you also for your patience, particularly during the latter stages of the thesis. Completing this thesis has been a long, and at times, difficult journey for me and I will always be grateful for your kindness and support.

I would also like to thank Dr. Kevin Smith for his comments and advice during progress reviews.

Many thanks to the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) for funding the study. Thank you also to the staff at the Graduate Office at the School of Social Sciences who have always been there for support when needed.

I would like to acknowledge my fellow PhD colleagues and the postgraduate community at Museum Place. Thank you for your support and friendships over the years.

Thank you also to my close friends who assured me that there is always light at the end of the tunnel. Thank you all for listening, for encouraging me, and thank you for reassuring me that I could complete this thesis especially during those time when I did not believe in myself. A big thank you to Gareth for his support over the years, and a special thank you to my good friend Ellie who has always been there to talk things through.

I would also like to thank my family: Mum and Dad, my brother Justin, and my sister Sam for supporting me throughout this journey. Thank you for all your encouragement and help along the way. Thank you also to my little nieces who have been rays of sunshine in moments of doubt ☺.

Finally, I would like to express my sincere gratitude to all the participants who kindly enough offered to take part in this project. This thesis would not have been possible without your contributions. Thank you so much for taking the time to share your stories and experiences. I have thoroughly enjoyed meeting you and hearing about your stories.

Diolch yn fawr iawn i chi gyd.

•
;

“Take pride in how far you have come and have faith in how far you can go”.

For all those moments that you doubted yourself; for all the challenges you faced and overcame, and for all your perseverance and grit, you finally made it!

•
;

Please note: an editor has not been used in the construction of this thesis.

Table of Contents	
Abstract.....	i
Acknowledgments.....	ii
Table of Contents.....	v
List of Tables.....	xi
List of Figures.....	xii
List of Abbreviations.....	xiii
Chapter 1: Introduction.....	1
1.1 Research Background and Context.....	2
1.1.1 Academic context.....	2
1.1.2 Policy context.....	5
1.2 Research Aims.....	12
1.3 Thesis Structure.....	13
Chapter 2: The Historical Development of Welsh Medium Higher Education.....	17
2.1 Introduction.....	17
2.2 The Welsh language across the higher education sector in Wales.....	17
2.2.1 The historical development of Welsh medium higher education.....	17
The early years: twentieth century.....	17
Devolution, policy, and Welsh medium higher education.....	20
Y Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol 2011 – present.....	25
Welsh medium engagement post-2011.....	28
2.2.2 Welsh medium halls of residence.....	31
2.2.3 Undeb Myfyrwyr Cymraeg.....	32
2.3 Wider educational context: Welsh medium primary and secondary education.....	34
<i>History of Welsh medium education: primary and secondary sector.....</i>	<i>34</i>
<i>Categorizing schools based on Welsh medium provision.....</i>	<i>35</i>
<i>New system for defining schools.....</i>	<i>38</i>
<i>Statistics on Welsh medium education.....</i>	<i>39</i>
2.4 Language rights at university.....	42
Defining language rights.....	42
International legislations and language rights.....	43
Welsh language rights at university.....	43
2.5 The International Context: Internationalisation of the higher education sector.....	49
English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI): A European Overview.....	50

The threat of EMI?	51
2.5.1 Bucking the trend: Minoritized languages at higher education	52
Minoritized languages	53
Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea.....	53
Catalan in higher education in Catalunya	54
The Irish case.....	54
Sabhal Mòr Ostaig.....	55
Fróðskaparsetur Føroya	55
Indigenous languages.....	56
Sámi allaskuvla	57
2.6 Conclusion	58
Chapter 3: Literature Review	59
3.1 Introduction	59
3.2 A review of the empirical literature.....	60
3.2.1 Prospective university students: situating the Welsh language within university choices	60
Educational factors.....	60
Concerns about post-16 Welsh medium study	61
Linguistic/language factors.....	65
Cultural factors.....	66
Place attachment.....	67
Economic factors	67
3.2.2 Wider educational context: Pupils' secondary school experiences.....	69
3.2.3 Current university students: The Welsh language and university experience	76
Biliteracy.....	77
Translanguaging	78
Learning experiences: the practicalities of using Welsh at university.....	81
Language Anxiety/Confidence.....	84
3.2.4 Group relations	89
Social Identity Theory	89
Berry's model of acculturation.....	89
Language and intra-group relations.....	90
3.3 Conclusion	95
Chapter 4: The Research Process	96

4.1 Introduction	96
4.2 A mixed-method approach.....	97
4.3 Determining Research Participants and Research Sites.....	99
4.3.1 Secondary schools in Wales.....	99
4.3.2 Research Locations.....	102
4.4 Phase One: Secondary data and Online Survey.....	103
<i>Secondary data</i>	103
<i>Online Survey</i>	104
4.4.1 Negotiating access and recruiting participants.....	105
<i>Academic staff</i>	106
<i>Welsh societies and student unions</i>	106
<i>Social media</i>	107
4.4.2 Survey Respondents.....	109
4.5 Phase Two: Qualitative Interviews.....	114
4.5.1 Sampling and Access.....	114
4.5.2 Locating the interviews.....	115
4.5.3 Profile of Interview Participants.....	116
4.6 Reflections on Positionality.....	121
4.7 Piloting the study.....	123
4.8 Data analysis.....	124
4.9 Bilingual data.....	126
4.10 Ethical considerations.....	127
4.11 Conclusion.....	128
Chapter 5: The bilingual student goes to university: the Welsh language and higher education choices	130
5.1 Introduction.....	130
5.2 Group 1.....	131
5.2.1 Cynefin and staying 'home'.....	131
5.2.2 Belonging.....	135
5.2.3 Welsh medium study.....	138
<i>Language confidence and linguistic progression</i>	138
<i>Financial incentives</i>	139
<i>Welsh medium study and employability</i>	140
5.3 Group 2.....	141
5.3.1 Reputation of Welsh HEIs.....	141

5.3.2 The Welsh language and staying 'home'	144
5.4 Group 3	146
5.4.1 Course and Reputation.....	146
5.4.2 Moving away from home.....	149
5.5 Mitigating 16+ educational concerns	151
5.5.1 Switching language of A Level assessments.....	152
5.5.2 School switch: Linguistic (dis)continuity from GCSEs to A Level.....	153
5.5.3 Studying A Level English	155
5.6 Chapter Summary and Discussion	156
Chapter 6: Welsh Medium Higher Education: Engagement and Participation	158
6.1 Introduction	158
6.2 Mapping the Welsh language in higher education: official data	159
6.2.1 Wales domiciled undergraduate students	160
<i>HE enrolment of Wales domiciled undergraduate students.....</i>	<i>160</i>
<i>Cross border flow of full-time Wales domiciled undergraduate students.....</i>	<i>162</i>
<i>Concentration of Wales domiciled first-degree students at Welsh universities.....</i>	<i>162</i>
6.2.2 Welsh language ability of Wales domiciled undergraduate students.....	165
<i>Welsh language ability of Wales domiciled undergraduate students studying in Wales.....</i>	<i>165</i>
<i>Secondary school pupils at Welsh medium and bilingual secondary schools.....</i>	<i>166</i>
<i>Concentration of fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students across the Welsh HE sector.....</i>	<i>168</i>
6.2.3 Welsh medium higher education engagement.....	170
<i>Number of first-degree Wales domiciled students engaged with Welsh medium higher education</i>	<i>170</i>
<i>Concentration of Welsh medium higher education engagement across the Welsh HE sector.....</i>	<i>171</i>
<i>Credits studied through the medium of Welsh amongst first-degree students</i>	<i>174</i>
<i>Welsh medium higher education engagement amongst first degree students at Cardiff and Bangor University.....</i>	<i>177</i>
<i>Welsh language ability and Welsh medium higher education engagement.....</i>	<i>181</i>
<i>Fluent Welsh speaking Wales domiciled undergraduate students and Welsh medium engagement by intensity.....</i>	<i>183</i>
<i>Fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students and Welsh medium HE engagement at Cardiff and Bangor University.....</i>	<i>185</i>
<i>Welsh medium engagement across academic subjects</i>	<i>187</i>
<i>Welsh medium engagement across academic subjects at Cardiff and Bangor University</i>	<i>188</i>

6.3 Section Summary and Discussion	190
6.4 Welsh medium higher education participation: Survey findings	193
6.4.1 Welsh medium higher education engagement.....	194
<i>Welsh medium engagement by subject area and institution</i>	194
6.4.2 Type of Welsh medium higher education engagement.....	196
<i>Welsh medium engagement type within and across modules</i>	196
<i>Welsh medium engagement type within and across modules by subject area</i>	197
6.4.3 Preferred language of study	199
<i>Correlation between students' preferred language of study and Welsh medium study</i>	199
<i>Students' preferred language of study by subject area type</i>	200
<i>Students' preferred language of study by institution</i>	201
<i>Students' preferred language of study by subject area and institution</i>	202
6.4.4 Access to Welsh speaking personal tutor.....	202
<i>Welsh speaking personal tutor and Welsh medium study</i>	202
<i>Welsh speaking personal tutor by subject area and Welsh medium study</i>	203
6.5 Section Summary and Discussion	206
6.6 Chapter Summary and Discussion	206
Chapter 7: The bilingual student at university: learning choices and experiences	209
7.1 Introduction	209
7.2 English medium context	210
7.2.1 A 'different' student	210
7.3 Students' language rights at university	213
7.3.1 Awareness and understanding of students' language rights.....	214
7.3.2 Bureaucratic Process and the Formal Processing of Assessments submitted in Welsh	216
7.3.3 Translation of Welsh medium assessments and examinations	220
7.4 Navigating and negotiating language choices	223
7.4.1 Class contribution and participation	223
7.4.2 Note taking in class	227
7.4.3 Academic Resources and Terminology	229
<i>Terminology</i>	230
<i>Translation and Translanguaging</i>	231
<i>Lecture materials</i>	233
<i>Journal articles and academic books</i>	233

7.4.4 Written assessments and examinations	235
<i>Language confidence and perceived linguistic abilities</i>	235
<i>Consistency in language of instruction</i>	236
<i>Academic resources and terminology</i>	237
<i>Types of assessments</i>	239
<i>Financial incentives: Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol scholarships</i>	240
7.5 Chapter Summary and Discussion	240
Chapter 8: The bilingual student at university: students' social life and experiences	244
8.1 Introduction	244
8.2 The Welsh speaking community at university.....	245
8.2.1 A Home from Home	245
<i>Self-separation</i>	246
<i>Welsh halls of residence</i>	248
<i>'Speaking my first language'</i>	248
8.2.2 In-group exclusivity	249
<i>A 'legitimate' and 'authentic' member?</i>	249
<i>An insular and isolated community</i>	252
<i>Pressure to engage with the community</i>	254
8.2.3 Nature of social events	256
<i>Culture of drinking</i>	256
<i>Eisteddfodau</i>	258
<i>Moving to other societies</i>	258
8.3 Welsh societies at English universities	259
8.3.1 Collective cultural, non-linguistic identity.....	259
8.4 Chapter Summary and Discussion	262
Chapter 9: Discussion and Conclusion	264
9.1 Introduction	264
9.2 Research aims and empirical contributions.....	266
9.2.1 To explore how, and to what extent the Welsh language has influenced and informed bilingual students' university choices.	266
9.2.2 To examine the engagement and participation levels in Welsh medium higher education amongst undergraduate students	269
9.2.3 To identify and assess the barriers and challenges that students face in trying to access and engage with Welsh medium higher education.	274

9.2.4 To explore how, and to what extent, the Welsh language informs bilingual students' social choices and experiences at university.....	279
9.3 Discussion.....	281
9.4 Implications for Policy and Practice.....	288
9.5 Limitations of study, and avenues for future research.....	293
9.5.1 Limitations of the study.....	294
9.5.2 Avenues for future research.....	295
9.6 Concluding Remarks.....	299
References	302
Appendices	349

List of Tables

Table 4.1 Overview of secondary schools in Wales based on language and outcomes	101
Table 4.2 Gender of respondents.....	109
Table 4.3 Age of respondents	109
Table 4.4 Home language of respondents	110
Table 4.5 Type of school attended.....	110
Table 4.6 Home location of respondents	111
Table 4.7 University location of respondents	111
Table 4.8 Subjects studied amongst respondents.....	112
Table 4.9 Students studying through the medium of Welsh.....	112
Table 4.10 Awareness of Y Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol.....	112
Table 4.11 Member of Y Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol.....	113
Table 4.12 Member of university's Welsh society.....	113
Table 4.13 Key demographic information of Interview participants	118
Table 4.14 Braun and Clarke's six phase of thematic analysis approach.....	125
Table 6.1 HE enrolments of Wales domiciled undergraduate students	161
Table 6.2 Cross border flow of full-time undergraduate Wales domiciled students	162
Table 6.3 Welsh language ability of Wales domiciled undergraduate students at Welsh HEIs	165
Table 6.4 Number and proportion of secondary school pupils attending Welsh medium and bilingual secondary schools in Wales, and fluent Welsh speaking secondary school pupils	167
Table 6.5 Number and proportion of Wales domiciled undergraduate students engaged with Welsh medium study relative to Welsh language ability.....	182
Table 6.6 Number of credits undertaken by fluent Welsh speaking Wales domiciled undergraduate students.....	184

Table 6.7 Fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students and Welsh medium HE engagement at Bangor University	186
Table 6.8 Fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students and Welsh medium HE engagement at Cardiff University	186
Table 6.9 Welsh medium study undertaken amongst Fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students by academic discipline.....	187
Table 6.10 Welsh medium study undertaken amongst Fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students by academic discipline at Cardiff University.....	189
Table 6.11 Welsh medium study undertaken amongst Fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students by academic discipline at Bangor University.....	190
Table 6.12 Modules undertaken by students and Welsh medium engagement within and across those modules	196
Table 6.13 Type of Welsh medium engagement amongst students by subject area.....	198
Table 6.14 Correlation between students' preferred language of study and those undertaking Welsh medium study	199
Table 6.15 Student's preferred language of study by subject area type.....	200
Table 6.16 Students' preferred language of study by institution.....	201
Table 6.17 Students' preferred language of study by subject area and institution.....	202
Table 6.18 Number and proportion of fluent Welsh speakers with access to a Welsh speaking personal tutor.....	203
Table 6.19 Number and proportion of students with access to a Welsh speaking personal tutor by institution, Welsh medium study, subject area.....	203

List of Figures

Figure 6.1 Concentration of Wales domiciled first-degree students across the Welsh HE sector	164
Figure 6.2 Fluent Welsh speaking Wales domiciled undergraduate students across the Welsh HE sector	169
Figure 6.3 Welsh medium higher education engagement amongst First-degree Wales domiciled students.....	170
Figure 6.4 Concentration of first-degree Wales domiciled engaged with Welsh medium higher education across the Welsh HE sector	173
Figure 6.5 Welsh medium higher education engagement by number of credits undertaken	175
Figure 6.6 Number of credits undertaken through the medium of Welsh amongst first degree students at Cardiff University.....	179
Figure 6.7 Number of credits undertaken through the medium of Welsh amongst first degree students at Bangor University.....	180
Figure 6.8 Welsh medium engagement by subject area and institution	195

List of Abbreviations

AU – Aberystwyth University

BU – Bangor University

CMU – Cardiff Metropolitan University

CU – Cardiff University

EMI – English Medium Instruction

EHEA – European Higher Education Area

ETB – English Taught Bachelor's

ETM – English Taught Masters

ETP – English Taught Programmes

GYMGYM – Y Gymdeithas Gymraeg Caerdydd

HE – Higher Education

HEI(s) – Higher Education Institution(s)

HESA – Higher Education Statistics Agency

HSMO – Her Majesty's Stationery Office

JMJ – Cymdeithas John Morris Jones Society

OU – The Open University

NAW – National Assembly for Wales

PLASC – Pupil Level Annual School Census

SU – Swansea University

UMCB – Undeb Myfyrwyr Cymraeg Bangor

UoW - University of Wales

UoWTSD – University of Wales Trinity Saint David

WAG – Welsh Assembly Government

WG – Welsh Government

WLC – Welsh Language Commissioner

WM – Welsh Medium

WM HE – Welsh Medium Higher Education

WU – Wrexham Glyndŵr University

Y Coleg/Coleg Cymraeg/CCC – Y Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol

Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis examines the relationship between the Welsh language and higher education participation and experience amongst bilingual Welsh-English speaking undergraduate students. Language(s) is a central theme that runs throughout this thesis as it presents a detailed exploration into how, and the extent that the Welsh language is intertwined within students' choices and experiences at higher education. To capture the bilingual student experience, and principally the place and question of language within this context, the thesis focuses on four key areas of interest. These include students' HE choice-making process (retrospectively) and the question of language; Welsh medium higher education participation and engagement; students' learning/academic choices and experiences and the Welsh language; and students' social life at university and the Welsh language. Doing so presents a comprehensive account of the bilingual student experience of higher education. This focus allows for a detailed understanding of the ways in which language(s) is situated within students' choices and experiences. It also demonstrates how language(s) is continuously negotiated and navigated by these bilingual/Welsh speaking students for a range of reasons, including academic and social reasons, as they go through university life.

The thesis comprises a mixed-method study and combines three different datasets to explore the relationship between the Welsh language and higher education participation and experiences. The thesis draws predominately from qualitative, in-depth interviews conducted with 36 bilingual undergraduate students studying at Cardiff and Bangor University, and a variety of those studying at HE institutions outside of Wales. Additionally, the thesis draws upon quantitative data and presents findings from an online survey (n=943), as well as analysis of official statistics on Welsh language in higher education. The rationale for choosing Cardiff and Bangor University is predicated on the fact that while both institutions have consistently reported similar number of (Wales domiciled) Fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students studying here since 2010/11 (WG 2019a), there are considerable differences in student uptake and engagement of Welsh medium higher education across both institutions. For example, Bangor University has a substantially greater proportion of its students studying through the medium of Welsh compared to Cardiff University (WG 2019b) (illustrated in Chapter 6). Moreover, Bangor University is located within North West Wales where a large proportion of the population speak Welsh, compared to the highly Anglicised area of Cardiff where there is a low proportion of Welsh speakers (WG 2022a; 2022c). Bangor University can be regarded as bilingual institution, while English is regarded as the unmarked and default language of Cardiff University. The presence of the Welsh language at Cardiff has been described as being 'backgrounded' (Colt et al., 2012). Meanwhile no research to date has explored the university experiences of Welsh speaking students studying outside of Wales.

This introductory chapter offers important context and background to the study. The chapter situates and contextualizes the study within the existing body of literature – both within the broader academic and policy literature, including the international context – and highlights

current understanding on the relationship between the Welsh language and higher education participation and experience. The focus of the thesis is also outlined. The chapter outlines the significance of undertaking empirical research on the Welsh language in higher education and illustrates how this has been an under-researched field of study (Welsh language in higher education, and Welsh medium higher education) despite being a key policy area for the Welsh Government. The research aims of the study are thereafter presented. Finally, the chapter concludes with an overview of the structure of the thesis and provides a summary to each of the subsequent chapters of the thesis.

1.1 Research Background and Context

1.1.1 Academic context

Like many others leaving statutory education and contemplating higher education study, students' choice making processes include the careful consideration and negotiations of a variety of factors. (See Christie 2009 on the role of emotions in understanding students' transitions to university, for example.) Ultimately, students' choices are characterised by a complex, rather than a simple linear process (Briggs and Wilson 2007). While much work has been done to consider a range of factors that influence students' HE choices¹, including works from different demographic perspectives such as age, gender, socio-economic status, race, and ethnicity (Hemsley-Brown and Oplatka 2015) as well as how these factors shape students' university experiences, very little has been done on languages, and from the perspective of bilingual Welsh-English speaking students.

In cases where language has been the focus of research on students in higher education, traditionally these have been concerned with international students. Such studies have looked at the academic and socio-cultural experiences and adaptations of these students into university, particularly across the UK (Coles and Swami 2012; Gu et al. 2010; Heron 2018; Newsome and Copper 2016; Ramachandra 2011; Quan et al. 2013), the USA (Lee 2009; Mesidor and Sly 2016; Morita 2004; Rao 2016; Yeh and Inose 2003), and Australia (Robertson et al. 2000; Ramsay et al. 1999; Zhang and Mi 2010; Haugh 2016; Benzie 2010; Sawir 2005). Many of these studies identify the various language-related challenges and barriers that international students face both academically and socially at university. The narrative of current literature on the university experiences of these students tends to highlight their experiences from a defective perspective (see for example Lillyman and Bennet 2014). For

¹ Some factors include tuition fees and financial considerations (Esson and Ertl 2014; Moore et al 2011; Pennell and West 2005; Wilkins et al 2012; Tomlinson 2017; Evans and Donnelly 2018; Harrison et al 2015; Dunnet et al 2012); spatial/geographical mobility considerations, including attachments to 'home' (Hinton 2011; Donnelly and Evans 2016; Simões and Soares 2010); family networks, peers and friendships (Brooks 2002; 2003a; 2003b; 2008; Pugsley 1998) and institutional reputation/prestige, including teaching/academic quality (Simões and Soares 2010; Whitehead et al. 2006; O'Sullivan et al 2018; Gill et al 2017; Munisamy et al 2014; Soutar and Turner 2002).

example, such students are often conceived of as non-native speakers of English, English language learners, and/or second (or even) third language English speakers, with a narrative that they are somewhat lacking in their English language skills and proficiency.

However, here within lies another group of students that seem to be overlooked in similar research on the question of *language* and higher education participation and experiences. These are namely national minorities², and speakers of minoritized³ languages⁴, such as Irish, Breton, Basque, and indeed the focus of the study, Welsh. These groups of speakers can be described as linguistic minorities, and they form a distinct group of individuals who are bilingual⁵ (or sometimes even trilingual) and biliterate (García 2009a; Hornberger 2003; Ng 2015). For many Welsh speakers, the minoritized language – Welsh – may also be their first or native language (L1) and English may be their second language (L2) and vice versa. Equally, it is possible for many speakers to have two first languages (2L1) where they have been brought up using two languages simultaneously from birth (simultaneous bilinguals). It is important to recognise that speakers of these minoritized languages are also (native or near-native) speakers of their respective states' majority language; in the case of Welsh speakers, they are also native speakers of English. This distinction is an important one to make as Kanno and Harklau (2012; 2-3) argue:

“...it is important to specify that linguistic minority students are not all English learners (ELs). LM [Linguistic minority] students include the entire set of multilingual individuals who speak a non-English language at home; ELs [English learners] are a subset of linguistic minority students whose academic English proficiency has not yet developed sufficiently to benefit from

² While there is no legally binding definition of a 'national minority/minorities' under international law or treaties (Council of Europe 1995a; 1995b; United Nations 2010), Francesco Capotorti coined the following definition in 1977 which has proven popular: “[a] group numerically inferior to the rest of the population of a State, in a non-dominant position, whose members – being nationalist of the State – possess ethnic, religious or linguistic characteristics differing from those of the rest of the population and show, if only implicitly, a sense of solidarity, directed preserving their culture, traditions, religion or language” (Capotorti 1977; in United Nations 2010; 2).

³ As defined by the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (Council of Europe 1992a; 1992b). It states that “the term ‘minority’ refers to situations in which either the language is spoken by persons who are not concentrated on a specific part of the territory of a State, or it is spoken by a group of persons, which, though concentrated on part of the territory of the State, is numerically smaller than the population in this region which speaks the majority language of the State”.

⁴ However, through this thesis the Welsh language will be referred to as a *minoritized* language as opposed to a *minority* language. The term ‘minority’ can simply refer to a quantitative or numerical variable (Nevins and Coler 2022), which is essentially the definition adopted by the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (Council of Europe 1992a; 1992b). Meanwhile the term ‘minoritized’ better captures and recognises that some languages have become minoritized or have undergone minoritization due to direct outcomes of historical, social, and political actions and policies (May 2006; Nevins 2022; Nevins and Coler 2022). The term ‘minoritized’ also infers the unequal power relations that exists between languages, and notions of language dominance, language subordination, and exclusion for example.

⁵ It is not the intention here to delve into a discussion surrounding how bilingualism is defined and conceptualised, and the difficulty associated with doing so (see for example Altarriba and Heredia 2008; Hamers and Blanc 2000; Hoffman 1991). However, it is worth recognising that a maximalist definition of bilingualism as proposed by those such as Mackay (1957), Wienreich (1968) both of whom focus on the alternate use of two languages, and Bloomfield (1984) who considers it to be the native-like fluency and competence in two languages – serves to accurately reflect the linguistic abilities of these bilingual Welsh-English speaking students.

the regular English-medium instruction. Although these two terms are often erroneously conflated, they are, most emphatically, not the same. Many LM [linguistic minority] students are native or highly proficient speakers in English”.

As Welsh-English bilinguals and biliterates, many of these students will often find themselves having to progress into higher education for which the medium of instruction is different to the one used during secondary education and/or is not their first language given the lack of linguistic progression routes of minoritized languages from statutory to post-16 education. An issue that is not only confined to the Welsh context. For these students, language is/can become a key factor in relation to their post-compulsory educational choices and experiences. This applies to both their choice-making processes about going to university, as well as during their time at university. This is particularly the case for those studying in Wales due to the policy context of Welsh medium higher education and the Welsh language (discussed shortly in section 1.1.2) which has seen a number of top-down commitments and policies for establishing Welsh, a minoritized language as a medium of instruction at this level. It is therefore important that language and the HE experiences of bilingual Welsh-English speakers are explored and examined in detail. This particular study foregrounds language within the university experiences of these students: the academic, and the social experiences.

However, current research surrounding the Welsh language and higher education is very limited, with a tendency for these studies to focus on *prospective* university students, namely year 12/13 pupils at Welsh medium and bilingual secondary schools (I. Williams 1989; C. Williams 2003; Lewis and Williams 2006; G. Jones 2010⁶), or those in their final year of compulsory secondary education (S. Jones 2010; S. Jones 2019) as well as those undertaking academic (Davies and Trystan 2012), and vocational courses (Davies and Davies 2015) at further education colleges. These have been valuable contributions to garner greater understanding of bilingual students’ university choice making process, in particular how and to what extent students consider both the Welsh language and Welsh medium higher education as part of their progression into post-16 education. These studies will be explored and analysed further in Chapter 3 of the thesis. However, it is important to recognise that what has been discussed in these studies have only been students’ university *intentions*; these students have not actualised their choices. Recently, Vulperhorst et al., (2022) examined the mechanisms underlying students changing their minds after they had previously committed to a university course. They argue that “higher education [programme] choice is a process without a clear end point and continues even after students have enrolled in a programme” (Vulperhorst et al 2022; 661). Students’ HE choices and commitments, which are so often explored pre-university and during secondary schooling can only be regarded as students “taking a temporal position” (Vulperhorst et al 2022; 663), and that, in fact, choices are made and negotiated over time.

⁶ Jones (2010) conducted a longitudinal study that consisted of re-interviewing students once they had gone onto university.

These studies therefore only focus on students' *intentions* about their choices; findings that are arguably tentative. They tell virtually nothing about how bilingual students experience university and the ways in which language is situated within those experience, be it their academic and learning, or social experiences at university. Moreover, while official statistics is available on Welsh medium higher education engagement and participation via statistical bulletins published by the Welsh Government (WG 2012a; 2013a; 2014a; 2015a; 2016a; 2017a; 2018a; 2019a; 2019b; 2019d; 2019e; 2019f; 2019g; 2019h; 2019i; 2019j; 2019k; 2019l; 2019m; 2019n; 2019o; 2019p), quantitative data alone cannot fully comprehend the reality of students' experiences at this level. Important questions such as *how* students experience Welsh medium higher education, and *why* and *how* language is situated within their learning experiences cannot be answered quantitatively. There is a clear gap within the academic literature pertaining the experiences of these bilingual students at the university level, and as such very little is known in this context. This is particularly surprising given the policy context of the Welsh language and Welsh medium higher education, which are discussed shortly.

Currently, few studies have looked at Welsh speakers and their experiences of university. These are presented in a series of publications including Desforges and Jones (2000, 2001, 2004); Jones and Desforges (2003); Ifan and Hodges' (2017), G. Williams (2005), and Thomas (2011). However, these aforementioned studies have looked at specific courses and subjects, and they have tended to focus more on the learning aspects of students' university experiences, rather than also looking at the wider, social experiences of students. These include those studying Geography at Aberystwyth University, students studying an interdisciplinary module across Music and Sociology entitled Sociology of Music at Bangor University, those undertaking a Law degree at Aberystwyth University, and students studying an English medium module in Psychology at Bangor University, respectively. This study moves beyond this approach and situates itself within a relatively unexplored research area, focusing on both elements of students' university experiences – the academic, and the social. It does so by focusing on current bilingual undergraduate students at the university level, spanning two Welsh HE institutions, as well as those studying outside of Wales, and on students across a range of academic disciplines, subject areas and academic year of study. It captures the diverse experiences of bilingual students. This study is the largest piece of empirical research, to date, that explores Welsh speaking students' experiences of higher education, foregrounding language as central theme into students' learning and social experiences at this level.

1.1.2 Policy context

While this group (bilingual Welsh-English speaking undergraduate students) rather surprisingly, has been under-researched within the academic literature, they have been the focus of numerous policy interventions and developments in Wales by the Welsh Government. For example, both the Welsh language and Welsh medium education, including

Welsh medium higher education have been key policy agendas for the Welsh Government, particularly post-devolution. These have been evident across strategies such as Reaching Higher (WG 2002), Iaith Pawb (WG 2003b), One Wales (WG 2007), and Welsh Medium Education Strategy (WG 2010). Therefore, there is a need to re-dress this mismatch and to acknowledge the potential that researching this cohort may have on contributing to policy developments, and toward the sustainability of Welsh medium higher education. Furthermore, this thesis ties itself to two particularly important policy developments and strategies of the Welsh Government that concerns both the Welsh language and Welsh medium higher education. These are (Welsh medium education via) Y Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol and Cymraeg 2050. Each of these policy areas will now be contextualised.

Y Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol

A significant milestone in the development of Welsh medium higher education provision, after extensive campaigning, culminated in 2011 with the establishment of Y Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol (Welsh National College), under the Welsh Government's 2007-2011 coalition between Labour and Plaid Cymru (WG 2007b). (Chapter 2, Section 2.2 presents a chronological and historical account of the development of Welsh medium higher education, including Y Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol.) Since 2011, the Coleg, operating as a federal college, has become the official entity responsible for overseeing and co-ordinating the development and implementation of Welsh medium higher education across the HE sector. It works with and alongside universities across Wales to create and ensure that Welsh medium study opportunities are available for students at this level (CCC 2011; Williams 2009).

This is a clear indication of the Welsh Government's commitment toward the development and expansion of Welsh medium higher education. So too is its commitment toward the Welsh language more generally, with the introduction of the new Welsh language legislation the Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011 (HSMO; 2014). This is seen as a modernized and stronger version of its predecessor, the Welsh Language Act 1993 (HMSO; 1993) which, by imposing statutory duties and standards on public institutions, including universities, establishes language rights for Welsh speakers. Under the Measure, language rights are specifically accorded to Welsh speakers at higher education which include students' right to use Welsh for academic purposes, alongside their right to receive a range of services through the medium of Welsh (HMSO 2017; WLC 2018) (Chapter 2, Section 2.4).

These significant policy changes and developments have resulted in the Welsh language, and Welsh medium higher education becoming increasingly embedded within the organisational structure of the Welsh higher education sector. It can be regarded as a pivotal moment in the history of the Welsh language where there is an active attempt to create and establish a sustainable bilingual infrastructure for the HE sector in Wales. A sector whereby the Welsh language, a minoritized language and the English language, a lingua franca can co-exist as languages of higher education. More broadly, the formation of Y Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol can also be seen as an active attempt to challenge what can be perceived as the

dominant monolingual-English hegemony of Anglophonic universities (Martin 2010; Preece 2011; Preece and Martin 2009; Preece and Marshall 2020) (This point is further discussed shortly). Here, English medium instruction prevails as the norm and the English language dominates the HE sector whilst other languages, including minoritized languages are often ignored or even problematized. Through Welsh Government (language planning and policy) policies therefore, concerted efforts have been undertaken to ensure the institutionalisation (May 2010) of the Welsh language in higher education. Further to this, the institutionalisation of languages can have a positive impact upon their vitality (May 2010) and is an important process for establishing conditions whereby minoritized languages in particular can flourish, and in some cases revive (Arzoz 2012a; 2015).

Y Coleg Cymraeg's Academic Strategy Plan

The overall focus of this study, which explores the relationship between the Welsh language and higher education participation and experience, complements three (out of six) priorities set out by the Coleg in its current Academic Strategic Plan - *Setting the pathways of success: The Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol's Strategic Plan 2020/21 to 2024/25* (Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol 2020). These include:

Priority 1: Lead the development and implementation of language policy in Wales in the context of post-compulsory education.

“The Coleg will work with partners to ensure the implementation of a long-term strategy for the post-compulsory education and training sectors in the context of the Welsh Government's Language Strategy and Welsh-medium Education Strategy”.

(Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol 2020; 16)

Priority 2: Enrich the experience of students and learners.

“Our aim it is to ensure that every student and learner, whether in university, college or the workplace, has the opportunity to receive the best quality Welsh-medium education and training, with appropriate resources to support their experiences”.

(Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol 2020; 17)

Priority 5: Contribute towards a bright and sustainable future for post-16 education and training through the medium of Welsh.

“The Coleg will undertake long-term planning in order to ensure strong and resilient arrangements for maintaining post-compulsory education and training through the medium of Welsh”.

(Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol 2020; 19)

This thesis is particularly relevant to priority 2 of Y Coleg's Academic Strategic Plan as one area of inquiry in the thesis is the academic/educational choices and experiences of Welsh speaking students (Chapter 6). An important aspect of enriching the Welsh

medium/language experiences of these students is to comprehend and appreciate the reality of their desires, choices and experiences at university. This includes understanding any potential barriers or challenges students may face in using Welsh for academic purposes, how they negotiate language choices for academic purposes, and understanding that as bilinguals they have two languages at their disposal, for example. The focus on the student experience at higher education is therefore key to identifying and addressing potential areas of improvement, ultimately enhancing the learning experiences of students, including their Welsh medium higher education experiences, and further legitimising Welsh as an academic language. However, as has been pointed out earlier in the chapter (and demonstrated in detail in Chapter 2) there is a clear gap within the academic literature of empirical research on the direct experiences of Welsh speaking students at higher education⁷. Current understanding is therefore very limited and further empirical research is needed to gain a deeper appreciation and insight into this area. For students' experiences to be improved and enhanced, as noted by Y Coleg in their academic strategy, it is important that this is underpinned by solid empirical research to identify areas for improvement.

Cymraeg 2050

More recently the Welsh Government has announced its ambitious Welsh language strategy – *Cymraeg 2050* (WG 2017d; WG 2017e; WG 2021b) – with the aim of creating a million Welsh speakers by the year 2050. One of the ways in which the government hopes to achieve its aim is through the education system, and specifically by “developing and sustaining skills through education and training, from early years to Welsh-language provision for adults” (WG 2017d; 31). The strategy acknowledges the key role that education plays in both creating and sustaining Welsh speakers (WG 2017d; WG 2017e). It is therefore paramount that Welsh medium education opportunities exist across all sectors of the education system, particularly at the post-compulsory or post-16 level where uptake and engagement is relatively low compared to the statutory sector (Chapter 6 presents a detailed analysis of Welsh medium higher education engagement and participation using official statistics).

The Welsh Government recognises the central role of Y Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol in developing and increasing Welsh medium learning opportunities at the higher education sector for students. It is important to ensure that effective linguistic progression routes are well developed at the pre-16 to post-16 education transitional period to ensure there is a natural progression of students moving from bilingual/Welsh medium secondary education into bilingual/Welsh medium higher education. This is a priority of the Welsh Medium Education Strategy (WG 2010). To ensure this, the Welsh Government has recently provided additional funding for Y Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol to expand Welsh medium provision at this level

⁷ Not only their learning or academic experiences, but also their socio-cultural experiences.

(WG 2021b). The government also cites that there is potential for further progress to be made in terms of the number of students studying through the medium of Welsh at universities.

Furthermore, the Welsh Government wishes to see fewer younger people lose their Welsh language skills as they move from statutory education to post-16 education (WG 2017d). The education system is often regarded as major plank for language revitalization and maintenance (Baker 2010; Baker and Jones 2000; Fishman 1991; Hornberger 2010; Hornberger and King 1996; Price 2010) particularly in the context of minoritized languages and is key for the protection and promotion of such languages (López 2012). In the case of Welsh this is evident when looking at the number of Welsh speakers in relation to age groups, with children and young people most likely being able to speak Welsh. The 2021 Census showed that 34.3% of those aged between 5-15 could speak Welsh. This was 18.2% for those aged 3-4, and 27.5% for those aged between 16-19 (WG 2022a; 2022c). This growth is attributed to the huge success of Welsh medium education at the statutory level (Baker 2000; 2010; Baker and Jones 2000; Musk 2006; Williams 2003). However, as highlighted by the Welsh Government in *Cymraeg 2050*, the number of Welsh speakers then generally decreases between the ages of 16-25 (WG 2017d). (See also Aitchison and Carter 1991; 1994; 2000a; 2000b; Baker 1985; H.Jones 2007; 2008; 2010; 2012; Morris 2010 for historical and detailed analyses of Welsh speakers and Welsh language ability by age groups.) Baker and Jones (2000; 116) describes this as the 'disconcerting discontinuity' that exists within the Welsh medium education sector with fewer rates of pupil progression from Welsh medium/bilingual primary schooling into secondary, further, and higher education (Chapter 2, section 2.3). Furthermore, studies such as Gruffudd (2000) and Hodges (2009) have noted the lack of opportunities that some Welsh speakers face after leaving compulsory education. Thus, there is a danger that post-statutory Welsh medium education may result in many Welsh speakers to disengage or even abandon the language. This could have negative repercussions on aspects such as (future) language use and language confidence of speakers, as well as attitudes towards the Welsh language (Baker 1985). (This may also reflect the trends in Welsh language ability by age group as mentioned above. These young adults are regarded as critical to the cause of language revitalization (Price 2010; Wilson 2018), and as such it is important that the post-compulsory education sector builds upon the success of the statutory education sector in continuing to normalise, legitimise and institutionalise the Welsh language.

Subsequently, higher education can become a crucial site where the Welsh language skills of Welsh speakers, regardless of ability and whether they study through the medium of Welsh, can be used, harnessed, and developed. The opportunities to use Welsh at this level is key to ensuring that students can maintain, retain, and build confidence in their Welsh language skills (WG 2017d), including for example the ability to talk about subjects in Welsh. As *Cymraeg 2050* states: "if we are to invest time and money in individuals during the statutory education phase, it is essential that we ensure that our young people continue to develop their linguistic skills throughout their education journey...therefore post-compulsory education...has a key role in sustaining learners' Welsh language skills". (WG 2017d; 40). The

higher education sector therefore plays a vital role in contributing to the Welsh Government's ambitious strategy of creating one million Welsh speakers by 2050, and enriching the Welsh medium experiences of students and learners at this level; Priority 2 of the Coleg's Academic Strategic Plan (CCC 2020). In a broader sense, the Welsh higher education sector also plays an active role in sustaining the revitalization of the Welsh language.

International context

A final noteworthy point to make regarding this thesis, particularly the focus of a minoritized language at higher education is its relevance within a wider, international context. Firstly, it draws attention to a language other than English at higher education within the *Anglophone* world. Edwards (2004; 5) states that “even in the English-speaking world, an astonishing diversity of languages lie just beneath the veneer of homogeneity⁸”, and so it is important to draw attention to these arguably ‘forgotten’ languages that have for so long been overshadowed and dominated by English – many of which struggle for status, recognition, and legitimacy. Research on minoritized languages or languages other than English (and their speakers) in the context of the higher education sector within the English-speaking world is scarce and simply overlooked (excluding international students for example), the result of such spaces being conceived as ‘monolingualised’ spaces. (Heller 1995; Preece 2010). This includes the indigenous language of the US, Canada, Australia, and Aotearoa/New Zealand, as well as French in Canada, and those closer to home such as Irish in Ireland, and of course Welsh in Wales. This, according to Martin (2010) has resulted in a ‘linguistic myopia’, rather than considering universities in the Anglophone world as multilingual spaces where linguistic diversity exists. Preece and Martin (2009; 3) also argues that across this Anglophone area there exists a “mismatch between the monolingual ethos and the ideology of English-medium tertiary education and the needs and identities of multilingual students”.

Secondly, and relatedly, the increasing internationalisation of the higher education sector, particularly across Europe has led to a significant increase in the use of English as a medium of instruction (EMI) over recent years (see Brenn-White and van Rest 2012; 2013; Hultgren et al 2015; Wächter and Maiworm 2008; 2014). This is particularly evident across parts of northern and western Europe, with scholars such as Phillipson (2006; 2008) claiming that the ‘internationalisation’ and ‘English medium higher education’ are often regarded as synonyms by now. Other terms to denote this trend include *Englishisation* and *Anglicisation* of the higher education sector. Moreover, it has been noted of the potential implications and unforeseen consequences of the introduction of English as a medium of instruction (EMI) at this level, and as *lingua academia*, not only upon minoritized languages, but also upon national and regional languages (Commission of the European Communities 2003; Cots et al. 2014). This has been particularly noted across the Nordic region (Phillipson 2015; Wächter and Maiworm 2008; 2014), with increasing debates around the potential domain loss of the use of

⁸See Edwards 2004 who offers a comprehensive account of multilingualism in the English-speaking world, illustrating the ‘myth of monolingualism’ within these countries.

national languages (Swedish, Norwegian, Danish) at higher education due to EMI (See Priesler 2005; Holmes 2020 for example).

Therefore, the Welsh context presents a fascinating and unique case in current discourse on internationalisation of higher education whereby it can be described as undergoing attempts to resist or challenge the dominance of English at this level. That is, within the Anglophone world, the Welsh language – a minoritized language – is being gradually established as a medium of instruction; co-existing side by side with English, not only a majority language, but also a lingua franca as well as a lingua academia. Conversely, and simultaneously, the exponential growth in the use of English as a medium of instruction as a result of internationalisation is occurring at the expense of national, regional and/or minoritized languages across non-anglophone countries. These languages, particularly across Europe face increasing threat from English. Therefore, as an area of growing importance, it is hopeful that this thesis can stimulate further conversations and debates surrounding minoritized languages within the post-compulsory education sector across anglophone and non-anglophone countries alike.

Over a decade has now passed since the formal inception of Y Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol in 2011 – the vehicle for Welsh medium higher education provision and development. Yet very few studies have looked at the university experiences of undergraduate students during this time. Given the increasing policy focus on the Welsh language and Welsh medium (higher) education, it is timely to pay close attention to current bilingual students at university and to consider the role that language (Welsh and English) plays in influencing and informing the various aspects of their university choices and experiences at this level.

This chapter has presented important background and context to the thesis, including situating the study within the existing academic and policy-related literature, as well as within a wider international context. Before proceeding to the contextual chapter on the Welsh medium higher education in Chapter 2, followed by a review of the academic literature in Chapter 3, the remainder of this chapter will outline the research aims of the study, and thereafter present an overview of the structure of the thesis which includes succinct summaries of each chapter of the thesis.

1.2 Research Aims

This thesis examines the relationship between the Welsh language and the higher education choices and experiences of bilingual Welsh-English speaking students. There is particular emphasis on exploring how language(s), specifically on how the Welsh language is intertwined and situated within students' learning and social experiences at this level. By foregrounding language as the central focus within students' choice-making and experiences of higher education, the study sheds light on the ways in which students negotiate and navigate language choices and considerations as bilingual Welsh-English speakers at higher education.

The following research aims have been proposed for the thesis, and these aims are specific to individual empirical chapters. Underneath each aim is a set of research questions that each chapter seeks to answer:

1. **To explore, retrospectively how and to what extent the Welsh language has influenced and informed bilingual students' higher education choices [Chapter 5]**
 - What role does language play in students' higher education choices?
 - How does this relate to location of study?
 - What role do other factors play in these choices?
 - How do the university choices of students relate to experience of place and identity?

2. **To examine the engagement and participation levels in Welsh medium higher education among undergraduate students [Chapter 6]**
 - What do official statistics reveal about current Welsh medium provision across the higher education sector in Wales?
 - What are the differences in levels of engagement between students studying at Cardiff and Bangor University?
 - How do levels of engagement and participation differ across academic subjects?
 - What is the nature and form of Welsh medium higher education currently undertaken by students at university?
 - What is the relationship between Welsh medium engagement and students' preferred language of study at university?

3. **To identify and assess the barriers and challenges that students face in trying to access and engage with Welsh medium higher education, including using Welsh as an academic language [Chapter 7]**
 - How do bilingual students negotiate and navigate language choices for academic purposes?
 - What role does home language play in influencing students' academic use of Welsh at university?
 - How is the use of Welsh as an academic language experienced across academic subjects and modes of learning?

4. **To explore how, and to what extent the Welsh language informs bilingual students' social choices and experiences at university [Chapter 8]**
 - What role does home language play in students' relationship with other Welsh speakers and the Welsh speaking community at university?
 - How do in-group relations impact students' sense of belonging and engagement with the Welsh speaking community at university?
 - How do Welsh speaking students studying outside of Wales experience community and belonging at university?

Data relating to students studying in Wales at Cardiff and Bangor University will be presented across all four empirical chapters of the thesis (Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8). Meanwhile findings from students studying outside of Wales will be presented in Chapters 5 and 8 in particular, with some references to them in Chapter 6.

1.3 Thesis Structure

Following the *Introduction* will be Chapter 2. Chapter 2 functions as a contextual chapter to the thesis and presents a comprehensive account of the Welsh language across the higher education sector in Wales, providing important historical, policy and legal context to the Welsh language at this level. The first section of the chapter addresses the historical development of Welsh medium higher education and the numerous attempts to cement and establish Welsh as a language of instruction at this level over the course of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries via numerous policies and strategies. The chapter also presents some context to the wider education sector in Wales, drawing on key information on Welsh medium education at the statutory level (primary and secondary), thus presents a complete picture of Welsh medium education across the education sector in Wales. The chapter then proceeds to explore the legal context of the Welsh language at this level, drawing particular attention to the range of language or linguistic rights accorded to Welsh speaking students at university,

as specified under the *Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011* (HMSO 2014). The chapter concludes with an international context to minoritized languages in higher education, and the rise of English as a medium of instruction across the European HE sector.

While Chapter 2 offers important historical, policy and legal context to the Welsh language at the university level, Chapter 3 reviews current academic literature relating to the choices and experiences of Welsh speaking students at higher education. The chapter demonstrates that while the Welsh language and Welsh medium higher education have been the focus of numerous policy interventions and developments by the Welsh Government (as discussed in Chapter 2), this has not necessarily been matched with empirical research on the Welsh language, Welsh medium higher education and on Welsh speaking students at this level. The chapter thus demonstrates the dearth of empirical evidence that exists in this field. The chapter, however, aims to understand the existing research in this field, and examines research on secondary school pupils, prospective university students, and current university students to comprehend Welsh speakers' relationship with the Welsh language, particularly as it relates to their educational choices and experiences. The chapter also identifies some of the drawbacks and limitations in current academic research and thus provides a strong justification for the need to undertake this particular study to address this lacuna.

Chapter 4, *The Research Process* presents a detailed overview of the methodological framework underpinning the thesis. The chapter accounts for the use of a mixed-method approach to explore the relationship between the Welsh language and higher education participation and experience, combining secondary data analysis of official statistics, primary survey findings (n=943), and qualitative interviews (n=36) with undergraduate students. The latter forming the primary methodological orientation of the study. The chapter also provides a detailed discussion regarding the rationale of the research locations (universities) and participants, the data collection process including the recruitment of participants, the distribution of online surveys, the sampling technique employed, the practicalities of conducting face to face interviews, as well as data management and analysis. The chapter further presents a reflective account of the researcher's positionality and 'insider status' as a fellow Welsh speaker. Ethical considerations are also discussed.

Chapter 5, *The bilingual student goes to university: Welsh language and higher education choices*, is the first of four empirical chapters presented in this thesis. Drawing from findings from the qualitative interviews (n=36), the chapter employs a retrospective approach to explore the university choice-making processes of bilingual Welsh-English speaking students that have gone on to study at Bangor University, Cardiff University, and a variety of universities outside of Wales. Rather than merely presenting a generic account of students' HE choices, which has been done so many times within the academic literature, the chapter specifically examines how, and to what extent the Welsh language has informed and influenced students' university choices; and demonstrates how students negotiate the Welsh language in relation to those choices. While several studies have investigated the relationship between the Welsh language, particularly Welsh medium study, and post-compulsory educational choices of *prospective* HE students, this is the first piece of empirical research to

date to look at these choices retrospectively with, and from the accounts of students that have actualised their university choices. The data demonstrates how the Welsh language is intertwined within students' university choices for a variety of reasons, including students' learning or academic choices, as well as social and cultural choices. By exploring students' university choices, and specifically the role of the Welsh language within those choices, this chapter lays the foundation for the subsequent empirical chapters of the thesis as they shift to focus on the actual university experience and participation of these bilingual students.

Chapter 6, *Welsh Medium Higher Education: Student engagement and participation*, is the second empirical chapter, and the first of three to focus on the student university experience. This is a purely quantitative chapter and is the only quantitative chapter to the thesis. It is divided into two sections. The first section presents secondary data (re)analysis of official statistics primarily from the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA), obtained via the Welsh Government's statistical bulletins on 'Welsh language in higher education' between the academic years 2010/11 up to 2017/18. Data from the Pupil Level Annual School Census (PLASC) are also used. Through these data sets, the chapter focuses on three key areas. Firstly, it maps out the Wales domiciled undergraduate student population and HE destination. Secondly, it focuses on the Welsh speaking undergraduate student population across the HE sector in Wales. Thirdly, and primarily, it explores Welsh medium higher education engagement by mapping participation levels across Welsh HE institutions, by the number of credits undertaking through the medium of Welsh, and Welsh medium engagement across academic disciplines. While the analysis presented focuses on the Welsh HE sector as a whole, particular references are made to two (of three) of the research locations of the study, Cardiff and Bangor University. Additionally, comparisons are drawn between Cardiff and Bangor University throughout. Thereafter the latter section of the chapter presents findings from the online survey administered to undergraduate students. These results are only pertinent to students studying at Cardiff and Bangor University. The purposes of this survey, other than a tool for interview recruitment (Bryman 2006), had been to further explore students' form of engagement with Welsh medium higher education, essentially addressing the lack of intricacies surrounding Welsh medium study presented in the official data. Currently, it is the only data set that has sought to report students' *own* accounts of Welsh medium higher education study. The survey focuses on four key areas; Welsh medium engagement by subject and institution, the form or nature of Welsh medium higher education; students' preferred language of study; students' access to a Welsh speaking personal tutor.

Chapter 7, *The bilingual student at university: learning choices and experiences*, is the third and most substantial empirical chapter of the thesis. It explores the sociological aspects of students' learning experience at university. The chapter identifies and explores the various barriers and challenges that students frequently encounter in their attempts to engage with Welsh medium higher education, and to use Welsh as an academic language at this level. These challenges can be broadly categorised as *institutional* barriers and *pedagogical* barriers, and at times can problematise bilingual students' Welsh medium learning experiences and their willingness to use Welsh as an academic language. The chapter also examines how

bilingual students navigate and negotiate language choices for academic purposes. Students' accounts demonstrate how language choices are continuously negotiated and navigated for learning and academic purposes at university. The constant navigation of these learning barriers and challenges, as well as the continuous negotiation of language choices for academic purposes become typical aspects of the bilingual student learning experience throughout their time at university.

Chapter 8, *The bilingual student at university: students' social life and experiences*, marks the final of four empirical chapters presented in the thesis. This chapter also draws more from the accounts of students studying outside of Wales than the previous chapter did. This qualitative chapter moves away from the educational and the learning experiences of students as discussed in Chapters 5 and 6, and instead focuses on bilingual students' social life and experiences outside of the classroom' with a particular emphasis on examining how the Welsh language informs these choices. Doing so enables the thesis to take a broader view of the student experience. It also further illustrates that the Welsh language is not only limited to the learning domain of higher education or academic choices of students, but rather it also plays a crucial role in students' social lives at university. Additionally, the findings further articulate that as bilingual students, language considerations are continuously negotiated by students during their time at university, both for academic (Chapter 7), as well as for social purposes and experiences. The chapter demonstrates that how students negotiate and navigate the Welsh language in their social lives and experiences is greatly attributed to their socio-cultural backgrounds, as well as *intra-group* relations and dynamics with their Welsh speaking peers during their time at university.

Chapter 9, the *Discussion and Conclusion*, marks the final chapter of the thesis. It highlights and discusses the key contributions of the thesis and situates the findings within the academic literature. The chapter considers the implications of these findings and offers a number of policy and practical recommendations pertinent to bilingual undergraduate students, Welsh medium higher education and the Welsh language across the higher education sector in Wales. An account of some of the limitations of the study are also discussed, as well as suggestions and avenues for further research.

Chapter 2: The Historical Development of Welsh Medium Higher Education

2.1 Introduction

This present chapter is a contextual chapter and addresses the historical development of Welsh medium higher education. Thereafter, Chapter 3 focuses on empirical research relating to the Welsh language, Welsh speakers, and higher education.

This chapter presents a comprehensive account of the Welsh language across the higher education sector in Wales, providing a historical, policy and legal context to the Welsh language at this level. It offers a historical and chronological overview of the development of Welsh medium higher education. It highlights key policies, strategies and major milestones that have occurred over the course of the twentieth, and twenty-first century which have had a long-lasting and significant impact on the drive toward establishing the Welsh language as a medium of instruction at this level. It also presents a wider context to Welsh medium primary and secondary education, providing a complete picture of Welsh medium education across the sectors in Wales. Thereafter, a discussion surrounding Welsh speaking students' language rights at university is presented. It provides a legal context and framework to understanding the range of language rights that is accorded to Welsh speakers (at HE) under the Welsh Language (Wales) Measure of 2011 (HMSO 2014) across the higher education sector in Wales. Also explored in this section is the Welsh language services students are entitled to receive at university and the responsibility placed on universities, as public institutions, to adhere to current Welsh Language Standards to provide these services to students. Finally, the chapter concludes with an international context to minoritized languages in higher education and the rise of English as a medium of instruction across the HE sector.

2.2 The Welsh language across the higher education sector in Wales

2.2.1 The historical development of Welsh medium higher education

The early years: twentieth century

There is no definitive record of the when exactly teaching through the medium of Welsh officially commenced across the HE sector in Wales. Although, Welsh was taught as a subject at Cardiff University as early as the 1920's (Davies 2014). Nevertheless, it had not been until the 1950's that significant efforts were made to establish and fight for the Welsh language as a medium of instruction for higher education. Most notably in 1951 Dr. Gwynfor Evans, a politician, lawyer, and language rights activist submitted a recommendation report to the court

of the University of Wales to consider establishing a Welsh medium college within the University of Wales. This was met with cynicism and was eventually opposed by UoW councillors who perceived it to be impractical. It was not until around 1958, though this date remains ambiguous⁹, that an official appointment for DTG - *Dysgu trwy'r Gymraeg* or Learning through Welsh was made by the University of Wales. This policy was largely concerned with the development of Welsh medium provision and opportunities at Bangor and Aberystwyth University of Wales (Jones 1998a; 1998b). During the same period, Trinity College, Carmarthen, founded in 1848, and Coleg Normal, Bangor, founded in 1858, had been operating as teacher-training colleges, and by the 1950s both institutions offered Welsh medium provision on their initial teacher training courses. Here students could study their courses entirely through the medium of Welsh. By 1965 a third of students at both colleges were studying their teacher-trainer courses through the medium of Welsh (see Jones and Roderick 2003 for more). The DTG policy at Aberystwyth and Bangor led to the appointment of around two dozen lecturers by the 1980s (Davies 2007) with responsibility for teaching undergraduate courses through the medium of Welsh. These were predominantly appointed within the Arts department, such as Education, Social Sciences and Divinity/Religious Studies (Khleif 1976) but signified an important shift in that students could study courses other than Welsh as a subject through the medium of Welsh (Davies 2007; Davies 2014). This was driven principally by the University of Wales Board for Welsh Medium Teaching (*Bwrdd Dysgu trwy'r Gymraeg*) that was set up in 1980 to co-ordinate teaching through the medium of Welsh (Baker and Jones 2000), primarily at Bangor, Aberystwyth and Trinity College, Carmarthen. The Board replaced the previous Standing Committee on teaching through the medium of Welsh that was set up by the UoW Council in 1969. Yet the appointment of staff to teach through the medium of Welsh over the next two decades were done so rather hesitantly and slowly. There was no systematic policy or strategy by the UoW that outlined its commitment to the development of Welsh medium higher education or its vision of what this entailed. Generally, there was an apathetic sense by the UoW towards developing Welsh medium opportunities for students.

By the 1990's a Welsh Medium Development Fund was set up by HEFCW (Higher Education Funding Council for Wales) to provide premiums for universities with enrolments of students on Welsh medium modules. However very little progress was made in terms of uptake and Welsh medium opportunities, and enrolments had remained somewhat static during this period. Initial teacher training courses accounted for a large proportion of these premium allocations (NAW 2001; NAW 2003a; Jones 2004) and represented over half of all Welsh medium enrolments throughout the academic years 1996/97 up to 2000/01 (HEFCW 2002). A review of this fund in 1999 concluded there was an absence of any strategic approach

⁹ For example, Jones and Desforges (2003) claim that the promotion of the use of the Welsh language across the HE sector began in 1968. Meanwhile Jones (1998a) argue that the first appointment through the DTG policy was in 1958, while Jones and Fowler (2007; 422) claim that this was in 1955. Despite these discrepancies, the 1950s and 1960s was a time whereby many language enthusiasts sought to put significant pressure on the UoW to establish Welsh medium higher education and ensure the teaching of university courses through the medium of Welsh (Baker and Jones 2000).

on the part of institutions in the development of Welsh medium provision and called for more effective collaborations amongst universities to develop provision further (HEFCW 2000). Throughout the 1990's around a thousand [Full-Time Equivalent] students (HEFCW 2000; HEFCW 2004 in Jones 2004; 8) were studying some elements of their courses through the medium of Welsh. However, Welsh medium provision was overwhelmingly concentrated across Aberystwyth, Trinity College, Carmarthen, and Bangor, with the latter having significantly more students studying through the medium of Welsh than any other institution (HEFCW 2002; Roberts 2009). In fact, Bangor University accounted for around half of the whole Welsh medium enrolments in Wales during this period (HEFCW2002; HEFCW 2004 in Jones 2004; 8). There had been no significant improvement in expanding Welsh medium provision beyond Arts based subjects and beyond these institutions during this period, and Welsh medium higher education remained stagnant and somewhat underdeveloped even as recently as the 1990s.

In a paper presented at the *Bwrdd Dysgu trwy'r Gymraeg y Brifysgol* committee meeting in 1998, Jones (1998b) argued that the current approach to Welsh medium higher education was a complete failure and criticised the progress thus far of the UoW to truly commit to the development of Welsh medium higher education. Jones (1998a) further criticised the slow progress that had been made to expand on these opportunities even at Aberystwyth and Bangor. Jones (1998b) even attributed the establishment and availability of current provision of Welsh medium higher education at the time in large parts to the enthusiasm and goodwill of senior academic staff and heads of departments rather than a clear national or central policy by the UoW. The approach at the time of designating Welsh medium provision to the confines of Bangor and Aberystwyth University alone made it difficult to expand on this across the rest of the HE sector. Traditionally there had been a tendency to view Welsh medium higher education as a merely an 'add on' feature of universities rather than forming an integral part of the UoW's mission and agenda for the wider Welsh HE sector (Williams 2014). There was a clear lack of direction, and Jones (1998b) urged the Board to promote and support the creation of a federal Coleg Cymraeg. Jones (1998b) proposed three different ways of establishing a Coleg Cymraeg. Firstly, in the form of a separate HE institution which would be designated solely for the purpose of providing Welsh medium higher education. Secondly, one of the universities would be assigned for the purpose of providing Welsh medium higher education. The third option would be for a federal college to be established from within the University of Wales. He insisted that:

"A Coleg Cymraeg must be established. This should be multi-branched federal institution that overlaps with two, three or more of the geographical colleges within the University." [original translation]

(Jones 1998a; 72)

Jones (1998b) put forth a proposal for the Board of *Dysgu trwy'r Gymraeg* in 1998 to consider this third option, arguing that this would provide students with greater *choice* to

access Welsh medium higher education rather than limiting the provision to particular institutions.

Throughout the twentieth century, the Welsh language remained on the periphery as a language of instruction at the University of Wales (Evans 2000a) and no significant progress had truly been made to firmly establish Welsh medium higher education. The history of its development over the course of the twentieth century was therefore one of struggle and culminated in very little progress. It stood in clear contrast to the huge success of Welsh medium education within the primary sector (see for example, Jones and Martin-Jones 2003; I. Williams 2003) and attempts to match this success at the HE sector had simply been met with failure in comparison. (See Section 2.4 for a brief overview of the wider educational context in terms of Welsh medium education at the primary and secondary level).

Devolution, policy, and Welsh medium higher education

Decades of effort to secure and establish Welsh medium higher education throughout the latter parts of twentieth century culminated in very little progress and success, and no significant improvements were seen in provision and uptake across the Welsh HE. The turn of the millennium would provide an important opportunity to finally address this shortcoming and build a much-needed bilingual infrastructure across the HE sector. The 1998 Government of Wales Act led to the creation of the National Assembly for Wales in 1999 and saw the transfer of legislative powers in several key areas, including education and the Welsh language, from the UK Government to the Welsh Assembly.

Since devolution, the Welsh Government's commitment to the Welsh language has been evident in its various Welsh language policies and national strategies with sustained efforts to revitalising the language and on creating a truly bilingual Wales. In the early years of devolution, for example, this was outlined in the Welsh Government's policy statement *Dyfodol Dywieithog: Bilingual Future* (NAW 2002a) as well as *Iaith Pawb* (NAW 2003b), their Welsh language action plan for creating a bilingual Wales:

"We want Wales to be a truly bilingual nation, by which we mean a country where people can choose to live their lives through the medium of either Welsh or English and where the presence of the two languages is a visible and audible source of pride and strength to us all."

(NAW 2003b; 11)

Devolution also saw a commitment by the Welsh Government toward developing Welsh medium higher education. In their first strategy for higher education, *Reaching Higher* (NAW 2002b), the Welsh Government outlined its vision for the Welsh language in higher education:

"We want an HE sector which is responsive to individuals, including those who wish to pursue elements of their degrees through the medium of Welsh. Over time it should be viewed as part of the mainstream provision covering a selection of courses and modules."

(NAW 2002b; 15)

The strategy signified that Welsh medium higher education was to become a key policy area for development. It demonstrated a clear commitment by the Welsh Government of building a bilingual HE infrastructure and to normalise Welsh medium higher education. Additionally, as part of its commitment, the Welsh Government put forth an ambitious plan of increasing the proportion of students studying elements of their degree course through the medium of Welsh from 3.4% in 2000/01 up to 7% by 2010/11 (NAW 2002b).

It must be noted that this target set by the Welsh Government refers to the whole HE student population as opposed to only Wales domiciled university students. The number of Welsh medium enrolments amongst Wales domiciled students represented 5.3% during 2000/01 (NAW 2006). By 2005/06 this figure had dropped slightly to 5%¹⁰, however, the actual *number* of these students with Welsh medium teaching increased during this period from 3,370 to 3,615 by 2005/06¹¹ (NAW 2006; WAG 2007a). Yet, Bangor, Aberystwyth and Trinity College, Carmarthen continued to dominate Welsh medium enrolments during these years, and teaching through the medium of Welsh remained largely within the parameters of arts-based subjects and education, particularly initial teacher training courses (NAW 2006; WG 2007a).

In 2004, HEFCW, the funding body for the higher education sector in Wales, set up a Steering Group (*Steering Group for Welsh Medium Provision in Higher Education*) to establish a national strategy and framework for Welsh medium provision in higher education (HEFCW 2004) and to ensure that the Welsh Government's target as set out in *Reaching Higher* (NAW 2002b) would be achieved. That is, that 7% of students across universities in Wales by 2010/11 would be studying some elements of their degree course through the medium of Welsh. Moreover, the Steering Group called for an options appraisal to be conducted to explore and assess possible means for delivering Welsh medium provision. The Options Appraisal was undertaken by Arad Consulting in 2005 (Arad Consulting 2006) in collaboration with a variety of key stakeholders across the Welsh HE sector and explored four potential models for the delivery of Welsh medium higher education. Model 1, *Status Quo*, would be based on current structures of provision with no structural changes necessary in the delivery of Welsh medium provision. Funding would continue to be allocated based upon enrolments. Model 2, *Population Matching*, would see the distribution of funding based on the location of Welsh speaking students across universities in Wales, patterns in prospective students and current

¹⁰This represents 3% the whole HE student population for 2005/06.

¹¹These numbers for the whole HE student population was 3,680 (3.4%) in 2000/01 and 3,910 (3%) in 2005/06.

levels of enrolments. This approach would see the development of Welsh medium provision at institutions with significant number of Welsh speakers but where Welsh medium provision was minimal. Model 3, *Network Model*, this approach would be based on the collaboration and co-ordination of institutions in the development and delivery of Welsh medium teaching, overseen by a network such as the Welsh Medium Teaching Development Centre, which would have an enhanced role in the planning of provision. Lastly, Model 4 would see the creation of either a New Welsh Medium HEI or Federal College, either physically or virtually. The Coleg, as an institution would be responsible for the delivery of Welsh medium teaching.

Ultimately, the appraisal concluded that the development of Welsh medium provision needed to be better planned across the HE sector and called for a national strategic framework for developing Welsh medium provision. It recommended Model 3, based closely on the *Network Model*, as the preferred model and as a way forward to achieve this. Moreover, and interestingly, the idea of establishing a New Welsh Medium HEI or a Federal College for the delivery and planning of Welsh medium teaching was categorically rejected in the appraisal. This model received little institutional support at the time of the appraisal, as the report stated:

"[t]he overwhelming balance of opinion from senior representatives within institutions indicated that the sector is not prepared to support the establishment of a Federal College at this moment in time."

(Arad Consulting 2006; vii)

The report further commented on the possible consequences of proceeding with this as the strategy and basis for the development and direction of Welsh medium higher education:

"Given this unequivocal rejection of this model by HEI's, we are of the view that an intervention of this scale and of this nature would be difficult to implement against the wishes of the sector. It could serve to destabilise existing provision and undermine levels of interaction in relation to Welsh medium provision, rather than strengthen them."

(Arad Consulting 2006; viii)

Nevertheless, the following year saw the Welsh Government, under the Labour-Plaid Cymru coalition 2007-2011, explicitly commit to the establishment a federal college for the delivery and co-ordination of Welsh medium higher education in Wales. In their manifesto *One Wales, A progressive agenda for the government of Wales*, the government declared that:

"We will establish a Welsh-medium Higher Education Network - the Federal College - in order to ensure Welsh-medium provision in our universities."

(WG 2007b; 22)

This was the first time that the Welsh Government had committed to the model of a federal college for the delivery and co-ordination of Welsh medium higher education. 2007 also saw the development of the Centre for Welsh Medium Higher Education, the eventual predecessor to the Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol. It was tasked with delivering and implementing the framework for Welsh medium provision as set out by HEFCW. As part of this process, the Centre set up subject panels to initiate development of provision, agree on policies for specific subject areas, and develop provision through collaboration of institutions and staff (Parry 2012).

The following year would see the Welsh Government's Minister for Education set up a Planning Board for Y Coleg Ffederal in 2008 to turn this vision into a reality. Chaired by Professor Robin Williams, the Board was tasked with overseeing the implementation process of the federal college and assessed a number of potential models for its establishment (see Williams 2009, p.3-5). The Board recommended Y Coleg be a new and independent entity with its own constitution, working with and across institutions and would have presence in the form of 'branches' across all the universities in Wales (Parry 2012; Williams 2009). Discussing the concept of the federal college, Williams (2009) stated:

"It is not to be a single geographical entity and will not be a degree awarding body in its own right, but will work with and through the existing higher education institutions in Wales (the Federal Concept). Its Mission will be to maintain, develop and oversee Welsh medium provision in higher education in Wales...[i]ts establishment will mean that a single body will have responsibility for maintaining, developing, and overseeing Welsh medium provision in HE in Wales...[a]s a centrally governed organisation, having an overview of all Welsh medium provision, it will provide unity of purpose, coherence, and leadership via a national strategy...[a]s a federal organisation with branches in the HEIs, it will ensure choice for prospective students...[i]t will create conditions for promoting and expanding Welsh medium scholarships in a wide range of disciplines."

(Williams 2009; 6-7)

Furthermore, the report also outlined the cultural, social, and economic significance of establishing Y Coleg Ffederal, including the long-term benefits it would have on several policy areas of the Welsh Government (at the time); the Welsh language, Welsh medium education, as well as on creating a bilingual workforce. For example, Roberts wrote that Y Coleg Ffederal:

"...will complete the institutional system of Welsh medium education from nursery education to higher education. It should therefore be a stimulus for increasing Welsh medium provision in secondary schools, tertiary colleges and further education colleges, and lifelong learning, as well as increasing the number of pupils/students undertaking that provision...[i]t will be a key element in the Welsh Assembly Government national language strategy...[i]t will contribute to the development of a

professional well-trained, highly-skilled and educated bilingual workforce to the meet needs of the Welsh economy”

(Roberts 2009; 7)

Ultimately, the report provided a strong vision and a strategic framework for the development of the Coleg, and the report would eventually become the basis for the creation of Y Coleg Ffederal in Wales. The report was welcomed by the Welsh Government, and they announced their commitment to implementing the Board’s recommendations in their subsequent higher education strategy in 2009, *For Our Future* (WG 2009). The strategy stated:

“The Coleg Ffederal model will provide an independent oversight, management, and development of Welsh medium higher education across Wales delivering the recommendations of Professor Robin Williams’ report. This will help deliver social justice for those who seek to learn through the medium of Welsh, but also carries potential economic benefit through wider access to workforce development, and business opportunities which exploit the potential offered by a bilingual environment.”

(WG 2009; 14)

By April 2010 the Welsh Government published their *Welsh-Medium Education Strategy* (WG 2010), and further reiterated their commitment to the development of Welsh medium higher education. While recognising the lack of effective progression routes for Welsh medium study in the post-16 phase, one of the key strategic aims set out in the strategy had been to improve the planning of Welsh medium provision in this area. Establishing effective progression pathways post-16 to higher education through the medium of Welsh was seen as central to the government's strategic objectives:

"To encourage partnership working between the higher education sector and the post-16 sector on effective progression pathways for learners from post-16 provision into Welsh medium higher education."

"To improve the planning of pathways for Welsh-medium progression into and within higher education."

(WG 2010; 15)

By the academic year 2009/10 the proportion of the Wales domiciled student population receiving some teaching through the medium of Welsh stood at 7.2%, representing a total of 4,425 students. This was an increase from 5.7% and 3,670 students in 2006/07. While the following year would see a slight drop in this proportion to 6.9%, there was an increase in the actual number of students studying some elements of their degree courses in Welsh to

4,710 as of 2010/11¹² (WG 2012a¹³). Arguably therefore the Welsh Government's target set out in their *Reaching Higher* strategy (NAW 2002b) of 7% of students studying elements of their degree course through the medium of Welsh was (closely) achieved if focusing solely on Wales domiciled students. Most of these students were pursuing undergraduate/first degree courses and were studying full-time. Around 70% of those studying elements of their courses through the medium of Welsh were concentrated at Bangor University and Trinity Saint David (WG 2012a). While education remained the discipline with most Welsh medium enrolment during 2010/11, there were also substantial numbers of students (Full Time Equivalent) pursuing Creative Arts and Design, particularly Drama, subjects allied to medicine as well as social studies through the medium of Welsh. From 2006/07 to 2010/11 there had also been an increase in the number of academic staff teaching through the medium of Welsh (WG 2012a). For example, there were a total of 425 academic staff teaching through Welsh during the academic year 2006/07. By 2010/11 this had increased to 465 staff, a 22 per cent increase since 2006/7 (WG 2012a). This was partly due to investment in schemes such as the Postgraduate Scholarship and Welsh-Medium Teaching Fellowship that aimed to increase the number of staff teaching through the medium of Welsh (Williams 2014).

The Welsh-Medium Education Strategy (WG 2010) acknowledged some of the recent developments in Welsh medium higher education, but also recognised some of these imbalances in opportunities and provision. For example, the strategy noted that:

"[W]hile there have been some significant developments in recent years, there is considerable variation in Welsh-medium provision offered both between institutions and across subjects. In some cases, there is opportunity to undertake all or substantial parts of a course through the medium of Welsh, and in others it may be limited to part of a module, such as seminars or tutorial support."

(WG 2010; 6)

Y Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol 2011 – present

The establishment of Y Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol in September of 2011 marked a significant milestone in the history and development of Welsh medium higher education in Wales. Essentially it has been the accumulation of various efforts over the course of the twentieth and the beginning of the twenty-first century to commit to Welsh medium higher education. Outlining its mission upon its official inception, the Coleg stated on its website that:

¹² For the whole HE student population this represented 3,8% or 4,925 students with some teaching through the medium of Welsh for 2010/11 (WG 2012a).

¹³ It should also be noted that some figures on Welsh medium higher education enrolments during the 2000s may be somewhat fragmented due to the amalgamation of several higher education institutions during this period. This has, at times, affected reporting and some discrepancies may arise (See for example WG 2012a; 19-20).

“The Coleg’s main aim is to increase, develop and broaden the range of Welsh medium study opportunities at universities in Wales. In addition to funding high quality modules and resources for the Welsh medium sector, the Coleg will further build upon the previous work accomplished by the Centre for Welsh Medium Higher Education and will aim to develop effective collaborative partnerships, extend the range of academic provision, and train a new generation of lecturers for the future in partnership with universities.”

(CCC 2011)

Since 2011 the Coleg has reiterated its commitment throughout its various academic and strategic plans. It firmly stipulates that:

“The Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol’s core mission is the simple yet powerful principle that all students are entitled to Welsh medium higher education of the highest quality.”

(CCC 2014; 6)

Currently, Welsh medium higher education opportunities exist across the whole of the Welsh HE sector. Today it is not confined to particular institutions or certain academic disciplines like it traditionally has been, though there are large variations in terms of opportunities across institutions. This is a testament to the work of Y Coleg and the commitment of the Welsh Government to seeing the Welsh language flourish as an academic language, and to ensure that students can study through the medium of Welsh at university. Moreover, in its annual report for 2015/16, Y Coleg expressed its optimism towards cementing Welsh as a language of instruction at this level:

“After five years of findings its place in the post-16 education system in Wales, the Coleg Cymraeg can now look forward with confidence to continuing the important work of establishing the Welsh language as a natural medium in universities.”

(CCC 2016; 3)

Furthermore, a review¹⁴ of the Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol in 2017 also concluded that its work had been instrumental in the development of Welsh medium provision across the sector (WG 2017c). A prior evaluation of the early progress of Y Coleg in 2014 (OldBell3 2014) had also commended its success in implementing its mission across the HE sector.

The commitment to the sustainability and development of Welsh medium higher education has remained firmly within the agenda for the Welsh Government and its vision for the HE sector in Wales. For example, the funding body for the HE sector, HEFCW reiterated this promise in their *Corporate Strategy 2013/14-2015/16*. While discussing their aim of securing

¹⁴ The review also recommended that the Coleg’s remit be extended to the Further Education sector. Y Coleg is now the principal body responsible for Welsh medium provision across the post-16 sector.

excellent student experience, one of the ways in which this was to be realised was to increase the number of students studying through the medium of Welsh at this level:

"We will continue to support Y Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol to extend the range of Welsh medium provision and increase student participation in Welsh medium higher education."

(HEFCW 2014; 15)

Likewise, HEFCW also announced in their *Draft: Welsh Government Higher Education Strategy to 2027* that increasing Welsh medium opportunities was a key strategic objective for the foreseeable future for the HE sector:

"An increase in the range of subjects which can be studied substantially through the medium of Welsh in HE, and in the number of Welsh medium students."

(HEFCW 2016; 17)

It is worth bearing in mind that availability in Welsh medium provision does not necessarily equate to uptake. Discussing the importance of stimulating demand for Welsh medium provision, the *Steering Group for Welsh Medium Provision in Higher Education* (HEFCW 2004), acknowledged the difficulty in achieving a balance between the supply of Welsh medium provision and demand for it. In their report, they noted that:

"Achieving a balance between supply and demand, including latent demand, can be difficult. Students, and prospective students, may become disillusioned at an early stage because of a lack of Welsh medium higher education provision in their chosen subject area. On the other hand, new provision can fail because of insufficient take-up. To break this vicious circle requires concerted action on both fronts. In terms of stimulating demand, this includes promoting opportunities and the benefits of Welsh medium-provision to existing students and to prospective students who are making their decisions about higher education. It also means influencing students at an earlier stage, particularly in schools, so that, in a context of investment in increasing the supply of provision, they can be motivated to continue with Welsh medium education through to higher education".

(HEFCW 2004; 7)

There are many variables to account for in Welsh speaking students' university choice-making process, and that this is not solely reduced to Welsh medium provision. For example, many students will opt to study outside of Wales. Chapter 5, the first empirical chapter of the thesis demonstrates this. Meanwhile Table 6.2, Chapter 6, provides statistics on the number of cross border flow of Wales domiciled students. By 2017/18, around 4 in 10 Wales domiciled full time-undergraduate students were studying outside of Wales. Furthermore, a review

conducted into the activities of Y Coleg Cymraeg in 2017 (WG 2017c) identified some of the difficulties they faced in engaging with secondary schools in their mission to promote Welsh medium higher education to prospective students. For example, the review found that there was some misunderstanding amongst pupils, and even students themselves, about the role and function of Y Coleg. Many students felt Y Coleg was a separate institution. There were also questions around how effective the Coleg's message and marketing was to the needs of prospective students, specifically to students seeking information about the location of subjects that offered Welsh medium provision as the Coleg is careful to avoid promoting one institution over another. The review also noted the potential for duplication of information from Y Coleg and that of individual higher education intuitions when it comes to the promoting of courses. Arguably there may very well be some conflicting information about Welsh medium provision that is promoted by individual institutions and Y Coleg. Despite the growth in Welsh medium higher education provision and engagement, particularly since the inception of Y Coleg Cymraeg as will be demonstrated shortly, it is important to acknowledge the complex interplay between provision and uptake. While encouraging students to study through the medium of Welsh will always be a key mission for Y Coleg, it must contend with other factors which is likely to affect the number of students choosing to study through the medium of Welsh (WG 2017c). (This will be demonstrated in Chapter 5, for example).

Welsh medium engagement¹⁵ post-2011

During the first academic year that Y Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol became operational, 2011/12, the proportion of Wales domiciled students studying elements of their degree course through the medium of Welsh represented 7.3%, or around 4,335 students (WG 2013a). By 2020/21 this figure had increased to 6,570, or 8% (WG 2022b).

The overwhelming majority of Welsh medium enrolments refer to students that study at least 5 credits through the medium of Welsh. While significantly fewer number of students study 120, 80 and 40 credits through the medium of Welsh, there have been a gradual increase in these figures since 2011/12. (WG 2022b). This is indicative of the work of Y Coleg in collaboration with institutions in expanding the intensity of Welsh medium provision across the HE sector in Wales. For example, a review into the activities of Y Coleg Cymraeg in 2017 commented that:

¹⁵ It should be noted that while Chapter 6 presents statistical analysis on Welsh medium higher education engagement and participation for the academic years 2010/11 up to 2017/18, it does so by focusing specifically on *first-degree (undergraduate) Wales domiciled students*. The statistics presented in this chapter so far, and the following section refers to the whole Wales domiciled student population and makes no distinction between the types of degrees students study (first degree, postgraduate or other undergraduate), unless otherwise stated. This is to account for the general/'whole picture' of Welsh medium higher education across Welsh universities. Therefore, there is no repeat of statistics in Chapter 6.

“The relationship between the Coleg and higher education institutions is a successful and effective one. Since its inception the Coleg has developed a way of working with various institutions which is constructive and responds well to different needs and prioritise...all of the higher education institutions attributed the increase in Welsh-medium provision within their own organisation to the work of the Coleg, stating categorically that this increase would not have happened were it not for this work. This is a testament to the constructive relationship that has been created between the Coleg and the institutions”

(WG 2017c; 23)

For the academic year 2020/21, Welsh medium enrolments remained overwhelmingly concentrated across Trinity Saint David and Bangor University; a pattern that has remained consistent over decades. However, since 2011/12 there have been increases in these numbers across Swansea University, Cardiff University and Cardiff Metropolitan. Meanwhile Aberystwyth and University of South Wales have seen slight dips in their rates of Welsh medium enrolment from the period 2011/12 up to 2020/21 (WG 2022b).

There have also been substantial increases in Welsh medium enrolments across certain academic disciplines since 2011/12. The top disciplines with the largest number of Welsh medium enrolments, Full-Person Equivalent, during 2020/21 were Education and teaching; Design, and Creative and Performing Arts; Social Sciences; Subjects allied to medicine, Biological and Sport Sciences, and Business and Management (WG 2022b). Moreover, some of these increases have been impressive. For example, the number of students with some teaching through Welsh across Subjects allied to Medicine increased from 180 Full-Person Equivalent in 2011/12 (WG 2013a) to 720 by 2020/21, while the number for Social Sciences rose to 1,070 by 2020/21 (WG 2022b) up from 70 in 2011/12 (WG 2013a).

There was a total of 575 academic staff teaching through the medium of Welsh across universities in Wales during the academic year 2020/21 (WG 2022b). The Coleg established its Academic Staffing Scheme that would provide higher education institutions funding to employ academic staff to teach through the medium of Welsh. This system of appointing lectures came to end in 2016/17 as the Coleg gradually moved to a new funding system that would be based on subject grants. Under this system, which came into force during 2018/19, the Coleg allocates funding to universities that provides Welsh medium provision on their courses. The Coleg states on their website that:

“These institutions must offer two things in order to be eligible for the grant: 40 credits or more through the medium of Welsh in every year of study (which is 33% of the degree course), or 80 credits or more in every year of study (which is 67% of the degree course). To provide 40 credits, it is expected that every department has at least 2 full-time equivalent members of staff who contribute to the learning, and at least 4 staff members to provide 80 credits”.

Alongside increasing Welsh medium provision and opportunities, the Coleg has introduced several important developments to strengthen the Welsh language (opportunities) at the university level. For example, these include:

- The Welsh Language Skills Certificate: an accredited qualification that demonstrates students' Welsh language skills and their ability to work through the medium of Welsh.
- The Coleg holds development workshops and training programmes for staff and students through the medium of Welsh.
- It funds several projects through the Strategic Development Fund and the Small Grant Fund, and universities are awarded grants for projects that support and promote Welsh medium higher education.
- The Coleg offers financial incentives in the form of scholarships at the undergraduate and postgraduate level for students pursuing elements of their course through the medium of Welsh.
- PhD and Research scholarships.
- The Academic Staffing Scheme appoints and sponsors lecturers to teach through the medium of Welsh.
- There are Coleg Cymraeg branches across all Welsh universities, and they play a key role in supporting the work and objectives of the Coleg.
- Y Porth is the Coleg's e-learning platform and library. It has a vast amount of bilingual and Welsh medium resources for students across a range of disciplines.
- Gwerddon is a Welsh medium e-journal (though this was established in 2007).
- There is also a Course Finder¹⁶ available to search for Welsh medium opportunities.
- Student Ambassadors
- Secondary school visits

The Welsh Government regards the post-compulsory education sector, that is, the development of Welsh medium higher education and the increase in the number of students studying through the medium of Welsh at this level as playing a key role in the overall aim of reaching a million Welsh speakers by 2050. In their *Cymraeg 2050* strategy (WG 2017d), they set out their aim of developing post-compulsory education provision which increase rates of progression and supports everyone, whatever their command of the language, to develop their Welsh language skills. This ensures that young people are given the opportunity to continue to develop their linguistic skills through their education journey (WG 2017d; 40). However, the Welsh Government also recognises the need to create favourable conditions including ensuring that the appropriate infrastructure are put in place to achieve this and to build on this success. They state that:

¹⁶ <https://www.colegcymraeg.ac.uk/cy/astudio/trwyrwymraeg/chwilioamgwrs>

“Specific interventions are in operation in the higher education sector, with a clear focus on the need to develop Welsh-medium provision. There has been an increase in recent years in the number of students studying credits through the medium of Welsh but there is potential for further progress.

A change of gear is needed for the post-compulsory sector within further and higher education and work-based learning to expand the Welsh-medium and bilingual offer. This will require recruiting more learners to continue some or all of their studies through the medium of Welsh, ensuring that there is workforce equipped with the necessary skills to teach through the medium of Welsh or bilingually...”

(WG 2017d; 40)

The Welsh Government have set out a number of areas of action for 2021 to 2026 in their Cymraeg 2050: work programme document (WG 2021b). Some of these include expanding the role of the Coleg Cymraeg and providing additional funding to the Coleg to develop Welsh-medium provision (see WG;2021b for more).

2.2.2 Welsh medium halls of residence

Another notable aspect of the Welsh language across the HE sector in Wales is Welsh medium halls of residence. These are designated accommodation for Welsh speaking students. Two notable and probably the most famous Welsh halls of residence are Pantycelyn at Aberystwyth University (AU 2019a) and Neuadd John Morris Jones at Bangor University (BU 2019a). These have catered for Welsh speaking students for over fifty years.

The 1960s and early 1970s¹⁷ saw many campaign attempts to establish designated Welsh medium halls of residence particularly at Aberystwyth and Bangor. At Aberystwyth, it was believed that the distribution of Welsh speaking students throughout campus would have a detrimental effect on the Welsh language within the university. Protests and campaigning from 1966 to 1973 finally led to Neuadd Pantycelyn being established as a designated Welsh medium halls of residence for its Welsh speaking student population in 1973/74 (See Jones and Fowler 2007 and R.Jones 2008 for a further account of the history of Neuadd Pantycelyn). Bangor would soon follow with its designated Welsh medium halls of residence, named Neuadd John Morris Jones opening in 1974/1975 (Davies 2007; Davies 2014; Roberts 2009). It is worth clarifying that Pantycelyn and Neuadd JMJ are both entire buildings that are assigned specifically for Welsh speakers. At other universities in Wales however, Welsh medium accommodation varies considerably. For example, for students at Cardiff University,

¹⁷ The 1960s and 1970s was also a time where numerous Welsh language campaigns and protests took place, led primarily by Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg (*Welsh Language Society*) (See for example Jones and Lewis 2019; Merriman and Jones 2009; Williams 1976).

some flats at Senghennydd Court and Talybont North (CU 2020a) are reserved for Welsh speakers. Similarly, Swansea University has Aelwyd Penmaen on Singleton Campus and Aelwyd Emlyn on Bay Campus (SU 2019) for its Welsh speaking students. Conversely, Wrexham University only vaguely refers to accommodation set aside for Welsh speakers (WU 2019), while Cardiff Metropolitan University may only allocate Welsh medium accommodation for student if there is a demand for it (CMU 2019). Meanwhile no information about Welsh medium halls of residence by the University of South Wales is available on their website.

2.2.3 Undeb Myfyrwyr Cymraeg

Another important linguistic feature of universities in Wales are *Undeb Myfyrwyr Cymraeg* (Welsh Language Students' Union). Currently, only three HE institutions in Wales have a designated Undeb Myfyrwyr Cymraeg. These are Undeb Myfyrwyr Cymraeg Aberystwyth (UMCA) (AU 2019b) established in 1974, and Undeb Myfyrwyr Cymraeg Bangor (UMCB) (BU 2019b), established in 1976. Both unions were established as a result of the Welsh language protests of the 1960s and 1970s amid concerns that universities were not doing enough to support the Welsh language. Thirdly there is the Undeb Myfyrwyr Cymraeg Caerdydd (UMCC) (CU 2020b). Cardiff University's Welsh Language Students' Union only recently appointed its first full-time Welsh Language Officer/ representative in 2018. Prior to this the role was done on a voluntary basis. Essentially these Welsh Language Unions, established within the wider University Students' Union, are the body responsible for representing the Welsh speaking student population, ensuring that they are given a voice. They sit on strategic boards at universities. They ensure that Welsh speakers and the Welsh language alike are fairly represented both across the students' union as well as through the university, and they have a direct say in the issues that affect them. They deal with issues encompassing academic, social, linguistic, and political matters and concerns, as well as welfare related issues. These unions also play a role in ensuring that students' linguistic rights are exercised and realised without issues.

However, it should be noted that not all universities in Wales have a designated Welsh language students' union. What are the consequences of this on students' Welsh language experiences at university remains unknown and is not the concern of this particular study. However, it does raise the question as to whether a designated students' union that is foremost concerned with the Welsh language is needed to both advance and enhance both the interest and the Welsh language university experience of Welsh speakers. Nevertheless, each university does have some form of Welsh language society, and these play a key role in providing Welsh speaking students with a wide range of social activities, events, and opportunities through the medium of Welsh at university. These societies vary considerably, and they represent important social and cultural hubs or spaces for the Welsh speaking student population to be able to socialise through the medium of Welsh.

Having provided important historical and policy context to the development of Welsh medium higher education, the next section briefly presents a wider educational context to the chapter, focusing on Welsh medium education at the statutory level.

2.3 Wider educational context: Welsh medium primary and secondary education

The previous section focused on the historical development of Welsh medium higher education. Now, this section proceeds to present some further context to the wider education sector in Wales, focusing specifically on the Welsh language across the primary and secondary sectors. It serves to present a complete picture of the Welsh medium/bilingual education sector here in Wales.

History of Welsh medium education: primary and secondary sector

It is not the intention here to explore the history and development of Welsh medium education in full detail; it is simply beyond the scope of the thesis to do so. Instead, the section presents some important context regarding Welsh medium education in Wales. (Jones and Martin-Jones (2003) and I. Williams (2003) offer a comprehensive overview of the role of the Welsh language in history and development of Welsh medium education. See also Baker and Jones 2000; Evans 1989; Jones and Roderick 2003; and Thomas and Williams 2013).

A pivotal moment in the history of the Welsh language in the education sector in Wales was the publication of the 1847 report known as *Brad y Llyfrau Gleision* (The Treason/Treachery of the Blue Books), which looked into the state and quality of the education system in Wales. It would have damaging long-term effects on the Welsh language in schools. The report, written by three Englishmen, described the Welsh as “ill-educated, poor, dirty, unchaste, and potentially rebellious” (Evans 1989; 126) and blamed the poor state of education in Wales largely on the Welsh language and Nonconformity. A means to ‘rectify’ this would be to remove the Welsh language from schooling in Wales. The report eventually led to the passing of the 1870 Education Act which introduced English as a compulsory language of instruction across all schools in Wales (Evans 1989) thus marginalised the Welsh language from the education system. Moreover, during the 19th century, the infamous *Welsh Not* was used across schools so as to discourage pupils from speaking Welsh and punish those who did.

It would not be until the middle of the twentieth century that attempts were made to reverse this damage. Section 76 of the Education Act of 1944 allowed local education authorities to develop Welsh medium schools and gave the right for parents to choose Welsh medium education for their children (Thomas and Williams 2003). This led to the foundation of many local education authority-maintained schools in Wales. For example, the first state funded Welsh medium primary school in Wales opened in 1947 as Ysgol Dewi Sant, Llanelli. However, a few years prior, an independent Welsh medium primary school was established in 1939 as Ysgol Gymraeg Aberystwyth; the result of parental pressure and demand for Welsh medium education.

Demand and pressure from both Welsh-speaking and non-Welsh speaking parents have been integral to the success of Welsh medium education. A pressure group called *Rhieni dros Addysg Gymraeg* (Parents for Welsh-medium Education) was established in 1952 and played a key role in supporting and facilitating the movement for Welsh-medium schools. Initially, Welsh medium schools had only catered for Welsh speakers and children of Welsh-speaking parents, thus they were not seen as suitable for children from non-Welsh speaking homes (I. Williams 2003; Jones and Martin-Jones 2003). This shifted during the 1960s with an increasing number of children from non-Welsh speaking homes entering Welsh medium schools. *Rhieni dros Addysg Gymraeg* is seen to have played an active role in ensuring that Welsh medium education was made accessible to those from non-Welsh speaking homes, and for establishing Welsh medium education particularly in the more anglicised regions of the country such as south-east Wales, for example. Moreover, since 1970s Mudiad Meithrin has played a key role in ensuring the development of Welsh medium early years/nursey education.

A total of 14 Welsh primary schools existed in Wales in 1951, and by 1989 this grew to 69 (Evans 2000b). There was however some concern about the lack of continuity in Welsh medium provision between the primary and secondary sector. In 1956, Ysgol Uwchradd Glan Clwyd opened as the first Welsh medium secondary school in Wales, and by 1990 there were nineteen Welsh medium secondary schools in Wales. Interestingly this growth occurred while the percentage of Welsh speakers between 1951 and 1981 declined from 28.9% to 19%. The number of pupils at these schools increased from 2,017 in 1970 to 12,475 by 1990 (Evans 2000b).

The Education Reform Act 1988 led to the creation of the National Curriculum of Wales. Under this framework, Welsh became a mandatory subject in all Welsh-medium schools, while it became a foundational subject for pupils aged between 5 and 16 across English medium schools (Jones and Martin-Jones 2003).

Categorizing schools based on Welsh medium provision

In 2007 the Welsh Government published guidance on how schools in Wales should be defined and categorised based on the language used as the medium of instruction. Under this system, how schools are categorised are based on the following aspects:

- i. the medium of teaching in each key stage: i.e. the percentage of the curriculum (primary) and percentages of subjects (secondary) taught through the medium of Welsh and English;
- ii. the language/languages used to communicate with pupils outside the curriculum, the ethos of the school, the language used in the day to day business, and the language/languages used to communicate with parents; and
- iii. the expected normal outcomes for pupils attending each type of provision in terms of educational progression.

Under this guidance, there are differences in the categorisation between primary and secondary schools in Wales based on the degree in which Welsh and/or English are used the primary language of teaching. For the primary sector, five categories are proposed (WG 2007a; 8-11). These are summarised below: (See WG (2007a; 8-11) for a more detailed overview of these categorisation).

Category 1: Welsh Medium Primary School

At least 70% of the curriculum at Key Stage 2 is taught through the medium of Welsh. English is taught as a subject. Welsh is used as the language of day-to-day communication across the school. The school communicates with parents in both languages. Pupils from this school are expected to transfer easily to Welsh medium secondary provision.

Category 2: Dual Stream Primary School

Schools offer two types of provision that run side by side. Parent/pupils may opt for either Welsh medium provision, akin to Category 1, or English medium provision, delivered as Category 5. Both Welsh and English are used in the day-to-day communication of the school. The school communicates with parents in both languages. Pupils in Welsh medium streams are expected to transfer to Welsh medium secondary provision, while those in English medium streams are expected to transfer to English medium secondary provision.

Category 3: Transitional primary school: Welsh medium with significant use of English

Welsh is used as the medium of instruction for between 50% and 70% of the curriculum. Welsh is used as the language of day-to-day communication across the school. The school communicates with parents in both languages. Some pupils may be able to transfer to Welsh medium secondary provision.

Category 4: Predominantly English Medium primary schools but with significant use of Welsh

Both Welsh and English are used as languages of instruction at Key Stage 2, but there is greater emphasis on English. Welsh is used as the medium of learning for between 20% and 50% of the curriculum. Pupils from this school are expected to transfer to English medium secondary provision. Both languages are used as the language of day-to-day communication across the school. The school communicates with parents in both languages. Only some pupils may be able to pursue certain subjects through the medium of Welsh at secondary level.

Category 5: Predominately English medium primary school

The curriculum at Key Stage 2 is delivered through the medium of English. Welsh is taught as a subject. Generally, less than 20% of the teaching is done so through the medium of Welsh. English is the language used in the daily communication of the school, while the school communicates with parents in English or in both languages. Pupils from this school are

expected to transfer to English medium secondary provision where they will continue to learn predominately through the medium of English. Welsh will continue to be learnt as a second language.

Meanwhile four categories are proposed for the secondary sector. These are summarised below: (For a more detailed overview of these categorisation see WG 2007; 12-15).

Category 1: Welsh Medium Secondary School

All subjects are taught through the medium of Welsh. English is taught as a subject. Welsh is used as the language of day-to-day communication across the school. The school communicates with parents in both languages. Assessments at Key Stage 3 and Key Stage 4 will be through the medium of Welsh, except for English and other languages. Pupils are expected to progress easily to Welsh medium post-16 provision, i.e., further, and higher education.

Category 2: Bilingual Secondary School

Bilingual schools are sub-divided into four based on the percentage of subjects taught through the medium of Welsh.

i. Category 2A

At least 80% of subjects are taught through the medium of Welsh. English is taught as a subject. One or two subjects may be taught to some pupils through the medium of English or in both languages.

ii. Category 2B

At least 80% of subjects are taught through the medium of Welsh but are also taught through the medium of English.

iii. Category 2C

Between 50% and 79% of subjects are taught through the medium of Welsh but are also taught through the medium of English. English is taught as a subject.

iv. Category 2CH

All subjects, except Welsh and English are taught to pupils using both languages.

For pupils at bilingual 2A, 2B and 2C schools, assessments at Key Stage 3 and Key Stage 4 will be through the medium of Welsh, except for English and other languages. Pupils would *be able to progress easily* to Welsh medium post-16 provision. Pupils in 2CH would undertake assessments through the medium of Welsh at Key Stage 3 and Key Stage 4, and they would *normally be able to progress easily* to study post-16 provision through the medium of Welsh.

Category 3: Predominately English medium secondary school with significant use of Welsh

Both Welsh and English are used as languages of teaching. Between 20% and 49% of subjects are taught through the medium of Welsh. All subjects would also be taught through the medium of English. Both languages are used as the language of day-to-day communication across the school. The school communicates with parents in both languages.

Category 4: Predominantly English Medium secondary school

The curriculum is taught through the medium of English. Welsh is a mandatory subject and is taught as a second language up to Key Stage 4. English is the language used in the daily communication of the school, while the school communicates with parents in English or in both languages. Most pupils will be assessed through the medium of English and are likely to progress to English medium post-16 study.

New system for defining schools

However, in 2021 the Welsh Government published new guidance (WG 2021a) for categorising schools based on the degree of Welsh medium provision across the statutory education sector in Wales, and thus replaces the previous system (WG 2007c). Other recent changes to the education sector in Wales has been the introduction of New Curriculum for Wales in 2022, which places greater emphasis on the Welsh language (WG 2023a). Under this new system, all primary, middle, and secondary schools will be categorised as one of three schools: English-medium, dual language, or Welsh-medium. These are summarised below but see WG (2021a; 12-18) for a detailed overview of this new categorisation system.

Category 1 – English medium schools will be defined as those schools where English is used as the main language of the curriculum. At least 15% of learners' school activities will be in Welsh. Welsh is taught as part of the Area of Learning and Experience (AoLE) for languages, literacy, and communication under the New Curriculum for Wales.

Category 2 – Dual stream schools. At the primary level, at least 50% of learners' school activities will be through the medium of Welsh. Pupils will be able to speak, read write and listen in both Welsh and English according to age and ability. At the secondary sector, at least 40% of learners' will undertake at least 40% of school activities in Welsh. Pupils will be able to speak, read write and listen in both Welsh and English according to age and ability.

Category 3 – Welsh medium schools. At the primary sector and from the age of 7 onwards at least 80% of learners' school activities will be through the medium of Welsh. For the secondary sector, two types of categories are proposed. Category Welsh-medium, and Category 3P – designated Welsh-medium. Category Welsh-medium schools will be schools where at least 60% of learners will undertake at least 70% of their school activities will be through the medium of Welsh. Category 3P – designated Welsh-medium schools where all Areas of Learning and Experience (AoLE) will be delivered through the medium of Welsh.

This new guidance system relates closely to *Cymraeg 2050* (WG 2017d) – an ambitious target set out by the Welsh Government to reach a million Welsh speakers by 2050. The Welsh Government recognises that Welsh medium education will play a key role in achieving this target, particularly at the statutory level. While Welsh language transmission within the home is critical, currently, the education system is the main means of creating Welsh speakers. Therefore, one of the aims of the Welsh Government is to “create a statutory education system which increases the number of confident Welsh speakers” (WG 2017d; 39) by developing Welsh medium education. They have also set a target of ensuring that 40% of school pupils in Wales will be in Welsh medium education by 2050 (WG 2017d; WG 2021a).

Moreover, the Welsh Government also recognise the role that will be played by English medium schools to reach this target:

“The English-medium sector has an important contribution to make to our aim of developing Welsh speakers. To reach a million speakers, we need to transform how we teach Welsh to learners in all other schools, in order that at least half of those learners report by 2050 that they can speak Welsh by the time they leave school”.

(WG 2017d; 38)

The Welsh Government announced that this new system was due for implementation from September 2022. It is too early to know the impact this new system will have on Welsh medium provision, including how many students are taught through the medium of Welsh, or the number of Welsh speakers across the education sector. Moreover, figures on Welsh medium education for the most recent academic year, presented shortly, are derived from the Pupil Level Annual School Census (PLASC) which do not yet reflect the changes proposed for the new categorisation of primary, middle, and secondary schools in Wales as set out by the Welsh Government (see WG 2021a). Therefore, the following statistics on Welsh medium education/schools are based on the old categorisation system (see WG 2017c). Moreover, there is likely to be a phased change to the new system.

Statistics on Welsh medium education

Most recent figures indicate that there was a total of 1,418 schools in Wales during 2022/23, comprising of 1,213 primary schools, 27 middle schools, and 178 secondary schools. (Additionally, there were 6 nursery schools and 39 special schools) (WG 2023b). In terms of the make-up of schools based on language categorise, as presented by the Welsh Government (2007c), 66.6% of schools in Wales are classed as English medium (n=944), while Welsh medium schools make up 26.7% (n=378). Bilingual schools that include 2AB, 2BB, 2CB, and 2CH account for 2.3% (n=32). Dual stream schools represent 1.9% (n=27) of all schools, and transitional schools make up 0.1% (n=2), Lastly, English with significant Welsh make up 2.4% (n=35).

The number of pupils registered across the education sector in Wales as of 2022/23 was 463,782. The number of pupils across each school categories are as follows: a total of 343,700 pupils attended English medium schools, 77,922 pupils attended Welsh medium schools and 23,525 pupils studied at bilingual schools. Furthermore, 7,140 pupils were in in dual stream schools, 279 in transitional schools and 11,216 were in schools defined as English with significant Welsh (WG 2023c).

Furthermore, the number of learners in Welsh medium and bilingual primary education during 2022/23 was 62,508, equating to around 24% of all primary school learners in Wales. For those in Welsh medium and bilingual secondary education during the same period, this totalled 33,536 pupils. This represents around 19% of all secondary school learners (WG 2023c). Moreover, for the academic year 2022/23, a total of 41,177 pupils, aged 5 or over, spoke Welsh at home as assessed by parents (WG 2023d). This represents just over 10% of the school pupil population aged 5 or over across all schools in Wales.

The 2021 Census showed that the largest percentage of Welsh speakers by age group was amongst children and young people. For example, 34.4% of those aged between 5 and 15 years spoke Welsh. This was followed by 27.5% of those aged between 16-19, and 18.2% amongst those aged between 3 and 4. Additionally, the Census reported that 16.5% of those aged between 20-44 spoke Welsh, 13% for those aged between 45-65, 12.8% for those aged 65-74, and lastly 15.1% of those aged 75 and over (WG 2022a; 2022c). Figures from the Welsh Language Use Survey 2019-2020 (WG 2022d) showed that 35% of Welsh speakers aged 3+ only or mainly spoke Welsh at home. 9% spoke Welsh and English roughly equally, while 56% spoke English only or mainly. The data also revealed that for those who did not have a fluent Welsh speaking parent, 34% of them stated that they had started to learn to speak Welsh at primary school, followed by 31% at nursery school and 10% in secondary school. The findings shows that three quarters of respondents who came from homes without a Welsh speaking parent learnt to speak Welsh within statutory education (WG 2022d). Such data demonstrates the significance of the education system as major plank for language revitalization and on creating Welsh speakers (Baker 2010; Baker and Jones 2000; Fishman 1991; Hornberger 2010; Hornberger and King 1996; Price 2010).

Despite this huge success, particularly at the primary level, there has always been concerns about progression routes; the lack of continuity in Welsh medium provision from the primary to the secondary sector, and the number of pupils progressing to learn through the medium of Welsh (as well as up to higher education as mentioned in the previous section). This was acknowledged in the Welsh Government's *Welsh-Medim Education Strategy* (WG 2010):

“Analysis of the linguistic data following through cohorts of learners over the last ten years clearly indicate that there is a discontinuity in linguistic progression between Key Stage 2 and Key Stage 3”.

(WG 2010; 23)

This concern was also mentioned by Baker and Jones back in 2000. They wrote that:

“Having celebrated the growth of bilingual education in Wales...[there is] the disconcerting discontinuity that exist in such education. After primary schooling, considerably fewer pupils take their secondary, further and higher education bilingually”.

(Baker and Jones 2000; 116)

Figures published from the *Welsh Language Use Survey 2019-2020* (WG 2022d) clearly depicts this trend. The percentage of Welsh speakers reported to have been/or are educated in Welsh only or mainly at different educational stages were as follows: Nursery school (38%), Primary school (48%), Secondary school (30%), Further education (15%), Higher education (7%).

Most recent figures indicate that 21.6% (n=100,025) of pupils in Wales were taught Welsh as a first language during 2022/23, up from 19.8% (n=91,045) in 2011/12. However, the proportion tended to be higher in the early years/classes of education, with 23.4% of pupils in Year Group 1 and 2 (5- to 7-year-olds) being taught Welsh as a first language, 21.7% for those in Year Group 6, and 19.3% for pupils in Year Group 7 and Year Group 11 during 2022/23 (WG 2023e).

The Welsh Government also recognise the importance of effective linguistic progression routes throughout the education sector for developing the Welsh language skills of pupils, and on ensuring that they become bilingual:

“Welsh-medium education from the earl years, with robust linguistic progression through every phase of education, offers the best condition for developing future bilingual citizens”

(WG 2010; 7)

This section has provided further context to the Welsh medium education sector in Wales, drawing attention to Welsh medium education at the primary and secondary level. Academic research on Welsh medium education and pupils experiences of Welsh medium/bilingual education will be presented in Chapter 3. Having now presented a complete picture of Welsh medium education in Wales across the primary, secondary and higher education, the next section of the chapter explores Welsh speakers’ language rights in the context of the higher education sector. The final section of the chapter will then provide an international context to minoritized languages at higher education, and the rise of English as a medium of instruction across the HE sector.

2.4 Language rights at university

Defining language rights

Defining language, or linguistic rights are a source of great debate (see for example, Arzoz 2007; Kibbee 1998). While it is not the intention here to critically examine the various definitions that have been proposed by scholars and international treaties and laws, it is nevertheless important to provide a working definition of language rights.

Language rights are most often referred to in relation to speakers of minoritized languages (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 1994), also known as linguistic minorities (United Nations 2017). Such rights are usually understood in the context of the relationship between majority or dominant languages and that of minoritized languages. Speakers of minoritized languages are recognised as having (explicit) language rights, albeit varyingly, because fundamentally they do not share or enjoy the same language rights that majority language speakers have¹⁸. Minoritized languages and their speakers often face several barriers and challenges that majority language speakers simply do not. For example, they may face the inability to use their own language across a wide range of contexts and domains; they may struggle to get access to education through the medium of their language; public services may not be available through the medium of a minoritized language; or their language may lack status or official recognition by the state and institutions. These rights can therefore be described as the entitlements and/or provisions that speakers of minoritized languages have, which have been accorded and granted to them via legislations and treaties, that allows them to use that language.

Scholars such as Skutnabb-Kangas (2006; 273), a distinguished academic in the field of minoritized languages, describes language rights as fundamental rights that:

“first, are necessary to fulfil people’s basic needs and for them to live a dignified life, and, second, that therefore are so basic, so fundamental, that no state (or individual or group) is supposed to violate them”.

Meanwhile the United Nations (2017; 5) provide a comprehensive definition of linguistic rights in their document *Language Rights of Linguistic Minorities – A practical guide for implementation*. They describe language rights as:

“...a series of obligations on state authorities to either use certain languages in a number of contexts, or not interfere with the linguistic choices and expressions of private parties. These might extend to an obligation to recognize or support the use of languages by minorities or indigenous people. Human rights involving language are a

¹⁸ While language rights are usually discussed in relation to minoritized languages, majority languages and their speakers do have ‘language rights’. These are so implicit and taken for granted because they do not face any challenges in relation to using that language unlike minoritized language speakers. They therefore do not require measures to safeguard or promote their use (see for example Arzoz 2007).

combination of legal requirements based on international human rights treaties and standards on how to address language or minority issues, as well as linguistic diversity within a state. Language rights are to be found in various provisions enshrined in international human rights law, such as the prohibition of discrimination, the right to freedom of expression, the right to a private life, the right to education and the right of linguistic minorities to use their own language with others in their group”.

Additionally, there have been arguments proposed by many scholars within fields such as language rights, human rights, linguistics, and law, for example, that language rights should be considered fundamentally as basic human rights. See for example de Varnnes (1996; 2001; 2009) Phillipson et al., (1994) Skutnabb-Kangas (2006), Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1994; 2023) for a detailed discussion on the link between language rights and human rights, also known as linguistic human rights.

International legislations and language rights

Within a wider international context, a range of legal measures and provisions have been introduced over the course of the twentieth century that aims to protect and promote minoritized languages and their speakers. This is particularly the case in the European context. Many of these are applicable to the Welsh language and have been ratified by the United Kingdom Government. For example, one of the key principles of the European Union is stated in Article 22 of the *EU Charter of Fundamental Rights*¹⁹ in which it proclaims that the Union shall respect cultural, religious, and linguistic diversity (European Convention 2000). Thus, respecting diversity must become a central feature of the modern democratic state (de Varennes 2009). It also means that many minoritized languages and their speakers have protection under international and European law or treaties²⁰. These include, but not limited to, *The Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights* (1996) (General Assembly of the United Nations 1998); *The Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities* (1992) (General Assembly of the United Nations 1992); *The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights* (1966) (General Assembly of the United Nations 1966); *The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities* (Council of Europe 1995a; 1995b); and *The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* (1992) (Council of Europe 1992a; 1992b). The recognition of the need to both protect and promote minoritized languages signals a wider consensus (of states) toward the need to adopt constructive measures and standards for the use of minoritized languages (de Varennes 2009).

Welsh language rights at university

In the Welsh context, the Welsh language has received statutory protection and recognition under three key legislations. These include the *Welsh Language Act 1967*²¹ (HMSO

¹⁹ However, this Charter no longer applies to the United Kingdom due to the passing of the European Union (Withdrawal) Act 2018.

²⁰ See Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (1994) for a historical overview of linguistic rights.

²¹ Before the passing of the Welsh Language Act 1967, the Welsh language had no legal status in Wales.

1967), the *Welsh Language Act 1993* (HMSO 1993), and the current legislation the *Welsh Language Measure (Wales) 2011* (HMSO 2014). Provisions concerning the Welsh language at/and the higher education sector are found in the latter two legislations with specific stipulations on the use of the Welsh language across public sector organisations.

The Welsh Language Act 1993²² placed a duty on the public sector providing services to the public in Wales to treat the Welsh language and English on an equal basis. The Act also set up the Welsh Language Board to promote and facilitate the use of the Welsh language. The Board with its statutory powers, established duties on public organisations to prepare Welsh Language Schemes in accordance with its guidelines. Welsh Language Schemes outlined the measures that organisations would take to ensure that Welsh and English were treated on the basis of equality in the provision of services to the public in Wales. The Welsh Language Board oversaw these schemes and ensured that organisations adhered and complied to the requirements set forth in the Act²³. The higher education sector fell under the 1993 Act and all HE institutions in Wales were required to produce Welsh Language Schemes. However, the Act faced several criticisms such as the focus the Act placed on institutional responsibilities as opposed to establishing individual rights for Welsh speakers (Williams 2010). Moreover, the principle of treating both Welsh and English on a basis of equality was problematic and unclear as the principle of equality was conditional “so far as is both appropriate in the circumstances and reasonably practical” (HMSO 1993; 3), and no explanations of these terms were defined or provided. (See Jones 2022 and Williams 2010 for more information on the Welsh Language Act 1993.)

The passing of the Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011 was seen to be a stronger and a more modernized version of the legal framework proposed under the previous Welsh Language Act 1993 in relation to the provision of services to the public.

Under the new Measure the Welsh language is declared to have official status in Wales. This means that the Welsh language should not be treated less favourably than the English language in Wales. The Measure also established the Welsh Language Commissioner. This is a statutory body that is responsible for promoting and facilitating the use of the Welsh language, including in the provision of services, and replaces the Welsh Language Board set up under the previous legislation Welsh Language Act 1993. The Commissioner is also responsible for imposing standards on public organisations through Welsh Language Standards, which are gradually being replaced by the Welsh Language Schemes of the previous 1993 Act. The Measure stipulates that the one of the aims of the Commissioner is to work towards increasing:

²² Chapter 38 of the Welsh Language Act 1993 outlines that this is “[a]n Act to establish a Board having the function of promoting and facilitating the use of the Welsh language, and to provide for the preparation by public bodies of schemes giving effect to the principle that in the conduct of public business and the administration of justice in Wales the English and Welsh languages should be treated on a basis of equality, to make further provision relating to the Welsh language, to repeal certain spent enactment relating to Wales, and for connected purposes” (HMSO 1993; 1).

²³ Another significant development was that the Act gave absolute rights for Welsh speakers to use the Welsh language in courts and legal proceedings.

“(b) the duties to use Welsh which are (or may be) imposed by law, and the rights which arises from the enforceability of those duties”.

(HMSO 2014; 3)

Welsh Language Standards, totalling 182, are legal requirements and duties that organisations must comply with that relates to the Welsh language. These standards of conduct apply to a range of areas for organisations including *service delivery* (Standards 1-93); *policy making* (Standards 94-104); *operational* (Standards 105-153); and *record keeping* (Standards 154-162)²⁴ (HMSO 2014). These standards, which have statutory status, have been formally imposed on universities via a compliance notice or a legal document which notifies them of which standards they are required to comply with. (See compliance notice of each university here WLC 2017a; 2017b; 2017c; 2017d; 2017e; 2017f; 2017g; 2017h; 2017i.) Through the process of imposing and enforcing legal duties on organisations relating to the Welsh language, the Measure establishes language rights for Welsh speakers (presented shortly).

It is worth recognising that how, and to what extent the Welsh language, including Welsh medium higher education provision and opportunities²⁵ are embedded, incorporated, and even prioritised across each individual HE institutions’ policies, strategies, and practices vary considerably (see for example AU 2017; 2018; 2019, BU 2016; 2018, CU 2018a; 2018b; 2018c, CMU 2018a; 2018b, OU 2017, SU 2017, UoWTSD 2017, USW 2018a; 2018b; 2018c; 2018d, WU 2018). By now, Welsh speaking students enjoy a multitude of language rights at university thanks to the *Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011* and the implementation of Welsh Language Standards. The Measure helps bring some level of consistency and harmony in establishing students’ language rights at university and brings much needed awareness of what students can expect during their time at university in relation to their Welsh language rights. These rights, outlined below, refer specifically to *service delivery* standards and activities; these relate to the range of duties placed on organisations, including all universities in Wales to promote and/or facilitate the use of the Welsh language, and/or work toward ensuring that the Welsh language is treated no less favourably than English when such activities are carried out²⁶ (HMSO 2017).

Standard 90 and Standard 90A of the Measure specifically refers to students’ right to submit work, either in the form of assessments or examinations through the medium of Welsh, and that doing so will not result in the submitted Welsh work to be treated less favourably than work submitted in English. Here there is a clear proclamation that both Welsh and English medium work submitted by students should be treated on an equal basis by universities:

²⁴ And standards that deal with supplementary matters (Standards 163-182).

²⁵ For example, Chapter 6 of the thesis demonstrates the huge variations that exists in relation to the number of Welsh speakers, and Welsh medium higher education engagement and participation across Welsh universities.

²⁶ How these language rights, and how the numerous provisions and measure that have been put in place by institutions to enable students to use Welsh are directly experienced by students will be discussed in Chapter 7, section 7.3.

“Standard 90: You must inform your students that any written work submitted to you as part of an assessment or examination may be submitted in Welsh, and that work submitted to you in Welsh will be treated no less favourably than written work submitted to you in English as part of that assessment or examination”.

(HMSO 2017; 34)

“Standard 90A: You must not treat any written work submitted to you in Welsh as part of an assessment or examination less favourably than written work submitted to you in English as part of that assessment or examination”.

(HMSO 2017; 34)

The Measure also makes provisions for students’ right to be allocated a Welsh speaking personal tutor if they choose so under Standard 93:

“Standard 93: If you allocate a personal tutor to a student (“A”) you must –

- (a) ask A whether A wishes to have a Welsh speaking personal tutor, and
- (b) if A informs you that A wishes to have a Welsh speaking personal tutor, allocate a Welsh speaking personal tutor to A”.

(HMSO 2017; 35)

Furthermore, Standard 92 and 92A stipulate that students possess the right to apply and express a preference to live in designated Welsh language halls of residence during their time at university, and that universities have a duty to promote this option for students and prospective students alike:

“Standard 92: When students or prospective students apply to you for residential accommodation you must allow those students to express a preference for accommodation (or part of an accommodation) that will be reserved for Welsh speakers”.

(HMSO 2017; 34)

“Standard 92A: You must promote to your students and prospective students the ability for them to express a preference for accommodation (or part of an accommodation) that will be reserved for Welsh speakers”.

(HMSO 2017; 34)

Below is a list of other rights that Welsh speakers are entitled to at university, corresponding to the Standards set forth in the Measure (HMSO 2014; 2017)²⁷.

- **Standards 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7**

The right to receive correspondences in Welsh by universities, and the right to correspond with universities through the medium Welsh.

- **Standard 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22**

The right to telephone calls in Welsh, such as Welsh language service.

- **Standard 23, 24, 24A, 24B**

This refers to students right for meetings to be conducted in Welsh. If necessary, organizations then have a duty to make provisions such as providing translation services.

- **Standard 25, 26, 26A, 26B**

This refers to the right for meetings to be conducted in Welsh if it relates to complaint, disciplinary proceedings, or students support. Here student support refers to providing counselling or support in relation to students' mental health issues.

- **Standard 41 and 42**

When arranging graduation or award ceremonies organisations must ensure that the Welsh language is treated no less favourable than the English language in relation to material or signs displayed, or information.

- **Standard 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52**

This refers to the right to receive documents through the medium of Welsh. Organisations must ensure that any document they produce for public use or for students' use must be produced in Welsh. This refers to certificates, brochures, prospectuses, leaflets, pamphlets, policies, strategies, annual reports etc.

- **Standards 53, 53A, 53B, 54**

This refers to the right to receive forms through the medium of Welsh.

- **Standard 55, 56, 57, 58, 59**

²⁷ This is not an exhaustive list. See HMSO (2017) for a breakdown of these rights/standards in greater detail.

This refers to the right of students to access website published by organisations through the medium of Welsh. Organisations must ensure that all information available in English is also made available in Welsh. This refers to student intranet, virtual learning sites and portal sites.

- **Standard 62, 63**

Students' right to contact universities by social medial through the medium of Welsh.

- **Standard 75, 76, 76A, 77, 78, 79**

The right to apply for financial assistance through the medium of Welsh, and any published documents relating to this process must be available in Welsh and English.

2.5 The International Context: Internationalisation of the higher education sector

Internationalisation is considered a major force that is shaping the higher education sector in the 21st century (Knight 2008) and by now has become such a prominent aspect of the ‘university agenda’, including HEI policies and practices (de Wit 2018; de Wit and Altbach 2021). A commonly used definition of the internationalisation of the higher education sector is proposed by Knight (2004; 11, 2008; 21) in which she defines it as “the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education [higher education]”.

The internationalisation of the higher education sector in the European context has been driven by the inception of the Bologna Process, and the aim of creating a common European Higher Education Area. The Bologna Declaration states its commitment to undertake the objectives set forth in the declaration “within the framework of our institutional competences and taking full respect of the diversity of cultures, *languages*, national education systems of University autonomy – to consolidate the European area of higher education” (EHEA 1999; 8). While the creation of a common European Higher Education Area can be seen as a political and economic integration with increased student mobility for example, it is one that also poses linguistic challenges for universities too (Kerklaan et al., 2008; Haberland and Mortensen 2012; Cots et al. 2014; Kibbermann 2017) – even if this is not explicitly stated (or addressed) in the declaration. Moreover, the Declaration (EHEA 1999; 3) clearly states that it “aims at creating convergence and, thus, is not a path towards the “standardisation” or “uniformization” of European higher education. The fundamental principles of autonomy and diversity are respected”. However, internationalisation of the higher education sector has propelled the use of English across European universities at an unprecedented rate (demonstrated shortly): arguably an unforeseen consequence. This is despite no formal declaration that English should be used as the medium of instruction to achieve the objectives of the Declaration. In fact, there are no direct references to languages, including multilingualism, or potential linguistic barriers and challenges for example in the declaration (Phillipson 2006).

English Medium Instruction (EMI) can be defined as “the use of the English language to teach academic subjects in countries or jurisdictions where the first language (L1) of the majority of the population is not English” (Dearden 2014; 2). There is consensus that the widespread and increasing use of English in this regard is one of the most evident indicators of the internationalisation of the higher education sector. This is so much so that ‘internationalisation’ is often used synonymously with ‘English medium higher education’ (Phillipson 2006; 2008). There is no doubt that the integration of English as a medium of instruction is thus firmly embedded within HE institutions’ internationalisation agenda. This has cemented the global status and prestige of English yet challenges the existence of other languages at higher education.

English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI): A European²⁸ Overview

Currently, three large-scale studies have attempted to map English as a medium of instruction (EMI) in European higher education²⁹ (Maiworm and Wächter 2002; Wächter and Maiworm 2008; 2014). Wächter and Maiworm, using EMI and English-taught Programmes (ETP) synonymously, defined EMI/ETP as those courses that were taught entirely through the medium of English at undergraduate and Masters level. The study excluded courses that were available partly in English.

The most recent of these studies, (Wächter and Maiworm 2014), identified a total of 8,089 English Taught Programmes across European universities, a 239% increase from the second cycle of the study in 2008, from 2,389. Additionally, the proportion of HEI's offering ETP has also risen from 18% in 2007 to 27% in 2014. It is estimated that the number of students enrolled on ETP rose from 121,000 in 2007 up to 291,350 in 2014, however this represents only 1.3% of the European student population. ETP by study level shows that 80% of these programmes are offered at Masters level, with only 20% offered at the undergraduate level.

However, there are striking differences across regions, and these are worth noting. For example, 61% of universities in the Nordic region offers ETP, compared to only 20% in Central East Europe. 83% of institutions in Finland, and 81% in Sweden provide ETP, while 65% of those in the Netherlands did so. Meanwhile while this figure is lower for Danish universities at 48%, a total of 38% of their programmes are taught in English, followed by 30% in the Netherlands. Denmark has a considerable high proportion of its students enrolled on ETP than the European average, at 12.4%. This is followed by 7.2% of Dutch students in the Netherlands, and 4.4% of Swedish students in Sweden. The study identified that HEI's across the Netherlands and the Nordic countries (Iceland, Denmark, Norway, Finland, and Sweden) lead the way in terms of offering ETP. (Wächter and Maiworm 2014). These findings are also reflected in Sandström and Neghina's (2017) study on English-Taught Bachelor (ETB) programmes across universities in the European Higher Education Area. They found that nearly 80% of all HEI's in the Netherland offered ETB, the highest country to do so. This was followed closely by Denmark, Finland, and Sweden. Sandström and Neghina (2017) also note that by 2017 around 3,000 bachelor courses were offered through the medium of English within the EHEA.

A further two studies have mapped EMI at the Masters level across European universities – Brenn-White and Van Rest (2012) and Bren-White and Faethe (2013). These studies conclude that EMI is most common at the Masters level, and that English taught Masters programs across European universities increased substantially between 2007 from 1,028 to 6,047 by 2013 (Bren-White and Faethe 2013). This growth has been particularly

²⁸ For a *global* perspective on English Medium Instruction see for example: British Council (2021), Dearden (2014), Galloway et al., (2017); Galloway (2020); McKinley and Galloway (2022) Sahan et al., (2021).

²⁹ The study excluded the UK and Ireland due to its focus on 'non-English speaking countries'.

notable across the Nordic countries. For example, between 2011 and 2013 while Europe saw an average increase of 38% in English taught Masters programs being offered, Denmark saw a 74% rise, while Sweden and Finland recorded a 70% and 52% increase respectively. Interestingly since 2011, the Scandinavian countries as well as the Netherlands have switched almost all their postgraduate study to English (Bren-White and Faethe 2013). Moreover, by 2013 Denmark offered more ETM programmes per institution than any other country, with the Netherlands and Sweden making the top three.

The threat of EMI?

It is undeniable that internationalisation has resulted in the exponential growth of English Medium Instruction across Europe. This has been most evident in Northern Europe in the Netherlands, but particularly so across the Nordic region, in which these “universities may be seen as a being on the forefront of this process of Englishization” (Hultgren et al., 2014; 1).

However, the rise of EMI has also seen growing concerns on its impact on the ecology of languages at higher education institutions (Doiz et al., 2014). Consequently, higher education institutions have been forced to confront and examine their language policies, which, by now is closely connected to internationalisation and the presence of English. Until recently, prescribing language policies at the HE level was somewhat unnecessary for universities as the language of teaching and learning was generally done through the medium of the national or regional language (Wilkinson 2014). By now however, European higher education institutions must contend with the dilemma of having to balance internationalisation and English medium higher education alongside their official/national (and even minoritized) languages within the domain of higher education. As Hultgren et al. (2015;9) summarises:

“when we talk about language at universities, our discourse is fraught with contradictions. How wonderful it is to internationalise; but at the same time how frightful are the dangers of losing our national heritage language at the university”.

This has been particularly highlighted in the Nordic region (demonstrated shortly).

This conflict may be particularly heightened within bi/multilingual HE contexts where a minoritized language co-exists alongside a majority language as universities are seen as “social institutions one of whose functions is to protect and promote the language and culture of its local environment” (Cots et al., 2012; 8). Although Garrett and Gallego-Balsà (2014) point out that minoritized languages at universities have not always been given adequate consideration in this context. Moreover, the promotion of English as the *lingua academia*, its increasing use as a medium of instruction at HE, and the increasing recognition of English as a valuable commodity within a globalised world can become such an integral facet of higher education institutions’ symbolic capital. This may have damaging implications for minoritized

languages (Cots et al., 2014), but this is also a concern that some official/national languages of European countries face too.

For example, the “inexorable increase in the use of English” (Coleman 2006;1) has led to fears of domain loss of national languages at higher education/academia. This has been well documented in the Nordic context (see for example Holmes 2020), and similar concerns have also been expressed in the Dutch context (see for example Wilkinson 2013; Wilkinson and Gabriëls 2021). However, in the Nordic context, the scale of this concern and the rhetoric of the potential domain loss particularly in the HE sector ultimately entered the political realm and became a major agenda for the Nordic Council of Ministers (Airey et al., 2017) – an intergovernmental forum of the Nordic countries. In 2007, they adopted the *Declaration on a Nordic Language Policy* (Nordiska Ministerrådet 2007). The policy introduced the concept of parallel language use or parallellingualism; an approach to balance the use of national languages across the Nordic region with English at higher education institutions (Airey et al., 2017; Hultgren 2014; 2016; Kuteeva 2014; Linn 2010) It states that “the parallel use of language refers to the concurrent use of several languages within one or more areas. None of the languages abolishes or replaces the other; they are used in parallel” (Nordiska Ministerrådet 2007; 93). Here, no one language is favoured over the other. Moreover, the policy makes explicit references to the parallel use of English and the Nordic languages in the context of education, stating that promoting the parallel use of languages requires “that universities, colleges, and other scientific institutions can develop long-range strategies for the choice of language, the parallel use of languages, [and] language instruction” (Nordiska Ministerrådet 2007; 94). Although it is not a legally binding policy, there is strong support for the implementation of parallel language use at higher education to manage the relationship between English and the national languages, ensuring that the former does not ‘encroach’ on the later (Hultgren 2014; 2016). Parallel language use is thus seen as a desirable goal of Nordic higher education institutions (Kuteeva 2014).

2.5.1 Bucking the trend: Minoritized languages at higher education

This final section concludes this contextual chapter. During a time where English has grown exponentially as a medium of instruction (EMI) at higher education institutions particularly across Europe, *minoritized languages* in this context have received very little attention. The use of minoritized languages as languages of instruction at higher education is simply not a common phenomenon (Cenoz 2012; Cenoz and Etxague 2013). Generally, progression through the education sector means that minoritized languages are less likely to be used (as demonstrated in the Welsh case in section 2.3). For example, the use of minoritized languages across the education sector tend to be largely concentrated at the lower levels of education, particularly across the primary sector. Meanwhile they are less likely to be used within the higher levels of education, including secondary education and particularly the higher education sector. Cenoz and Etxague (2013; 88) summarises this trend:

“Minority languages tend to be used more often in kindergarten and elementary school than in secondary school and their use at the university level is more unusual. The use of a minority language as the language of instruction at the university faces important challenges. The number of subjects taught in elementary or secondary school is more limited than the number of undergraduate and graduate courses in higher education. One of the challenges of minority languages in elementary and secondary education is to develop educational materials, a challenge that is even greater in higher education. The level of specialization required of the teaching staff in higher education is also greater than at lower levels of education, creating additional challenges in the case of minority languages that traditionally receive limited use in disciplines such as sciences and technology”

(Cenoz and Etxague 2013:88)

However, there are a few exceptions to this. This section brings together examples of minoritized languages at higher education institutions and particularly the use of the minoritized language as a medium of instruction at this level. These examples are symbolic because they demonstrate an attempt to go against the mainstream situation in which higher education is predominantly only offered in State’s majority language(s), and/or resist the shift towards English as a result of internationalisation. Subsequently, the use of these minoritized languages in this context can be seen as an attempt to institutionalise and legitimise them as languages of academia and higher education, to resist language shift and pressures from the majority State language(s) (and in some cases, English), and more generally they can be seen as HE institutions taking an active role to protect, promote, preserve, and revitalise those minoritized languages (Bull 2012). The Welsh language is not alone in this endeavour, and it is worth highlighting that there is a community of European minoritized languages that share this aim.

Minoritized languages

Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

The University of the Basque Country is the only public university located in the Basque Autonomous Community. It is regarded as a bilingual institution and has two official languages – the minoritized language of Basque, and Spanish, the State’s majority language (Larrinaga and Amurrio 2015; Serna-Bermejo and Lasagabaster 2022). The institution recognises the rights students have to receive teaching in Basque or Spanish, and both languages are used as a medium of instruction. For example, compulsory subjects/credits are offered in Basque and Spanish, meanwhile optional subjects are only likely to be offered in one language, predominantly Spanish. Therefore, it is possible to study a substantial amount of an undergraduate course through the medium of Basque here. However, provision in Basque differs across disciplines too, with Basque medium provision more likely to be within Social

Sciences and the Humanities, compared to the Sciences (Cenoz 2012; Larrinaga and Amurrio 2015). Thus, Spanish continues to prevail as the dominant language of academia here. Nevertheless, (the demand for) Basque medium higher education has grown considerably over recent decades, and this can be attributed to the strong educational model Basque has within its primary and secondary education sectors (see for example, Cenoz and Etxague 2012; Cenoz and Gorter 2019; Gartziaarena and Vilabona 2022; Zalbide and Cenoz 2008). Today, Basque medium higher education is in a strong position, and the general trend indicates that an increasing number of students are opting to study through the medium of Basque at this level. For example, during 2021/2022 academic year, 56% of students studied through the medium of Basque, compared to 44% for those doing so in Spanish (Serna-Bermejo and Lasagabaster 2022). This is compared to 23% in 1998, and 46% in 2010 (Cenoz 2012).

Moreover, the University of the Basque has adopted a trilingual language policy as a response to internationalization and is slowly integrating English as a third language of instruction at the institution (Cenoz and Etxague 2012). Cenoz (2012; 53) states the university is “moving from bilingualism to multilingualism and the use of Basque, Spanish and English in higher education combines the protection and promotion of a minority language with the need for internationalization”.

Catalan in higher education in Catalunya

Catalan and Spanish are official languages of the autonomous state of Catalunya, Spain. There are seven public universities in this region, and both languages are used as languages of instruction at the university level (Pons Parera 2015; Soler and Gallego-Balsà 2019). The working language of these universities are predominantly in Catalan, but staff and students may exercise their right to choose between Catalan and Spanish when communicating with members across institutions (Xavier 2011). Universities across Catalunya must actively commit to the normalisation of the Catalan language, including its use as a language of teaching at this level, and each university has a different language policy. However, Catalan is the most common language of instruction at these universities particularly at undergraduate level, but also at postgraduate level, followed then by Spanish and then English (see Soler and Gallego-Balsà; 2019). Much like Basque, Catalan universities have also undergone internationalization with a move towards a more multilingual higher education sphere via the use of English as a medium instruction at this level. However, this process and the integration of English must not be detrimental to Catalan. In fact, Catalan is regarded as the default language (Cots et al., 2012; Soler and Gallego-Balsà 2019) choice for most universities in the region, indicating its strength as a language of higher education. Meanwhile English is the language which is employed the least for teaching purposes across these universities (Soler and Gallego-Balsà 2019).

The Irish case

The development of Irish medium higher education has not been matched with its counterparts such as Basque, Catalan and indeed Welsh. While Irish can be studied as a

subject across all universities in Ireland, generally very few institutions offer Irish medium provision. For example, the National University of Ireland, Galway established the Irish medium academic unit *Acadamh na hOllscolaíochta Gaeilge* (Academy for Irish-medium University studies) in 2003 to develop Irish medium higher education. This came after a review was conducted in 2000 into university's approach to the provision of Irish medium university courses and found no coherent strategy to the commitment or development of provision. As Donnacha (2010; 52) states:

“...in many cases, the commitment to Irish language provision was dependent more on the commitment of individual members of staff than on any coherent strategy at the University level. Within this context, the provision of courses through the medium of Irish within the University had become ad hoc and while course were being provided through the medium of Irish in a range of academic departments it had become increasingly difficult for students to access a sufficient number of Irish-medium module/courses to allow them to complete a full degree course through the medium of Irish”.

(Donnacha 2010; 52)

However, and by today they only offer a limited number of undergraduate courses through the medium of Irish: BA Communications Studies, BA Communications and Irish, BA Applied Irish, BA Language Studies (Translation and Irish or French), and BComm Commerce with Irish (University of Galway 2020). Similarly, *Fiontar & Scoil na Gaeilge* (School of Enterprise and Irish) at Dublin City University offers the following courses in Irish: BA Business and Irish, BA Human Studies, BEd Irish and French/German or Spanish through the medium of Irish (Dublin City University 2020). Furthermore, initial teacher education is also available through the medium of Irish (see for example, Thomas and Dunne 2022). Even within the Irish Government's Irish language policy, only a brief mention about further developing Irish medium higher education is made (Government of Ireland 2010), indicating the lack of strategic planning regarding the use of Irish as a language of instruction at university.

Sabhal Mòr Ostaig

Sabhal Mòr Ostaig, affiliated with the University of the Highlands and Islands in Scotland, is a 'unilingual minority language college' (Dunbar 2011). It provides all its courses through the medium of Gaelic and is underpinned by its commitment to the revitalization of the Gaelic language. The first two years of education are focused on achieving fluency in the language, while during years three and four students can pick modules in subjects such as education, language and culture, and traditional music (*Sabhal Mòr Ostaig* 2020).

Fróðskaparsetur Føroya

The Faroe Islands are a self-governing nation that forms part of Denmark. Here the official languages are Faroese and Danish, with the former being considered the first language

of the majority of the inhabitants. The total number of speakers amount to only around 60,000, although most inhabitants are bilingual in both languages (Petersen 2010).

The sole university on the islands, *Fróðskaparsetur Føroya* (University of the Faroe Islands) operates through the medium of Faroese, as stated in its language policy: “the foundation of the policy is that the primary spoken and written language of the University is Faroese, whether in teaching, research, or administration” (University of the Faroe Islands 2021a). This minorized language institution is seen to have a duty to preserve and develop the Faroese language, particular against the increasing threat of Danish (Bull 2012). All courses are thus offered through the medium of Faroese, and they are not limited in their range. For example, undergraduate degrees offered included nursing, law, social sciences, biology, and engineering (University of the Faroe Island 2021b). There is also a commitment to see Faroes develop as a language of academic teaching and research – a desire shared by many other minoritized languages. In its strategic plan for 2020-2024 the university has committed “to promote the use and development of Faroese academic language, including precise scientific terminology in all disciplines, and to support the publication of high-quality academic work in Faroese” (University of the Faroe Islands 2020; 12). There is also a bilingual Faroese-English scientific journal – *Fróðskaparrit* – that is published annually.

Indigenous languages

The case of indigenous languages at higher education is an interesting subject. Under Article 14 of the *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples*, indigenous people have the right to establish and control their educational systems and institutions, to have an (indigenous) education that is culturally responsive, and to have that provided in their own language (United Nations 2007). However, as a response to the lack of international protection and recognition on matters relating to indigenous people specifically at higher education, as well as the inequity they have historically faced at HE (see González and Colangelo 2010 for a history of indigenous higher education), the World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium (WINHEC) was established in 2002. The purpose of WINHEC is to provide an international forum and support for Indigenous Peoples to pursue common goals through higher education, and it advocates for the indigenous control of higher education learning and institutions (Anning et al., 2012; Jacobs et al. 2012; Meyer 2005). Its vision is as follows:

“We gather as Indigenous Peoples of our respective nations recognizing and reaffirming the education rights of all Indigenous Peoples. We share the vision of all Indigenous People of the world united in the collective synergy of self-determination through control of higher education. We are committed to building partnerships that restore and retain Indigenous spirituality, cultures and languages, homelands, social systems, economic systems, and self-determination”.

(WINHEC 2021; 1)

While all accredited indigenous higher education institutions, via WINHEC, function within its own unique indigenous framework and learning environment, most of them do not operate through the medium of their indigenous languages. Instead, many of these universities may only offer indigenous language courses to improve proficiency in those languages, or they may offer courses relating to language endangerment and revitalization (Wilson 2018), or indigenous studies, for example. Most courses offered at these institutions will be offered through the states' majority language, namely English. However, there are very few exceptions to this pattern. Such as *Te Wānanga o Raukawa* University in Aotearoa/New Zealand which offer Māori medium, but mostly bilingual Māori-English courses at undergraduate and postgraduate levels (Te Wānanga o Raukawa 2022).

Sámi allaskuvla

However, by far the most impressive example of a university that uses an indigenous language as the medium of instruction is *Sámi allaskuvla* [Sámi University of Applied Sciences], in Norway. Established in 1989, (See Posaner 2019 for the development of *Sámi allaskuvla*), it operates entirely through the medium of the Sámi language and serves to preserve and develop Sámi identity, language, culture, and society (Bull 2012; Posaner 2019; Thingnes 2020). It “is improving Sámi higher education by development of studies that fulfil Sámi needs essentially by combing the Sámi traditional knowledge with academic and scientific knowledge” (Sámi allaskuvla 2022). What once was an institution that focused on teacher training and education courses, by now offers a range of undergraduate and postgraduate courses through the medium of Sámi (Posaner 2019). Furthermore, one of the university's top priorities is to develop Sámi as an academic language: to “be a leading institution in strengthening and developing Sámi as a science, education and management language” (Sámi allaskuvla 2022). Additionally, it has a Sámi-medium scientific journal (*Sámi dieđalaš áigečála*).

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has explored the history and the state of the Welsh language across the higher education sector in Wales, providing important context to the Welsh language at this level. It has explored the historical development of Welsh medium higher education as well as the legal status and positioning of the language, including the linguistic rights ascribed to Welsh speakers at the university level. The chapter has also discussed several significant policies and approaches presented over the course of the twentieth and twenty first century proposed for the advancement of teaching through the medium of Welsh at universities.

The commitment of the Welsh Government alongside the Welsh HE sector more broadly toward Welsh medium higher education, and the Welsh language is both evident, and arguably, the strongest it has ever been. The vision of creating a solid and sustainable bilingual infrastructure for the higher education sector in Wales is undeniable. Hopefully, combined, these strategies, opportunities and linguistic rights will go a long way in ensuring the vitality of the Welsh language across the HE sector for decades to come, both as medium of instruction and Welsh language use and opportunity more generally. Evidently, this is to be welcomed. However, the experiences of Welsh speakers at university and ‘on the ground’ empirical research into the Welsh language at this level remains largely scarce. This will be demonstrated in the next chapter with a review of the academic literature. This is extremely surprising given that both the Welsh language and Welsh medium higher education are key policy agendas for the Welsh Government, with the latter being driven primarily by and through Y Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol. Ultimately, both Welsh language, and Welsh medium higher education policies and strategies tell very little about the *Welsh language university experiences of students*. It is the aim of this study to address this lacuna. Equally, it is worth reiterating a point made in section 2.2.1 of the chapter. Despite huge efforts to develop and create the infrastructure to enable Welsh speaking students to study through the medium of Welsh at university, availability in provision may not always result in student uptake of such opportunities. The chapter (section 2.3) has already highlighted the ‘disconcerting discontinuity’ of Welsh medium provision and engagement that exists across the Welsh medium education sector and that fewer Welsh speakers are likely to study through the medium of Welsh as they progress through the education sector. The next chapter will also highlight some of the issues concerning Welsh speakers as they consider their post-16 education through the medium of Welsh. Furthermore, original empirical contributions in Chapter 4 also demonstrate how Welsh speakers consider Welsh medium higher education, while Chapter 7 identifies some of the challenges and barriers facing Welsh speakers in relation to studying through the medium of Welsh *during* their time at university.

The thesis now proceeds to examine current empirical research relating to the Welsh language, Welsh speakers, and higher education presented in Chapter 3.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

3.1 Introduction

The previous chapter presented a comprehensive account on the situation and positioning of the Welsh language across the higher education sector in Wales, providing important historical, policy and legal context to the Welsh language at this level. As noted in Chapter 2, both the Welsh language (WG 2017d; WG 2017e; WG 2021b) and Welsh medium higher education (WG 2010) are key policy agendas for the Welsh Government. For example, the establishment of Y Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol in 2011 to develop and strengthen Welsh medium study opportunities across universities in Wales, and to ensure the establishment of effective progression pathways post-16 to higher education through the medium of Welsh, as noted in the government's *Welsh-medium education strategy* (WG 2010; 15) is indicative of this policy commitment. Moreover, since the inception of Y Coleg there has been increases in the number of students studying through the medium of Welsh from 4,335 students during 2011/12 (WG 2013a) to 6,570 students by 2020/21 (WG 2022b). Of course, this growth and the commitment to Welsh medium higher education is very much welcomed. However, a point worth emphasising here is that such policy focus and developments in Welsh medium higher education, and developments relating to the Welsh language across the higher education sector in Wales (as discussed in the previous chapter) have not necessarily been matched with *empirical research on Welsh speaking students at the university level*.

The purpose of this chapter, the literature review, is to examine the key academic or empirical research relating to the field, paying particular attention to current research pertaining the Welsh language, higher education participation and experience, Welsh medium and bilingual education, and bilingual students/Welsh speakers. The chapter identifies gaps and drawbacks in current research and positions this study in relation to other works. The chapter demonstrates the dearth of empirical research that exists on bilingual/ Welsh speaking university students and their experiences at this level, particularly since the establishment of Y Coleg Cymraeg in 2011, and argues the need to undertake further empirical research on these students. Research on current university students is critical to gain a better sense of how the Welsh language is situated in bilingual students university choice and experiences: the aim of this thesis. The chapter now proceeds to examine the current academic literature.

3.2 A review of the empirical literature

Current research pertaining the relationship between the Welsh language and higher education participation and experience is fundamentally scarce. Of the limited research that does exist, these can be grouped into two categories. Firstly, there are studies which have focused on Welsh-speaking school pupils and prospective university students and the place of the Welsh language, and particularly Welsh medium higher education within those choices (for example, Davies and Davies 2015; Davies and Trystan 2012; G. Jones 2010; S. Jones 2010; S. Jones 2019; Lewis and Williams 2006; C. Williams, 2003; I. Williams 1989). These make up most of the literature within this field. Secondly, there are even fewer studies that have looked at the university experiences of Welsh speaking students *at* higher education (Desforges and Jones 2000, 2001, 2004; Jones and Desforges 2003; Ifan and Hodges 2017; G. Williams 2005; Parfett et al., 2018; Thomas 2011). This literature review begins with an analysis and examination of these two groups of studies in addition to the secondary school experience of pupils across Welsh medium and bilinguals schools for further context.

3.2.1 Prospective university students: situating the Welsh language within university choices

A review of current literature on prospective university students reveals that how the Welsh language is situated in students' university choices can be grouped into three broad categories. These consist of cultural, educational, and economic considerations. Each of these factors will now be examined. It is worth noting however that most of these studies on prospective university students do not always make the distinction between university choices, as relating to the Welsh language, and home language, i.e. pupils from Welsh speaking homes vs English speaking homes. While key demographic information is provided in terms of language spoken at home across these studies, this is not always a factor that is taken into account when analysing and reporting findings.

Educational factors

The ability to study through the medium of Welsh at higher education (Welsh medium higher education) has been cited to be a key factor in prospective students' university choices (for example, Davies and Trystan 2012; Davies and Davies 2015; Hinton 2011; G.Jones 2010; S.Jones 2019). The desire to want to study through the medium of Welsh at university has been particularly noted as the natural 'choice' or natural progression for many secondary school students. Many see pursuing higher education through the medium of their secondary education as logical choice, therefore. For example, I.Williams' (1989) found that the main reasons for sixth form students wanting to study through the medium of Welsh at university was down to continuity of teaching, and the use of mother tongue for education. This corroborates research by C.Williams (2003) who found that 44.3% of sixth form students

indicated that natural progression had a 'very strong influence' on their choice of language or medium of instruction at university, followed by 29.4% that stated it had 'some influence'.

Davies and Trystan (2012) also reported that progression in the language of A Level study was an important precursor for the language chosen for HE. Meanwhile C.Williams (2003) also found a correlation between language of A Level study and location of HE. For example, 77.8% of students who had taken their A Levels through the medium of Welsh intended on staying in Wales for university compared to 60.4% of students who had taken their A Levels through the medium of English. Moreover, 72% of those who had studied their A Levels bilingually intended on studying in Wales for higher education. However C.Williams (2003) does not make the distinction between subject types here, e.g. sciences vs arts based subjects, and the language of study for A Level for individual subjects.

Moreover, C.Williams (2003) found an even greater correlation between HE destination and home language. 80.4% of those who spoke Welsh at home reported that they intended on staying in Wales to study, compared to 54.4% of those from English speaking homes. The study suggests that those who study A Level subjects through the medium of Welsh are more likely to remain in Wales to study for university compared to those who study A Level through the medium of English. The study also found a correlation between home language and individual HE destination in Wales with those from Welsh speaking homes more likely to study at Aberystwyth University (28.7%) and Bangor University (12.8%) compared to those from English speaking homes. Although 25.9% of pupils from Welsh speaking homes stated that they had chosen to study at Cardiff University. C.Williams' (2003) study suggests that students from Welsh speaking homes many naturally gravitate towards Aberystwyth and Bangor given their strong tradition of Welsh medium provision at this level, as alluded to in Chapter 2, section 2.2.1. These findings further corroborate the fact that these pupils are more likely to both stay in Wales for university and study through the medium of Welsh at this level.

While Welsh medium higher education is seen as a natural progression in Welsh speaking students' educational journey, this choice is not always seen as a straightforward decision. Many concerns, apprehension and anxiety surround this decision.

Concerns about post-16 Welsh medium study

While Welsh medium higher education may be an important aspect for students' university choices, current literature has also indicated that many prospective students, including secondary school pupils have expressed concerns and anxieties about post-16 study through the medium of Welsh. Many of these studies have also identified aspects which may actively discourage students from pursuing with Welsh medium study at the university level. These can be categorised into two groups: lack of provision and linguistic progression routes, and Welsh medium academic resources and materials.

Lack of provision and linguistic progression routes

It seems that lack of provision alongside linguistic progression is one of the main challenges that is facing Welsh medium higher education currently. Davies and Trystan (2012) found that the current lack of Welsh medium provision is the main barrier facing students as they make their decision about the language of study for post-16 education. Similarly, quantitative findings by C.Williams (2003) and Lewis and Williams (2006) have noted that one of the main reasons why prospective students choose not to follow or undertake Welsh medium courses at university was simply attributed to the lack of opportunities to do so. These represented 30% and 21.3% of students respectively. It has been noted of the importance of ensuring that effective linguistic progression routes exist for students making the transition from secondary education into the HE sector (WG 2010). The next section, Section 3.2.2 will provide further context to the secondary school experiences of pupils in terms of medium of instruction and demonstrates how a lack of Welsh medium resources and a lack of effective progression routes within the statutory Welsh medium education sector is an ongoing challenge that is also likely to have an impact on pupils' university choices.

The transition from A Level into higher education is described as a 'critical juncture in students' progression' (Davies and Trystan 2012; 158), but students face a lack of Welsh medium study opportunities at university due to the lack of provision. If this is not adequately addressed by policy makers and the Coleg Cymraeg then this is likely to continue to have an impact that is detrimental to the choice of language of study (Welsh) by students not only for higher education, but also prior to this at A Level study. Davies and Trystan (2012; 161) epitomises this critical challenge:

“...effective progression routes are crucial for students wishing to pursue studies bilingually or in Welsh. Where such routes are well developed, students express a clear willingness to continue their studies in Welsh. Conversely, where clear progression routes do not exist language choices are impacted significantly at the Higher Education level, but also when students choose A-Levels and to a lesser extent GCSEs”.

Furthermore, studies by Davies and Davies (2015), Davies and Trystan (2012), S.Jones (2010) S.Jones (2019) have all revealed that students may choose to study post-16 education through the medium of English. This is particularly the case if there is a lack of Welsh medium provision, and/or that students anticipate they would have to study through the medium of English at university.

For example S.Jones' (2010) study of year 11 pupils across three bilingual secondary schools found that the main reason why students wished to study through the medium of English for A Levels was due to a lack of Welsh medium provision within this phase. This was also cited as an influential factor in why students did not want to study through the medium of Welsh at the higher education sector too. Consequently, S.Jones (2010) argues there is a danger that the lack of Welsh medium provision in the post-16 sector phase may deprive students of the opportunity to study through the medium of Welsh throughout their secondary

education. The consequence of this has also been highlighted by Davies and Trystan (2012; 158). They argue that:

“...if a student ‘disengages’ with the Welsh-medium sector during the transition from the statutory to post-16 phases of their education, this break in progression itself functions as a barrier to further study at university through the medium of Welsh”.

However, there is room to be somewhat optimistic here. Davies and Trystan’s (2012) study indicate that there is a growing demand for Welsh medium study opportunities in the post-16 sector and that this expansion could see an increase in the number of students opting to undertake Welsh medium study at the university level. Meanwhile, in G.Jones (2010) study, students expressed that a way in which the HE sector in Wales could be improved to meet their needs would be to develop Welsh medium study opportunities. Also, Lewis and Williams’ (2006) found that 47% of students who intended to study outside of Wales would find that courses where both Welsh and English were used would influence their choice to study through the medium of Welsh at university. This figure was 55% for those intending of staying in Wales to study but through the medium of English. C.Williams (2003) also found that 28% of students could have been persuaded to stay in Wales to study if there were courses available where both languages were used side-by-side. Similar findings have also been documented by S.Jones (2010). All three quantitative studies by Lewis and Williams’ (2006), C.Williams (2003) and S.Jones (2010) reveal that assurance of linguistic progression routes and continuity in the medium of instruction at the university level is likely to play a key role in how students decide which language to undertake their degree courses. In this regard, students are likely to persuade to study in Welsh if that option is available. The findings also highlight the importance of bilingualism as part of students’ university educational choices.

Nevertheless, findings of some of these studies have also illustrated a rather bleak and pessimistic picture of prospective students’ attitudes towards Welsh medium study at university. For example, in response to the question as to why students would choose not to study their course through the medium of Welsh at university in Lewis and Williams’ (2006) research, a third of prospective students stated that Welsh ‘was not relevant’, 29% said they had ‘no interest’, and 16% said they had ‘had enough of studying in Welsh’. Meanwhile, C.Williams’ (2006) study asked students for their reasons for not taking Welsh-medium courses. In response, a total 22% of students stated that they were simply ‘not interested’, while 11% stated that they ‘have had enough of studying through the medium of Welsh’. Both questions allowed students to select more than one option. These findings were not modified by pupils’ home language therefore it is not possible to distinguish pupils’ responses based on the language spoken at home. However, it is important to recognise that possible answers to these questions were pre-defined by the researchers. Moreover, these studies were conducted a few years before the inception of Y Coleg Cymraeg therefore this is a factor that should be considered when interpreting these findings.

Academic resource and materials

Current literature has also flagged up academic resources and materials to be a concern held amongst prospective university students as they contemplate post-16 education through the medium of Welsh.

The lack of Welsh medium resource, and concerns surrounding terminology has been identified as an aspect that has seen students switching from Welsh to English for A Level study. For example, S.Jones (2010) found that a lack of Welsh medium resources was cited as one of the reasons why year 11 students wanted to change the medium from Welsh to English for their year 12 studies, or A Levels. Meanwhile Davies and Trystan (2012) found that terminology was noted amongst students as the reason for switching the medium to English for A Level study. These students expressed apprehension about the possibility of not possessing the appropriate vocabulary of terms and concepts in English for higher education. Moreover, these findings reflect S.Jones' (2019) study which revealed students' concerns about coping with (Welsh medium taught) terminology and translation at university if studying A Levels through the medium of Welsh. Both Davies and Trystan (2012) and S.Jones (2019) studies found that these concerns were more salient in the accounts of prospective students that intended on studying Sciences based courses, such as Medicine or Maths for example.

If these concerns are addressed, then students may be more likely to consider studying through the medium of Welsh at university. For example, research by Lewis and Williams (2006) found that amongst prospective university students that intended to study through the medium of English at universities in Wales, factors that could motivate/influence such students to study through the medium of Welsh include support with the Welsh language at 38%, followed by 36% of students who would want to see more resources in Welsh. For those intending on studying outside of Wales, these figures represented 15% and 27% of students respectively. Similarly, C.Williams (2003) found that the main factor that would have persuaded students to stay in Wales to study (amongst those going to a HE outside of Wales), would be more Welsh resources and books in their subjects at 35% of students. 8% of students said help with language improvement and terminology. S.Jones (2010) also found that students could be influenced to change their minds about their intended medium of instruction at HE if there were support available with their Welsh language, particularly regarding terminology. Such findings may suggest that students are (more) willing to consider Welsh medium study on the basis that there is a solid infrastructure of Welsh medium academic resources and educational support available through the medium of Welsh at higher education. Moreover, school pupils in Thomas and Parry's (2021) study also expressed that developing Welsh medium resources, including bilingual textbooks could be an effective way to address the lack of Welsh-medium provision in STEM subjects at the university level.

Interestingly, similarly concerns were also flagged by sixth form students in I.Williams' (1989) quantitative study as far back as 1989. This is the first known study to look at prospective students and their attitudes towards the Welsh language in higher education.

Students expressed several concerns and disadvantages to studying through the medium of Welsh at university. These include shortage of academic resources in Welsh, and inadequate Welsh medium academic terminology. Also reported as a disadvantage was having to continuously translate from English into Welsh which was seen by many as an 'unprofitable activity' (I. Williams 1989). As a result, many of these students were simply discouraged from wanting to study their degree courses through the medium of Welsh.

Linguistic/language factors

Language confidence has also been reported to play a part in how students consider language of study post-16 education, although this has not featured as a major aspect in many of the current literature on prospective students. For example, Davies and Davies (2015) found that students choose to progress into post-16 education through the medium of their strongest language. Other studies however have indicated that a lack of perceived confidence in Welsh discouraged many for pursuing Welsh medium post-16 education. Research by C. Williams (2003) found that 20% of sixth form students did not want to study through the medium of Welsh at university because they felt 'not sufficiently confident in Welsh'. Likewise, 19.5% of students in Lewis and Williams' (2006) study also reported that a lack of confidence in Welsh was the reason why they did not want to pursue with Welsh medium study at university. Meanwhile S. Jones (2010) also cited a lack of confidence in Welsh as key reason why students opt for post-16 education, particularly university level, through the medium of English. This was even despite these students having received most of their primary and secondary education through the medium of Welsh.

Financial incentives

Research by C. Williams (2003) G. Jones (2010) Lewis and Williams (2006) and S. Jones (2019) have noted how financial incentives can become an influencing factor in students' decision to consider Welsh medium study. While the Welsh Government (2017c) recognises scholarships as an effective means of encouraging prospective students to continue to study through the medium of Welsh, they have also called for a change in the Coleg's scholarship scheme. For example, students can receive a Main Scholarship (£3,000 over three years) to study at least 80% credits through the medium of Welsh. A Welsh Government review into the activities of Y Coleg Cymraeg (WG 2017c) reported that this scholarship does not 'offer the best value for money' as they report that pupils who intend to study at least 80 credits in Welsh are likely to do so regardless of any additional incentive. The Welsh Government has called for a shift in focus and to target students who need an incentive to study through the medium of Welsh rather than those who would choose to do so without an incentive. They believe that an Incentive Scholarship (£1,500 over three years) to study at least 40% credits in Welsh offers the best opportunity to better target students who would not otherwise study through the medium of Welsh.

Nevertheless, it is worth recognising that the number of students studying 40 and 80 credits through the medium of Welsh have stagnated over recent years, as will be demonstrated in Chapter 6, despite financial incentives provided by Y Coleg Cymraeg.

Cultural factors

The Welsh language has been noted in current literature to be an important feature of prospective students' university choices for cultural reasons. However, a review of the literature indicates that the relationship between culture and university choices amongst Welsh speaking prospective university students have not necessarily been an aspect which has been explored in detail or to the extent that educational factors have, for example. Nevertheless, current literature reveals that language is not solely associated with educational factors such as Welsh medium higher education, but language is also intertwined within students' cultural identities, and this has a bearing on students' university choices.

Davies and Davies (2015) found that students' choice to study through the medium of Welsh was closely bound up in the importance of the Welsh language to their sense of identity. Furthermore, Davies and Trystan (2012) and Hinton (2011) have documented the interplay between cultural identity and location of study. Both these studies found that Aberystwyth University became appealing for Welsh speaking prospective university students because it was seen as a place where both the Welsh language and Welsh medium higher education was 'instinctive' (Davies and Trystan 2012). Location of study can therefore become a performative expression of cultural identity, as well as a linguistic identity. Similar sentiments have also been found in Hinton's (2011) study of prospective students in which she found that language may operate as an important indicator of belonging. In her study, a participant had chosen to study at Aberystwyth University as it would provide 'comfort' from hearing the Welsh language. These findings further attest to those identified by G.Jones (2010) in which she found the interplay among culture and identity, Welsh language and Welsh medium higher in students' university choices. Implicated in this process was the location of study, with most students who had chosen to study through the medium of Welsh choosing to do so at Bangor and Aberystwyth University, compared to any other Welsh universities.

Moreover, current research have highlighted that students associate Welsh medium study with Welsh language maintenance and vitality, with some students considering the threat of language loss as a motivating factor to study through the medium of Welsh (I.Williams 1989; Davies and Davies 2015; Davies and Trystan 2012; S.Jones 2019).

Place attachment

The concept of place can be described as space/s that have been assigned meaning through personal, group or cultural processes (Low and Altman 1992). They are viewed as:

“...repositories and contexts within which interpersonal, community, and cultural relationships occur, and it is to those social relationships, not just to place qua place, to which people are attached”.

(Low and Altman 1992; 7)

Individuals' relationship to, and with place can be better understood through the concept of place attachment. Here attachment to place can be established as the affective or emotional bond and connection that people have to particular settings or environments (Low 1992; Low and Altman 1992). Furthermore, Relph (1976) claims that places are profound centres of human existence. Place attachment is the result of individuals' meaning to place and typically through positive emotions and experiences. In other words, the more important or significant a place is regarded to the individual, the greater the attachment to that place. Low (1992; 165) for example provides the following definition of this concept as:

“the symbolic relationship formed by people giving culturally shared emotional/affective meanings to a particular space or piece of land that provides the basis for the individual's and group's understanding of and relation to the environment”.

Stemming primarily from the field of environment psychology, place attachment (Low 1992; Low and Altman 1992) as a concept has not yet been utilised in the Welsh language context³⁰, and particularly within Welsh speaking students' decision-making process about university. However, studies on (non-Welsh speaking) prospective university students by Donnelly and Evans (2016) and Hinton (2011) in Wales have noted how students' attachment to place is an influential factor in determining the location of study for higher education.

Economic factors

Studies such as Davies and Trystan (2012); Davies and Davies (2015); Heath (2001); and S.Jones (2019) have revealed the interplay between post-16 study, language, and labour market opportunities during students' decision making process about going to university.

³⁰ Chapter 5, the first empirical chapter, uses the concept of 'cynefin' to demonstrate students' attachment to place and how this can inform student' university choices particularly in relation to location, and the interplay between place and language.

Existing literature reveal how prospective students perceive Welsh language as linguistic capital (Bourdieu 1977; 1991) and that this plays a role in influencing the language of study post-16 education. According to current studies, students conceptualise Welsh language as a form of capital in two ways. Firstly, Davies and Davies (2015), and Davies and Trystan (2012) found that students deem Welsh language *ability and fluency* to be capital that would afford them an advantage in the labour market. Davies and Trystan (2012: 155) asserts that “fluency achieved during statutory schooling is largely perceived as a valued labour market skill among students”. Secondly, and more specifically is the notion that *Welsh medium higher education* and studying through the medium of Welsh at university is considered a form of linguistic capital amongst students, and that this is linked to increased employability opportunities (Davies and Trystan 2012; Davies and Davies 2015; Heath 2001; and S.Jones 2019). However, students expressed that the advantages offered by Welsh medium higher education in terms of employment and labour market opportunities were restricted to specific domains, namely the public sector (Davies and Davies 2015). Subsequently Davies and Trystan (2012) have called for more efforts to raise awareness among prospective students of the potential benefits of studying through the medium of Welsh at HE in terms of developing higher-level competency in Welsh. They state:

“the benefits of high-level competency need to be communicated in terms that can overcome students’ anxieties regarding employability and demonstrate economic value in Welsh-medium study beyond the sectors within which it currently enjoys a legitimised status”

(Davies and Trystan 2012; 161)

Additionally, the perceived labour market advantages of studying through the medium of Welsh at university was only relevant in the context of staying in Wales for employment. Students in Davies and Davies (2015) and Davies and Trystan’s (2012) study for example claimed that studying in Welsh at HE would put them at a disadvantage if they were to look for work outside of Wales. Nevertheless, Lewis and Williams’ quantitative study (2006) reported that most students felt it was essential to be able to work effectively through the medium of both Welsh and English in the workplace, compared to working through the medium of Welsh or English only. These students felt that their bilingual skills would be beneficial for entering the workplace. Similarly, C.Williams’ (2003) research also found that 45% of students would want to use both Welsh and English equally in response to their preference of prospective languages of work. Moreover, quantitative studies by Blackaby and Drinkwater (1996), Drinkwater and O’Leary (1997), Henley and Jones (2005) have even indicated that Welsh speakers are less likely to be unemployed than monolingual English-speakers in Wales.

Studies on prospective university students thus reveal that Welsh speakers are well informed of the importance of the Welsh language in the workplace and the value of possessing linguistic skills in both Welsh and English for employment labour market opportunities. Current literature suggests that this is carefully considered among students in

relation their university decision-making process and can be regarded as an instrumental motivation to pursue with Welsh medium study. These sentiments of course relate to the fact that there is a growing demand for Welsh speakers in an increasing bilingual workforce in the public sector. For example, the Welsh Government's language strategy *Cymraeg 2050* (WG 2017a) regards the workplace as a key domain to achieve its aim of creating one million Welsh speakers by 2050. Meanwhile the Welsh Language Measure (Wales) (HMSO 2014), building on the Welsh Language Act 1993 (HMSO 1993), has provided a legal framework for developing a bilingual workforce infrastructure across the public sector.

It is evident from current literature that the Welsh language is firmly embedded within prospective students' HE decision-making process for a range of reasons. These include educational, cultural, and economic factors. Existing literature also demonstrates that there is a clear appetite and demand for Welsh medium higher education, and that for many students this is seen as a natural progression from their secondary education. Although it is not without its challenges; several studies have shown how a lack of effective linguistic progression routes as well as a lack of academic resources and materials can impact students language choices for post-16 study. It seems logical therefore that the next focus or area of study on these group of students should be on their university experiences: the next step in their educational transition. It raises fundamental questions such as how these students experience university as Welsh speakers. This is particularly relevant in the context of their learning experiences, given the prominence of educational factors that has featured repeatedly within the literature around prospective students. What then is currently known about their experiences? While current knowledge in this area is limited, hence the grounding of this thesis on *current university students*, section 3.2.3 reviews the limited literature on Welsh speaking students at higher education. Before doing so, the following section provides further context to studies on prospective students and their university decision making process by exploring what happens at the secondary school level, particularly in relation to the language of learning.

3.2.2 Wider educational context: Pupils' secondary school experiences

Developing and establishing effective linguistic progression pathways post-16 to higher education through the medium of Welsh is a key aim for the Welsh Government's *Welsh-medium education strategy* (WG 2010; 15). Indeed, as has just been noted in the previous section, research such as Davies and Davies (2015), Davies and Trystan (2012), S.Jones (2010) and S.Jones (2019) have suggested that students may choose to study post-16 education through the medium of English, including at the university level, due to a lack of Welsh medium provision and opportunities.

Equally critical is to both strengthen and ensure effective linguistic progression routes from *statutory education*, specifically secondary education through to post-16 education through the medium of Welsh. The Welsh Government has outlined in its *Welsh-medium education strategy* (WG 2010) its aim of improving the planning of Welsh-medium provision in

the *post-14 phases of education* with one of its strategic objectives being to “plan provision which enables linguistic progression from the statutory education phase into the post-16 phase” (WG 2010 15). Therefore, it is important that linguistic progression routes throughout statutory education are well-established to allow and encourage pupils to continue to study post-16 subjects through the medium of Welsh. If Welsh medium/bilingual provision is fragmented at this level, this is likely to have an impact on pupils’ language choices for post-16 study, including both A Level and higher education. This point is succinctly captured in Davies and Trystan’s study (2012), as noted in section 3.2.1. To reiterate the quote that was presented in the previous section, Davies and Trystan note that:

“...effective progression routes are crucial for students wishing to pursue studies bilingually or in Welsh. Where such routes are well developed, students express a clear willingness to continue their studies in Welsh. Conversely, where clear progression routes do not exist language choices are impacted significantly at the Higher Education level, but also when students choose A-Levels and to a lesser extent GCSEs”

(Davies and Trystan 2012; 161)

Secondary school experiences thus play a key role in students’ university decision-making process and well-established linguistic progression routes are integral to ensure that students pursue to study post-16 education bilingually and/or through the medium of Welsh. However, what is currently known about pupils’ learning experiences at Welsh medium and bilingual secondary schools particularly in relation to the language/medium of instruction? This section provides some important context to the preceding section by focusing on the wider educational context and exploring the secondary schooling experiences of Welsh speaking students. Following this section, the subsequent section moves to focus on the learning experiences of *current* Welsh speaking university students.

The Welsh Language Use Survey 2019-2020 (WG 2022d) asked Welsh speaking pupils aged between 11 and 15 the language of subject study in secondary schools. The findings revealed that while fluent Welsh speakers were more likely to study secondary school subjects through the medium of Welsh than in English, results which are arguably not surprising, there were differences in the language in which these pupils learned different subjects. On the one hand for example, 94% of fluent pupils said that they study Mathematics always or mainly through the medium of Welsh, followed closely by Physical Education and History, both at 91%, and Geography at 87%. However, Science was the subject which had the lowest proportion of fluent Welsh speakers stating to be learning it through the medium of Welsh at secondary school, at 74%. This means that just over a quarter of fluent Welsh speaking pupils aged 11 to 15 learn Science through the medium of English.

It is useful to draw comparisons with previous findings of Welsh Language Use Survey in which a similar trend emerges. For example, the Welsh Language Use Survey of 2004-06 (Bwrdd Yr Iaith Gymraeg 2008) showed that 68% of fluent pupils were studying Mathematics

in Welsh almost always or mainly, while this figure was 65% for Science. This in comparison to subjects such as History, Geography and Religious Studies for example, in which 84% of fluent Welsh pupils stated to be studying these subjects through the medium of Welsh always or mainly. Thereafter, the following Welsh language use survey conducted in 2013-15 (WG 2015c) reported that 76% of fluent Welsh speaking pupils aged between 11 and 15 learnt Science always or mainly through the medium of Welsh, while this was 82% for Mathematics. Arts based subjects had a higher proportion of fluent Welsh speaking students studying always or mainly through the medium of Welsh, such as 89% for Drama, 88% Music, and 87% for both History and Geography. (See Bwrdd Yr Iaith Gynraeg 2008WG 2015c; WG 2022d for further breakdown of these findings relative to secondary school subjects).

Comparisons between these survey findings would indicate that there has been some growth in the number of fluent Welsh speakers studying subjects such as Mathematics always or mainly through the medium of Welsh. While the same can be said for those studying Science as a subject, the rate of progress has been very slow in comparison, and students are still more likely to study Arts based subjects either always or mainly through the medium of Welsh as opposed to Science.

However, these findings may very well allude to the lack of progression routes in Welsh medium provision across the statutory education (see for example Section 2.3, Chapter 2). Baker (2014) notes of the tendency for subjects such as the sciences, mathematics and technology to be taught through the medium of English even within minoritized language contexts, such as across bilingual schools in Wales. Afterall, English is often considered the “de facto universal language of science” (Drubin and Kellog 2012; 1399) and is inevitably accompanied with increased status and prestige as a result. Although Thomas and Parry (2021) have called for the bias that exists toward English within the sciences to be addressed at the secondary school level by making Science visible and accessible through the medium of Welsh. For example, by introducing scientific research papers written in Welsh for Gwerddon, and help develop scientific writing in Welsh. Baker (2014) notes that:

“In Welsh medium secondary schools, where much of the curriculum is taught through the medium of Welsh, it is not unusual to find Science and Mathematics taught in English. This may reflect the textbooks that are available, the preferences of English language-educated Science teachers, the preferences of some to think mathematically in English, or simply the tradition of teaching Science and Mathematics in English”

(Baker, 2014; 208)

This clear division in the language of study subjects as noted by Baker (2014) and the aforementioned findings by the Welsh Language Use Survey Bwrdd Yr Iaith Gynraeg 2008; WG 2015c; 2022d) was documented by Khelif (1976; 1980) in his anthropological study of Welsh medium schools in Wales as far back as during the late 1970s. Khelif particularly noted the tendency for Sciences and Mathematics to be taught through the medium of English at

Welsh medium schools, with Arts based subjects generally taught through the medium of Welsh. He also observed the scarcity of Welsh medium academic resources at the secondary school level meant that English textbooks and resources were often used in class. Similar observations were documented by Morgan in 1988 (Morgan 1998) who noted that some of the challenges facing bilingual education across secondary schools in Wales at the time included the lack of educational resources available through the medium of Welsh, particularly across years 12 and 13, and a lack of Welsh medium teachers in specialist subjects. The following excerpt from Khleif would indicate that students at Welsh medium secondary schools, during the 1970s, likely used translanguaging (see section 3.2.3) as a learning tool in sciences based subjects, drawing on both their Welsh and English languages skills. Writing in 1980, Khleif stated:

“It should be remembered that Welsh ceased to be the language of administration in Wales in 1526, that ever since that time, it has not had ‘official’ status. This means that the language has remained essentially pre-industrial, that is, an excellent vehicle for expression of poetry and emotions, but an untried vehicle for expression of bureaucratic, industrial, and technological concerns. It is, for example, still hard to teach physics or chemistry in Welsh, much easier to teach subjects such subjects in English... hence, in most subjects, teachers in Welsh-medium schools still, by and large, rely on English textbooks. In other words, the text may be in English, but the class lectures, discussions, analysis, interpretation, homework, and exams are in Welsh... When it comes to teaching sciences or mathematics in the secondary school, the native language may be the language of discussion and interpretation but some of the major text continue to be in a world language, English”

(Khleif 1980; 195-196)

Khleif summarised the pattern in the language of study subjects across Welsh medium schools. He observed that:

“The subjects taught in Welsh in the Welsh-medium secondary schools generally are: history, geography, scripture, music, needlework, woodwork, metalwork, physical education, and of course, Welsh. The subjects taught in English are: English itself, as well as maths, physics, chemistry, biology, and technical drawing. In a word, at a Welsh-medium secondary school, the subjects taught in Welsh are all except English, maths, and the sciences”

(Khleif 1980; 197)

It is interesting to observe therefore that there has always been a tradition of teaching sciences based subjects through the medium of English even across Welsh medium and bilingual schools. Similar to Khleif (1980), both Baker (1993) and Jones (1997) point out this

tradition and the clear differences in the language of study between the sciences and arts based subjects. For example:

“History, Geography and Religious Education have been ‘natural’ subjects for Welsh-medium teaching due to their obvious Welsh cultural links, relative lack of problems with terminology and a partial availability of suitable curriculum material. Since the inception of bilingual secondary education, these tended to be the first subjects taught in Welsh. For opposite reasons, Maths and Science have tended to be among the last subjects to use Welsh as the medium of instruction”.

(Baker 1993; 12)

“Until the late 1970s both Ysgolion Cymraeg and natural bilingual schools generally took the approach that while it was appropriate to teach religious education, geography, and history through the medium of Welsh, science and mathematics should be taught in English. This approach tended to define English as the language that was technical, vocational and marketable”.

(Jones 1997; 395)

Moreover, Jones (1997) notes that the 1970s was a time where very few Welsh medium textbooks existed in subjects such as mathematics and the sciences, and that it has only been since the 1980s that mathematics has become a subject that is commonly taught through the medium of Welsh. In 1979 a series of Welsh medium mathematics textbooks entitled *Cyfes y Cambria* by Dafydd Kirman was published and this proved to be pivotal in the eventual widespread teaching of mathematics through the medium of Welsh across secondary schools in Wales. It provided teachers with adequate resources for them to consider teaching Mathematics through the medium of Welsh. The following years would see an increase in the number of students being entered Mathematics examination through the medium of Welsh. For example, WJEC did not offer Welsh medium mathematics examination papers before 1975, and by 1995 a total of 2,450 students were entered for GCSE Mathematics through the medium of Welsh. (See Jones 1997 for more on the historical development of teaching Mathematics through the medium of Welsh). Moreover, Baker (1993) notes the rise in the percentage of secondary schools offering subjects through the medium of Welsh during this time. In 1979 a total of 6.1% of secondary schools in Wales offered Maths through the medium of Welsh. By 1990 this had increased to 17.7%. Similarly, small increases were seen in the percentage of secondary schools that taught Physics through the medium of Welsh in 1982 from 7.1% to 9.5% in 1990, and Chemistry from 3.7% up to 9.1% during the same period (Baker 1993).

More recently, Thomas and Parry (2021) conducted a study to explore current Welsh medium provision across STEM subjects. They researched a variety of stakeholders including

pupils and teachers across secondary schools in north Wales (Gwynedd, Conwy and Wrexham), in addition to university students and university staff.

A total of 76 pupils across years 9, 10, 11, 12 and 13 took part in the study. When asked which language they would want to study the following STEM subjects – Biology, Chemistry, Computing, Design and Technology, Physics and Mathematics – at A Level, most pupils indicated that they would want to study them either in Welsh or bilingually. Responses ranged from 74% for both Chemistry and Physics, 75% for both Computing and Biology, 81% for Maths and 86% for Design and Technology. It seems that home language plays a key role in pupils' choices regarding their language of study. Pupils from Welsh speaking homes indicated that they wanted to study these STEM subjects through the medium of Welsh, while those from English speaking homes were likely to want to study them through the medium of English. In a similar fashion, C. Williams (2003) also found a correlation between the language of study of year 12 and 13 pupils with home language. Those from Welsh speaking homes were more likely to study their subjects for A Level in Welsh, and those from English homes likely to do so through the medium of English.

In comparison however, when Thomas and Parry (2021) asked about pupils' language choices for studying these subjects at the university level, most pupils favoured a bilingual approach compared to Welsh medium for A Level study. For example, 22% of pupils would choose to study Chemistry through the medium of Welsh at university compared to 44% that would opt for the bilingual option. Home language also play a role here in the same way that it does for pupils' language choice for A Level study. The study clearly demonstrates the gradual shift in students' language choices from Welsh for A Level study to bilingual at the university level. Thomas and Parry's study (2021) indicate that pupils' understanding of linguistic provision at the university level is an aspect which influences their language choices at school, echoing similar findings by Davies and Trystan (2012) for example. They state that:

“Pupils' preconceptions regarding the linguistic provision at university is a strong factor that influence their choices at school. Universities have a role to ensure schools are aware of the Welsh-medium provision at university, including opportunities to study through the medium of English but produce their assessments in Welsh”

(Thomas and Parry 2021; 15)

Arguably however the opposite is also true, and schools and pupils alike ought to be aware that pupils can opt for Welsh medium study at university and write assignments in English.

Thomas and Parry (2021) also asked teachers (n=21) about current provision of Welsh medium resources in STEM subjects across secondary schools in north Wales. The findings highlight the very bleak reality facing secondary schools in Wales in terms of the lack of academic resources that are available in Welsh. For example, 81% of teachers said that they

strongly disagree or disagree somewhat with the following two statements: ‘There are enough Welsh language educational resources’, and ‘Welsh-medium and English-medium educational resources are of the same standard’. Meanwhile 81% of teachers reported to strongly agree or agree somewhat that ‘Good quality Welsh-medium resources are rare’ and the statement ‘Bilingual resources are rare’. Moreover, an overwhelming majority of teachers at 95% of responses strongly agree or agree somewhat with the statement ‘Welsh-medium resources are often available after English-medium ones’, along with ‘There is a need for more modern and attractive Welsh-medium resources’. The lack of resources available in Welsh was particularly noted by teachers for A Level study and subjects and Thomas and Parry (2021) calls for need to invest in high quality Welsh medium and bilingual educational resources at the secondary level.

Interestingly, a recent evaluation into Welsh medium provision in Initial Teacher Education (ITE) in 2018 (Bryer and Duggan 2018) found that only a small number of teachers are training to teach Sciences subjects through the medium of Welsh. The evaluation also reported that one of the challenges currently facing Welsh medium and bilingual secondary schools is recruiting Welsh speaking teachers with the appropriate Welsh language skills to teach Science subjects through the medium of Welsh (Bryer and Duggan 2018; Thomas and Parry 2021). Thomas and Parry (2021) also note that such positions may not necessarily be filled by suitable candidates and that the lack of Welsh speaking qualified teachers directly impact students’ engagement across STEM subjects (Science, Technology, Engineering and Mathematics).

Decades later, and this is still a challenge that is facing the Welsh medium statutory education sector. This was recently flagged by the Welsh Government in their *Welsh in Education Workforce Plan* (2022e) in which they have set out their aim of increasing the number of teachers to teach subjects through the medium of Welsh across secondary schools:

“There is no doubt that we do not have enough people choosing to become teachers in the Welsh-medium sector. While the picture is more positive in primary education, we know that secondary schools have difficulties recruiting teachers, particularly in some subjects such as science, mathematics, English and Welsh”.

(WG 2022e; 8)

This is a challenge that is also shared by the Irish context. For example, Grádaigh (2015) analysed profile of applicants and entrants on the *Dioplóma Gairmiúil san Oideachas* between 2000 and 2011 - which is the (only) initial teacher training program for the second-level (secondary) Irish medium school sector. His analysis showed a marked shortage of teacher training graduates qualified to teach subjects such as sciences and mathematics through the medium of Irish in secondary schools, compared with the overwhelming majority of graduates qualified to teach Arts based subjects particularly Irish, History, Geography and Business, for example. A total of 90% of entrants onto the program had gained a BA degree,

compared to only 4.5% who held a B.S.c degree. Grádaigh (2015) argues the need to ensure the Dioplóma Gairmiúil san Oideachas creates adequate supply of qualified graduate teachers in order to meet the demands of the Irish medium secondary school sector, particularly in subject-specific areas such as the sciences.

3.2.3 Current university students: The Welsh language and university experience

Very few examples can be drawn from previous research that have focused on Welsh speaking students at the university level. This is extremely surprising given the Welsh Government's policy focus on the Welsh language and on Welsh medium higher education (Chapter 2, Section 2.2.1). Some of these studies include³¹Desforges and Jones (2000, 2001, 2004); Jones and Desforges (2003); Ifan and Hodges (2017); G. Williams (2005); Parfett et al., (2018); and Thomas (2011). Nevertheless, most of these studies have focused more on the learning aspects of studies' choices and experiences, rather than the social experiences of Welsh speaking students. A brief note on the methodology and methodological drawbacks of some of these studies is presented before proceeding with the remainder of the section. These studies have looked at specific courses and subjects. For example, these include students studying Geography (Desforges and Jones 2000, 2001, 2004; Jones and Desforges 2003) and those undertaking a Law degree at Aberystwyth University (G. Williams 2005), students studying an interdisciplinary module across Music and Sociology entitled Sociology of Music at Bangor University (Ifan and Hodges 2017), and students studying a Psychology module through the medium of English also at Bangor University (Thomas 2011). Meanwhile, Parfett et al., (2018) did not specify which subjects their participants were studying at Cardiff University. Additionally, G.Williams' (2005) quantitative study used purposive sampling to identify 73 speaking students within the Law department at Aberystwyth University, and received a low response rate of 39%, (n=31). Ifan and Hodges' conducted a single focus group with six students that were studying an interdisciplinary module. Meanwhile Desforges and Jones (2000, 2001, 2004); Jones and Desforges (2003) also conducted focus groups with students which included a mixture of monolingual English speakers and Welsh-English bilingual students. Thomas' (2011) study included seven participants that completed a survey, while Parfett et al., (2018) used online questionnaire, generating a total of 125 responses.

This section begins with an introduction to the concepts of biliteracy and translanguaging before proceeding to examine studies on the university experience of current Welsh speaking students.

³¹ Moreover, C. Williams' (2003) study did include distributing questionnaires to students across Welsh universities. The aim had been to ascertain the current situation of Welsh medium higher education, and to collect attitudes towards learning through the medium of Welsh. However, of the 2,500 surveys that was sent out, only 174 responses were received, representing a mere 7% response rate. As these findings have no statistical significance, analysis of these results has not been provided by C. Williams (2003).

Biliteracy

Biliteracy combines the concepts of literacy and bilingualism and generally refers to individuals' (written) development and ability in two languages. Hornberger's (1990; 213) well known definition of biliteracy refers to "any and all instances in which communication occurs in two (or more) languages in or around writing". Moreover, Palfreyman and van der Walt (2017) have adapted this definition to describe academic biliteracy, or biliteracy within an academic context as referring to "the use in a higher education context of two or more languages in or around written text for the purpose of broadening or deepening knowledge" (Palfreyman and van der Walt 2017; 1). They note that as the higher education sector becomes more internationalised the use of more than one language for learning and teaching across universities is becoming increasingly more common (see for example, section 2.5). In the Welsh context however while bilingual Welsh-English speaking students bring with them to higher education their biliteracy competencies, it is fair to presume that they are not always encouraged to draw from their full range of linguistic resources during their learning and for academic purposes. This may be particularly the case if students are studying through the medium of English. It is worth remembering here that minoritized languages such as the Welsh language or Basque are less likely to be used within the higher levels of education (Cenoz 2012; Cenoz and Etxague 2013); therefore many speakers of minoritized language may face challenges and barriers to using their language at this level. For example, Thomas (2011) aimed to develop bilingual learning opportunities for bilingual (Welsh-English) students studying on an English medium module in Psychology as a way to encourage students to make use of their bilingual skills. This was done in the form of online resources on Blackboard. Thomas (2011) found that it was difficult to encourage students to engage with all of the Welsh content without some encouragement from a member of staff, and that this may cause a problem for those modules which are delivered in English with little input from staff who speaks Welsh. Subsequently she highlighted the importance of training non-Welsh speaking staff about the benefits of translanguaging; to inform students that Welsh resources are intended to support their personal studies rather than *replacing* English resources; and to teach students that being able to approach a subject in more than one language promotes understanding of that subject. However, the development of Welsh medium higher education provides increasing opportunities for bilingual students to utilise their bilingual skills for academic purposes and for their biliteracy to form a part of learning experiences. Ifan and Hodges (2017) for example assert that bilingual practices such as translanguaging occurs naturally within Welsh medium higher education because of the dependency on English medium academic resources. In an English medium context however, it seems that more needs to be done to actively encourage Welsh speakers to utilise their bilingual skills. Hornberger (2005; 607) asserts that biliteracy or bilingual practices should be regarded as an asset because:

"bi/multilinguals' learning is maximized when they are allowed and enabled to draw from across all their existing language skills (in two+ languages), rather than being

constrained and inhibited from doing so by monolingual instructional assumptions and practices”.

A common biliteracy/bilingual practice in education is translanguaging.

Translanguaging

The term translanguaging, or *trawsieithu* in Welsh, has its roots in Wales and was originally coined by the educationalist Cen Williams during the 1980s to refer to the pedagogical practice of using two languages – Welsh and English – for learning and teaching in bilingual classrooms (Lewis et al 2012; Williams 1994). The original concept of translanguaging³² referred to the planned and systematic alternation between Welsh and English in the same classroom through altering or switching the language for input (reading/writing) and output (speaking/listening) activities (Jones 2017; Lewis et al 2012). Williams (1994) referred to it as the practice of:

“...reading in one language or another, internalizing the knowledge and then reproducing it in the other language [and] reflects a high functional standard of bilingualism”.

(1994; 262-263 *translated*)

A common representation of translanguaging in the Welsh context is the process of using English medium resources to gather and collate information and knowledge, and then to write an assignment based on those resources through the medium of Welsh. This is a typical practice in bilingual classrooms whereby English medium resources are used to develop pupils’ competency in the Welsh language (Jones 2017). Translanguaging can therefore be used as an important aspect of minoritized language education within a bilingual learning system (Cenoz and Gorter 2017) which focuses on developing and maintaining pupils’ bilingualism and abilities in both languages, in this case, Welsh and English.

Translanguaging should not be confused with *code-switching*. Code-switching, also known as language switching or mixing, refers to bilinguals’ abilities to move *between* languages or within sentences, either through intra-sentential or inter-sentential switching for example. To simplify, it is the alternate use of more than one language in any given situation. It is commonplace and occurs seamlessly amongst bi/multilinguals in multilingual contexts where language contact becomes inevitable. Bentahila and Davies (1995; 75) provides the following definition of code-switching as:

³² See and García and Lin (2017) and Lewis et al. (2012) for more on the development of translanguaging as a term and its expansion beyond its original term as proposed by Williams (1994).

“...the process whereby speakers move from one language to another either within a single utterance or between one utterance and the next in the same interaction (in contrast to cases where speakers may use one language in some situations and another in others)”.

Code-switching is based on a monoglossic view of bilingualism and regards speakers as possessing two separate linguistic systems (García and Lin 2017). However, one conceptualisation of translanguaging considers bilinguals as having *one integrated* linguistic repertoire which learners draw fluidly from to make meaning, rather than possessing two separate language systems (García 2012; García and Wei 2014; García and Lin 2017; Vogel and García 2017). García (2009a) for example extended the original definition of translanguaging to refer to the bilingual strategies or practices of bilinguals rather than merely the teaching practices within bilingual classrooms which was the focus of Williams’ (1994) definition. García (2009a; 45) defined it as “the multiple discursive practices in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds”. García and Wei (2014) describes this distinction:

“Translanguaging differs from the notion of code-switching in that it refers not simply to a shift or a shuttle between two languages, but to the speakers’ construction and use of original and complex interrelated discursive practices than cannot be easily assigned to one or another traditional definition of a language, but that make up the speakers’ complete language repertoire”.

(García and Wei 2014; 22)

The focus of translanguaging therefore is not so much on languages themselves, but rather on the process of communication, meaning and sense-making produced by bilinguals through a process of bilingual engagement:

“Translanguaging is the act performed by bilingual of accessing different linguistic features or various modes of what are described as autonomous languages, in order to maximize communicate potential. It is an approach to bilingualism that is centred, not on language as has often been the case, but on the practices of bilinguals that are readily observable in order to make sense of their multilingual worlds”.

(García 2009b; 140)

Moreover, Williams (1994) regarded translanguaging as a pedagogical tool that advances students’ learning experiences as it allows learners to exploit their linguistic resources for educational purposes. For example, Williams (1994) and Baker (2011) argue that translanguaging is a linguistic skill to be mastered as it deepens pupils’ understanding of the subject matter as it requires students to fully process and digest (Baker 2011) the subject matter in both languages. This dual language processing involves using one language to reinforce the other and allows pupils to augment their linguistic abilities in both languages (Lewis et al., 2012). Williams (1994) writes:

“This is one of the advantages of bilingualism being highlighted in an interactive situation whereby one language depends on the other and whereby a pupil must delve more fully into the text to fully understand the work...the more challenging or abstract the field that is read about, the greater the demands on pupil’s ability to understand the original language and be able to reproduce or apply the knowledge in the other language”.

(Williams 1994; 263 *translated*)

Research by Desforges and Jones (2004) and Ifan and Hodges (2017) have revealed that Welsh speaking students employ bilingual strategies and practices for academic purposes, and that this was generally seen as a positive aspect of their learning experiences. For example, students in Desforges and Jones’ study valued the ability to look at resources in the mediums of both Welsh and English with many referring to the ‘double consciousness’ (Desforges and Jones 2004; 417) that enables students to think and reflect on concepts and terms in Welsh and in English. Similarly, Ifan and Hodges (2017) found that bilingual strategies enhanced and enriched students’ learning experiences. It increased their understanding of the subject area and allowed them to be more creative in academic writing. These findings further attest to the advantages of translanguaging as pointed out by Baker (2011) and Williams (1994) for example. These findings also echo those by Lewis and Andrews’ (2014) study of bilingual Welsh-English lectures at the School of Education at Bangor University. Their study concluded that Welsh speaking students found many advantages to lecturers using both languages for teaching purposes. These included being able to learn terminology in both Welsh and English; the development of their Welsh and English language skills; and being able to learn about subject concepts in two languages.

Bilingual practices and the use of more than one language within students’ university learning have also been documented by international research. For example, van der Walt (2006) and van der Walt and Dornbarck (2011) have explored the bilingual practices and strategies of bilingual Afrikaans-English speaking students at Stellenbosch University, South Africa. Students in van der Walt and Dornbarck (2011) had received their primary and secondary education through the medium of Afrikaans and had transitioned to learning bilingually at university with both Afrikaans and English used as medium of instructions at university level. van der Walt and Dornbrack (2011) revealed that students employ a range of bilingual practice and strategies, drawing from both Afrikaans and English, to negotiate their academic studies. In this sense therefore students’ entire linguistic resources are considered a form of capital that complements their learning. One way in which these students do this is through translanguaging. van der Walt and Dornbrack (2011; 93) write that: “making sense of academic material in Afrikaans *and* English is crucial to students: translanguaging is not really a choice but a necessity”, and the simultaneous use of two languages becomes ‘automated’ for these students. Their study illustrates how providing the context in which students are encouraged to draw on their languages as resources, rather than as barrier can actually benefit their learning experiences. They attest that the findings of their study “challenges the dominant

practice of having a single language as the medium of instruction in higher education, and provides sound examples of how the institutionalised use of two (or more) languages in a higher education institution can assist, rather than diminish, the development of academic discourse” (Van der Walt and Dornbrack (2011; 102). Similarly, van der Walt’s (2006) quantitative study found strong support for bilingual teaching materials amongst students such as PowerPoint presentations and subject glossaries. Students indicated that they found it helpful when lectures speaks both English and Afrikaans in lectures. Meanwhile Kuteeva et al., (2015) documented translanguaging practices amongst both Swedish-home students and international students studying an English-medium Business Studies degree program at a Swedish university. For Swedish students, the use Swedish alongside English, as the lingua academia, was something that students regarded as a natural aspect of their interactions and university learning experiences as opposed to it being a problem. International students also agreed, albeit more, than Swedish students that studying in English is natural. Kuteeva et al., (2015) further concluded that that despite the course being an English medium program, the use of other languages in the academic setting such as discussions in small groups suggests that English medium programs and students’ ‘study reality’ were more multilingual than they had initially thought.

Learning experiences: the practicalities of using Welsh at university

Previous studies have also identified many of the practicalities associated with using Welsh as an academic language at university. A lack of Welsh medium provision at this level means that most students must study some components of their degree course through the medium of English; as a result, English medium higher education becomes, to varying degrees, inevitable.

It must be acknowledged however that some subjects and academic disciplines simply have not traditionally been available through the medium of Welsh at higher education. (Levels of participation in Welsh medium higher education by subjects/academic disciplines will be discussed in Chapter 6). Also, section 3.2.2 demonstrates how some science subjects have traditionally been taught through the medium of English even at Welsh medium and bilingual schools). For example, in 2004 Thomas (2004) explained that teaching Psychology through the medium of Welsh has only been a recent development. At the time, Bangor University was the only university to offer Welsh medium provision in this area with a newly introduced Welsh medium module entitled ‘Seicoleg trwy’r Gymraeg’ [Psychology in Welsh]. Thomas emphasized that Psychology, at this level, “needs to become a subject that can be easily discussed through the medium of Welsh” (Thomas 2004; 11) amongst students and that there is a need to help undergraduate students to develop their abilities and skills to be able to do so.

Concerns over translation issues have been noted as a key factor in the learning experiences of these students (Desforges and Jones 2000; 2001; 2004, G.Williams 2005). For example, Desforges and Jones' (2000; 2001; 2004) study found that students were often responsible for having to produce their own translation of assessment questions that was set by non-Welsh speaking lecturers, from English to Welsh. This brought about anxiety and apprehension about the accuracy of students' own translation and whether they were answering assessment questions correctly. Students also perceived that submitting assessments in Welsh placed them at a disadvantage if these then had to be translated from Welsh into English. Desforges and Jones' study further reported that students felt apprehensive about the formal translation process undertaken by the university's translation unit of Welsh assessments. Students felt a lack of control and ownership over their work, and this brought about concerns about how the meaning and content of their work could potentially get lost or misrepresented. Moreover, translation concerns have also been reported to be associated with academic/learning concerns and outcomes. In particular Desforges and Jones (2000; 2001; 2004), and G.Williams' (2005) study both reveal that students' fear of translation issues such as misrepresentation (from Welsh to English) could negatively impact their grades.

Translation has been noted to be one of the most salient aspects of Welsh speaking students learning experiences at this level. This occurs when students want to use Welsh for academic purposes, particularly for writing assessments and where lectures and/or seminars are taught through the medium of English. Moreover, there is consensus amongst all these studies that the translation component of learning, usually from English into Welsh by students is simply time consuming. Students construct this aspect of their learning experience as one that involves "doing more work" (Williams 2005; 268), "additional work" (Desforges and Jones 2001; 337), and "translation involves 'work' that is not undertaken by monolingual English speaking students" (Desforges and Jones 2004; 416). While it "adds to the amount of time it takes to prepare for assignments" (Ifan and Hodges 2017; 150). Similar concerns about translation have also been raised by Afrikaans-English speaking students in van der Walt and Dornback's study (2011). It is worth recognising that Standard 90 and Standard 90A (HMSO 2017; 34) of the Welsh Language Measure grants Welsh speaking students the right to submit assessments and sit examinations through the medium of Welsh, and that work submitted in Welsh and English should be treated on an equal basis (Chapter 2, section 2.4). However the reality of students' experiences at university, as demonstrated by current research, illustrate the difficulties in achieving and realising these standards, and in ensuring parity between both languages at this level.

Another salient aspect of bilingual students' learning experience at university recorded by current literature has been the lack of Welsh medium academic resources and terminology. For example, Thomas (2004) notes how students studying Psychology may even have to come up with new terminology themselves in cases where they decide to write assessments in Welsh because of the shortage of provision in the area and as noted earlier, the lack of tradition of teaching Psychology through the medium of Welsh at this level. Furthermore,

G. Williams' (2005) study found that a lack of materials in Welsh was the main reason why Law students at Aberystwyth University did not attend Welsh medium seminars offered by the department. Additionally, only 40% of students said they would attend Welsh medium seminars, and only 33% of students said they would write assignments in Welsh if Welsh medium resources became available. Similarly, previous research of FE colleges in Wales by C. Williams (2000) demonstrated how a lack of minority language resources and materials was a major obstacle for successful bilingual teaching, and that students who wanted to utilise Welsh for academic purposes were inadvertently disadvantaged by their departments as a result. C. Williams (2000; 144) argues that in cases whereby:

“...teaching material is available in the majority language only [English], students who are following their courses in the minority language [Welsh] are disadvantaged by their departments. Their workload is heavier as they have to translate their own notes and, in some instances, devise their own terminology. Any student who chooses to use the minority language as an official medium has a right to source material in that language”.

Relatedly, Ifan and Hodges' (2017) study found that a bilingual terminology handbook would be beneficial for students' learning experiences as it would allow them to learn key concepts and terms in the medium of both languages. Interestingly, the lack of established terminology has also been a concern cited amongst prospective university students, particularly in the sciences (for example Davies and Trystan 2012, in section 3.2.1). Such findings clearly affirm the dominance of English as an academic language and the challenge that is facing the Welsh language to develop appropriate terminology (alongside Welsh medium resources) to ensure that students are able to engage with their learning bilingually.

The prevalence of English as the language of academia; the exchanging, dissemination, and publication of scientific knowledge through the medium of English is well-established (Alastrué 2015), and today, most academic books and academic journals are published in English (Cenoz and Etxague 2013). Moreover, the use of English varies across academic disciplines with English largely more widespread within the sciences compared to the humanities, for example and whereby national languages have remained stronger within the humanities (Hultgren et al., 2014). This is also the case in the Welsh context, as illustrated in section 3.2.2.

Cenoz (2012) and Cenoz and Etxague (2013) argues that the limited number of textbooks and teaching materials in Basque is considered one of the major challenges of teaching through the medium of Basque at the university level. While there have been some developments in the range of educational materials across disciplines such as law, social sciences and the humanities, this is not reflected across disciplines in the natural sciences, technology and health sciences for example. Moreover, the resources available through the medium of Basque, a minoritized language is extremely low compared to those available in the majority languages, such as Spanish and predominately English. This is a similar situation facing the Welsh language at universities in Wales. Moreover, Bolton and Kuteeva's (2012) study on the use of English at Stockholm University in Sweden also reported a high level of

English language reading materials at both undergraduate and postgraduate level at Stockholm University due simply to the lack of textbooks available in Swedish. There was also a notable divide amongst academic disciplines with 72% of Sciences undergraduate students indicating that “all/almost all” and “about half” of their reading materials were in English, followed by 68% of Social Sciences students, and 62% of Humanities students.

The widespread use and prevalence of English academic resources is a challenge that is not only limited to minoritized languages like Basque and Welsh, but this is also a challenge facing national languages (and much bigger languages) such as Swedish for example. (Section 2.5 in Chapter 2 discusses the internationalisation of the HE sector).

What is interesting to observe currently is the scarcity of empirical research that have examined the experiences and perceptions of Welsh speaking academic staff in relation to Welsh medium higher education. However, Thomas and Parry (2021) did ask university staff (n=10) about current Welsh medium provision in STEM subjects, using the same set of statement questions that were asked to secondary school teachers, as presented in section 3.2.2. A similar pattern emerges here too which point to the challenge of ensuring that Welsh medium academic resources are available to students. For example, 50% of responses disagreed somewhat with the statement: ‘There are enough Welsh language education resources available’, while 50% of lectures disagreed somewhat and strongly disagreed that ‘Welsh-medium and English-medium educational resources are of the same standard’. Furthermore 70% of lectures strongly agreed or agreed somewhat that: ‘Good quality Welsh-medium resources are rare’ and ‘Bilingual resources are rare’. Also, quite a significant finding is that 100% of responses agreed with the following two statements: ‘Welsh medium resources are often available after English-medium ones’, and ‘There is a need for more modern and attractive Welsh-medium resources’. The findings suggest the lack of available resources in Welsh and the need to develop more. This is likely to be key in allowing and encouraging students to study STEM subjects through the medium of Welsh. The field of Welsh medium higher education could potentially benefit from further empirical research into academic staff and their perceptions of current Welsh medium provision as a way to better understand the challenges facing Welsh medium higher education, and to offer means to address this challenge.

Language Anxiety/Confidence

Language anxiety is an emotional experience and refers to the rise of negative emotions such as apprehension, nervousness or anxiety in situations when learning or performing/using an L2 (MacIntyre 2007). It is more accurately regarded as an experience that occurs within context-specific situations, such as within second language/foreign language classrooms, rather than being a fixed trait that learners possess. McIntryre and Gardner (1994; 284) offers the following definition:

“...the feeling of tension and apprehension specifically associated with second language contexts, including speaking, listening, and learning”.

Additionally, Horwitz et al. (1986; 128) provides the following definition for foreign language anxiety, highlighting that this can impact learners’ sense of self-concept:

“...we conceive foreign language anxiety as a distinct complex of self-perceptions, beliefs, feelings, and behaviour related to classroom language learning arising from the uniqueness of the language learning process...any performance in the L2 is likely to challenge an individual’s self-concept as a competent communicator and lead to reticence, self-consciousness, fear, or even panic”.

Horwitz et al. (1986) further note that language anxiety can be grouped into three categories: communication apprehension, test anxiety, and fear of negative evaluation.

Self-assessment of one’s language ability has often served as a reliable indicator of language proficiency. MacIntyre et al., (1997) for example argues that how individuals’ subjective perception of their competency in their second language (L2) can also become influenced by their own anxieties they might have about their confidence or ability in that language, and how this might create bias in individuals’ assessment. They argue that while some might overestimate their own abilities to which they call ‘self-enhancement’, others might underestimate their competence in their second language, or ‘self-derogation’. Similarly, Horwitz et al., (1986) argue that language learners may believe that they cannot learn or perform in their second language thus they may impose negative expectations on oneself; and so those likely to possess language anxiety will inevitably be more likely to underestimate their own ability. Furthermore, language ability/proficiency/or competence is also likely to be assessed *in relation* to their own subjective or perceived competency in their first language (L1).

It has been well documented in the literature of the language anxiety that inundates international students as they shift to study higher education through the medium of English. For example, language related issues have been frequently cited as a major challenge that international students experience at higher education particularly regarding their learning environment. Several studies have shown that a lack of confidence in students’ verbal English language skills impacts upon their ability to communicate and interact in class, leading many to being non-participative in lectures (Morita 2004; Lee 2009; McLean et al., 2012; Rao 2016; Robertson et al., 2000; Wu et al. 2015). Other aspects include international students’ difficulties in writing academic essays, their lack of academic writing skills, and the difficulty in writing academic English (Bolton et al., 2017; Rao 2016; Robertson et al., 2000). Moreover, Sawir (2005) has found that students’ prior English language learning experiences plays a key role in how well international students then cope with the academic requirements of university.

In the Welsh context, perceptions of language anxiety at university have been noted by the works of Jones and Desforges (2003) and Desforges and Jones (2000; 2001; 2004).

They focused on Geography undergraduate students studying at Aberystwyth University and found that Welsh speaking students expressed some degree of perceived linguistic incompetence in their English language skills compared to their monolingual English-speaking counterparts. Welsh speakers viewed their counterparts as possessing perfect competence and confidence in their English language skills, while they themselves did not. Not surprisingly therefore these Welsh speakers felt that their linguistic skills were stronger in Welsh than in English. Feeling of inferiority and anxiety around using the English language were particularly apparent and heightened when students were expected to contribute to oral discussions or present research findings (Jones and Desforges 2003). Moreover, these students had transitioned from studying their A Level Geography through the medium of Welsh to now being taught Geography at degree level through the medium of English. This experience in the change in the medium of instruction was regarded by many as 'unsettling' with some finding it difficult to understand English medium lectures. Similarly, Parfett et al., (2018) conducted a quantitative study at Cardiff University to compare the English-medium university learning experiences of students who had received their primary and secondary education in Welsh and those who had completed their statutory education in English. They found a statistically significant correlation between students' language of secondary education and their oral contribution in lecture and seminar classes. For example, the study found that those who had received their secondary education in Welsh were less likely to contribute in lectures (p-value 0.045), they felt less able to contribute in seminars (p-value 0.020), and less confident to do so (p-value 0.009) compared to their English counterparts. Additionally, Parfett et al's study also found that Welsh speaking students were less confident in their writing skills (p-value 0.006) than their English counterparts. The works of Jones and Desforges (2003), Desforges and Jones (2000; 2001; 2004) and Parfett et al., (2018) around language confidence demonstrates *how* the language of (learning) of secondary education shapes Welsh speakers' learning experience at the university level. The lack of Welsh medium linguistic progression routes from the secondary to the university level means that these students must study through the medium of English, and, despite being fully competent in the English language, for many Welsh speakers this brings about a lot of anxiety about studying through a language different to their secondary education. Similarly, van der Walt and Dornbrack's (2011) study on postgraduate Afrikaans-English speaking students have also identified the language concerns and frustration that engenders many students when they are faced with studying in a language that is not their home language. Their study shows how students draw on strategies of translanguaging, often drawing on their home language, Afrikaans, to achieve a better understanding of work in English.

A number of studies have shown that Welsh speakers' perceived linguistic abilities and confidence in both Welsh and English are strongly related to their home language. Ifan and Hodges (2017) found that some students from Welsh speaking homes expressed that they lacked confidence in their 'written and formal English', and that many who spoke Welsh at home preferred to write assessment through the medium of Welsh. These findings corroborate those found by Morris (2014). For example, Morris (2014) found a correlation between

perceived levels of confidence in Welsh and home language amongst two groups of sixth form students attending a bilingual secondary school in North West Wales and a Welsh medium school in North East Wales. Participants who spoke Welsh at home tended to rate their abilities in speaking, reading and writing in Welsh as higher than those from English speaking homes. Meanwhile those from English speaking homes disagreed strongly that they speak, write to read Welsh better than English. Likewise, Thomas and Roberts' (2011) study on primary school pupils in Gwynedd, North West Wales has also illustrated a similar trend. Their study revealed that pupils from Welsh speaking homes agreed that they spoke Welsh better than English (89.4%) and that they were more comfortable speaking Welsh over English (69.6%).

However, concerns relating to Welsh speakers' language confidence are not only limited to their perceived English language abilities, but also their perceived Welsh language abilities. For example, in Ifan and Hodges' study on undergraduate students (2017), one student who spoke Welsh at home had expressed that while they were more comfortable speaking Welsh, they were more confident writing in English. Meanwhile Thomas (2004) has noted that some Welsh speakers are often uncomplimentary towards their own abilities in Welsh. For example, Thomas and Roberts' (2011) study, as mentioned above, found that some pupils attending bilingual primary schools lacked confidence in their Welsh language abilities. This seemed to be related to their home language with only 5.6% of school pupils from English speaking homes felt that they spoke Welsh better than English, while only 21.1% felt more comfortable speaking Welsh than English. This is in comparison to those from Welsh speaking homes at 89.4% and 69.6% respectively. Thomas et al., (2014) also found that primary school pupils attending Welsh medium/bilingual schools from English-dominant homes (Welsh as a L2) rated their abilities in English significantly higher than their Welsh language abilities. Moreover, a multi-cohort study of secondary school children in Wales conducted by the Wales Institute of Social and Economic Research and Data found that while pupils in Welsh medium and bilingual schools were generally confident speaking Welsh (71%), 3 in 5 pupils reported a lack of confidence in classroom settings (WISERD 2023). Meanwhile the National Survey for Wales (WG 2018c) reported that while 95% of fluent Welsh speakers felt confident speaking Welsh, 21% of fluent speakers worried that they would be judged on how well they speak it. Similarly, in his study of bilingual secondary school pupils Musk (2006) identified three types of bilinguals and categorised them as: Welsh-dominant, floaters, and English-dominant. Welsh-dominant refer to those who have Welsh as their first language (L1) and are more comfortable speaking and using Welsh over English. While English-dominants were those who have English as their first language; they favoured using English and lacked confidence in speaking Welsh (L2). In between these two categories are floaters. They may have Welsh or English, or both as their first language, and are less likely to experience a lack of confidence in either language.

There is also a marked difference in Welsh speakers' abilities across varying Welsh language skills – speaking, reading, and writing in particular. For example, while the 2011 Census showed that 23% of the population understood spoken Welsh, only 19% could speak

Welsh, 18% could read Welsh, and 16% could write Welsh (WG 2022d). A similar pattern has emerged from the 2021 Census results with fewer people able to read and write in Welsh compared to those who can speak and understand Welsh (WG 2022c). (However, the exact 2021 Census figures for these by Welsh language skills have not yet been published. These figures have been presented side-by-side the 2011 Census results but no precise figures are presented. See WG 2022c for more). Such data indicates that more people can understand spoken Welsh, and speak Welsh than those who can read and write in Welsh. Likewise, the 2021 Census results showed that 17.8% of the population of Wales aged three or older could speak Welsh. However, the percentage of those who could speak, read, *and* write in Welsh was lower at 14.2%. (WG 2022c).

Moreover, both Thomas et al., (2021) and Estyn (2022) have noted of that impact that the Covid-19 pandemic has had on primary/secondary school pupils' Welsh language skills, particularly those from non-Welsh speaking homes. In a similar vein, the pandemic is also likely to have had an impact on the Welsh language skills of university students. Yet there has yet to be a government commissioned research focusing on the impact of Covid-19 on the Welsh language in higher education and Welsh medium higher education in particular.

3.2.4 Group relations

This section presents a brief overview of Social Identity Theory and Berry's model of acculturation to illustrate how theories on group relations have tended to focus on the in-group vs out-group dichotomy rather than the heterogeneity and differences that lies within the in-group.

Social Identity Theory

One of the most influential theories on inter-group relations (and conflict) is Social Identity Theory (SIT); a social-psychological theory developed by Henri Tajfel (see for example Tajfel 1981, and Tajfel and Turner 1979). SIT focuses on the 'group within the individual' and suggests that individuals not only possess a personal identity, but that they also have a social identity. This social identity is formed and is reflective of their memberships across the various social groups that they belong to. Tajfel (1981; 255) defined social identity as:

“that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership”.

Tajfel argued that as groups only exists in relations to other groups, group traits and meaning is only established in relation to these other groups. Therefore, individuals' social identity is a process that is based on comparisons and evaluations of other groups (out-group) *in relation* to one's own group (in-group). Central to this is the aim of achieving a positive social identity. This means that social comparisons between groups are done as a way to establish a positive distinctiveness between 'us' and 'them' such as in-group favouritism and out-group discrimination. This enables individuals to acquire a positive social identity in comparison to what they perceive to be less positive identity of the out-group.

Berry's model of acculturation

Berry's two-dimensional model of *acculturation* (see for example Berry 1974; 1997; 2005; 2006a; 2006b; 2008) within the field of cross-cultural psychology was developed as a theoretical framework to explore how minorities (immigrants) adjust in the context of cross-cultural contact. The concept of acculturation attitudes proposes that cross-cultural contact may influence upon how individuals wish to relate to other individuals and groups. Berry argues that underlying this process of acculturation are two key orientations: orientations towards one's own group, and orientations towards other groups. The former is concerned with cultural maintenance or maintenance of original cultural identity, while the latter centres around contact, participation, and relations with other groups. From this, Berry recognises four acculturation strategies adapted by non-dominant group/members as a result of cross-cultural contact.

Firstly, *Integration* occurs when there is a desire to maintain one's own culture while also actively participate in the dominant culture. There are high levels of inter-group interactions. Secondly, *Assimilation* occurs when non-dominant group/members adopt the dominant culture to the exclusion of their own culture. In many cases this leads to a loss of cultural identity. *Separation* is an orientation that places emphasis on maintaining a high value on one's original culture while also wanting to avoid interactions with others. Inter-group contact is minimal. Lastly, *Marginalization* occurs when members of the non-dominant group have no possibility or interest in cultural maintenance but also have no interest in adapting to the dominant culture and establishing inter-group relations. Here, there is a clear rejection of both own's culture and the dominant culture.

Language and intra-group relations

Theories such as Social Identity Theory and Berry's model of acculturation have focused on inter-group relations, that is the interaction *between* different groups and the effect this has on group membership. However, what has not been accounted for in these theoretical frameworks has been the impact of *intra-group* contact and relations of individuals (from the same group) and how this affects group membership. Arguably social groups are simply reduced to homogenous groups based on common or shared characteristic without necessarily taking into account the heterogeneity that exists within the same group and the possible role these may play. This is a point made by Hogg (1966) regarding Social Identity Theory. He writes that "[it] tends to focus on intergroup differentiation and intragroup homogenization and has not fully explored intragroup differentiation" (Hogg 1996; 71).

This is particularly applicable in the Welsh context. A typical example of in-group versus out-group in this regard is Welsh speakers and non-Welsh speakers. Group boundaries are clearly defined, and membership is predicated on linguistic ability; individuals are either group members or not. However, within this linguistic group, notions relating to the construction of the relationship between language and its speakers can also give rise to *intra-group* conflict and tension which subsequently muddle the boundaries of group membership, or at least *perceived* group membership.

O'Rourke and Ramallo (2013) notes that in minoritized language contexts there has generally been a decline in rates of intergenerational transmission of languages within the home and community. In the Welsh context, the rates of intergenerational transmission of Welsh (within the family) has declined so much so that by now the education system has become the principle vehicle for creating Welsh speakers. This is acknowledged by the Welsh Government, in which they state that "[h]istorically, the family was where most people learnt Welsh. Now, the education system generates the majority of new Welsh speakers" (WG 2021c; 2). To illustrate this point, figures from the Welsh Language Use Survey 2019-2020 (WG 2022d) reported that 84% those with at least one fluent Welsh speaking parent started to learn the language at home as a young child. This is compared to three quarters of those

who did not have a fluent Welsh speaking parent who started to learn Welsh through statutory education (WG 2022d). The 2021 Census also reported that only 9% of households were fully Welsh speaking – a decline from 9.4% reported in the 2011 Census (WG 2023f). Moreover, figures from the Welsh Language Use in Wales, 2013-15 (2015c) revealed that 43% of Welsh speakers learnt Welsh at home as a young child, compared to 51% who learnt it at school. This is fairly consistent with the most recent figures from the Welsh Language Use Survey 2019-2020 (WG 2022d) with 43% of Welsh speakers having learnt Welsh at home and 46% at school (WG 2022d). Furthermore, the Welsh Language Use in Wales, 2013-15 (WG 2015c) reported that those aged 3 to 15 were far less likely than those aged 65 and over to have learnt Welsh at home as young children. 80% of young people aged 3 to 15 had learnt Welsh at school, compared to only 13% of those aged 65 and over – who were most likely to have learnt Welsh at home across all age groups. (See WG 2015c; 52 for further information).

Bilingual education has thus become a powerful mechanism for creating Welsh speakers and is often seen as a major plank for language revitalization and maintenance (Baker 2010; Baker and Jones 2000; Fishman 1991; Hornberger 2010; Hornberger and King 1996; Price 2010). As a result, there has been a shift in the sociolinguistic make up of Welsh speakers with the majority now coming from household where English is the main language spoken. Indeed O'Rourke et al., (2015) claims that in many minoritized language contexts, new speakers are even outnumbering or replacing traditional native speaker communities altogether. However, the heterogeneity of Welsh speakers, such as variations in language background, language spoken at home and where they learn(t) Welsh, for example, – through the home/family, the education system, or even as adult learners – may even challenge the traditional concept of what it means to be a speaker of a minoritized language. For example, Robert (2007) describes Welsh speakers from non-Welsh speaking backgrounds who have acquired the language through Welsh medium education as 'new speakers' of the language. Moreover, O'Rourke and Ramallo (2013) notes that these changes may even lead to tension within its community of speakers. This is ultimately characterised by the debate surrounding language legitimacy and ownership, and what constitutes a 'legitimate speaker' (Bourdieu 1977; 1991) of that language. (See for example, Fhlannchadha and Hickey 2016; Hornsby and Vigers 2018; O'Rourke 2011; O'Rourke and Pujolar 2013; O'Rourke et al., 2015).

For instance, intra-group conflict may centre around contentious issues of labelling speakers of a particular language and the descriptive and/or prescriptive (Costa 2015) nature of those labels. For example, the use of labelling dichotomies like: native vs non-native speakers, new speakers vs traditional speakers, and/or first language (L1) vs second language (L2) speakers. These labels are themselves increasingly contested, and there is an attempt to move away from some of these categorizes by using the terms 'new speaker' and the concept of 'new speakerness' (O'Rourke et al., 2015). Nevertheless, the categories that are described/prescribed to some speakers, whatever those labels may be, and whether implicit or explicit, or merely perceived by speakers themselves may impact speakers' relationship with other speakers and the group. These labels are often used to distinguish between different

types of speakers and their linguistic competence, and the status accorded to different types of speakers (O'Rourke 2011). O'Rourke and Ramallo (2013) write that:

“While in many indigenous minority-language situations traditional native speaker communities are in decline, new speakers are emerging in the context of revitalization policies. Such policies, however, can have unforeseen consequences and lead to tension between newcomers and existing speakers of questions of ownership, legitimacy, and authenticity”

(O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013; 287)

Bourdieu (1977) explains legitimate language as that which:

“...is uttered by a legitimate speaker, i.e. by the appropriate person, as opposed to the imposter...it is uttered in a legitimate situation, i.e. on the appropriate market...and addressed to legitimate receivers; it is formulated in the legitimate phonological and syntactic forms...expect when transgressing these norms is part of the legitimate definition of the legitimate producer”

(Bourdieu 1977; 650)

The concept of legitimate speaker implies that certain types of speakers have the authority and influence to determine what counts as the right way to speak the language; it is the language (or form or variety) which is deemed to be the most appropriate or correct in a situation (Fhlannchadha and Hickey 2016). As O'Rourke (2011; 327) points out, “these struggles are tied up with questions about who decides who should speak, what, when and how and what language practices are valued and considered good, normal, appropriate, or correct, as connected to social, economic and political interest of specific groups”. It is often native speakers who are regarded as legitimate speakers of a language and thus are considered to possess authority and ownerships of the language over non-native speakers (or new speakers/second language speakers/ learners etc.) (Fhlannchadha and Hickey 2016; Hornsby 2012; O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013). For example, in their study of *new* (*neofalantes*) and *native* speakers of Galician, O'Rourke and Ramallo (2013) found that both groups of speakers constructed ownership of the Galician language as something belonging to those who had an innate connection to the language. Furthermore, new speakers expressed insecurities about their linguistic authenticity in Galician, and often viewed themselves as inauthentic Galician speakers. Their lack nativeness to the language was devalued by native speakers. O'Rourke and Ramallo (2013) found that:

“their [new speakers] role model is the traditional native speaker, who is awarded legitimacy because of what is perceived as an *innate* ability to speak the language, characteristics associated with historical and biological links with the language. These are links that new speakers did not have and that were used to deny them access to this social world. Their native-speaking peers expressed a similar set of beliefs. For

them, however, their authentication of the traditional native speaker allows them to claim certain ownership over the language and use this as a means of contesting new speakers' claim to linguistic space in a contemporary Galician context".

(O'Rourke and Ramallo 2013; 302)

Similar findings have been reported in the Welsh and Irish contexts. For example, O'Rourke (2011) conducted a study on native speakers and non-native speakers of Irish (or second language speakers) amongst undergraduate students studying an Irish language degree at an Irish university. Student from the Gaeltacht reported to have had an either Irish or a bilingual upbringing, while those from outside the Gaeltacht reported English as their first language. O'Rourke (2011) made some interesting discoveries. For instance, while non-native speakers expected native speakers to speak to them in Irish (outside of class), they would often speak in English instead thus signalling the notion that non-native speakers lacked some degree of proficiency in the language. Non-native speakers also associated the Irish spoken by those from the Gaeltacht to be more legitimate than their own. O'Rourke's (2011), like Fhlannchadha and Hickey's (2016) study, also found that non-native speakers perceived themselves as belonging to a different group than those from the Gaeltacht – which were seen as a distinct group (out-group). Thus illustrating how nativeness is a strong marker of linguistic-group identification and strongly correlated with the idea of an authentic speaker of Irish, akin to the work of O'Rourke and Ramallo (2013) on Galician speakers, for example. Similarly, Hodges' (2021) research on new speakers of Welsh also demonstrates how many questioned their legitimacy as Welsh speakers. Her study revealed that new speakers feel judged by other speakers, and express concerns about having to use the 'correct' form of Welsh. Some even suggested that they did not feel accepted with the community of first language Welsh speakers. Furthermore Selleck (2013) also reported that sixth form students at a bilingual school in south west-Wales were divided on the grounds of language background. There was a clear division between first language Welsh speakers and first language English speakers. Likewise, Fhlannchadha and Hickey's (2016) study on native and new speakers of Irish have also reported how native speakers considered the naturalness associated with their Irish, the special status coming from the Gaeltacht, as well as their accent to be strongly marked differences between them and second language speakers of Irish, attributes which confers them status as legitimate speakers of Irish. In this regard greater authenticity is attributed to native speakers of Irish. In a similar vein Williams and Cooper (2021) conducted a study of adult new speakers based in South Wales. They found that these new speakers did not strongly agree that their pronunciation in Welsh was like that of a native speaker, but that they strongly agreed that they wanted to sound like a native speaker - thus attributing nativeness and sounding native with speaker legitimacy. Meanwhile Robert's (2009) study reported differences in identification of first language between L1 and L2 Welsh speakers in which L1 Welsh speakers were more easily identifiable than L2 Welsh. Robert also found that perceptions of Welshness was based on the identification as an L1 Welsh speakers with L2 Welsh speakers being considered 'less Welsh', or sounding less Welsh than their L1 counterparts.

Moreover, Selleck (2018) looked at pupils from a Welsh medium and English medium schools in south west-Wales; an area that is considered a heartland of the Welsh language. Selleck (2018) found that many pupils from the English medium school, who can be regarded as new, or learner speakers of Welsh struggled with their Welsh identity. These pupils expressed that they felt less Welsh than their counterparts at the Welsh medium school, greatly attributing Welshness to the Welsh language, and language users. For example, Selleck (2018) found that pupils associated the notion of being 'fully Welsh' as speaking 'proper Welsh', speaking the language often, having come from a Welsh speaking home, and to 'know' the language rather than be a 'learner' of the language. Selleck notes that:

“...many students at the English school, who are ostensibly part of the same heartland community as those at the Welsh school, struggle to position themselves in terms of the national category of being Welsh, and that the students perceive a language hierarchy to exist, with students at the Welsh school being considered 'proper' or 'fully' Welsh.”

(Selleck 2018; 60)

Hornsby and Vigers' (2018) study of new speakers in West Wales, in an area that is considered a heartland of the Welsh language, found that they faced many difficulties in gaining acceptance and legitimacy as Welsh speakers within the Welsh speaking community. These (adult) participants were from English speaking backgrounds but had gone through Welsh medium education and thus had achieved fluency in Welsh. However, many positioned themselves as outsiders or were considered 'deficient users' of the language vis-à-vis their interactions with their Welsh speaking peers. Hornsby and Vigers attest that:

“establishing legitimacy as a new speaker of Welsh remains problematic...linguistic repertoire that includes Welsh competence does not automatically confer legitimacy as a speaker; far from it, in fact, since the labelling of new speakers as 'learners' has proved to be indicative of these competing discourses.”

(Hornsby and Vigers 2018; 425)

3.3 Conclusion

This literature review chapter of the thesis has provided an extensive review of some of the key academic literature relating to the Welsh language, higher education participation and experience, Welsh medium and bilingual education, and bilingual/Welsh speakers. It has demonstrated a solid understanding what is currently known in this context. Further to this, the preceding chapter presented important historical, policy and legal context to the Welsh language across the higher education sector in Wales.

As already stated in this thesis, only a few studies have focused on the experiences of current bilingual Welsh-English speaking undergraduate students at the university level. The increased policy focus of the Welsh language and Welsh medium education coupled with increasing opportunities for students (further demonstrated in Chapter 6) to study through the medium of Welsh at this level means that it is important that further research can capture the ways in which languages are situated in students' learning practices and experiences. This is particularly in regard to the Welsh language and how bilingual students draw on their biliteracy skillset to inform and complement their learning at higher education. Equally, further research is needed to document the socio-cultural experiences of Welsh speaking students at university.

The next chapter now proceeds to present a detail overview of the research process and a discussion of the methodological framework underpinning this study. Thereafter, the empirical findings of the study are presented in Chapter 5 through 8.

Chapter 4: The Research Process

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a comprehensive account of the research process by presenting the methodological framework underpinning the study. It sets out to describe and justify the use of a mixed-method approach to explore the relationship between the Welsh language and higher education participation amongst bilingual students and details the two-phase stages of data collection and analysis. The first phase of the research process consisted of secondary data analysis of official statistics along with primary survey analysis – the latter partly guided by the former. The second phase consists of qualitative interviews with current undergraduate students and formed the predominant methodological orientation of the study. The chapter also describes the practical activities of the research including negotiating access to participants, sampling, data collection and management, and data analysis. Ethical considerations are also discussed. The chapter also discusses the higher education institutions included in the study, how the research locations were selected, in addition to how the ‘bilingual Welsh-English speaking student’ was conceptualised for the purpose of this study. Additionally, by employing reflexivity throughout, the chapter reflects upon the researcher’s positionality as a fellow bilingual Welsh-English speaker and his ‘linguistic insider’ status, and how these (may) have both informed and influenced the study. Firstly, a brief reiteration of the of the research aims are presented below:

1. To explore, retrospectively how and to what extent the Welsh language has influenced and informed bilingual students’ higher education choices [Chapter 5]
2. To examine the engagement and participation levels in Welsh medium higher education among undergraduate students [Chapter 6]
3. To identify and assess the barriers and challenges that students face in trying to access and engage with Welsh medium higher education, including using Welsh as an academic language [Chapter 7]
4. To explore how, and to what extent the Welsh language informs bilingual students’ social choices and experiences at university [Chapter 8]

4.2 A mixed-method approach

This study adopts a mixed method approach, integrating and utilising findings from both quantitative and qualitative components of the research (Bryman 2012; Creswell 1999,2003; Creswell et al 2003). While many scholars such as Bryman (2006), Creswell (1999) and Johnson et al. (2007) have pointed to a lack of consensus of a typology as to what constitutes 'mixed method research' and in particular its application in practice, for clarity and simplicity, the researcher adopts Creswell et al's (2003; 213) proposed definition for this thesis. They write "[a] mixed methods study involves the collection or analysis of both quantitative and/or qualitative data in a single study in which the data are collected concurrently or sequentially, are given a priority, and involve the integration of the data at one or more stages in the process of research."

The study involves the analysis, discussion, and presentation of three different data. The 'fieldwork' and data analysis were conducted sequentially, with secondary quantitative analysis forming the first phase, followed then by the primary survey analysis, before completing the study with qualitative interviews. The qualitative aspect of the research forms the principal methodological orientation of the thesis. However, each research method served a particular purpose that ultimately guided the design of the study, and the quantitative and qualitative data are used to answer different research objectives of the thesis. Creswell (1999; 212) states that "because social phenomena are so complex, different kinds of methods are needed to best understand these complexities". Therefore, through a combination of these methods, there is a multi-dimensionality and depth to the thesis through its empirical findings.

The overarching aim of this thesis is to explore the relationship between the Welsh language and higher education participation and experience, focusing on how the Welsh language is intertwined within the university choices and experiences of bilingual students. Ontologically, therefore, an interpretivist perspective informs the study, which "looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretation of the social world" (Crotty 1998; 67). Central to this perspective is *understanding* how individuals make sense of their subjective reality, and the meanings that they attach to it (Denzin and Lincoln 1998; Marshall and Rossman 1999), as opposed to *explaining* human behaviour inherent within the Positivism paradigm (Bryan 2012). As Mason (2007; 1) states, "through qualitative research we can explore a wide array of dimensions of the social world, including the texture and weave of everyday life, the understandings, experiences and imaginings of our research participants, the ways that social processes, institutions, discourse or relationships work, and the significance of the meanings that they generate".

Interpretivism reject the claim that there is an objective reality 'out there' independent of individuals. Rather they argue that the world is socially and discursively constructed, generating multiple realities through the perspective and experiences of different individuals. Knowledge therefore can only be obtained through the perceptions and experiences of

individuals. Qualitative research thus generates a holistic and complex account of the phenomena that it seeks to investigate (Creswell 2003).

However, the use of quantitative methods was also an important element of the study, and quantitative data was used to answer aim 2 of the thesis in Chapter.

The first quantitative element involved secondary analysis of official datasets on the Welsh language in higher education. The data here are obtained from the Welsh Government's own annual analysis reports in their statistical bulletins of 'Welsh language in higher education' (WG 2012a; 2013a; 2014a; 2015a; 2016a; 2017a; 2018a; 2019p). The purpose of the secondary analysis was to provide context and descriptive accounts of the Welsh language across the higher education sector in Wales. This involved mapping the number of Welsh speaking students, determining where these students were studying, and mapping the levels of engagement and participation, and intensity of Welsh medium study. The analysis and the findings thus served as a contextual basis of what is known about the Welsh speaking student population, particularly pertaining Welsh medium higher education. Similarly, the primary survey was also a means to further explore and quantify students' *type or form* of engagement with Welsh medium study. Essentially the aim here had been to determine and discern the modes of learning that students were engaged with through the medium of Welsh (i.e., was their Welsh medium engagement in the form of lectures, seminars, workshops, assessments, and examinations, and so forth.) This was an area that was lacking in the official statistics. Furthermore, the survey also served to facilitate the sampling of respondents for interviewing (Bryman 2006).

Secondary data analysis and survey results allowed for the mapping of Welsh medium higher education engagement quantitatively, and both sets of data are used for descriptive and contextual purposes. However, both quantitative components were not sufficient to explore students' choices and experiences of university – hence the research's grounding within the interpretivism perspective. The researcher felt that a plurality of methods had to be used as no single method could capture the complexities of students' choices and experiences of higher education.

Finally, qualitative interviews allowed for a full, in-depth exploration of students' university choices and experiences. This was also a way to enrich and extend quantitative understanding (Creswell 2003; Bryman 2006) of issues of engagement and the practicalities of Welsh medium higher education; what Bryman (2006; 106) refers to as "putting meat on the bones of dry quantitative findings". The integration of different methods can also bring about a more comprehensive account (Bryman 2006) of students' experiences of higher education.

4.3 Determining Research Participants and Research Sites

Research participants were defined as bilingual Welsh-English speaking First degree undergraduate students. Though First degree and undergraduate will be used interchangeably throughout, so too will the terms ‘Welsh speakers’ and bilingual students. Furthermore, given that Welsh speakers are not a homogenous group, it was important to consider how ‘bilingual students’ would be defined and conceptualised for the purpose of this research, as this would have an impact on who could be eligible to participate.

4.3.1 Secondary schools in Wales

There are six different types of secondary schools³³ in Wales based on the varying degrees that Welsh and English are used as languages of learning. These are illustrated in Table 4.1 (overleaf), in addition to the linguistic outcomes based on each schools’ language policy (WG 2007a: 12-14). (This information has already been presented in Chapter 2, section 2.3, but is worthy of reiteration here). More recently however the Welsh Government have published new guidance on categorising schools according to Welsh medium provision (WG 2021a), due for implementation in September 2022. According to this system, only three categories will be used – Welsh medium, dual-language, and English medium. Based on the original categorisation, which was used during the time of the fieldwork, it was determined that only students that had attended Welsh medium and bilingual secondary schools³⁴ would form the basis of this research given their fluency in both Welsh and English, as well as the fact that they can easily progress into Welsh-medium post-16 education. Equally, these students may also consider studying through the medium of English at higher education. Moreover, while English medium schools may very well produce Welsh speakers, it is likely that the number of these students who end up fluent in Welsh only constitutes a tiny minority,

³³ During the time of the study, the composition of secondary schools in Wales based on language of instruction are as follows. According to the Welsh Government’s website: <http://mylocalschool.gov.wales/> there are 143 English medium secondary schools, 8 English with significant Welsh, 23 Welsh medium secondary schools (including 3 middle schools), 20 Bilingual Type A schools, 11 Bilingual Type A, 3 Bilingual Type C. There are no Bilingual Type Ch secondary schools in Wales. Such types of schools are also dispersed differently geographically. For example, Welsh medium secondary schools tend to be located within South East and North East Wales where there is a low proportion of Welsh speakers. Bilingual Type A, B and C schools are often concentrated within the Welsh speaking heartlands of Gwynedd, Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion, and Ynys Môn.

³⁴ Bilingual education is widely regarded as an ambiguous and generic term (Baker 2007), and there exists huge variations in relation to the goals, including linguistic outcomes, and implementation of bilingual education provision. See Baker (2007; 2011); Cummins (2005); García (2009a); B.Jones (2010) Lewis (2008; 2011) for useful discussions surrounding ‘bilingual education’ including proposed definitions and typologies of bilingual education. However, it is worth noting the complexity of bilingual education in Wales, as encapsulated by Baker (1993; 19). He states that “[i]n between basically monolingual Welsh and monolingual English schools in Wales, there is the widest variety of practice of bilingual education. The kaleidoscopic variety of bilingual educational practices in Wales makes the production of a simple typology inherently dangerous. No existing typology of bilingual education in Wales captures the full the kaleidoscopic colour that exist” (Baker 1993; 19). Despite this, in the Welsh context, those who attend bilingual secondary schools will have acquired Welsh fluency in addition to being taught (mostly), to varying degrees, through the medium of Welsh.

compared to those who attend Welsh medium and bilingual schools. Additionally, according to Estyn (2013;44) in their annual report 2012/13, GCSE Welsh Second Language “do not produce bilingual pupils or young people who are sufficiently confident to use the language in their everyday lives”. Such students are also likely to progress into English medium post-16 education. Therefore, student from English medium secondary schools were not included in the study.

Table 4.1 Overview of secondary schools in Wales based on language and outcomes

Type of Secondary school	Outcomes
<p>Welsh Medium secondary school All subjects apart from English are taught through the medium of Welsh to all pupils, although some schools may introduce English terminology in one or two subjects.</p>	<p>For all pupils the normal expectation is that assessment at KS3 and KS4 will be through the medium of Welsh in all subjects apart from English or other languages, and that pupils will be able to progress easily to Welsh medium Post 16 provision.</p>
<p>Bilingual Type A At least 80% of subjects apart from English and Welsh are taught only through the medium of Welsh to all pupils. One or two subjects are taught to some pupils in English or in both languages.</p>	<p>For pupils in A, B and C following the maximum number of courses through the medium of Welsh, the normal expectation is that assessment at KS3 and KS4 would be through the medium of Welsh in those subjects and that they would be able to progress easily to post 16 provision through the medium of Welsh in chosen subjects.</p>
<p>Bilingual Type B At least 80% of subjects (excluding Welsh and English) are taught through the medium of Welsh but are also taught through the medium of English.</p>	
<p>Bilingual Type C 50 – 79% of subjects (excluding Welsh and English) are taught through the medium of Welsh but are also taught through the medium of English.</p>	
<p>Bilingual Type Ch All subjects, except Welsh and English taught to all pupils using both languages.</p>	<p>For pupils in Category 2Ch the normal expectation is that assessment at KS3 and KS4 would be through the medium of Welsh in all subjects except English and that they would normally be able to progress easily to study at post 16 through the medium of Welsh in chosen subjects.</p>
<p>English Medium secondary school with significant use of Welsh Both languages are used in teaching with 20 – 49% of subjects taught through the medium of Welsh. All subjects would normally also be taught through the medium of English.</p>	<p>The normal expectation is that any pupils choosing Welsh medium options could be assessed through the medium of Welsh in those subjects at all levels and may be capable of progression to study at post 16 study through the medium of Welsh for those subjects.</p>
<p>English Medium secondary school Pupils are mainly taught through the medium of English</p>	<p>The normal expectation is that any pupils choosing Welsh medium options could be assessed through the medium of Welsh in those subjects at all levels and may be capable of progression to study at post 16 through the medium of Welsh for those subjects. Most pupils would be assessed in English in most subjects and would progress to English medium post 16 study.</p>

4.3.2 Research Locations

The study focused on current bilingual undergraduate students at the university level, spanning two Welsh higher education institutions³⁵ – Cardiff and Bangor University, as well as those studying outside of Wales, and on students across a range of academic disciplines, subjects areas and academic year of study.

Cardiff and Bangor University were chosen as the research focus as they have consistently recorded similar number of Wales domiciled Fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate³⁶ students. This has ranged between 1,100 and 1,395 Wales domiciled Fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students every year from 2010/11 up to 2020/21 (WG 2019a) (see Chapter 6, Figure 5.1 for further analysis). Furthermore, Welsh medium study varies considerably between these two institutions. Since the academic year 2010/11 up to 2020/21 this ten-year period has seen three times more Wales domiciled Fluent Welsh speaking students studying through the medium of Welsh at Bangor compared to those at Cardiff University (WG 2019b). (Official data on Welsh medium higher education are presented and analysed in Chapter 6). Thus, the noticeable differences in terms of Welsh medium study opportunities and engagement despite a similar number of fluent Welsh speaking students attending both institutions served as a solid justification to focus on these two universities.

Another point of difference between both Cardiff and Bangor University are their locations. Bangor University is in North-West Wales where Welsh is the predominant language of the region, while Cardiff University is based in South-East Wales where the proportion of Welsh speakers are relatively low. (See for example WG 2019c for the 2011 Census results on Welsh speakers, and WG 2022a; 2022c for the 2021 Census results.)

³⁵ Welsh universities can be described as bilingual institutions. As public organisations they must comply with Welsh Language Standards to promote and facilitate the use of the Welsh language, fostering a degree of institutional bilingualism. Students possess a range of linguistic rights that allows them to use Welsh at this level, and there is a commitment toward developing Welsh medium higher education provision and opportunities (See Chapter 2). However, 'bilingualism at higher education' and 'bilingual higher education' have a range of meanings. Arzoz (2012b; 7) notes that the "use of a language in higher education can, however, mean very different things, since there are many ways to structure a bilingual or multilingual higher education system and to provide higher education in more than one language in a given higher education institution". In the Welsh context, universities may offer tuition in two languages – Welsh and English – within separate streams. This can be described as parallel medium education or double monolingual education (Arzoz 2012; Plessis 2006). Moreover, Welsh language policies and matters may differ across universities. Inevitably there will be variations in terms of how bilingualism/Welsh language is situated within areas such as teaching, research, administration, governance, and communications etc, across each institution. Therefore, the contexts of these institutions on a micro level are important as there is not a 'one size fits all' description of bilingual higher education in Wales. (These institutional differences between Cardiff and Bangor University for example emerges from the data; see Chapter 6, and Chapter 7 in particular). (See Arzoz (2012) and Plessis (2006) for further discussions on the ways in which bilingual higher education can be conceptualised).

³⁶ Official data from StatsWales does not differentiate between the number fluent Welsh speaking Wales domiciled students on First Degree course and Other Undergraduate students, therefore there is no breakdown of these figure. These are grouped into 'Undergraduate' and 'Postgraduate' students.

While Welsh medium higher education is a central theme of this study, this is a thesis that explores the relationship between the Welsh language and students' higher education choices and experiences. Therefore, equally important was to incorporate and account for students who were not studying through the medium of Welsh at both Cardiff and Bangor (either by choice or due to a lack of Welsh medium provision opportunities), and those who had chosen to study outside of Wales. Therefore, a third group of students attending (a variety of) HEIs outside of Wales were selected to capture a cross-section of the bilingual student population. Interestingly, no study to date has attempted to examine Welsh speaking students' university experiences outside of Wales.

Thus, participation in the study was based on the following three criteria:

1. Students had to have attended a Welsh medium or bilingual secondary school in Wales
2. Students had to have studied a Welsh GCSE First Language
3. Students had to be a current university student (Cardiff, Bangor and EHIs) pursuing an undergraduate degree course:
 - And/or be studying elements of their degree course in Welsh
 - And/or be studying through the medium of English.

Having rationalised both the research participants and the selection of higher education institutions for the purpose of this study, the following section will account for the first phase of the research process which involved quantitative secondary and primary data analysis.

4.4 Phase One: Secondary data and Online Survey

Secondary data

Secondary analysis of official statistics presented in this thesis (Chapter 6) was originally collected by the Higher Education Statistics Agency's (HESA) Student Record and Staff Record. The Welsh Government have used these statistics to analyse and present findings in their annual statistical bulletins called 'Welsh Language in Higher Education', and these data are also available on the Welsh Government's *StatsWales* website³⁷. In this thesis, these statistics, as noted earlier, are presented for descriptive purposes and the secondary data were (re)analysed using Microsoft Excel. They are primarily used to map out the Welsh

³⁷ The researcher decided not to obtain the original data sets that is collected annually by HESA, but rather to use the data as has been analysed by the Welsh Government. It was determined that this would not have been practical given that it would have required the individual analysis of a vast amount of data for each academic year. Moreover, qualitative interviews was the primary methodological orientation of the study.

speaking undergraduate population and students' levels of engagement and participation with Welsh medium study across the higher education sector.

The difference in the data presented in the thesis and that of the Welsh Government's statistical bulletins is that the findings in this thesis only focus on the *Wales domiciled Fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate student population*. Official statistics often do not make the distinction between 'undergraduate degree' students and 'other undergraduate degree' students. Here undergraduate degree students refer to those undertaking a first degree at university (for example BA Sociology, or a BSc Biosciences), while 'other undergraduate degree' students refer to those studying other degrees such as foundation degrees, diplomas in HE, higher national diplomas (HND), and higher national certificate (HNC). Furthermore, the official statistics do not always make the distinction between Wales domiciled and non-Wales domiciled students in their analyses either. Therefore, the figures presented in Chapter 6 do not always correspond to those published in the government's bulletins as they relate solely to the Wales domiciled undergraduate student population which are the focus of this thesis. The researcher believes focusing solely on the *Wales domiciled Fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate student population* (rather than combining data to include non-Wales domiciled, non-Welsh speaking or non-fluent Welsh speakers, and those who study other undergraduate courses across the Welsh HEI sector) provide a more accurate representation of Welsh medium higher education.

Online Survey

It is well-established in the literature of the many advantages and disadvantages of using online survey as a method of data collection (for example, Andrews et al 2003; Brymann 2012; Dilman 2006; Evans and Marthur 2005; Lavrakas 2008; Sarantakos 1998; Sue and Ritter 2007; Wright 2005). Such benefits include the ability to reach a large audience of potential participants across differing geographical areas, generating a large sample of respondents, flexibility in its format, low administration cost, direct and quick data compilation, and speedy distribution. They also have the ability to ask respondents personal or sensitive questions while ensuring anonymity. However, they are not without their drawbacks. It is common for online surveys to have a low response rate, or sometimes a response rate cannot be calculated, lack of representativeness, they can lead to the abandonment of survey questions, and ambiguous wording or questions cannot be clarified, they are often impersonal, and are usually dependent on software.

However, for this study there were several practical reasons for using online surveys. Primarily, the survey was the principal method for interview recruitment (asked at the end of the questionnaire). This generated a large data set in which a sampling frame could be constructed and utilised for the second phase of data collection (discussed shortly). Secondly, to capture and gain access to students dispersed across different locations, it was decided that an online survey was the most practical method to do so. Thirdly, it served as a valuable way to gather key demographic information of these bilingual students across a range of higher

education institutions, and a way to create a database of bilingual students based primarily around language, and language of education. The variables captured in the survey include those such as age, gender, academic year, language spoken at home, respondents' perceived first language (L1) and second language (L2), A Level subject studied and the medium of instruction, preferred language of study, and their subjective assessment of their Welsh and English language skills, as well as the form or nature of Welsh medium study and engagement.

Furthermore, the researcher noticed that official data on Welsh medium higher education provision lacked specificities. While it did account for the number of credits, and subject type studied in Welsh, as well the number of students studying through the medium of Welsh, as will be discussed in Chapter 6, ultimately the form or the type of Welsh medium engagement was simply not accounted for. The researcher's impression of what constitutes 'Welsh medium provision' based on these analyses was therefore very abstracted, and under-investigated. In response to this, the survey provided an opportunity to address this shortfall by explicitly accounting for the type of Welsh medium engagement undertaken amongst these students at university (Bangor and Cardiff) in question 20a of the survey (See Appendix³⁸ 10-11). These findings are presented and analysed in Chapter 6.

The online survey was designed using BOS [Bristol Online Survey, now known as 'Online Surveys'], although hard copy versions of the survey were also developed. The survey consisted of several closed-ended questions. It was decided that this was the most practical format for a range of reasons. For example, closed-ended questions are simple and straightforward to answer and analyse, responses are consistent, they can generate measurable data, and comparisons can be made between respondents and other variables such as location of study, and degree type. Additionally, closed-ended questions generally generate a better response rate than open-ended questions. However, a disadvantage of closed-ended questions is that they do not allow respondents to elaborate on their answers, nor do they allow respondents to seek clarification on questions if necessary. Nevertheless, the qualitative component of the study, qualitative interviews with students, allowed the researcher to ask questions set forth in the survey during these interviews. As the quantitative data from the online survey was used for descriptive purposes in the thesis, Microsoft Excel was used to organise and analyse findings.

4.4.1 Negotiating access and recruiting participants

Having been granted ethical approval (Appendix 1) by the Chair of School of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee, the first step was to negotiate access to students across all institutions. This ultimately led the researcher to utilise a variety of avenues to reach the target population. (Ethical considerations are discussed in section 4.10.)

³⁸ For transparency the researcher has presented both Welsh and English versions of the research instruments in the Appendix.

Academic staff

This included emailing heads of department and academic staff (Appendix 4 and 5), including those employed by the Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol (Appendix 2 and 3) at both Cardiff and Bangor University. The purpose of the study was clearly explained, and permission was sought to distribute the survey link to students on behalf of the researcher. (The researcher also attached hard copies of the surveys in the e-mails.) It was initially anticipated that staff would be key gatekeepers for this study given that they had direct access to students, including e-mail addresses, and contact during teaching hours. But more so given that Coleg Cymraeg staff were teaching through the medium of Welsh and thus had access to bilingual students, it was deemed that they were best situated to promote and encourage participation amongst students. The researcher also contacted the Coleg Cymraeg Branch Officers at both institutions. These are key stakeholders in the development and promotion of Welsh medium higher education opportunities, and thus were also likely to be in contact with many of the students sought after. Both Branch Officers explained they had access to an email list of Welsh speakers who had registered with the Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol and offered to use this to circulate the survey link and study information.

Disappointingly however, survey responses came in very sporadically and infrequent. A plausible reason for the lack of response and interest may have occurred due to the formality associated with academic staff probing students to fill out the survey. Equally, some staff may have simply been too busy, or some had no interest in assisting the researcher. However, what became apparent was the realisation of dependency upon the gatekeeper. Consequently, the researcher became rather dubious about the effectiveness of this approach, and as a result 'when back to the drawing board.' Thus, alternative means to access students had to be deliberated, and the researcher considered using more 'informal' means to access the target population.

Welsh societies and student unions

This included contacting the Welsh society at Bangor, UMCB (*Undeb Myfyrwyr Cymraeg Bangor*), as well as Y GymGym (*Y Gymdeithas Gymraeg*) at Cardiff. While no response was received by the Welsh society at Bangor, an informal meeting was set up with Y GymGym's representative from Cardiff. He himself was a current undergraduate student at the time of the fieldwork and had agreed to email members of the society with the details of the study, as well as posting the survey link on the society's Facebook and Twitter pages. As these Welsh societies centre more around the socio-cultural aspect of the student experience at university as opposed to the educational, it was considered a far less formal and intrusive environment to recruit participants.

A similar approach was taken to access students studying outside of Wales. There are no official statistics or data available to ascertain the number of Fluent Welsh speakers that study outside of Welsh HEIs. Therefore, as it was difficult for the researcher to detect 'where'

these students were studying aside from knowing ‘they were out there somewhere’, the researcher felt that the only possible way address this, and gauge further information was to contact each university’s Students’ Union³⁹ across universities in England, Scotland, and Northern Ireland. After several enquiries, it was concluded that only 35 of these universities outside of Wales had an established Welsh society, and these were largely concentrated within populous cities in the UK. Contact details for these societies were passed onto the researcher. Nevertheless, it was difficult to assess and determine the vitality of these groups, including the number of members, the frequencies of events and socials, or whether these were active or inactive groups, for example. Furthermore, it also meant that the sample of respondents were limited to only those universities outside of Wales that had a Welsh society. Moreover, after directly contacting each of these Welsh societies, it became apparent through e-mail correspondences with the presidents and committee members that an overwhelming majority of these societies were open to both Welsh and non-Welsh speaking students. Although this would not deter the researcher’s ability to access Welsh speakers across these groups, it is nonetheless an important distinction to acknowledge. That is, Welsh societies across HEIs outside of Wales⁴⁰ are largely predicated on a shared cultural or national identity, as opposed to Welsh societies in Wales, for whom the basis of group membership is linguistic ability and a shared linguistic identity. This will be further explored in the final empirical, Chapter 8.

Social media

The researcher also decided to utilise social media platforms to promote and encourage participation in the study, particularly Facebook and Twitter. Recent years have seen a huge surge in the use of social media sites for the recruitment of participants in research. (See for example, Antoun et al 2015; Hokke et al 2019; Gelinias et al 2017; Rife et al 2016; Wasilewski et al 2019.) While bilingual students were not necessarily a ‘hard to reach population’ per se, the use of social media alleviated the potential of having to rely too much on formal gatekeepers i.e., academic staff and their goodwill to assist in the process of recruitment. The practicalities of using social media sites as platforms for recruitment meant that potential respondents could be targeted, and the ability to reach a wider segment of the target population spanning different locations (Gelinias et al 2017). Additionally, social media sites allow for users to “share content which can aid ‘viral’ participant recruitment” (Rife et al 2016; 70).

This was done using the researcher’s own personal Facebook and Twitter accounts. While this disclosed the researcher’s identity and private social media sites, the belief was that this would assist in the recruitment and data collection process. Primarily it was hoped that the researcher’s attempt to directly contact and ‘reach’ these students would increase interest and thus their willingness to participate.

³⁹ This was done by using a list of UK university Students Union, found here: <https://www.uk250.co.uk/StudentsUnion/>

⁴⁰ The exception to this is the University of Liverpool’s Welsh society.

Requests were made to join private Facebook groups of Welsh societies, though not all societies had a Facebook group, to circulate the study information and survey link. Additionally, the researcher followed Welsh societies on Twitter. Tweets were targeted at specific universities asking them to re-tweet a link to the survey. Tweets had also been retweeted numerous times by numerous users and accounts, further promoting the study. Through research on Facebook, it was discovered that there were multiple subject/course specific Facebook pages and groups for undergraduate students across Cardiff and Bangor University. Most of these were private groups, and so the researcher requested permission to join these groups and post information regarding the study. This was also a means to access potential bilingual students who might have not been studying through the medium of Welsh or were not 'active' members of their university's Welsh society. For example, those who may not have joined nor engaged with their university's Welsh language society, or those who did not live in Welsh halls of residences.

Additionally, all information posted on social media sites and e-mails to academic staff were done so bilingually. This was a consistent approach used throughout the recruitment of participants to foster a sense of choice amongst students, and to ensure that some were not put off by the prospect of only having access to the Welsh medium documentations.

Therefore, while a variety of 'formal' gatekeepers were identified throughout the research process and were initially anticipated as the most important intermediary between the researcher and the students, it was the informality and accessibility of social media sites that eventually generated a high number of responses to the survey. This proved to be a much more efficient and effective way to gather responses.

4.4.2 Survey Respondents

During this first phase of data collection, a total of 943 responses had been obtained from the online survey, spanning a period of four months. Key demographic information based on the survey responses are presented below before proceeding to account for the second, and central phase of the fieldwork – the qualitative findings. Survey data relating to the educational experiences and choices of students are presented and analysed in Chapter 6.

Table 4.2 Gender of respondents

Gender	Number of responses
Male	294 (31%)
Female	649 (69%)
Total	943 (100%)

Table 4.2 illustrates the gender composition of the survey respondents in which over a two-third were received by females. Male responses only made up 31.2%.

Most respondents were aged between 18 and 21 years old. 17.3% of students were over the age of 22, but under the age of 25. As illustrated in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Age of respondents

Age	Number of responses
18	143 (15%)
19	268 (28%)
20	209 (22%)
21	163 (17%)
22	68 (7%)
23 or over (but under 25)	93 (10%)
Total	943 (100%)

Table 4.4, overleaf, delineates respondents' home language. Most respondents, 38.9% came from households whereby Welsh was the only language spoken, closely followed by 35% of those who reported that English was the only language spoken at home. A quarter of respondents came from bilingual households, while a minority came from households where Welsh and another language (other than English) was spoken. It is worth considering how a study based on Welsh speakers/bilingual students may inadvertently create a sampling bias in the data set. For example, scholars such as Goyder (1986) and Dillman (2006) have claimed that respondents are more likely to complete questionnaire surveys if they feel or express more positive attitudes towards the topic under study. This may help explain a high(er) response rate amongst students from Welsh only speaking households.

Table 4.4 Home language of respondents

Language spoken at home	Number of responses
Welsh	367 (39%)
Welsh and English	240 (25%)
English	331 (35%)
Welsh and Other Language	5 (1%)
Total	943 (100%)

Table 4.5 Type of school attended

Type of secondary school	Number of responses
Welsh medium	317 (34%)
Bilingual A	283 (30%)
Bilingual B	166 (18%)
Bilingual C	16 (2%)
Bilingual Ch	0 (0%)
n/a	161 (17%)
Total	943 (100%)

Over a third of responses came from students that had attended Welsh medium schools, illustrated in Table 4.5, above. Across these schools all subjects are taught through the medium of Welsh. Meanwhile half of responses came from students that had attended a bilingual secondary school. These schools teach predominantly through the medium of Welsh, but also provide teaching through the medium of English. Thus, these pupils will have received their secondary education through the medium of both languages, albeit to varying degrees, as demonstrated in Table 4.1.

Table 4.6 Home location of respondents

Home Location	Number of responses
North West Wales	329 (35%)
North East Wales	90 (10%)
Mid Wales	80 (8%)
South West Wales	207 (22%)
South East Wales	233 (25%)
n/a	4 (0%)
Total	943 (100%)

As seen in Table 4.6, above, over a third of responses came from students whose home location was North-West Wales, accounting for over a third of all respondents. A quarter of students came from South-East Wales, while just under a quarter came from South-West Wales. A small proportion of students came from North-East, and Mid Wales.

Table 4.7 University location of respondents

University	Number of responses
Bangor	189 (20%)
Cardiff	254 (27%)
HEIs outside of Wales	500 (53%)
Total	943 (100%)

Most responses came from bilingual students studying at a HEI's outside of Wales, accounting for just over half of the sample. Students at Cardiff University comprised of over a quarter of all responses, while students at Bangor only accounted for one fifth of the entire responses. This is represented in Table 4.7, above.

Table 4.8 Subjects studied amongst respondents

Subject area	Number of responses
Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences	461 (49%)
Sciences and Applied Sciences	482 (51%)
Total	943(100%)

The type of subjects studied amongst respondents have been categorised into two overarching disciplines, as presented above in Table 4.8. Around an equal number of students claimed to be studying Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences and those undertaking Sciences and Applied Sciences courses. This was also reflected in students undertaking these subjects across both Cardiff and Bangor university.

Table 4.9 Students studying through the medium of Welsh

Studying through the medium of Welsh	Number of responses
Yes	212 (48%)
No	231 (52%)
Total	443 (100%)

Of those studying at Cardiff or Bangor, around an equal number of students claimed to be undertaking some form of Welsh medium study on their degree course, as see in Table 4.9.

Table 4.10 Awareness of Y Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol

University	Yes	No
Bangor (189)	156 (82.5%)	33 (17.5%)
Cardiff (254)	195 (76.7%)	59 (23.3%)
HEIs outside of Wales (500)	249 (49.8%)	251 (50.2%)
Total (943)	600 (63.6%)	343 (36.4%)

Furthermore, 63.6% of respondents claimed to have some awareness of Y Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol and its role in developing Welsh medium higher education, as indicated in Table 4.10, above. A much greater proportion of students at Cardiff and Bangor

seemed to have knowledge of Y Coleg Cymraeg, representing 79% of all responses here, than those studying outside of Wales.

Meanwhile, of those who were aware of Y Coleg Cymraeg, only 30% of students indicated to be a member, as Table 4.11 below demonstrates. However, this accounted for 48% of all students studying at Cardiff and Bangor University.

Table 4.11 Member of Y Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol

University	Yes	No
Bangor (156)	91 (58.3%)	65 (41.7%)
Cardiff (195)	78 (40%)	117 (60%)
HEIs outside of Wales (249)	11 (4.4%)	238 (95.6%)
Total (600)	180 (30%)	420 (70%)

Finally, more students studying outside of Wales reported to be a member of their university's Welsh society than those who studied at Bangor or Cardiff University. This is demonstrated in Table 4.12, below. While this accounted for over three quarters of students, less than half of students at Cardiff and Bangor had joined their respective university's Welsh society (Y GymGym and JMJ).

It should be noted however, and as will be discussed in Chapter 8, it seems that Welsh societies at Welsh university are largely predicated on a collective linguistic ability in Welsh, whereas those at universities outside of Wales is centred more around a common cultural identity rather than Welsh language ability.

Table 4.12 Member of university's Welsh society

University	Yes	No
Bangor (189)	85 (44.9%)	104 (55.1%)
Cardiff (254)	110 (43.3%)	144 (56.7%)
HEIs outside of Wales (500)	385 (77%)	115 (33%)
Total (943)	580 (62%)	362 (38%)

4.5 Phase Two: Qualitative Interviews

At the end of the survey (Appendix 10-13) students were invited to participate in a follow-up interview and were asked to leave their names and contact details (e-mail) if they had any interest; a total of 109 respondents had expressed an interest. This is a common method for interview recruitment in mixed method studies (Bryman 2012).

4.5.1 Sampling and Access

From this list of potential participants, the researcher developed a sampling frame which was divided into three-sub sampling frames based on the university location of students – Cardiff, Bangor, and English higher education institutions. As the sampling frame had been based on respondents leaving their details, this unfortunately meant it was inadvertently skewed in terms of the gender composition, in which the overwhelming majority of those that left that their details were female. Also, the number of potential participants were unevenly dispersed with a greater proportion of students studying outside of Wales expressing an interest than those at Bangor or Cardiff. Profile of interview participants are presented shortly.

A purposive sampling approach was used to identify and recruit participants – a common method employed in qualitative inquiry (Marshall 1996; Bryman 2012). According to Patton (2002; 230) “the logic and power of purposeful sampling lies in selecting information-rich cases for study in depth. Information rich-cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purposes of the inquiry...studying information-rich cases yields insights and in-depth understanding rather than empirical generalizations.” Participants were strategically selected by considering key variables of their survey responses. These included (gender), academic year of study, subject type, geographical or home location, home language, students’ perceived first (L1) and second language (L2), perceived levels of confidence and competence in Welsh and English, and whether students were undertaking some form of Welsh medium study. The latter only applicable to those studying in Wales of course. Additionally, purposive sampling has been criticised for its lack of generalizability, although this was not the aim of the study. However, recognising that the Welsh speaking student population (and Welsh speakers in general) are not a homogenous group (Gathercole et al., 2010), the researcher felt that this sampling technique was the most effective way to ensure that a variety of bilingual students’ accounts, choices and lived experiences at university could be documented during the qualitative interviews, thus generating a cross-section of responses from the bilingual student population.

As this study sought to interview bilingual Welsh-English speaking students, it meant that more than one language could be used for interviewing. As the researcher did not want to assume that all interviews would be conducted in Welsh, efforts were made to ensure that language choice (Cortazzi et al. 2011) was highlighted to participants throughout the recruitment process, as well as producing and providing bilingual versions of the research instruments (Appendix 6-16).

Bilingual emails were sent to selected participants in order to arrange a convenient time/date to conduct interviews, and an information sheet (Appendix 14-15) was attached outlining the purpose of the study. Which language came first in the emails was determined by the language participants used to complete the survey. This was to ensure consistency and to not make students feel obliged to be interviewed in Welsh. Thus, the default language between the researcher and participant was established prior to interviewing, making it easier to navigate when meeting students face-to-face.

Thirty-one interviews were conducted in Welsh, four in English, and one was conducted bilingually.

4.5.2 Locating the interviews

The choice of where to conduct interviews has tended to be overlooked in the literature, often reduced to a logistical aspect of the research design. However, many scholars highlight potential implications that interview sites or locations can have on the research – both in terms of the power relations/dynamic, as well as the construction and exchanging of knowledge between the researcher and participants (Elwood and Martin 2000; Herzog 2005, 2012; Gagnon et al. 2015). The distinction in the relationship between the participant and the researcher can be one characterised by the ‘giver’ and the ‘taker’ of knowledge (Herzog 2005). Given that respondents had ‘knowledge’ that the researcher sought to access, it felt only appropriate they be included in the preparatory stages of locating the interview. Thus, the choice of where to conduct these interviews were ultimately guided and determined by the participants themselves in the hope that this would empower them to engage with the study (Elwood and Martin 2000).

All thirty-six interviews were conducted in cafés or bars chosen by participants, either closely located to their respective universities, or their home locations. Although these spaces might not have been extremely familiar to students in the sense that they held no apparent personal/emotional attachment to their chosen sites, they nevertheless became ‘their patch’. These were locations in which *they* had invited the researcher to. These were locations which had a sense of familiarity and informality to participants.

This had also been a way to minimise the power dynamic of that of the researcher and participant, and to foster an informal feel about the interviews rather than opting to use an office, for example.

Moreover, several practical considerations were accounted for in the lead up to the fieldwork. These included opening times of the chosen interview sites, travelling arrangements to and from these sites, ensuring copies of the research instruments were on hand, clarifying dates and times with participants, and ensuring the audio equipment was working properly.

4.5.3 Profile of Interview Participants

A total of 36 in-depth, face-to-face interviews with bilingual undergraduate students⁴¹ were conducted during the second, and principal phase of the fieldwork. Having accounted for certain variables during the construction of the sampling framework, see earlier section, Table 4.13 (overleaf) presents a breakdown of these participants. All participants have been assigned a pseudonym in order to maintain their anonymity.

A total of thirty-three participants were female, with only three male students. While gender was not a variable that was being investigated in this study, it was nonetheless rather disappointing to have a low proportion of male participants. This was simply due to far fewer male students expressing an interest to be interviewed in the last question of the survey. Hence this impacted the gender composition of the sampling frame, and thus the ratio of female to male interview participants.

All participants were between the ages of 18 and 21 at the time of the interviews. They were evenly concentrated amongst academic years of study, with eleven in their first year, fourteen in their second year, and eleven in their final year of undergraduate study.

Twelve students were studying at Cardiff, eleven at Bangor, and thirteen at English higher education institutions. Moreover, of the twenty-three students studying at Cardiff and Bangor, fifteen of these were undertaking some form of Welsh medium study.

Fifteen students came from Welsh only speaking households; thirteen from English only speaking households; six came from bilingual Welsh-English homes, while two came from households where Welsh and another language other than English was spoken. The latter two students' home languages have not been disclosed to maintain confidentiality.

Geographically, twelve participants came from North-West Wales⁴², four from North-East Wales⁴³, ten from South-East Wales⁴⁴, while five came from South-West Wales⁴⁵. One participant came from Mid Wales⁴⁶. Additionally, eighteen participants had attended a Welsh medium secondary school, seventeen had studied at a Bilingual Type A school, while a single participant had attended a Bilingual Type C school.

Fourteen students were undertaking an undergraduate course allied to the sciences and applied sciences, while twenty-one were studying an art, humanities and/or social

⁴¹ The terms student and participant are used interchangeably.

⁴² Gwynedd, Môn and Conwy.

⁴³ Denbighshire, Wrexham and Flint.

⁴⁴ Cardiff, Vale of Glamorgan, Rhondda Cynon Taff, Merthyr Tydfil, Caerphilly, Newport, Blaenau Gwent, Torfaen, Monmouthshire, Bridgend.

⁴⁵ Carmarthenshire, Pembrokeshire, Swansea, Neath Port Talbot.

⁴⁶ Powys and Ceredigion.

sciences course. A single participant was studying a joint honours degree in the arts and sciences.

Aside from the fact that all participants were bilingual Welsh-English undergraduate students – the primary criteria for the study – there had been some degree of heterogeneity in the sample based on the variables discussed. This was an important aspect of the research, as the researcher attempted to ensure a diverse sample of the target population was accounted for.

Table 4.13 Key demographic information of Interview participants

Pseudonym	Home Language	Year of study	Degree Subject	University	Type of Secondary School	WM Provision	Home Location
Mari	Welsh	1	BN Adult Nursing	Cardiff	Bilingual A	Yes	North West Wales
Anwen	Welsh and English	2	BSc Criminology	Cardiff	Bilingual A	Yes	South West Wales
Branwen	Welsh	1	LLB Law	Cardiff	Bilingual A	Yes	South West Wales
Llion	Welsh and Other	1	BSc Biosciences	Cardiff	Welsh Medium	Yes	North West Wales
Ffion	Welsh	2	MBBCh Medicine	Cardiff	Bilingual A	Yes	North West Wales
Catrin	Welsh	2	BA Welsh and Journalism	Cardiff	Bilingual A	Yes	South West Wales
Cerys	English	3	BA Welsh and History	Cardiff	Welsh Medium	Yes	South West Wales
Sara	English	1	BSc Environmental Geography	Cardiff	Welsh Medium	No	South East Wales
Nerys	Welsh and English	2	BSc Occupational Therapy	Cardiff	Welsh Medium	No	South East Wales
Victoria	English	2	BA English Literature	Cardiff	Bilingual C	No	Mid Wales
Jennifer	English	1	BA French and Spanish	Cardiff	Welsh Medium	No	South East Wales
Alaw	Welsh	1	BSc Human Geography	Cardiff	Bilingual A	No	North West Wales
Ceri	Welsh	3	BN Adult Nursing	Bangor	Bilingual A	Yes	North West Wales
Shauna	English	3	BA Sociology with Social Policy	Bangor	Welsh Medium	Yes	South East Wales
Leri	Welsh	3	BA Creative Studies	Bangor	Bilingual A	Yes	North West Wales

Angharad	Welsh	1	BA Welsh and Sport Sciences	Bangor	Bilingual A	Yes	North West Wales
Alys	Welsh	3	BSc Psychology	Bangor	Bilingual A	Yes	North West Wales
Delyth	English	2	BMedSci Medical Sciences	Bangor	Welsh Medium	No	North East Wales
Grace	English	2	BA Childhood Studies	Bangor	Bilingual A	No	North West Wales
Christina	English	2	BA Archaeology	Bangor	Welsh Medium	No	North East Wales
Erin	Welsh	2	BN Adult Nursing	Bangor	Bilingual A	Yes	North West Wales
Llinos	Welsh and English	2	BSc Zoology and Herpetology	Bangor	Welsh Medium	Yes	South East Wales
Tesni	Welsh	1	BA Welsh	Bangor	Bilingual A	Yes	South West Wales
Amelia	Welsh	2	BA Human Geography	Exeter	Welsh Medium	-	South East Wales
Elain	Welsh	3	BA History	Liverpool	Welsh Medium	-	South East Wales
Aled	Welsh and Other	3	MPhys Physics	Manchester	Welsh Medium	-	South East Wales
Jasmine	English	1	BSc Medical Sciences	Leeds	Welsh Medium	-	South East Wales
Samantha	English	3	BA Modern Languages	Oxford	Welsh Medium	-	South East Wales
Gwawr	Welsh and English	2	BA English Literature	Oxford	Bilingual A	-	North West Wales
Lea	English	3	BA English and French	Oxford	Bilingual A	-	South West Wales
Myfanwy	Welsh and English	1	BA History and Ancient History	Reading	Welsh Medium	-	North East Wales
Heledd	Welsh	1	LLB Law	Liverpool	Welsh Medium	-	North East Wales
Lisa	English	2	BA Sociology	Nottingham	Welsh Medium	-	South East Wales
Gwenno	Welsh and English	3	BA Broadcasting Journalism	Leeds	Bilingual A	-	North West Wales

Tomos	Welsh	2	BA Politics, Philosophy and Economics	Exeter	Bilingual A	-	North West Wales
Charlotte	English	3	BSc Mathematics	Sheffield	Welsh Medium	-	North East Wales

All interviews were audio recorded using *Trustin Digital Voice Recorded*. The length of the interviews varied from 45 minutes to 2 hours and 15 minutes.

Interviews can be regarded as a conversation with a purpose (Burgess 1984; 84). While scholars such as Bauman et al (2002) May (2001) and Mason (2007) point to the use of the term ‘unstructured interviews’ in methodological discourses, the researcher agrees with such scholars that interviews can never be entirely unstructured as “the agenda and assumptions of both interviewer and interviewee will inevitably impose framework for meaningful interaction” (Buamn et al 2002; 227). Equally, interviews can neither be completely structured, as “a structure or sequence of questions which is rigid, and which is devised in advance by the interviewer, by definition lacks the flexibility and sensitivity to context and particularity required if we are to listen to our interviewees’ ways of interpreting and experiencing the social world” (Buamn et al 2002; 231). Thus, the form of interviews conducted in this study were semi-structured interviews, or what May (2001) refers to as a ‘focused interview’.

Interview schedules were developed and used as a framework to guide the interviews (Appendix 17-22). They included a number of set topics to be explored and consisted of a combination of both open-ended and closed-ended questions. There were slight variations in the guides depending on students’ location of study, and whether students were studying through the medium of Welsh. However, their principal goal was to ensure consistency in the topics explored and that areas of discussion were pertinent to the aims of the study (King 2004; Patton 2002). It allowed the researcher to (further) explore, probe, and ask questions which illuminated on participants’ accounts, further attesting to its practicality of being a flexible approach to interviewing. Furthermore, the flexibility associated with qualitative interviewing allowed the interviewer to adapt questions and focus of conversation depending on students’ responses. The use of open-ended questions allowed participants to guide the conversation and allowed them to focus on areas that they personally deemed to be important or significant.

4.6 Reflections on Positionality

Reflexivity is paramount in qualitative research. Berger (2015; 220) explains that:

“reflexivity is commonly viewed as the process of a continual internal dialogue and critical self-evaluation of researcher’s positionality as well as active acknowledgement and explicit recognition that this position may affect the research process and outcome... It means turning of the researcher lens back onto oneself to recognize and take responsibility for one own’s situatedness within the research and the effect that it may have on the setting and people being studied, questions being asked, data being collected and its interpretation. As such, the idea of reflexivity challenges the view of knowledge as independent of the researcher producing it and of knowledge as objective”.

Reflexivity is of central importance to this study given the insider status of the researcher. The researcher is more than just a fellow Welsh speaker, or a member of the linguistic community that he investigates. He is someone who, as a bilingual has gone through the process of having to negotiate language considerations with his own university choices. He is a former undergraduate student who has studied elements of his degree course through the medium of Welsh. He is familiar with many of the processes, challenges, concerns, dilemmas, and experiences that so many of the participants discussed during the interviews. Therefore, the research felt that his lived experiences, and in particular his past experiences of undergraduate study were not that far removed from the lives of these participants. While many have highlighted the potential limitations of the 'insider-researcher status', such as the potential loss of objectivity, and being too close to the topic under study (Cormier 2018; Couture et al 2012; Dwyer and Buckle 2009), there are however many advantages to being an insider.

Interviews with participants felt more like chats or informal conversations with friends. They usually began with the researcher disclosing some personal information regarding himself, such as home location, place of study, the purpose of the thesis, and this then led to students also disclosing information about themselves. Indeed, Cormier (2018; 329) attest that "linguistic insider researchers are generally viewed positively". This was a way to cement and establish similarities between the researcher and participants as opposed to differences. By emphasising such commonalities, the intention had been to ease any concerns students may have had about the study, to remove a sense of formality, and to foster closer relationships and develop a rapport with participants. More importantly it was a way of gaining acceptance amongst participants as a true insider – as 'one of them' – as more than just a researcher.

It was precisely the closeness of the researcher to the topic and participants that were so valuable to this study. The intimate knowledge (Cromier 2018; O'Connor 2004), a shared understanding or 'inside knowledge', and the ability to resonate and empathise with participants was deemed to be key advantages rather than limitations of the research. Those such as Cormier (2018) and Dwyer and Buckle (2009) argue that participants are more likely to be open, and willing to share information to insider-researcher because of the assumption of understanding. Cormier (2018; 330) also claims that sharing a language and its minority status tends to result in a more faithful representation of the participants' perspectives, further attested by Irvine et al (2008; 35) that argue "in research studies involving minority language users, rigour is enhanced when researchers share a common language and culture with research participants".

It allowed for the further probing of nuances and detailed responses from participants that an outsider could seemingly overlook. As Couture et al (2012; 90) claims "insiders can provide insights, inner meanings, and subjective dimensions that are likely to be overlooked by outsiders". The researcher's familiarity with these students' experiences, based on, and derived from his own personal experiences as well as his ability to resonate with participants further served to legitimise their accounts.

4.7 Piloting the study

Scholars such as Kim (2010) and Sampson (2004) recognise that piloting has generally been associated with quantitative methods, and that this is reflected in the scant literature pertaining to pilot studies within qualitative research. However, to ensure the rigour of the study, and to thoroughly prepare for the fieldwork, the researcher proceeded to undertake pilot studies for both the survey and the interviews. These were done primarily to assess the effectiveness and appropriateness of the research methods and instruments (Hunt et al., 1982; Sarantakos 1998; Presser et al., 2004) and to familiarise the researcher with the process. Piloting enables researchers to identify and address possible issues, and to make appropriate changes necessary before proceeding with the main study (Baker 1994; Kim 2010; Marshall 2005; Sarantakos 1998).

Piloting was a way to assess a variety of aspects of the research instruments. These included respondents' ability to comprehend the information provided in the information sheet, including the purpose of the study; the format, layout, and sequences of questions; the length of the questionnaire; the wording of questions, and any potential inconsistencies and ambiguities found between the Welsh and English versions of the documents; as well as redressing potential misinterpretation of questions. It also allowed for the trial run of the online survey and to assess whether any technical issues were encountered by respondents.

Most of the issues raised, and the comments expressed by the pilot sample weighed heavily on the design and presentation of the survey and research instruments, and the alterations were made based on the feedback received. Frequent comments were made regarding the length of the information sheet as well as the questionnaire. Survey questions were cut shorter, and ambiguous and complex words were removed to ease comprehension and facilitate informed choices amongst participants.

No technical difficulties were reported in accessing and completing the online version of the survey. However, a recommendation was made by some to have a set number of questions on multiple pages (paging) rather than all the questions being presented and available to view solely on a single page (scrolling); this change was implemented. Although Singh et al. (2009) claims that there are no differences in the response rate based on a single or multiple page survey design, there is evidence to suggest that respondents are likely to take more time to complete multipage surveys than they are with a single page design. The researcher attempted to mirror the structure and presentation of the hard copy of the survey for the online version.

Additionally, two pilot interviews were conducted with students, and both were encouraged to share feedback at the end of the interviews. The pilot interviews and survey responses have been excluded from the analysis of the thesis.

4.8 Data analysis

All thirty-six interview recordings were transcribed verbatim and was done as soon as possible after each interview conducted. Although this took a substantial amount of time, doing so provided the researcher with 'space' and an opportunity to reflect upon each of these interviews individually. This was a useful way to immerse oneself in the data, to familiarise with each students' accounts or story, and generate notes and ideas before proceeding to collate all the interview transcripts at the end of the data collection period for the 'collective analysis.'

NVivo 11 was initially considered as a software for the analysis of the qualitative data. While appreciating the convenience and usefulness of computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS) in the analysis process, such as the managing, organising and the retrieval of large amounts of data (Jones et al 2013; Stroh 2000), the researcher ultimately had some concerns utilising this. The primary concern was the distance that using software would create between the researcher and data (Stewart 2010; Stroh 2000), as Stroh (2000; 238) highlights, "[t]o some, the concern is that computers not only alter the relationship between the researcher and data, but add an insurmountable distance, which is fundamentally at odds with the 'closeness to data' so treasured in qualitative research". To retain the closeness of the data it was decided that manual analysis of interview transcripts would be the most effective and robust approach to data analysis, as this, according to Stroh (2000; 239) ensures that "the researcher is closer and more intimately involved with the data".

The qualitative findings were analysed using a thematic analysis approach, primarily as it is a method "for identifying, analysing, and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (Braun and Clarke 2006; 79). This was deemed to be the most appropriate approach given the thesis presents a collective narrative of bilingual students' university choices and lived experiences. The researcher employed Braun and Clarke's (2006; 87) (Clarke and Braun 2013; 122-123) 'six phase of thematic analysis approach', outlined below, as a framework for conducting the analysis.

Table 4.14 Braun and Clarke's six phase of thematic analysis approach

Phase	Description of the process
1. Familiarising yourself with your data	Transcribing data, reading and re-reading the data, noting down initial ideas.
2. Generating initial codes	Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code.
3. Searching for themes	Collating codes into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme.
4. Reviewing themes	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts (Level 1) and the entire data set (Level 2), generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis.
5. Defining and naming themes	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme.
6. Producing the report/Write up	The final opportunity for analysis. Selection of vivid, compelling extract examples, final analysis of selected extracts, relating back of the analysis to the research question and literature, producing a scholarly report of the analysis.

To ensure data analysis was done in a systematic way, each of the interview transcripts were read on more than one occasion and each were given full and equal attention (Braun and Clarke 2006). Manual analysis of the qualitative findings comprised of printing physical copies of transcripts as well as working on transcription documents on Microsoft Word. Analysis began through the process of coding interview extracts, which “is a way of indexing or categorizing the text in order to establish a framework of thematic ideas about it” (Gibbs 2007; 38). These codes, generally descriptive, were identified and generated by writing notes, using highlighted pens, and coloured post-it notes for organisation. This was a way to break down the breadth of qualitative data into manageable segments. Thereafter, as soon as all interview extracts had been assigned a code (and sometimes sub-codes), all codes were then collated and compiled into a single document, and interview segments were extracted into its own document based on certain codes. Later, a refinement of these codes and interview extracts led to the emergence of potential themes, and these themes were then clearly defined. A theme “captures something important about the data in relation to the research question and represents some level of *patterned* response or meaning within the data set” (Braun and Clarke 2006; 82). Themes that were pertinent to the research questions and the overarching aim of the thesis were further explored and analysed.

4.9 Bilingual data

All interview recordings had been transcribed verbatim in the original language of the interviews. Thirty-one of these were conducted in Welsh, four in English, and one was conducted bilingually.

Squires (2009) claims that cross-language research occurs when a language barrier exists between the researcher and participants, and that this language barrier is often mediated by using a translator/interpreter. While this research did involve collecting and analysing most of the qualitative data in a language different to the one that the thesis is being presented in, the researcher assumed what Shklarov (2007) terms as a double role – functioning as both an interpreter and translator. (See also Berman and Tyyskä 2011; Edwards 1998; Squires 2009; Temple 2002; Temple and Edwards 2002; Temple and Young 2004; Wong and Poon 2010, for example, on the methodological challenges of using translators and interpreters in cross-cultural language research.)

The researcher deemed it both impractical and unnecessary to translate Welsh interview transcripts into English given his native fluency in both languages. Additionally, the researcher felt he was best situated to act as both translator and interpreter because of his insider status, his bicultural identity, and a shared experience with participants of having gone through Welsh medium/bilingual secondary and higher education. Shklarov (2007; 532) claims this to be an advantage as “the bilingual researcher who acts as his or her own translator and belong to both cultures can acquire a dual vision of the research context”. Similarly, Temple and Young (2004; 168) also argue “[t]he researcher/translator role offers the researcher significant opportunities for close attention to cross cultural meaning and interpretations and potentially brings the researcher up close to the problems of meaning equivalence within the research process”.

However, researchers and/or translators cannot be regarded as neutral transmitters of knowledge (Temple 2002; Berman and Tyyskä 2011), neither can the act of translation or interpretation from Welsh into English be conceived as merely a technical or a practical task. Rather it is important to acknowledge that translators are active co-producers of knowledge, and form part of the context of data production (Berman and Tyyskä 2011; Temple 1997, 2002). Temple Young (2004; 168) further argue “the researcher/translator role is inextricably bound also to the socio-cultural positioning of the researcher, a positioning, whether intended or ascribed, that will also give a meaning to the dual translator/researcher role”.

Data analysis was done by using interview transcripts in their original language as to ensure closeness to the data (Temple and Young 2004). van Nes et al. (2010; 315) states that “to avoid potential limitations in the analysis we therefore recommend staying in the original language as long as much as possible”. It was only when drafting and writing up the empirical chapters that the researcher attempted to provide both translations and interpretation of the Welsh excerpts into English. The aim had been to capture and ensure for conceptual

equivalence, rather than linguistic equivalence (Shklarov 2007; Squires 2009; Temple and Young 2004) when presenting and interpreting excerpts from Welsh into English.

Initially, the researcher had wanted to present the original excerpts in Welsh alongside the translated version in English, but due to a lack of space and the limited word count to the thesis it was unfortunately not practical to do so. However, one excerpt has been presented in its original Welsh version (in Chapter 6, section 6.5.1) as this is done to illustrate a student's challenge of having to deconstruct an assessment question that had been set in English while having to translate it into Welsh.

4.10 Ethical considerations

An ethically informed study should be the basis of all social research (Blaxter et al. 2011). As noted earlier, the researcher had been granted ethical approval for the study by the School of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee in 2016 (Appendix 1). The researcher abided by Cardiff University's (CU 2019) research code of practice, as well as ethical guidelines outlined by the British Sociological Association (2017) and British Educational Research Association (2018). A variety of ethical aspects were carefully considered in the ethics application process, and how these could potentially arise during the study, particularly those in relation to the participants, and especially pertaining issues of informed consent, anonymity, confidentiality, privacy voluntary participation and minimising risk of harm to participants (Blaxter et al. 2011; Bryman 2012). These were addressed in the ethics application form, highlighted to participants during the recruitment process and were clearly outlined on the research instruments (Appendix 6-22). However, it is important to acknowledge that ethical considerations and ethical procedures are not merely a matter for the research design. Ethics is an ongoing process that is bound in the entirety of the research (Guillemin and Gillam 2004); from research design, fieldwork, handling, and management of data to the writing up of the thesis.

All data collected in this study was handled in accordance with guidelines in the Data Protection Act (1998). Physical copies of interview transcripts were kept in locked storage, while electronic versions and the survey data set was stored on a password protected computer account. Only the researcher had access to the fieldwork.

An information sheet (Appendix 6-9) accompanied both the survey link and physical/Word document copies of the questionnaire (Appendix 10-13). Additionally, an information sheet to interview (Appendix 14-15) had been sent out via e-mail to students well in advance of the interviews. The researcher requested that all participants read the document in order to familiarise with the nature of the study, and to ensure they fully understood their involvement and what was expected of them. Thereafter upon meeting with participants, the researcher reiterated the purpose of the study, emphasising that this was academic research undertaken for the solely purpose of the PhD thesis. All were reminded that their participation was completely voluntary and that they had the right to withdraw or stop the interview at any

time. The researcher explained that the data generated from the interviews would remain confidential, that potential excerpts of the recordings may be used and presented in the thesis, and that steps would be taken to ensure the anonymity of all involved in the study.

Participants were encouraged to ask any questions or flag any concerns they might have had about the study and/or the implications of their participation. Afterwards, participants were asked to sign the interview consent form (Appendix 16) as a way of acknowledging and consenting their participation, before proceeding to commence the interview. All participants consented to be recorded.

While the researcher accounted for a variety of potential ethical issues that could have arisen during the course of the fieldwork (to the ethics committee), some ethical dilemmas pertaining to anonymity and confidentiality arose during the writing up stage of the thesis.

The identification of Bangor and Cardiff University as the focus of the study was disclosed in the ethics application, and therefore consent to conduct fieldwork was given based on the non-anonymity of both institutions. Similarly, a choice was made not to anonymise the degree subjects studied by students. While both pieces of information are potentially disclosive information, whereby one could reduce a student to a particular institution studying a particular course, the main concern was to not decontextualize students' narratives and lived experiences and choices from firstly, the university in which they studied, and secondly from their degree subjects. Scott (2005) argues anonymity exists on a continuum from fully anonymous to fully identified, while van de Hoonard (2003) claims that anonymity in qualitative research is considered an unachievable goal. Both information – institution studied, and subject studied – served as a mediator into exploring and understanding how students situated and constructed their realities at university. For example, Chapter 6 explores how students navigate pedagogical issues and challenges, particularly in English medium settings, and as Welsh medium provision is not evenly dispersed across HEIs in Wales (Chapter 6), specific degree subjects and institutions play a vital role in understanding those experiences. Furthermore, while Nasper (2000; 549) contends “the rationale for place anonymization is presumably to make people more difficult to identify”, there was a possibility that by anonymising both of these aspects that the researcher would have to remove some of the contexts of the data (Bickford and Nisker 2015), and the nuances captured that was so unique and apparent to these institutions. Therefore, on the basis of maintaining the integrity of the data and to be faithful to the accounts and voices of participants, an informed decision was made not to anonymise neither the institutions nor subjects studied.

4.11 Conclusion

This chapter has accounted for the various aspects of the research process for the study. The following four chapters shall now proceed to present and discuss the empirical findings of the study. Chapter 5, 7 and 8 will use findings from the qualitative interviews, while

Chapter 6 draws from both sets of quantitative data, incorporating both primary and secondary data analysis.

Chapter 5: The bilingual student goes to university: the Welsh language and higher education choices

5.1 Introduction

The first empirical chapter of the thesis explores to what extent the Welsh language has informed and influenced the higher education choices of bilingual Welsh-English speaking students. Drawing from qualitative findings from the face-to-face interviews with students who proceeded to go on to study at Bangor University, Cardiff University, and a variety of English universities, the chapter closely examines how students negotiated and navigated language considerations as they recounted their university choices.

Prior studies have looked at the relationship between the Welsh language, particularly Welsh medium study, and post-compulsory educational choices of *prospective* higher education students (Davies and Trystan 2012; Davies and Davies 2015; G. Jones 2010⁴⁷; S. Jones 2010; S. Jones 2019; Lewis and Williams 2006; C. Williams 2003; I. Williams 1989). This chapter, however, is the first to explore these choices retrospectively from the accounts of bilingual undergraduate students that *have* actualised their university choices. The overall aim of the thesis is to explore the relationship between the Welsh language and higher education participation and experience. It is therefore important to consider how these bilingual students came about their university choices by exploring their HE choice making processes before proceeding to explore their current HE experiences, and particularly their experiences in relation to the Welsh language at this level.

Three groups of students are identified. Each of these groups demonstrate the various ways, and the extent that the Welsh language has informed students' university choices. Ultimately the data demonstrates how the Welsh language is not solely intertwined within students' university choices for learning or academic reasons, but that cultural and social factors also play a key role in how students negotiate the Welsh language for their university choices. A concise summary of the main characteristics of these groups are presented below, before proceeding with the remainder of the chapter.

Group 1 refers to students who prioritised the Welsh language as they accounted for their university choices as opposed to course quality, content and institutional reputation that were apparent in the narratives of those in Groups 2, and particularly those in Group 3. Staying 'home' was important for these students either through staying close to their immediate locales or moving within Wales to study. Most, though not all, of these students orientated towards studying at Bangor University. Students here were also more likely to want to pursue with

⁴⁷ G. Jones (2010) conducted a longitudinal study that consisted of re-interviewing students once they had gone onto university.

Welsh medium higher education. Similarly, students in Group 2 had also chosen to remain in Wales to study due to the Welsh language but had largely prioritised course quality and institutional reputation of Welsh universities. This constrained possible HE destinations within Wales as most students orientated to study at Cardiff University as the only Russell Group university in Wales. Conversely, students in Group 3 actively rejected the Welsh language as part of their university choices. These students orientated to study outside of Wales predominately because they had prioritised the quality of degree courses and institutional reputation. Many felt English universities were of better quality than Welsh universities and tended to focus on Russell Group universities in England. Differently to those in Groups 1 and 2, these students envisioned their university experience as moving away from 'home'.

5.2 Group 1

Students in Group 1 negotiated their university choices in large parts through cultural considerations/ the Welsh language, as opposed to course quality and institutional reputation that were evident in the narratives of those in Groups 2 and 3. Culture, or cultural considerations here refers to, and encompasses elements of identity, place (Wales/immediate locale) and language. Students also wanted to study, where possible, through the medium of Welsh. Most students in Group 1 came from Welsh speaking households, suggesting a strong correlation between home language and the importance that students assign to the Welsh language as part of their university choices.

5.2.1 Cynefin and staying 'home'

Students in Group 1 did not want to leave Wales for university as staying home was key to their university choices. While students' narratives articulate the close attachment (Relph 1976; Low and Altman 1992) to place or 'home', the findings demonstrate that students interpret or represent the idea of 'home' differently. While some spoke of 'home' as their immediate locales (Ceri, Erin, Angharad, Alys, Leri, and Grace) for others (Catrin, Mari, Ffion, Branwen, Shauna, Christina, Tesni, and Delyth) it represented Wales, or the 'nation' (Hinton 2011). The importance of 'home' to students echoes the lyrics of a popular Welsh language song, 'Adra' by Gwyneth Glyn⁴⁸ - "Fy nghynefin yw fy nefoedd, a bro fy mebyd yw fy myd" [*My home is my haven, and my homeland is my world*]. However, while this afforded the latter group of students with greater HE choices within Wales, those who wanted to stay within their immediate locales were greatly limited, and generally orientated towards studying at a local university. Either way, the Welsh language became instrumental in these students' decision to remain in Wales to study.

Having asked students during the interviews why they had not considered studying outside of Wales, the accounts of those from North-West Wales (Ceri, Erin, Angharad, Alys, Leri, and Grace), highlighted the significance of staying home to study. For these students it

⁴⁸ Gwyneth Glyn – Adra:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7H2_rLHN9Xk&list=RD7H2_rLHN9Xk&start_radio=1

was not so much a love of the ‘nation’ or Wales that was directly expressed and articulated within their narratives, but rather their attachment and love – or ‘*brogarwch*’ – towards their immediate locales. These students had a special bond with their community and its people, and the Welsh language was such an instinctive and deeply ingrained part of their ‘*milltir sgwar*’ and day to day lives. Most came from Welsh only speaking households. Thus, home and language became interchangeable elements, and it was paramount that these students did not leave or change this for university. Take the following extracts from the interviews with Ceri, Angharad and Alys, below, for example which encapsulates this sense of attachment, and how these students came to choose to study at a local (Bangor) university.

“I’m a home person and I’m somebody that’s happy in her *cynefin*; a place that I’m used to, and the [Welsh] language is a huge part of that”.

(Ceri, BN Nursing, Year 2, Bangor)
[Welsh speaking household]

“I’d be lost without my home language, and I’m a bit of a home bird”

(Angharad, BA Welsh and Sports Sciences, Year 1, Bangor)
[Welsh speaking household]

“The language. I wouldn’t be able to, like I’d be completely homesick”

(Alys, BSc Psychology, Year 3, Bangor)
[Welsh speaking household]

Ceri’s reference to ‘*cynefin*’ brilliantly captures this special bond between the individual and place, mediated through language. For these students, language largely dictates place and their HE destination. *Cynefin* is a Welsh term which has no English equivalent but can be loosely translated as ‘home’ or ‘habitat’ – a place where one is naturally acclimatised to. Jones (1985; 121) offers a better representation of the concept:

“...*cynefin* is the Welshman’s first and foremost window on the world... *Cynefin* is that area where we feel we belong. For most it is the place where we were brought up, the surroundings which impressed themselves upon us in the formative years between five and fifteen... it is there that our real attachment lies. *Cynefin* is more than landscape and scenery. It is a piece of the earth where a community has lived, - a community with whom we identify. In this bond language has its essential place”.

While *cynefin* can therefore be understood as the attachment to place, it more accurately encapsulates the attachment to place these students hold *through* language. This bond between the Welsh language and place is discussed by the Welsh philosopher J.R. Jones (1966) in his concept of ‘*cydymdreiddiad tir ac iaith*’, or the interpenetration of land and language. Here, Jones (1966) argues that the bond between language and place is formed through the (external) temporal space of the land in which generations have co-occupied and lived on for centuries (Low 1992), and the (internal) spiritual bond that constructs language

not solely as a communicative tool but rather as a vessel or repository of culture and traditions, bringing about a sense of collective consciousness amongst its people. Jones (1966; 10) describes this as a marriage:

“Yn y briodas hon...fe welir Pobl megis yn gafaelyd yn eu tir a'i gymhathu i mewn i wead eu bywyd yng nghfryngwriaeth eu hiaith. Byddant, fel petai, yn gweld a thrafod a charu eu daear yn nrych eu hiaith”. [“In this marriage...land is assimilated into the texture of People's lives and mediated through their language. People will see and love their earth through the mirror of their language” [original translation]].

For those like Alys, Erin, Angharad, Leri and Ceri therefore, language and home were instrumental to their sense of ontological security (Giddens 1991) (or linguistic security) and thus how they came to negotiate their university choices. Staying close to home for university became a way of “valuing the sameness and stability afforded by limited mobility” (Finn 2017; 753). These students naturally orientated towards Bangor University because it represented a ‘local’ university and became a way for them to maintain their attachments to their ‘cynefin’.

The data may further suggest that Welsh speaking students from North-West Wales may have a greater attachment and rootedness (Arefi 1999) to place (immediate locales) because *their attachment* is constructed through, and indivisible of language. Moreover, Low (1992; 165) argues that place attachment and the associated feelings are “embedded in a cultural milieu”. This can be explained by the (historical) prevalence of the Welsh language within the area. For example, North-West Wales/ Gwynedd in particular, has traditionally been regarded as a heartland of the Welsh language, or *Y Fro Gymraeg* (see for example, Baker 1985; Pryce and Williams 1988, Aitchison and Carter 1991; 1994; 2000a; 2000b on the geography of the Welsh language). This is also telling given that most of those who spoke about the importance of their immediate locales in relation to the Welsh language came from Y Fro Gymraeg, particularly North-West Wales, as opposed to other regions of Wales. Cynefin may therefore be a useful concept to understand why some Welsh speaking students from the traditionally Welsh speaking areas of North-West Wales may choose to study at a local (Bangor) university.

According to Aitchison and Carter (1991), Y Fro Gymraeg is a linguistic domain that loosely encompasses the north and west Wales, areas which have traditionally been regarded as the bastions of the Welsh language. It is here where the language has traditionally thrived: Anglesey, Gwynedd, Ceredigion, and Carmarthenshire. They write that while “...no firm boundaries can be specified...this core is normally thought to include areas where more than seventy per cent, or even eighty percent” speak Welsh (Aitchison and Carter 1991; 61). Yet, it is important to confront the “fragile position of the traditional Welsh-speaking areas” (WG 2013c; 4), where the Welsh language is in decline. Y Fro Gymraeg is currently shrinking, with the 2001, 2011 and 2021 census having demonstrated persistent declines in the percentage and number of Welsh speakers in these areas (WG 2013c; 2019c; 2022a; 2022c). It is worth

being mindful of the implications of this on the future of Welsh medium higher education and on the number of students who chose to study through the medium of Welsh in the future.

Furthermore Balsom (1985) recognised Wales as culturally divided and proposed the ‘Three-Wales model’ to characterise the social and linguistic differences between groups across Wales. In his study, Balsom (1985) identified three socio-linguistic groups based on geographical location which reflect these divisions. He explained that:

“[the] Welsh-speaking, Welsh identifying group is perhaps most distinctive and largely centred upon the north and west of Wales. This area is designated *Y Fro Gymraeg*. The Welsh-identifying, non Welsh speaking group is most prevalent in the traditional south Wales are and labelled *Welsh Wales*. The British identifying non-Welsh speaking group dominates the remainder of Wales, described therefore as *British Wales*”.

(Balsom 1985; 6)

The *Gaeltachtaí* regions across Ireland, which are Irish-speaking districts⁴⁹ can be thought of as the equivalent to *Y Fro Gymraeg* in Wales (see for example, Hindley 2011; Ó hifearnáin 2008).

Furthermore, the findings suggest that students from outside Gwynedd/North-West Wales may actively choose Bangor University given the sociolinguistic context of the region. For many students, Bangor University represented a microsite of Welsh language culture, reflecting similar findings by Jones and Desforges (2003) and Davies and Trystan (2012), and Hinton (2011) in how students came to choose to study at Aberystwyth University. Those who came from outside of *Y Fro Gymraeg* particularly Gwynedd, like Tesni (from South-West Wales), Shauna (South-East Wales), Christina (North-East Wales) and Delyth (North-East Wales) all spoke about how they choose Bangor given their importance of going to somewhere ‘really Welsh’. It does seem therefore that universities within *Y Fro Gymraeg* (Bangor University in this study and in G.Jones (2010), and Aberystwyth University in Hinton 2011, Jones and Desforges 2003, and Davies and Trystan 2012) may appeal to students primarily for cultural reasons compared to Cardiff University, for example, in which most students (though, not all) in this study were guided by course quality and institutional reputation (demonstrated in the next section).

This is what ultimately swayed Tesni’s decision to go to Bangor at the expense of Cardiff University. She explained:

“The most important thing for me was going to a really Welsh place. Before I even considered where exactly I wanted to go, I kept thinking what if I was to end up living with other students who don’t speak Welsh, or students from other countries? I went

⁴⁹ Initially areas where 80% of the population were Irish speakers were defined as *Fíor-Ghaeltacht* (true Gaeltacht), while areas with between 25% and 79% Irish speakers were regarded as *Berac-Ghaeltacht* (partial Gaeltacht). Although, different to Wales, the *Gaeltachtaí* regions have been government recognised zones since 1926 (see for example, Hindley 2011; Ó hifearnáin 2008).

to an open day here [Bangor] and I came to realise just how Welsh Bangor University was. The UMCB⁵⁰ [Welsh community] was so close together and strong there, and the fact that JMJ⁵¹ is a monolingual Welsh block of flats meant that I could be a part of something so Welsh. That's what really swayed me to choose Bangor because it would mean that I'd be with Welsh speakers 24/7 and that made me really happy”.

(Tesni, BA Welsh, Year 1, Bangor)
[Welsh speaking household]

Additionally, underlying Shauna [South-East Wales] and Christina's [North-East Wales] decision to choose Bangor was their commitment to the Welsh language. Both students came from English speaking homes, and both were aware of the sociolinguistic context of the Welsh language within their regions (see for example H.Jones 2008, 2012; WG 2019c). They expressed that they would have little opportunities to use Welsh after leaving secondary school (see for example, Gruffudd 2000; Hodges 2009) if they remained within their immediate locales, or equally if they choose to study outside of Wales. Choosing Bangor University therefore became a way for these students to 'safeguard' their [personal] use of the Welsh language, and more widely to participate and become active 'agents' in the revitalisation of the Welsh language (Davies and Davies 2015; Davies and Trystan 2012; Price; 2010).

Shauna in particular spoke of how she felt a sense of cultural obligation to 'keep up' with the Welsh language, and thus how she came to choose Bangor to study:

“I didn't want to lose my Welsh. I remember when I was in Year 9 a teacher told us if we don't keep up with the Welsh language, we'll end up losing it. That kind of stuck with me throughout school then and I wanted to keep the language as I was choosing a university.”

(Shauna, BA Sociology with Social Policy, Year 3, Bangor)
[English speaking household]

5.2.2 Belonging

Regardless of whether some wanted to study locally, or move within Wales for university, for these students, language evoked an understanding that there was a collective and shared nature of 'belonging' to a nation (Thompson and Day 1999) of Welsh speakers at university; an imagined community (Anderson 1991). As Shauna expressed:

⁵⁰ UMCB – Undeb Myfyrwyr Cymraeg Bangor is the name of the Welsh speaking community at Bangor University.

⁵¹ Neaudd JMJ Hall refers to the designated Welsh medium halls of residences at Bangor university. It is named after the Welsh scholar and poet, John Morris Jones. There are two block of flats – Bryn Dinas and Tegfan that form the Welsh halls of residences.

“For me, the Welsh language is a community. Like there’s an instant connection there, and I got to see that when I came up to visit on open days and it was important for me to have that sense of community at university.”

(Shauna, BA Sociology with Social Policy, Year 3, Bangor)
[English speaking household]

The instinctive sense of belonging to the linguistic community many anticipated, and in fact many felt when visiting their respective universities for open days as alluded to by Tesni and Shauna for example, (Davies and Trystan 2012; Jones and Desforges 2003), was apparent throughout the narratives of students in Group 1 and was important in how these students envisioned their university experience. The way in which students orientate to study at a Welsh university therefore represents a way for Welsh speaking students to enact (Jones and Desforges 2003) and affirm their Welsh speaking identities.

As students depicted Welsh universities as a microsite of Welsh language culturalism, this was appealing and comforting to many because it represented the idea of ‘home from home’, and a way for many to ‘to live through the medium of Welsh’. Being a Welsh speaker would allow these students access to certain ‘Welsh monolingual zones’ at university such as Welsh medium accommodation, Welsh language societies, as well as Welsh medium study. For many this was a close ‘replication’ of home life, as Hinton (2011; 31) writes, “home is carried with the students across geographical space and is thus re-made through mobility to enable the student to feel ‘at home’ within a new locality but familiar environment”.

Leri’s narrative articulated the importance of this and alludes to how the Welsh language and ensuring a sense of belonging at university even took precedence over factors such as course quality. She explained:

“I never considered moving away from Wales. It’s like it’s a part of me, part of who I am. I wanted to live in a Welsh [speaking] community. I just wanted to speak Welsh at all times and be a part of the Welsh community. I reckon that was the main thing that encouraged me to be honest. Obviously, I was attracted here because of the course and stuff, but it’s a very Welsh university. I thought the prospect of going outside of Wales to study would be quite lonely. Universities in Wales have these *cymunedau Cymraeg* [Welsh-speaking communities] so there’s always a community there. I really liked that.”

(Leri, BA Creative Studies, Year 3, Bangor)
[Welsh speaking household]

Meanwhile Catrin referred to the ‘naturalness’ (Pavlenko 2006; Skutnabb-Kangas 1981) associated with speaking her first language, Welsh, while she anticipated English would become a ‘barrier’ if she went on to study in England and through the medium of English. The desire to ‘live through the medium of Welsh’ at university became so important for Catrin because she naturally felt more comfortable and confident around the Welsh language. She

explained this dichotomy between Welsh and English and how she came about to rationalise her university choices:

“I’m confident in Welsh and I find it hard sometimes to communicate with people in English. It’s like I don’t really feel like myself when I use English because it’s like I can’t express myself the same ways as I can in Welsh. Also, I would have seen English as a bit of a barrier in a way at university if I went outside of Wales, so certainly I wanted to study in Welsh, and socialise in Welsh both at university and outside of university. I basically wanted to live through the medium of Welsh.”

(Catrin, BA Welsh and Journalism, Year 2, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

Furthermore, Catrin’s narrative may also suggest that she does not see herself as a legitimate speaker (Bourdieu 1977; 1991) of English, inferring a lack of ownership of English which was widely shared by many of her Welsh-first language peers. Not surprising therefore that many of the students who prioritised the Welsh language as part of their university choices came from Welsh speaking households. The accounts of Branwen and Ffion, presented below, further corroborate this close relationship.

Even the contemplation of going to England to study inundated Branwen with feelings of ‘hiraethu’ or longing/homesickness towards the Welsh language. Such an anticipation of an event that was not going to happen captivates how integral the Welsh language is to Branwen’s sense of self, and her way of life. For Branwen language represented home, and home was a place of comfort. She explained:

“Because I speak Welsh at home every day, I would have found it really odd to then having to speak English every day. I would have *hiraethu* [longed] for the language. Nothing there [England] would have reminded me of home, and I would have found it very difficult. Language was the main reason why I chose to come to Cardiff. Welsh in a way is a lot more homely so I feel closer to people who speak Welsh. It’s like I kind of trust them a bit more.”

(Branwen, LLB Law, Year 1, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

Similarly, Ffion had also expressed the need to be around Welsh speakers at university:

“It was important that I knew I had Welsh people around me as well. I couldn’t bear going somewhere completely English – I couldn’t cope at all. It would have frightened me I think.”

(Ffion, MBBCh Medicine, Year 2, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

The narratives of students in Group 1 indicate how they are embodying a particular Welsh linguistic identity which is not only affirmed or ‘performed’ through their decision to

stay in Wales and actively orientate themselves towards the Welsh speaking community at university, but simultaneously this is also affirmed through their rejection of English and studying in England. For many in this group both the English language, and the idea of moving to England to study came to be associated with negative connotations [‘frightened’, ‘couldn’t cope’, ‘barrier’, ‘struggle’, ‘shock’, ‘lonely’] while the Welsh language and staying in Wales were expressed with positive connotations [‘home’, ‘homely’, ‘community’, ‘safe’, ‘trust’, ‘comfortable’, ‘confident’].

5.2.3 Welsh medium study

Welsh medium higher education also became a key factor in these students’ university choices (Davies and Trystan 2012; Davies and Davies 2015; Hinton 2011; G.Jones 2010; S.Jones 2019). The findings would demonstrate a correlation between cultural considerations and Welsh medium study, further corroborating findings found by G.Jones (2010; 23) in which she discovered “a close relationship between Welsh-medium higher education and Welsh culture, identity and the desire to network and socialise through the medium of Welsh”. Choosing Welsh medium study therefore becomes a way for these students to embrace and enact a Welsh linguistic identity.

Language confidence and linguistic progression

The main reason as to why so many wanted to pursue with Welsh medium education at university was that this felt to be a natural progression in light of students’ secondary education. This was closely intertwined with language confidence. Students wanted to pursue studying at HE through the medium of their strongest language (Davies and Davies 2015) and for many in Group 1 this was through the medium of Welsh. For example, Branwen anticipated that it would be disadvantageous for her studies if she were to study in English, thus opted for Welsh medium study because it was the ‘natural’ thing to do.

“Just because I wanted to carry on in my natural language, and I wanted to be confident. I didn’t want English to hold me back.”

(Branwen, LLB Law, Year 1, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

Furthermore, the findings would suggest that students’ home language is a key factor in how they self-assessed their own linguistic abilities and confidence in both Welsh and English. Those from Welsh speaking homes tended to favour Welsh as their strongest/most confident language, and vice-versa. These accounts echo similar research on bilingual primary school (for example, Thomas and Roberts 2011), and secondary school pupils (for example, Musk 2006). The findings further indicate that students from Welsh speaking households (Alys, Branwen, Mari, Ffion, Catrin, Ceri Leri, Angharad, Tesni, Erin) may be more likely to want to pursue with Welsh medium study at university than those from English speaking homes (Christina, Delyth, Grace).

Alys, Ceri, Ffion, Erin, Leri, and Catrin all stressed the importance of Welsh medium study at university for their academic performance. Students explained that they would perform better academically if they were to study through the medium of Welsh, as opposed to English. Alys in particular spoke about how she strategized university location, opting to study at Bangor over Cardiff University based on Welsh medium opportunities offered there. She explained:

“I chose Bangor because out of all the course I applied for elsewhere, it offered the most through the medium of Welsh. I really thought about where I would do best, and that was at a Welsh medium university. A place where I could get a Welsh [speaking] personal tutor, a place where I could study through the medium of Welsh, so that really affected my decision to come to Bangor.”

(Alys, BSc Psychology, Year 3, Bangor)
[Welsh speaking household]

Financial incentives

Financial incentives were frequently cited as being an encouraging factor in students' decision to pursue with Welsh medium study at university. Alys explained how scholarships offered by the Coleg Cymraeg to study some elements of her degree course in Welsh had partly influenced her choice to study at Bangor.

“And to be honest, the fact I was able to get a scholarship off the Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol also influenced my choice to come here [Bangor].”

(Alys, BSc Psychology, Year 3, Bangor)
[Welsh speaking household]

Other students in Group 1 such as Catrin, Mari, Erin, Tesni, Leri, Ffion, Branwen, and Ceri also expressed that financial incentives were appealing as they accounted for Welsh medium study, corroborating similar findings by S.Jones (2019). These students had all been successful in obtaining scholarships from Y Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol to undertake some Welsh medium study on their respective courses. However, students' decision to pursue with Welsh medium study at university was largely guided by language confidence and Welsh medium progression/continuity from secondary education, as has just been discussed. Financial incentives were therefore not necessarily a *primary* motivator as to why these students chose to study in Welsh at university. Ffion alluded to this point during her interview:

“The Coleg Cymraeg came to school to explain to us how they worked, and what courses offered scholarships and how we could apply for it. I thought if I could study some parts in Welsh and have some money because of it then it would be ideal!”

(Ffion, MBBCh Medicine, Year 2, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

Nevertheless, there was an appreciation of how useful these scholarships could be in incentivizing *other* students so study through the medium of Welsh. Tesni mentioned:

“I definitely think scholarships encourage people to study in Welsh. If someone’s thinking about studying in English, well you can get a scholarship by the Coleg Cymraeg to do it in Welsh. Like, who doesn’t want free money?”

(Tesni, BA Welsh, Year 1, Bangor)
[Welsh speaking household]

Welsh medium study and employability

Previous research, such as Davies and Trystan (2012); Davies and Davies (2015); Heath (2001); and S.Jones (2019) have identified labour market opportunities as an instrumental factor in influencing *prospective* students’ choice of language for post-16 education, and to undertake Welsh medium higher education. Interestingly though, this study did not generate quite similar sentiments. Most students did not account for employability as a *direct* reason to pursue with Welsh medium study at this level, despite recognising how it could be a way to develop and consolidate their bilingual skills and competencies.

While it is not the intention here to further explore students’ employment aspirations when this topic was discussed during the interviews students did not necessarily associate Welsh medium study at higher education with increased employment prospects, but that this was greatly attributed to Welsh language fluency⁵². There was consensus amongst students (across all groups in fact) in how they perceived Welsh language as linguistic capital (Bourdieu 1977; 1991) in Wales. For these students, Welsh language *fluency* was regarded as an economic asset associated with increased employability prospects in an increasing bilingual workforce (WG 2017d; 2017e) or linguistic market (Bourdieu 1977; 1991) as opposed to Welsh medium higher education specifically. The findings corroborate those found by Davies and Trystan in which (2012: 155) “fluency achieved during statutory schooling is largely perceived as a valued labour market skill among students”.

Nevertheless, these findings should be caveated by being mindful of the differences in educational stages of participants in this study vis-à-vis previous studies. For example, this study looks at current undergraduate students and takes a retrospective approach to explore

⁵² For example, students’ future trajectories in relation to their employment prospects and aspirations was also discussed during the interviews. The findings demonstrate a clear tendency amongst bilingual students to strategize their Welsh language ability as a resource in relation to labour market opportunities. Yet students were aware that such opportunities were largely constrained to specific work-domains, particularly the public sector. The findings reinforce those found by Davies and Davies (2015). Regrettably however this chapter has not been included in the thesis.

their university choice making process. Meanwhile, the aforementioned studies focused on prospective students.

5.3 Group 2

The Welsh language orientated students in Group 2 to stay in Wales to study. However, students assigned priority to course content and course quality, as well as ensuring they attended a reputable institution. Consequently, for many students in Group 2 this constrained possible HE destinations *within* Wales. Many students had rejected studying at what they perceived to be less prestigious universities, and thus focused solely on Cardiff University to the exclusion of other Welsh higher education institutions, including, at times, rejecting Welsh medium higher education. Cardiff University became a desirable HE destination for students to successfully balance their university choices with the Welsh language.

5.3.1 Reputation of Welsh HEIs

For Alaw, remaining in Wales was an important factor in her university choice, though it was also key for her to actively move away from her immediate locale to study (North-West Wales). Although Alaw prioritised attending a reputable institution, she was also keen to study through the medium of Welsh. She explained how she became conflicted between either pursuing with Welsh medium study or attend a more prestigious university in Wales but that this would mean having to study wholly through the medium of English. Alaw explained:

“To begin with I wanted to be in Wales, and I also wanted to do my course in Welsh. I never considered studying at Bangor because it would have been too close to home, and I didn’t think it was a good place for Geography, anyway. I knew Cardiff was a good place for Geography, but I also knew they didn’t offer anything in Welsh either. So, I considered Swansea because they offered the same course as Cardiff but in Welsh...but when it came down to actually looking at what they offered in terms of the module contents, Cardiff’s course was so much better. So, it was a big thing for me then – was I going to make my decision based on language, or what the course was offering? Cardiff had this status and so I kept thinking what would be better – a degree from Swansea or Cardiff University? Even though studying in Welsh was important to me to begin with, I didn’t choose Cardiff because of that. It was more about the course and the status that Cardiff has.”

(Alaw, BSc Human Geography, Year 1, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

While Alaw’s decision to study at Cardiff University was therefore guided by its reputation and the quality of the course offered there, her account nevertheless signifies the challenge she faced in negotiating educational choices with Welsh medium study/language

considerations. Jennifer had also expressed a similar predicament. Despite being aware of ‘where’ Welsh medium study opportunities were across Welsh universities, Jennifer had prioritised course quality and the reputation of Cardiff University at the expense of Welsh medium study at other Welsh universities, namely Bangor and Swansea University.

“If other universities in Wales had better courses, then I may have considered them but that wasn’t the case unfortunately. It was possible to study French and Spanish at Swansea and Bangor with some credits in Welsh but neither of them was as good as Cardiff. I wanted to go to university with a good reputation and so I wanted to come to Cardiff.”

(Jennifer, BA French and Spanish, Year 1, Cardiff)
[English speaking household]

For Alaw and Jennifer, an active rejection of Welsh medium study at university signifies that linguistic progression routes from secondary into higher education is not the only aspect that students consider when negotiating university choices. Nevertheless, while it was not possible for these students to study elements of their course in Welsh at Cardiff University, it is important to recognise that there is at least a willingness to ‘seek out’ and consider Welsh medium higher education amongst students who prioritise reputation and course quality within Wales.

Moreover, there is evidence to suggest that if Welsh medium study opportunities are *compatible* with students’ first and foremost goal of attending a prestigious university, then students are likely to pursue with such opportunities. The case of Llion, Llinos and Anwen demonstrate this. While Welsh medium study may not have been a top priority for these students, different to Group 1 for example, their accounts further corroborate Davies and Trystan’s (2012) assertion that students are likely to pursue with Welsh medium study opportunities at university if there are effective progression routes available. For example, Llinos’ decision to study at Bangor University was based on the reputation of the course, despite being aware it was not a Russell Group university. Llinos was the only student to consider Bangor University based on reputation and course quality. Although she was aware of Welsh medium study opportunities on her degree course, Llinos was clear to point out that this was not the primary reason as to why she attended Bangor:

“I had planned to come to Bangor all along because I wanted to study Zoology with Herpetology, and the course is one of the best in the world. It’s the only university to offer Herpetology as an undergraduate degree in Britain so I was sure that I wanted to come here. The lecturers had good reputation. I was more concerned with the quality of my course rather than the linguistic aspect really even though we could study some modules in Welsh.”

(Llinos, BSc Zoology with Herpetology, Year 2, Bangor)
[Bilingual household]

Similarly, Anwen had considered Aberystwyth University to study a degree in Criminology and was aware that the university offered more Welsh medium study opportunities than Cardiff, but opted for the later university based on her desire to attend a reputable institution:

“Aberystwyth offered more modules in Welsh than Cardiff did, but I chose Cardiff because I believe it’s a better university to be honest and I wanted to go to a Russel Group university.”

(Anwen, BSc Criminology, Year 2, Cardiff)
[Bilingual household]

The findings also reveal that while students have a solid understanding of where Welsh medium provision are across the HE sector, they nonetheless recognise that opportunities to study in Welsh were inconsistent, fragmented and somewhat unsystematic across Welsh universities. There was consensus of the ‘unequal access’ to Welsh medium higher education opportunities and that such opportunities were largely constrained to certain institutions. For many who prioritised reputation, such as Alaw, Jennifer, Sara, and Nerys, this ultimately negated their ability to follow some elements of their degree course through the medium of Welsh at Cardiff. Conversely, Llinos, Anwen and Llion were able to integrate their primary factors of course quality and attending a prestigious university, alongside Welsh medium study.

Llion had discussed this issue in length. Llion had explained that he was lucky to be able to study through the medium of Welsh despite not having originally contemplated Welsh medium study at university. Llion appreciated how this could constrain possible HE destinations in Wales for many students who want to study through the medium of Welsh, and that many would have to strategize university locations in order to do so, mirroring the accounts of Alys in Group 1 for example. Llion explained:

“It was [Welsh medium study] never as important as the course, but I was quite lucky that I knew I could study some parts of my course in Welsh. But if I didn’t get the grades to get into Cardiff, I would have gone to Aberystwyth instead and I wouldn’t have been able to study in Welsh. So, it’s not fair on everybody is it? Like, if somebody wants to study in Welsh, they have to choose a certain university to do that. But what if they don’t get the grades to get into that university and then they have to study at a university that’s not as good, and there aren’t any opportunities to study in Welsh? It’s not fair in that way. It’s kind of a matter of luck in a way, you just have to be in the right place to get that opportunity.”

(Llion, BSc Biosciences, Year 1, Cardiff)
[Bilingual household]

How students in Group 2 negotiated suitable HE destinations were therefore based on university reputation and course quality and content. These students did not necessarily prioritise Welsh medium higher education. For example, Jennifer and Alaw had rejected

Welsh medium study opportunities at other universities in Wales, opting rather to study through the medium of English at a more prestigious university. Furthermore, while Llion, Anwen and Llinos were able to study some parts of their degree course in Welsh, their narratives clearly demonstrate how this was not a top priority but was coincidental that their chosen university offered opportunities to study in Welsh.

5.3.2 The Welsh language and staying 'home'

Nevertheless, the Welsh language was important for students in Group 2 both socially and culturally, reflecting many of the narratives of students in Group 1. Remaining in Wales to study and ensuring that the Welsh language was integrated into their university choices and experiences was a way for these students to both reproduce and reaffirm their linguistic identity. The Welsh language was much more important and influential in terms of the socio-cultural dimension or aspect of these students' university choices than their learning choices, i.e., Welsh medium study.

Students spoke of how remaining in Wales to study would afford them the instant sense of belonging (Davies and Trystan 2012; Jones and Desforjes 2003; Thompson and Day 1999) to the linguistic community of Welsh speakers at university. The social aspect of meeting Welsh speaking peers, including socialising through the medium of Welsh became a factor in why Nerys had chosen to stay in Wales to study. She mentioned:

“I really didn't want to move away from Wales...I wanted opportunities to speak Welsh, meet other Welsh speakers, and join Welsh societies.”

(Nerys, BSc Occupational Therapy, Year 2, Cardiff)
[Bilingual household]

Llion also explained that this was very important to him as he felt more comfortable around the Welsh language as opposed to English. Both Llion and Nerys' narratives echo the accounts of their peers in Group 1, like Catrin, Branwen and Leri for example, who emphasised how significant retaining contact with the Welsh language was at university. For these students, remaining in Wales to study was a way to retain some degree of familiarity and a sense of 'linguistic security' through orientating and strategizing language considerations as part of their university choices. Llion explained:

“I'm very comfortable around Welsh, and I'm not too comfortable with having to speak English all the time. Like, it's not my first language – it's my third language! I don't mind speaking English or studying in English, but I feel so much more comfortable hearing the Welsh language around me, and I wanted that at university. I knew I could have the Welsh community around me, and that's a part of me in a way – a part of my culture.”

(Llion, BSc Biosciences, Year 1, Cardiff)

[Bilingual household]

Furthermore, the fact that Cardiff University had a Welsh language (social) ‘scene’ partly ‘compensated’ for the lack of Welsh medium study opportunities for students like Alaw and Jennifer. For Alaw, this provided a great comfort. She had explained that she anticipated a language ‘hurdle’ in having to study in English, and that like many of her peers in Group 1 expressed some perceived linguistic incompetence in her English language skills. However, Alaw found comfort in knowing she had access to Welsh medium monolingual zones through the Welsh speaking community, and Welsh accommodation at university. Alaw felt that these cultural comfort zones would alleviate some of her concerns about having to study through the medium of English. She explained:

“I had friends that came to Cardiff before I did, and so I knew about the *GymGym* and the Welsh scene here, and about Senghenydd⁵³. So, I knew I wasn’t going to lose out on the language entirely, it was only on my course. That was also on my mind, but language was only a tiny hurdle, and I kept thinking I’d be able to deal with that with everything else that was here anyway.”

(Alaw, BSc Human Geography, Year 1, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

Similarly, Jennifer had been less concerned about studying through the medium of Welsh but nevertheless expressed how it was important for her to study at a Welsh university to maintain contact with the Welsh language. Like Shauna in Group 1, underlying Jennifer’s choice to study at a Welsh university is a commitment to the maintenance and revitalisation of the Welsh language (Davies and Trystan 2012; Davies and Davies 2015). It is interesting how this commitment is not ‘performed’ via her choice to study in Welsh, but rather to stay in Wales and study at a Welsh university.

“Welsh medium study wasn’t the be-all or end-all for me, but it was important that I came to a Welsh university because it was a way for me to keep up with the Welsh language.”

(Jennifer, BA French and Spanish, Year 1, Cardiff)
[English speaking household]

It is interesting to observe that Jennifer and Alaw’s decision to reject Welsh medium study opportunities at other university cannot be said to be indicative of their affiliations or commitment to the Welsh language. Their accounts clearly highlight the social and cultural significance of the language as they discussed their university choice-making processes.

Having thus far discussed the university choice making processes of students who chose to remain in Wales to study, an interesting observation can be made between these two groups of students in relation to how they negotiate HE destinations within Wales. While all

⁵³ Senghenydd is the designated Welsh medium accommodation at Cardiff University.

students orientated to stay in Wales to study due to the Welsh language/cultural reasons, arguably the data would indicate that Bangor and Cardiff University represents and serves as different *types* of HE institutions for these students. Cardiff University may draw students primarily for its reputation as the only Russell Group university in Wales, while cultural considerations may be *more* important for those choosing to study at Bangor University, as demonstrated by Group 1. Such observations further attest to those found by G.Jones (2010;11) in her study in which “the language dimension was not a high priority amongst the learners choosing to study at Cardiff University” in comparison to those who orientated towards Bangor.

5.4 Group 3

This section explores the university choices of the third group of students. Group 3 are characterised by students who actively rejected the Welsh language as part of their higher education choices. Instead, university reputation and course quality and content were paramount in their decision to study at university. The desire to attend a reputable HE institution became almost synonymous with wanting to study at a Russell Group university. Furthermore, moving away from ‘home’ was also a noticeable aspect of how these students envisioned their university experiences and was attributed to moving away from Wales to study. These students negotiated reputation and quality of degree courses in relation to English, as opposed to Welsh universities.

5.4.1 Course and Reputation

Students did not feel that courses offered at Welsh universities, or the academic reputation of institutions in Wales were necessarily on par with those in England. For many, this constrained their university choices to solely outside of Wales. Aled, for example, was driven by his goal of attending a university that offered a high-quality Physics degree course. He claimed that he did not consider studying in Wales given that he felt the Physics department here, though limited, lacked quality compared to those at English universities. He explained:

“I was only looking at the best Physics departments in Britain, that was the only thing really that I was most concerned about, and universities in Wales are not as high quality in my subject area. The best Physics departments aren’t in Wales unfortunately.”

(Aled, BSc Physics, Year 3, Manchester)
[English speaking household]

Similarly, Tomos had also framed his choices based on reputation and course. His intention of studying an interdisciplinary course, Philosophy, Politics, and Economics (PPE), at a reputable institution meant that his options were already constrained as very few universities offered the course. While he initially contemplated Swansea University – the only Welsh university to do so – this was not compatible with his goal of attending a Russell Group

university. Tomos further mentioned that he specifically chose the course and reputation of the university rather than the medium of study. He expressed:

“Well, I was advised to go and look at Russell Group universities by a career advisor, so I took his advice. Before then I did consider Swansea, but I if I wanted to stay with these Russell Group universities then that only left me with Cardiff out of everywhere else in Wales to consider, and it didn’t offer the course I wanted to do so I didn’t put it down...I went to the open days to York and Exeter and I preferred the course at Exeter. So, I chose the university and the course instead of the language, and studying in Welsh didn’t really bother me.”

(Tomos, PPE, Year 2, Exeter)
[Welsh speaking household]

Reputation and course quality therefore took precedence over any other factors for both Aled and Tomos. The fact that neither of them contemplated Welsh medium study signifies that their goal of ensuring they studied a quality course at a reputable institution was only realistically attainable outside of Wales. Relatedly, Amelia had expressed that course quality was the primary reason she decided leave Wales to study in England. She spoke of the pressure she felt by her teachers to consider Russell Group universities outside of Wales. Amelia expressed:

“I don’t think much could have kept me in Wales if I’m being honest. I could never see myself going up to Bangor or other universities here [Wales] for example. If universities in Wales were more advanced in research and that kind of stuff, then perhaps I would have considered staying, but then again, I felt there was pressure on me to go to other places like Oxford or Cambridge, you know, especially to a Russell Group university. Based on what the teachers would tell us at school it would kind of be a step backwards to stay in Wales to study. There was definitely pressure on us to branch out further from Wales... It’s almost like staying in Wales to study for a lot of students is a last option, kind of thing. It’s almost like it’s a safety net for a lot of people I reckon.”

(Amelia, BA Human Geography, Year 2, Exeter)
[Welsh speaking household]

While Amelia did not go to Oxford or Cambridge herself, her reference alludes to the Seren Network (see for example, Bryer et al 2018), established by the Welsh Government to support and encourage high achieving students in Wales to apply to study at Oxford and Cambridge. However, this raises several questions as to what is being done by the Welsh Government, and the Welsh HE sector alike in retaining Welsh students to stay in Wales to study, and through the medium of Welsh. This is a particular concern given that the number of Wales domiciled undergraduate students studying outside of Wales has consistently risen since 2010/11, representing 31.9% of the entire Wales domiciled undergraduate student population as of 2017/18 (WG 2019d; 2019e; 2019f; 2019h; 2019i; 2019j). [This is further discussed in the next empirical chapter].

Furthermore, most students in Group 3 explicitly said that they never considered Welsh medium higher education during their university choice making process. Prioritising course quality and institutional reputation occurred to the complete exclusion of the Welsh language, including remaining in Wales to study, for these students as they associated English universities with more prestige, status and of higher quality than Welsh higher education institutions. The findings corroborate those identified by G. Jones (2010), Lewis and Jones (2006), and S. Jones (2019) in their studies of prospective Welsh speaking university students.

While this was also the case for Amelia, during the interview she felt that she had to justify her reasoning to study outside of Wales, demonstrating how she wrestled with linguistic/ cultural affiliation alongside her educational choices. Amelia expressed how she was fraught with guilt for not wanting to remain in Wales to study, or for not wanting to study through the medium of Welsh:

“There was a part of me that was worried that I should be supporting universities in Wales, and Welsh medium higher education...but I believe it all came down to the course, and the quality of the course. I believe that was the main factor to make sure that I was going to a university that I felt had the best academics. I knew Aber had a good name for Geography, but I wanted to make sure that I was looking at the course and the quality of the course more than trying to study through the medium of Welsh. None of the courses in Wales really interested me. Exeter is quite high up in the tables for Geography, and because I was certain I wanted to go to a Russell Group university, and not stay in Cardiff there weren't many other options for me to stay in Wales. I felt I had to go, you know, to England.”

(Amelia, BA Human Geography, Year 2, Exeter)
[Welsh speaking household]

Gwawr had also expressed similar tensions as she negotiated her university choices.

“I remember thinking when I was making these choices that I should really be going to a university in Wales. But at the end of the day, it came down to the course. The course was the most important thing and not necessarily the country or where I was going to study.”

(Gwawr, BA English Literature, Year 2, Oxford)
[Bilingual household]

Furthermore, Amelia was very specific in her expression that educational factors were the underlying reasons why she eventually chose to study at Exeter. It seems that Amelia did not want her choice to move to England to study to be conflated with her abandonment of the Welsh language or her 'home'. For her, this was in no way a reflection of her rejecting Wales, or the Welsh language for anything *other* than her university choices. She further claimed that:

“It's not like I went to the University of Exeter to run away from the Welsh language, or to go as far away from Wales as possible. I still feel Welsh (language) is an important part of me.”

Amelia's internal conflicts further serves to highlight that how some students negotiate university choices is mostly grounded in priority, and the importance that are assigned to educational factors versus the Welsh language or cultural considerations, for example. This is clearly the case when comparing the accounts of Groups 1 and 3.

5.4.2 Moving away from home

Another notable aspect of these students' university choices was how they actively wanted to move away from Wales to study. Place and 'home' were important and embedded in the decision-making processes of students in Groups 1 and 2 either through remaining close to their immediate locales and thus orientating towards studying at a 'local' university, or by remaining in Wales to study. For students in Group 3 however, place played a very *different* role. Many in this group envisioned their university experiences as moving away from home. This negated Wales as a suitable HE destination as students actively rejected studying both locally, and within Wales.

Students like Heledd, Myfanwy, Aled, Samantha, Elain, Lisa, Gwenno, Jasmine had all emphasised the importance of leaving home for university. It is interesting how these students expressed that even staying in Wales and moving away from their immediate locales to study was conceived as being 'too close to home'. For example, Lisa mentioned:

“I was so set on going somewhere far. I used to think that if I stayed in Wales to study it would be too close to home, so I felt I had to go to England to study.”

(Lisa, BA Sociology, Year 2, Nottingham)
[English speaking household]

For these students there was a deliberate attempt to reject the 'familiar' associated with home, including the Welsh language, orientating instead towards 'new opportunities' 'change', 'going somewhere far', and 'experiencing something different'. For such students, this was only attainable if they were to move away from Wales.

Gwenno in particular explained that she wanted to fully embrace the opportunities that going to university would provide her and associated moving to England with spatial/geographical mobility (Holdsworth 2009; Donnelly and Evans 2016) and increased opportunities (G.Jones 2010; Lewis and Jones 2006 S.Jones 2019). Going to England to study would provide an opportunity for Gwenno to acquire social and cultural capital by orientating towards new experiences, as opposed to the limited mobility many in Group 1 focused on by staying within their *cynefin*, for example. Gwenno alluded to this in her interview as she spoke

of how she was rejecting the choices that were so typical of many of her Welsh speaking peers. Instead, she particularly wanted to 'branch out' and acquire new cultural experiences (Hinton 2011). Having asked whether she had considered staying in Wales to study, or study through the medium of Welsh, Gwenno responded:

“It never crossed my mind. I didn't want to. I always knew I wanted to study in England. In a way going to England attracted me more than Wales because there's so much more opportunities there. I didn't want to go to Cardiff. All of my mates were going there, or Aberystwyth and I remember thinking that I didn't want to go to the same place as my friends. Like, I wanted the opportunity to branch out and meet people from different backgrounds and cultures, rather than staying in this Welsh [speaking] community where you just live together in Welsh halls...in Pantycelyn⁵⁴ and everybody's in this like white middle-class Welsh bubble. I remember thinking to myself that I didn't want to live in that kind of world because if I have the opportunity to sort of branch out and to meet other people from different background then that's what I'm going to do. I felt going to study in England and Leeds offered me that opportunity.”

(Gwenno, Journalism, Leeds, Year 3)

[Bilingual household]

Here, Gwenno's narrative stands in clear contrast to many of her peers in Group 1 in which the idea of belonging to the linguistic community of Welsh speaker was so integral to their university choices. For Gwenno however, her reference to the Welsh speaking community as 'white middle class' is very interesting as she ascribes a class/political dimension to the language. Her choice to study in England is indicative of how she actively seeks to distance herself from and reject this seemingly 'middle class' group.

The findings also reveal a unique pattern concerning students who originated from South-East Wales and how their immediate locale may discourage many from remaining in Wales to study. Jasmine, Amelia, Samantha, Aled, Elain and Lisa had all discussed how living in such close proximity to the city of Cardiff hindered them from contemplating Cardiff University as a possible HE destination. Despite prioritising course quality and institutional reputation and recognising Cardiff University as the 'best' university in Wales, ultimately it was too close to home. Furthermore, given these students already live close to the largest city in Wales, the prospect of moving to 'smaller' places in Wales was undesirable. Elain referred to the possibility of moving within Wales to study as a 'culture shock', attesting to the fact that she lived in an urban area and wanted to move to a bigger place.

“I realised as well that I wanted to go somewhere busy. Because I'm from Cardiff it would have been a bit of a culture shock if I had gone somewhere like Swansea, or Aber, or Bangor because they're much smaller than Liverpool. I didn't want that, and

⁵⁴ Pantycelyn is the designated Welsh medium accommodation at Aberystwyth University.

I wanted to experience something different and to go somewhere where I didn't know anyone.”

(Elain, BA History, Year 3, Liverpool)

[Welsh speaking household]

England therefore became a desirable HE destination for those who prioritised course quality and institutional reputation and/or held the idea of moving away from home/Wales to study. Students in this group may be described as ‘metropolitan learners’ insofar that they associate the university experience with mobility, while simultaneously rejecting Wales and the Welsh language as part of those choices. This is compared to the more ‘localised’ students from Group 1, and to a lesser extent Group 2 all of whom emphasised ‘home’ by which language and place were key to their university choices. Moreover, the differences in the sociolinguistic context of South-East Wales (Group 3) and North-West Wales (Group 1) for example, (Baker 1985; Pryce and Williams 1988, Aitchison and Carter 1991; 1994; 2000a; 2000b) may account for the differences in students’ rootedness or attachment to place that is constructed through language and thus how the notion of remaining close to home influenced their choices.

5.5 Mitigating 16+ educational concerns

So far, this chapter has categorised students into three different groups, and explored how the Welsh language informed their university choices. This final section concludes the chapter by focusing specifically on students’ attempts to strategies and mitigate 16+ educational concerns.

A commonality held amongst all students interviewed was the fact that they had received an overwhelming majority of their secondary education through the medium of Welsh. Recounting their decision-making process, it was no surprise that students explained how they faced the inevitable reality of having to progress to study through the medium of English at university. Students were very much aware of the potential language change from secondary (Welsh) into higher education (English), even amongst those who opted to study some elements of their degree course through the medium of Welsh, given their understanding of the HE sector in (and outside) Wales as a predominately English medium, or ‘monolingualised’ space (Heller 1995). There was also consensus that Welsh medium study was not as readily available as was English medium study at this level (Davies and Trystan 2012; S.Jones 2019).

Language concerns were therefore legitimate concerns for students as they contemplated their university choices. However, English medium study at university in particular engendered a lot of language anxiety amongst the students interviewed. The data

indicates that students strategize language choices during Year 12 and 13 as a way mitigate these concerns; a practice which occurs at the expense of Welsh. The data further highlights the differences in students' abilities to mitigate these concerns are dependent on the type of secondary school attended.

5.5.1 Switching language of A Level assessments

One of the ways in which students attempted to address linguistic concerns had been by switching the language of assessments from Welsh, predominately used during GCSEs, to English for A Level study. For Alaw (FE College, North-West Wales), who could not study her Geography degree course through the medium of Welsh at Cardiff University explained how this seemed to be the most practical and beneficial thing to do in preparation for an English medium higher education, despite being taught Geography A Level through the medium of Welsh.

“I knew I'd have to study in English by my second year of (FE) College because I had gotten a place to study at Cardiff. So, I began writing my Geography assignments in English just because I wanted to practice and prepare for uni, and kind of prove to myself that I could do the work in English. My teacher was very supportive of that.”

(Alaw, BSc Human Geography, Year 1, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

Moreover, Llion had chosen to study his A Levels in the Sciences at a local FE College as opposed to remaining in sixth form at his Welsh medium school because he wanted to learn through the medium of English. Llion stressed the importance of needing to learn scientific terminology and key concepts at A Level through the medium of English, to prepare for English medium education at university. Terminology within the Sciences has been cited by previous studies in how students may rationalise cross-medium transfer from Welsh to English for post-sixteen education (Davies and Trystan 2012; S.Jones 2019). Llion explained:

“...and as I went on, I wanted to study in English because at university I knew I would have to be taught in English. It was a way to better prepare myself for university. When you get to that level [A Level], you start to learn specific terminology and other stuff related to your course that's so important for when you go to university. It's not that, or as important up to GCSEs. I do think if I had done my A Levels in Welsh then it would have made things a bit more difficult for me going to university.”

(Llion, BSc Biosciences, Year 2, Cardiff)
[Bilingual household]

Therefore, there is a tendency amongst students to switch to English as the language of assessments during A Level if there is a lack of Welsh medium study opportunities at the

university level. These findings corroborate prior research on prospective bilingual university students (S. Jones 2010; Davies and Trystan 2012; Davies and Davies 2015 and S. Jones 2019), further attesting to bilingual students as strategic choosers when it comes to negotiating language considerations for university study. In particular, Davies and Trystan (2012; 161) found that “where clear progression routes do not exist language choices are impacted significantly at the Higher Education level, but also when students choose A-Levels and to a lesser extent GCSEs.”

Furthermore, Myfanwy’s case was particularly interesting. Myfanwy had decided to study A Level History, the subject she chose to study at university, at a local English medium secondary school while remaining at her Welsh medium secondary school to undertake the remainder of her A Levels. For Myfanwy this was primarily to ensure that she could easily progress to English medium higher education study:

“I felt it would have been a mistake for me to do History A Level at [Welsh medium school] so that’s why I went and did at [English medium school]. It would have been much more difficult for me if I went straight to university to study in English if I had done everything for my A Levels in Welsh. At least doing History in English was easier and the skills were transferrable”.

(Myfanwy, BA Ancient History and History, Year 1, Reading)
[Bilingual household]

The above accounts demonstrate how the language of learning at higher education had been a contributing factor in Alaw, Llion and Myfanwy’s decision to negotiate language choices at the secondary level, for A Level study. As strategic choosers therefore, there is evidence to suggest that students are abandoning the academic use of Welsh, to varying degrees, at this level as they focus on ensuring some degree of linguistic continuity from A Level study to higher education for their chosen university subjects. It seems that more could be done at the secondary school level to highlight the benefits of translanguaging as a way to ensure that students continue to engage with the Welsh language and their biliteracy skillset at the university level, even if they go on to study through the medium of English.

5.5.2 School switch: Linguistic (dis)continuity from GCSEs to A Level

However, students’ reflections of their secondary school experiences allude to a heterogeneity of teaching practices at *bilingual* secondary schools (see for example B.Jones 2010). While this was not the focus of the study, it is worth recognising that secondary schools and teachers alike may negate and discourage students from using Welsh for their A Levels, by introducing the use of English instead.

For example, Ffion spoke about how a language switch occurred *by the school* from GCSEs to A Level for Science based subjects. This was consistent with how other students attending bilingual secondary schools reported on the use of a different language from GCSE to A Levels, particularly across the Sciences. While this took some getting used to, Ffion expressed this shift ended up being beneficial for her as she prepared for university, recognising a lack of Welsh medium study opportunities on her Medicine course at Cardiff University. Ffion, who attended a Bilingual A school in North-West Wales, explained:

“I studied everything up to GCSEs through the medium of Welsh, and then at sixth form I studied Biology, Chemistry and Maths. I remember thinking that I had to some work through the medium of English at that time so I could prepare for university. I did Maths in Welsh, and then Biology and Chemistry in English. But the thing was, we didn’t actually get much of a choice; when we went into the Sciences, they [teachers] kind of forced us to study them in English, in a way. If I had asked to do the work in Welsh then I could have, but at the same time I felt that it would be beneficial for me to study them in English. So, all the work and books were in English, and we did the exams in English, and although the teachers were Welsh, they taught the lessons in English. It was a bit odd because I wasn’t used to that at all, being taught in English that is. The again I knew with the Medicine course there was very little resources available in Welsh and little opportunities to study in Welsh.”

(Ffion, MBBCh Medicine, Year 2, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

For Alys however, she discussed how she ‘resisted’ this language switch imposed by the school to use English for A Level Sciences subjects as she was determined to study both Biology and Chemistry through the medium of Welsh. Alys, who also attended a Bilingual A school in North-West Wales, was aware that she could undertake Welsh medium study on her degree course at university, therefore felt this disruption or switch would not benefit her educationally. Alys mentioned:

“So, Biology and Chemistry were taught through the medium of English, but all of the worksheets were in Welsh, so it was a bit complicated. Most of the class wanted to learn [them both] in English, so teachers would talk to them in English, and then talk to us, who wanted to do it in Welsh, in Welsh. And that was really, really weird. If they had only offered them in English, I wouldn’t have studied them for A Level... [t]heir [teachers] argument was that once you go to university most often than not Sciences are going to be taught through the medium of English anyway, so we might as well learn the terms in English at sixth form instead of learning them in Welsh and then having to learn them again in English. But that’s not the case at all because I knew I could study Psychology in Welsh when I was doing my A Levels.”

(Alys, BSc Psychology, Year 3, Bangor)
[Welsh speaking household]

These findings are of relevance to the Welsh Government's education strategy (WG 2010) and its aim of strengthening linguistic progression routes pre-16 to post 16 pathways through the medium of Welsh. The findings demonstrate the increasing use of English for A Level study from GCSEs, particularly within *bilingual* schools, and particularly across Sciences based subjects. Evidently, some subjects may be taught through the medium of English, as outlined in Table 4.1 in Chapter 4 in how bilingual schools are defined, and on the proportion of the curriculum taught through the medium of Welsh (WG 2007a: 12-14). However, the fact that bilingual schools/teachers may be encouraging students to use English for A Level study poses the question as to whether this is complementary to the development of Welsh medium higher education, and to what extent is this helping or hindering in strengthening linguistic progression routes from A Level study to higher education?

Nevertheless, there is an argument to be made that bilingual secondary schools are willing to enable students to prepare for an English medium higher education by allowing them to use English at this level. This is in comparison to Welsh medium secondary schools, as Charlotte succinctly highlighted:

“[w]e didn't get any preparation to go into English education”

(Charlotte, BSc Mathematics, Year 3, Sheffield)
[English speaking household]

5.5.3 Studying A Level English

Other students such as Catrin (who attended a Bilingual A school in South-West Wales), and Amelia (who attended a Welsh medium school in South-East Wales), had deliberately chosen to study A Level English as a way to prepare for an English medium higher education. For both students, there was some apprehension that their English language skills may not be 'good enough' and so took the opportunity at sixth form to address this to improve their subjective confidence and skills in English.

“I took A Level English to make sure that I could write, read and speak completely fluent and with complete confidence at that level. I was a bit worried that universities would see me as having come from Welsh medium secondary education, and that I perhaps couldn't write assessments at the level that's required at university. Obviously, nobody ever told me that, but I just wanted to make sure that I was writing assessments in English for A Level English so that I was confident going to university.”

(Amelia, BA Human Geography, Year 2, Exeter)
[Welsh speaking household]

“One of the reasons why I chose to study English at A Level was because I knew I would have to write some things in Welsh and in English. So, I wanted to develop my

confidence and skills in English. I knew there was no problem with my Welsh – I'm confident because I speak Welsh at home...very rarely did I get the chance to speak English so by studying English at least it gave me like 6 or 7 hours a week to practice.”

(Catrin, BA Welsh and Journalism, Year 2, Cardiff)

[Welsh speaking household]

5.6 Chapter Summary and Discussion

This chapter set out to explore, retrospectively, how the Welsh language had influenced and informed the university choices of bilingual Welsh-English speaking students. The data reveals a heterogeneity of choices, demonstrating bilingual students as strategic choosers as they assign various degrees of importance to the Welsh language vis-à-vis their university choices. The data has also carefully demonstrated how the Welsh language is not only intertwined within students learning or academic choices, but that the Welsh language is also key for students' university choices for *social* and *cultural* reasons.

Students in Group 1 prioritised cultural considerations and remaining 'home' to study either by staying close to their immediate locales, or 'cynefin' or within Wales. Meanwhile Group 2 were characterised by students who prioritised course quality and institutional reputation of Welsh university. The data also suggests that most students orientate towards studying at Bangor University for cultural reasons, while Cardiff University is attractive for students largely based on its institutional reputation as the only Russell Group university in Wales.

Further to this, it does seem that many of the students who choose Bangor University were local to North-West Wales which may indicate that rootedness to place is more prevalent amongst students from traditionally Welsh speaking areas, as their sense of attachment is represented and constructed through language – cynefin. Nevertheless, the Welsh language was a key factor that ran throughout the narratives of students in Groups 1 and 2. These students anticipated that studying in Wales would afford them the instinctive sense of belonging (Davies and Trystan 2012; Jones and Desforges 2003) to the linguistic community of Welsh speakers once at university. (This is further explored in Chapter 8). For many, this represented and reflected elements of 'home'.

Lastly, Group 3 were made up of students who had chosen to study outside of Wales. For these students, there was an active rejection of the Welsh language, including Welsh medium higher education as well as Wales, orientating rather to study at Russell Group English universities. Many saw English universities as of better quality than their Welsh counterparts. These students also associated university with mobility and moving away from home, corroborating similar findings identified by G. Jones (2010), Lewis and Jones (2006), and S. Jones (2019) for example.

It is worth recognising that most students that chose to remain in Wales to study had at least contemplated Welsh medium study, even if they ended up studying entirely through the medium of English at university. This is a positive reflection of the work of Y Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol in developing and promoting Welsh medium study opportunities at this level (WG 2010). However, the findings underly several challenges that the Welsh HE sector face in ensuring that bilingual students stay in Wales to study, including choosing Welsh medium higher education, as reflected in the narratives of those in Groups 2 and 3. For example, Welsh universities face the challenge of having to compete with Russell Group universities in England particularly amongst students who focus on institutional reputation and course quality. Many orientate towards studying outside of Wales as they regard English universities as of better academic quality than Welsh universities (Hinton 2011; G.Jones 2010; Lewis and Williams 2006). As a result, Welsh medium higher education can be easily rejected by these students. Relatedly, Welsh medium higher education may be rejected by students who prioritise course quality and institutional reputation, even *within* Wales, as some referred to the 'unequal access' to such opportunities across the Welsh HE sector. Additionally, some may have to strategize HE destination within Wales to study through the medium of Welsh.

The chapter also demonstrated how students attempt to mitigate linguistic concerns they have about post-16 English medium study, by strategizing language choices during their time at Years 12 and 13. Such practices have been documented in previous studies on bilingual students' post-16 study choices (S. Jones 2010; Davies and Trystan 2012; Davies and Davies 2015 and S. Jones 2019) in which students may contemplate post-sixteen education through the medium of English in large parts due to a lack of Welsh medium study opportunities at university. However, language choices negotiated by students during A Level study occurs almost exclusively to the detriment of the Welsh language. There is a danger here that this may lead to further disengagement with the Welsh language amongst students at the university level; an area which has not been explored sufficiently in past research but will be addressed in Chapter 7. The danger of students abandoning the Welsh language for English at higher education could potentially be circumvented by sustained efforts to promote the benefits of translanguaging to students as a powerful tool that can aide their learning experiences. This may be particularly useful during secondary school so as to ensure that students fully understand that they can continue to use both Welsh and English for academic purposes for their studies at higher education. This may be an effective way of equipping students with both the knowledge of translanguaging but more importantly the *confidence* to use this as a learning strategy at university, even amongst those who intend to study through the medium of English, or even those who go to study outside of Wales.

This chapter has provided important context into bilingual students' university decision making process, examining closely how the Welsh language has influenced and informed their university choices. This chapter has laid the foundation for the subsequent empirical chapters which now proceeds to account for the bilingual student experience *at* university.

Chapter 6: Welsh Medium Higher Education: Engagement and Participation

6.1 Introduction

This thesis explores the relationship between the Welsh language and higher education participation and experience of bilingual undergraduate students. Having accounted for students' university choices, retrospectively, in the previous chapter, it is also important to acknowledge that linguistic choices continue to be negotiated by students whilst at university and are not just a pre-accounted choice, as will be demonstrated in Chapters 7 and 8. Furthermore, Chapter 5 illustrated that language considerations are not solely reduced to academic or learning considerations or concerns, but that the Welsh language was an important element for students' university choices for social and cultural reasons. The subsequent series of empirical chapters will shift to focus on the student experience *at* university.

Chapter 7 proceeds to present a purely qualitative exploration of the sociological aspects of students' academic/learning experiences at university, drawing findings from face-to-face interviews with undergraduate students. Specifically, it will examine the barriers and challenges bilingual students face in trying to access Welsh medium higher education, and in trying to utilise Welsh as an academic language at this level. The chapter also examines how students negotiate and navigate language choices for academic purposes at university. Thereafter Chapter 8 concludes the empirical chapters of the thesis. While students' learning/educational experiences (Chapter 6 and 7) may form a huge part of students' university life and experiences, so too does life outside of the classroom. This chapter explores the social life and experiences of bilingual students' time at university, and specifically focus on how the Welsh language is embedded within these experiences. Doing so enables the thesis to take a broader view of the student experience. It also further illustrates that the Welsh language is not only limited to the learning domain of higher education or academic choices of students, but rather it also plays a crucial role in students' social lives at university.

For now, though, the thesis turns to Chapter 6. This is a purely quantitative chapter focusing specifically on Welsh medium higher education participation and engagement. The aim of Chapter 6 is twofold. Firstly, it maps out recent levels of engagement and participation in Welsh medium higher education participation specifically amongst Wales domiciled, first-degree students across the Welsh HE sector. It does so by presenting a compiled, and temporal re-analysis of secondary data sets from the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) via the Welsh Government relating to the Welsh language in higher education. The chapter also draws for the Pupil Level Annual School Census (PLASC). Secondly, findings from the online survey administered during the first phase of the fieldwork are presented in

order to identify and examine the nature and characteristics of Welsh medium higher education engagement amongst students. As mentioned in Chapter 3, and as will be discussed here, the survey questions relating specifically to Welsh medium higher education was a response to a lack of detailed information of the official data regarding the *form* of Welsh medium provision. Thus, the survey findings are students' own accounts of Welsh medium higher education participation, and where possible, comparisons are made between these findings and the official data. These survey findings are the first and only data set to date that report students' *own* accounts of Welsh medium higher education participation as the data collected and presented by HESA are reported by the HE providers through their student records. This quantitative chapter is therefore primarily descriptive as it serves to illuminate on what is known about students' engagement and participation with Welsh medium higher education. While the official data enables a more general picture of the current situation of Welsh medium higher education to be established, the survey results extend beyond this by exploring the nuances and intricacies of the form of Welsh medium provision that is ultimately overlooked in the official statistics.

6.2 Mapping the Welsh language in higher education: official data

This section presents key statistical information⁵⁵ gathered by the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) that will serve to map the Welsh language across the Welsh higher education sector, up until the academic year 2017/18. The data presented here are obtained from the Welsh Government's own annual analysis reports in their statistical bulletins of 'Welsh language in higher education' (WG 2012a; 2013a; 2014a; 2015a; 2016a; 2017a; 2018a; 2019p). as well as from the Welsh Government's StatsWales website (WG 2019a; 2019b; 2019d; 2019e; 2019f; 2019g; 2019h; 2019i; 2019j; 2019k; 2019l; 2019m; 2019n; 2019o), rather than directly obtained from HESA. Data from the annual Pupil Level Annual School Census [PLASC] is also used (WG 2012b; 2013b; 2014b; 2015b; 2016b; 2017b; 2018b; 2019k).

This section focuses on three key areas. Firstly, it maps out the Wales domiciled undergraduate student population and HE destination. Secondly, the chapter accounts for the Welsh speaking undergraduate student population across the HE sector in Wales. Thirdly, and primarily, the chapter focuses on Welsh medium higher education engagement by mapping participation rates across Welsh HE institutions, by the number of credits undertaken amongst students through the medium of Welsh, and Welsh medium engagement across academic disciplines. The section pays particular attention to Welsh medium higher education engagement at both Cardiff and Bangor University, two HEIs' in Wales that are focus of this study.

⁵⁵ Figures have been rounded.

Before proceeding however, it is worth highlighting some key points that are pertinent to the data, and how the data is presented in this chapter. The data presented here are relative to Wales domiciled students and does not include non-Wales domiciled students. Similarly, the data concerned is only relevant to students at higher education institutions in Wales and do not include those who are studying at FE, who sometimes are included in the statistical bulletins. Additionally, while this thesis focuses on first-degree students⁵⁶, the Welsh Government do not differentiate the Welsh language ability of first-degree students⁵⁷ and other undergraduate⁵⁸ students. In such cases, the term ‘undergraduates’ is used to account for both types of students. Therefore, some of the data presented in this chapter combines both first-degree and other undergraduate students as no alternative data can be used that solely accounts for first-degree students. Where possible however, this distinction is made. Because of these particularities, the data presented in this chapter may not appear to match those published in the Government’s statistical bulletins. Some of the limitations of using HESA data sets extracted by the Welsh Government will be discussed in the thesis’ conclusion, in Chapter 8.

6.2.1 Wales domiciled undergraduate students

HE enrolment of Wales domiciled undergraduate students

Table 6.1 below, demonstrates the numbers and proportion of the Wales domiciled undergraduate student population enrolment in higher education (WG 2019d; 2019e; 2019f; 2019h; 2019i; 2019j). The figures include both first degree students as well as other undergraduate students as no individual breakdown of these groups of students is available.

⁵⁶ First Degree students and Undergraduate students are used interchangeably through this thesis.

⁵⁷ First Degree refers to the standard Undergraduate course.

⁵⁸ Other Undergraduate Degree refers to qualifications that are below First Degree such as HND, HNC, DipHE, CertHE, for example.

Table 6.1 HE enrolments of Wales domiciled undergraduate students

		Academic Year							
		2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	2013/14	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17	2017/18
All Wales domiciled student population enrolled in HE		102,625	102,110	101,270	100,085	99,200	97,585	97,095	96,780
All Wales domiciled undergraduate students enrolled in HE		86,165	86,180	84,925	83,890	83,155	82,165	81,745	80,115
Wales domiciled undergraduate students studying in Wales		66,030 (76.7%)	65,210 (75.7%)	63,370 (74.6%)	61,445 (73.2%)	59,505 (71.5%)	57,365 (69.8%)	56,235 (68.8%)	54,530 (68.1%)
	First degree Wales domiciled students studying in Wales	<i>n/a</i>	41,635	40,670	40,085	39,775	39,455	39,870	39,880
	Other Undergraduate Wales domiciled students in Wales	<i>n/a</i>	23,575	22,705	21,360	19,730	17,910	16,365	14,650
Wales domiciled Undergraduate students studying outside of Wales		20,315 (23.3%)	20,970 (24.3%)	21,555 (25.3%)	22,445 (26.7%)	23,650 (28.4%)	24,800 (30.2%)	25,510 (31.2%)	25,585 (31.9%)

These figures indicate that there has been a persistent fall in the number of Wales domiciled undergraduate students going to university over the last eight-year period. While this has resulted in fewer undergraduate students from Wales remaining in Wales to study, there has actually been an increase in those students who chose to study outside of Wales, mainly at English higher education institutions. In fact, during the 2010/11 academic year, over three quarters of the Wales domiciled undergraduate student population remained in Wales to study, compared to just under 7 in 10 by 2017/18.

Table 6.1 also offers an additional breakdown relative to the number of Wales domiciled first-degree students and other undergraduate students who remain in Wales to study. Unfortunately, there is no further breakdown of these figures that accounts for the number of Wales domiciled first-degree students and other undergraduate students that have gone to study outside of Wales.

Cross border flow of full-time Wales domiciled undergraduate students

Moreover, detailed breakdown of these trends relative to full-time Wales domiciled undergraduate students are presented below in Table 6.2. The reason these figures are (also) presented separately here is because they demonstrate a greater difference in the proportion of cross border flow of *full-time* undergraduate Wales domiciled students (WG 2019g) than those presented in Table 6.1, which do not distinguish between the mode of study (part time and/or full-time study) amongst undergraduate students. Once again, there is no breakdown of these figures relative to first-degree Wales domiciled students, therefore the following figures incorporates both first-degree and other undergraduate students in the following table.

Table 6.2 Cross border flow of full-time undergraduate Wales domiciled students

	Academic Year							
	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	2013/14	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17	2017/18
Total number of Wales domiciled full-time undergraduate students	54,600	54,435	54,515	55,715	56,970	58,470	59,745	60,155
Of those studying at Welsh HEIs	37,280 (68.3%)	36,065 (66.3%)	34,785 (63.8%)	34,890 (62.6%)	34,890 (61.3%)	35,420 (60.5%)	35,950 (60.2%)	36,260 (60.3%)
Of those studying at HEIs outside of Wales	17,315 (31.7%)	18,365 (33.7%)	19,730 (36.2%)	20,830 (37.4%)	22,075 (38.7%)	23,050 (39.4%)	23,795 (39.8%)	23,890 (39.8%)

The number of students registered as *full-time* undergraduate students from Wales has risen over the course over this eight-year period, in comparison to the general decline of the Wales domiciled undergraduate student population as a whole, accounted for in Table 6.1. There too has been an apparent shift in the HE destination of these students with an increasing number of these students choosing to study outside of Wales. Since the 2014/15 academic year, around two in five full time undergraduate students from Wales are studying at a HEI's outside of Wales, mainly at English universities, while three in five of these students remaining in Wales.

Concentration of Wales domiciled first-degree students at Welsh universities

Figure 6.1, overleaf, depicts the concentration of the Wales domiciled first-degree student population by the university attended in Wales across a seven-year period. (WG 2019h). See appendix 23 for these figures relative to the whole undergraduate Wales domiciled student population (first-degree and other undergraduate. The figures do not differ drastically from those presented here).

The University of South Wales⁵⁹ has consistently accounted for the largest number of Wales domiciled first-degree students across the Welsh HE sector. Figures for the most recent academic year, 2017/18, indicate that just over one in five (20.4%) of all first-degree students from Wales are studying here. However, this proportion has been steadily declining since 2011/12 during which it accounted for nearly a quarter of all Wales domiciled first-degree students.

Thereafter, Cardiff University and Swansea University have reported similar proportion relative to the concentration of first-degree Wales domiciled students, representing around 3 in 20. These numbers have also been gradually increasing since the 2010/11 academic year.

Interestingly, the Open University has the fourth largest concentration of the Wales domiciled first-degree students, with around 7 in 50 of these students studying here in 2017/18. A figure that has remained largely consistent too.

The number of first-degree students from Wales attending Cardiff Metropolitan University and the University of Wales, Trinity Saint David⁶⁰, have remained somewhat consistent over this seven-year period, representing around 1 in 10 of these students.

Aberystwyth University has reported persistent declines in its intake of the Wales domiciled first-degree student population. Since 2014/15, the university has reported both the lowest number and lowest proportion of first-degree students from Wales studying here than any other Welsh HE institution, with the most recent figures for the 2017/18 academic year representing less than 1 in 20 students. These figures also reflect those reported by Glyndwr University.

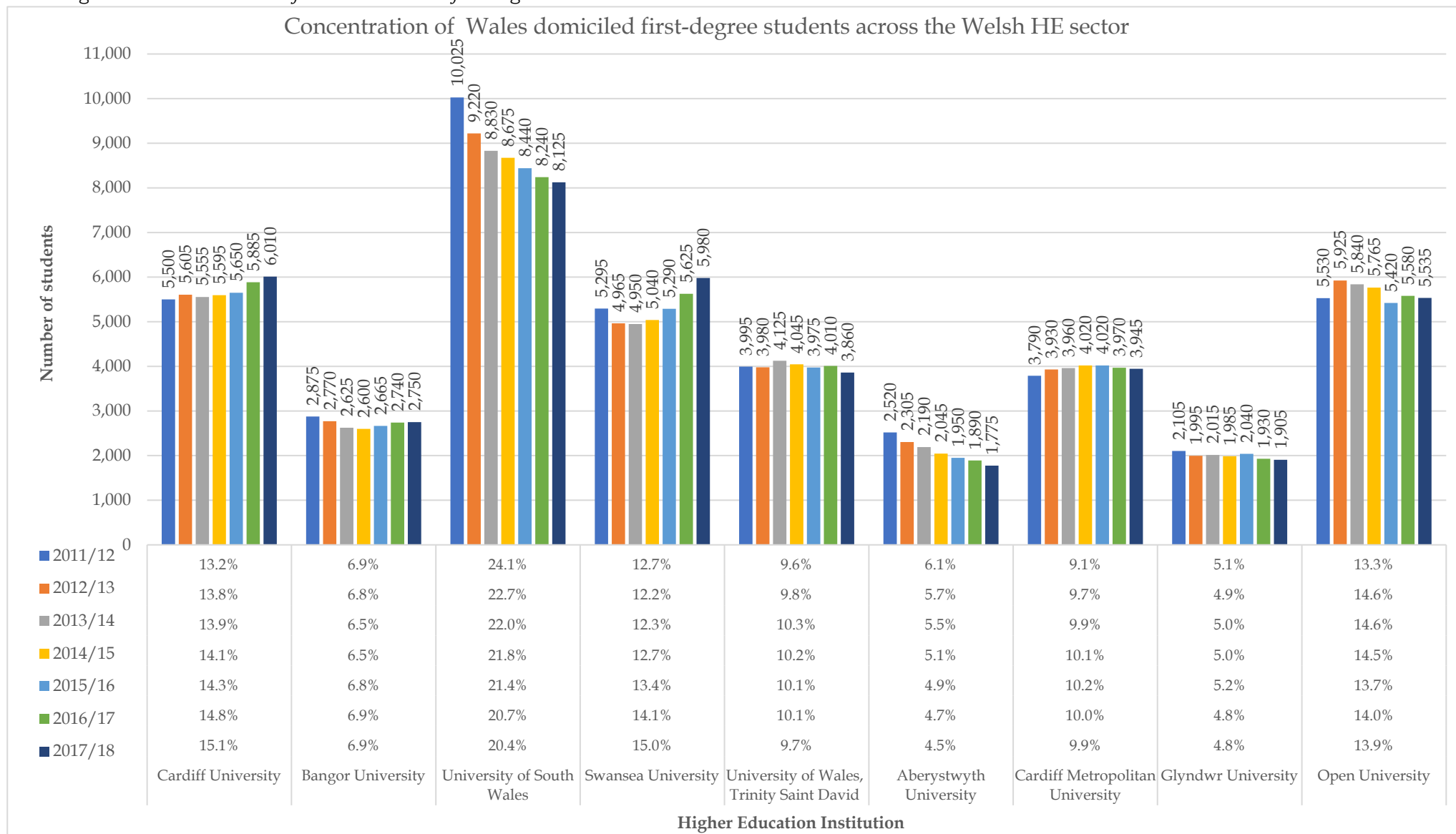
Meanwhile Bangor University has the third lowest intake of the first-degree Wales domiciled student population, consistently accounting for only around 7% of the entire population since 2011/12.

Overall, these figures indicate that *where* the Wales domiciled first-degree student population chose to study in Wales has remained largely unchanged and rather consistent over the last seven-year period. Just over half of these students, combined, attend the University of South Wales, Cardiff University and Swansea University

⁵⁹ Figures for the University of South Wales for the 2011/12 and 2012/13 academic years have been calculated by combining the figures for both the University of South Wales and the figures for the University of Newport, Wales for those respected years before the merger of the University of Newport, Wales and the University of Glamorgan in 2013 to form USW. Individual figures for the University of Glamorgan have already been presented under the auspices of USW for 2011/12 and 2012/13.

⁶⁰ Figures for the University of Wales, Trinity Saint David for the 2011/12 academic years have been calculated by combining the figures for the University of Wales, Saint David with those of Swansea Metropolitan University for those respected years. Swansea Metropolitan merged with UWTSD in 2013, while Lampeter University and Trinity College, Carmarthen merged in 2011 to establish UWTSD. Figures for both of these former institutions have been presented under the auspices of UWTSD for these academic years.

Figure 6.1 Concentration of Wales domiciled first-degree students across the Welsh HE sector



6.2.2 Welsh language ability of Wales domiciled undergraduate students

Welsh language ability of Wales domiciled undergraduate students studying in Wales

Having demonstrated the concentration of the Wales domiciled first-degree/undergraduate student population in the previous section in Figure 6.1, Table 6.3 below presents a breakdown of the Welsh language ability⁶¹ of these students (WG 2019a; WG 2019i; WG 2019j). Welsh language ability is defined by the students themselves. Students chose whether they regard themselves as ‘Fluent Welsh speaker’, ‘Welsh speaker not fluent’ or ‘Not a Welsh speaker’, according to HESA. These figures, presented below, correspond only to Wales domiciled undergraduate students studying in Wales. There is no breakdown that accounts only for the Welsh language ability of first-degree students; therefore, the following figures represent the Welsh language abilities of both first degree and other undergraduate students. (See Appendix 24 for the Welsh language ability [number and percentages] amongst all Wales domiciled students across all degree types and level.)

Table 6.3 Welsh language ability of Wales domiciled undergraduate students at Welsh HEIs

	Academic Year							
	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	2013/14	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17	2017/18
All Wales domiciled Undergraduate students studying in Wales	66,030	65,210	63,370	61,445	59,505	57,365	56,235	54,530
Fluent Welsh speaker	9,465 (14%)	8,915 (14%)	8,915 (14%)	8,600 (14%)	8,345 (14%)	8,230 (14%)	8,070 (14%)	7,935 (15%)
Welsh speaker not fluent	8,790 (13%)	8,550 (13%)	9,325 (15%)	8,650 (14%)	8,670 (15%)	8,725 (15%)	8,215 (15%)	8,145 (15%)
Not a Welsh speaker	40,510 (61%)	40,140 (62%)	38,800 (61%)	38,440 (63%)	37,335 (63%)	35,870 (63%)	35,800 (64%)	34,640 (64%)
Unknown	7,265 (11%)	7,600 (12%)	6,330 (10%)	5,755 (9%)	5,155 (9%)	4,540 (8%)	4,150 (7%)	3,815 (7%)

The steady decline in the number of Wales domiciled undergraduate students entering universities since 2010/11, as illustrated in Table 6.1, has meant that the number of fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students have also fallen (only in number terms rather than percentage points). As Table 6.3 demonstrates, there has been a successive drop in the number of Wales domiciled fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students at higher education over the last eight-year period – down to 7,935 students for the most recent 2017/18 academic year, compared to 9,465 students during 2010/11. Nevertheless, the proportion of these recognised as fluent Welsh speakers has remained largely consistent throughout this eight-

⁶¹ HESA notes that ‘[t]he level of Welsh speaker should be defined by the learner and not the provider’. See for example: <https://www.hesa.ac.uk/collection/c18051/a/welssp>

year period, accounting for 15% of the Wales domiciled undergraduate student population as of 2017/18. Additionally, a further 15% of these students are defined as ‘Welsh speaker not fluent’, bringing the total of the Wales domiciled student population studying in Wales with some Welsh language ability to 30%.

These figures relate only to those students who have remained in Wales to study. Unfortunately, no data exists that is able to ascertain the Welsh language ability of Wales domiciled undergraduate students, or the wider Wales domiciled student population for that matter, that have gone to study outside of Wales⁶². Although it is likely that a large proportion of these remain in Wales to study.

Secondary school pupils at Welsh medium and bilingual secondary schools

It is possible to present data on the number of school pupils at Welsh medium and bilingual secondary schools as well as the number of fluent Welsh speaking secondary school pupils, obtained from the Pupil Level Annual School Census⁶³ (PLASC) (WG 2012b; 2013b; 2014b; 2015b; 2016b; 2017b; 2018b; 2019k). These are presented on the subsequent page in Table 6.4.

Firstly, the second column represents the total number of pupils at Welsh medium and bilingual secondary schools, as well as this proportion relative to the wider secondary school pupil population in Wales. These figures do not account for pupils at Welsh medium and bilingual middle schools, nor do they include those attending ‘English with significant Welsh⁶⁴’ secondary schools.

Despite fewer secondary school pupils as a whole over the last eight-year period, those attending bilingual and Welsh medium secondary schools have consistently accounted for around one fifth of the entirely secondary school pupil population in Wales.

⁶² The researcher directly contacted the University and College Admissions Services (UCAS) asking to obtain any statistical information regarding Welsh medium and bilingual secondary school pupils and HE destination in order to account for fluent Welsh speakers that go on to study outside of Wales. No such data is available. Likewise, the researcher contacted the Welsh Government in order to clarify this, and they confirmed that no data sources is available that accounts for the Welsh language ability of HE students studying outside of Wales.

⁶³ Data are collected on Census Day in January every year.

⁶⁴ English with significant Welsh make up around 5% of the whole secondary school pupil population, while pupils at English medium secondary schools comprise around three quarters of the secondary school pupil population in Wales.

Table 6.4 Number and proportion of secondary school pupils attending Welsh medium and bilingual secondary schools in Wales, and fluent Welsh speaking secondary school pupils

Year	Number and proportion of pupils at Welsh medium and bilingual secondary schools	Number and proportion of Fluent Welsh speaking secondary school pupils
2010/11	41,764 (20.8%)	33,226 (16.5%)
2011/12	41,262 (20.8%)	33,112 (16.7%)
2012/13	37,692 (19.7%)	32,319 (16.8%)
2013/14	37,400 (20%)	32,140 (17.2%)
2014/15	36,485 (20%)	31,876 (17.4%)
2015/16	35,399 (19.8%)	31,175 (17.4%)
2016/17	34,986 (20%)	30,964 (17.7%)
2017/18	33,906 (19.7%)	30,060 (17.4%)
2018/19	34,948 (20.5%)	30,767 (18%)

Additionally, column three in Table 6.4 further accounts for the number of fluent Welsh speaking secondary school pupil population by academic year (WG 2019o). However, the Welsh Government do not explicitly state whether these figures represent the entire secondary school pupil population across Wales, or whether these only relate to pupils from Welsh medium and bilingual secondary schools. Although it is likely that an overwhelming majority of these pupils represent those who have come from Welsh medium and bilingual secondary schools. (See Table 4.1 in Chapter 4 for an overview of the differences in bilingual and Welsh medium secondary schools based on language of learning and language outcomes.)

Moreover, these figures are based on parents' perceptions of their children's ability in Welsh, therefore these results may not be comparable with those figures presented in Table 6.3 in which students self-define their own Welsh language ability. The Welsh Government states, "the data mainly represents parents' perceptions of their children's fluency and will not necessarily be the same as the ability shown by the pupil in their schoolwork" (WG 2019o). Note however that these figures presented in the third column are slightly lower than those presented in column two, both in terms of numbers and proportion.

Once again, fewer secondary school pupils have resulted in fewer fluent Welsh speaking pupils over the course of this nine-year period. However, the academic year 2018/19 recorded the largest proportion of the secondary school pupil population as a whole to be fluent Welsh speakers at 18%.

Concentration of fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students across the Welsh HE sector

Figure 6.2 overleaf demonstrates the concentration of fluent Welsh speaking, Wales domiciled undergraduate students across eight-year period by the university attended. (WG 2019a). The data demonstrates both the numbers and the percentage of all undergraduate fluent Welsh speakers studying across Welsh universities. Unfortunately, there are no breakdown of these figures solely for First degree students, hence the presentation of both here, therefore these figures are not comparable with Figure 6.1. However, see Appendix 25 for a breakdown of figures for Wales domiciled undergraduate students categorised as ‘Welsh speaker not fluent’ by institution. Additionally, Appendix 26 presents the fluent Welsh speaking Wales domiciled student population as a whole by institution attended.

Since the 2016/17 academic year, the number of fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students have been evenly dispersed across Cardiff University, the University of South Wales⁶⁵, Bangor University, and Swansea University. These four institutions represent just under two thirds of where the entire fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate student population chose to study in Wales. While Bangor University and the University of South Wales had the highest proportion for 2016/17, both were overtaken by Cardiff University during the 2017/18 academic year. Furthermore, during 2017/18, Swansea University recorded its highest ever concentration of fluent Welsh speaking undergraduates.

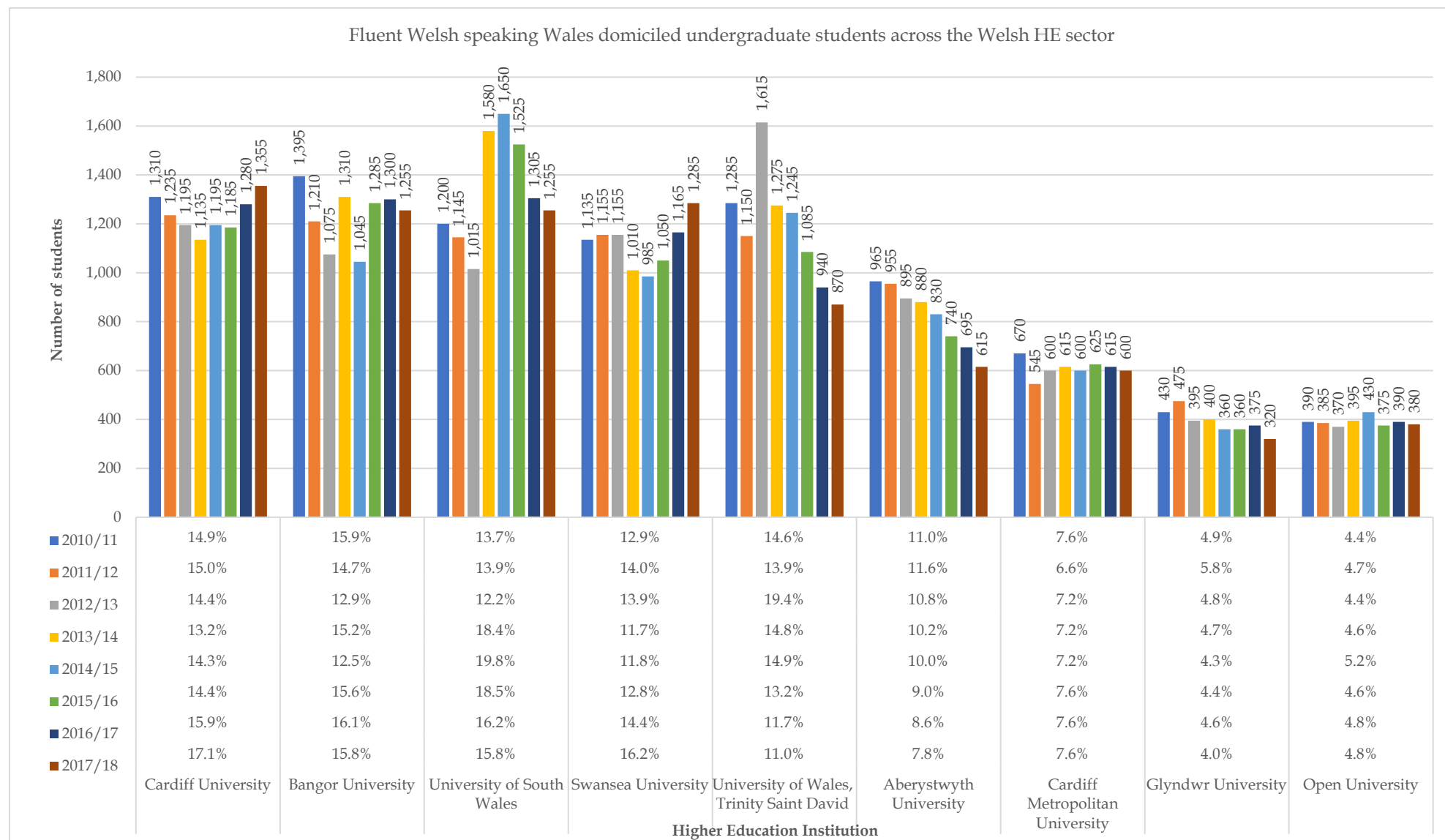
Conversely, the proportion of these students attending University of Wales, Trinity Saint David⁶⁶ have fallen since 2012/13, making up just over one in ten fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students studying here for 2017/18. Similarly, Aberystwyth University has experienced successive dip in its numbers and proportion of these students attending here since 2010/11.

The proportion of these students attending Cardiff Met has remained rather consistent since 2010/11. Meanwhile both Glyndwr University and the Open University have persistently recorded the lowest number and proportion of fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students than any other university in Wales.

⁶⁵ Similar to footnotes presented for Figure 6.1, the number of fluent Welsh speakers at the University of South Wales for the 2010/11, 2011/12, and 2012/13 academic years have calculated by combining the figures for both the University of South Wales and the figures for the University of Newport, Wales for those respected years before the merger of the University of Newport, Wales and the University of Glamorgan in 2013 to form USW. Individual figures for the University of Glamorgan have already been presented under the auspices of USW for 2010/11, 2011/12 and 2012/13.

⁶⁶ Also similar to footnotes presented in Figure 6.1, the figures for the University of Wales, Trinity Saint David for the 2010/11, and 2011/12 academic years have been calculated by combining the figures for the University of Wales, Saint David with those of Swansea Metropolitan University for those respected years. Swansea Metropolitan merged with UWTSD in 2013, while Lampeter University and Trinity College, Carmarthen merged in 2011 to establish UWTSD. Figures for both of these former institutions have been presented under the auspices of UWTSD for these academic years.

Figure 6.2 Fluent Welsh speaking Wales domiciled undergraduate students across the Welsh HE sector



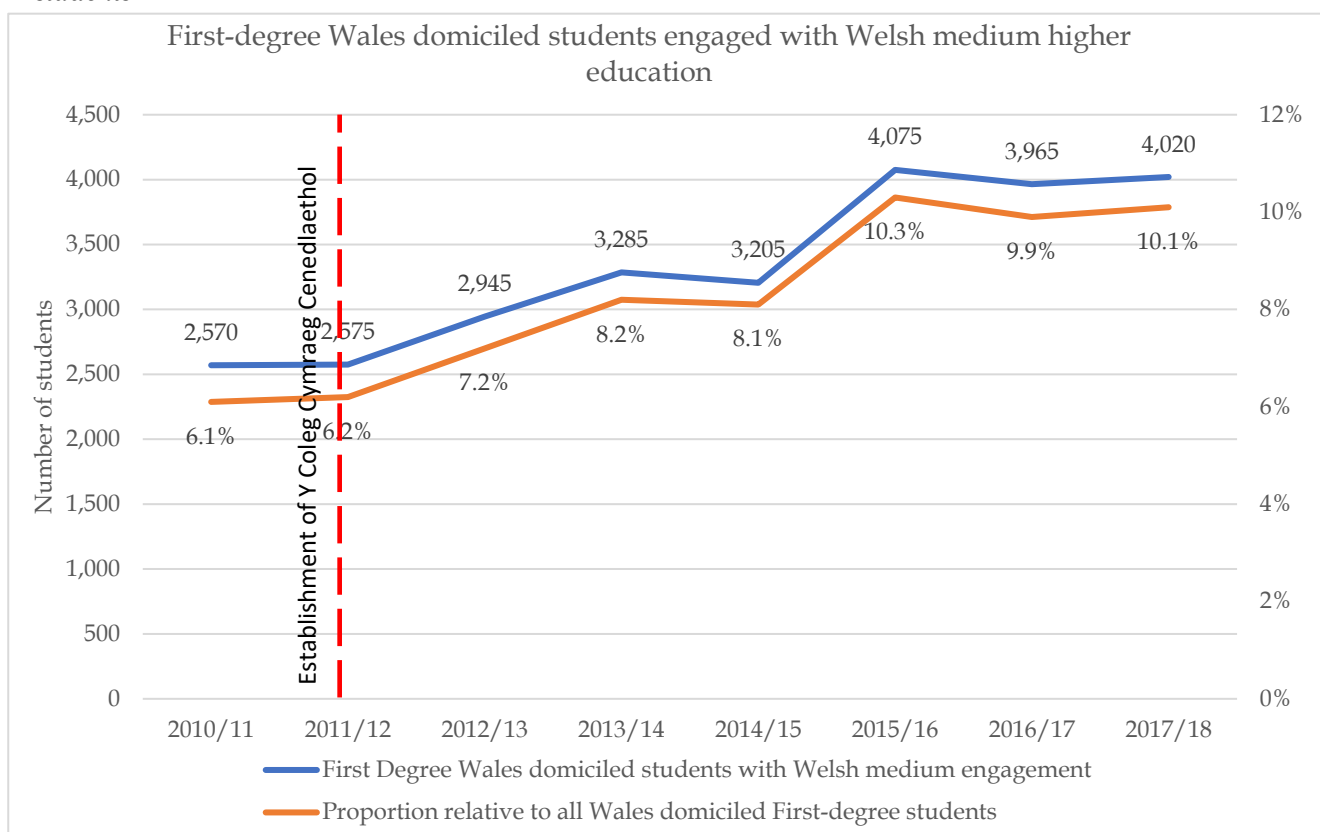
6.2.3 Welsh medium higher education engagement

Having mapped out the Wales domiciled undergraduate/first-degree student population in the previous sections, including where these students' study as well as the proportion and concentration of fluent Welsh speakers, this next section will focus on Welsh medium higher education engagement.

Number of first-degree Wales domiciled students engaged with Welsh medium higher education

Figure 6.3, below, presents an overview of the trends in the number of *Wales domiciled first-degree students* engaged with Welsh medium higher education since the academic year 2010/11 (WG 2019b; 2019l). See Appendix 27 for a breakdown of Welsh medium higher education engagement across degree types amongst the Wales domiciled student population. Data on Welsh medium engagement by credits studied will be presented shortly. The data displayed in Figure 6.3 accounts for all students engaged with Welsh medium higher education.

Figure 6.3 Welsh medium higher education engagement amongst First-degree Wales domiciled students



It is clear that more and more first-degree students are engaged with some form of Welsh medium study, with this figure having peaked to a total of 4,075 during the 2015/16 academic year, compared to 2,570 for 2010/11. The dashed red line on Figure 6.3 denotes

the establishment of Y Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol. The figures for the 2017/18 academic year reported the second largest number of first-degree Wales domiciled students to be engaged with some form of Welsh medium study, representing around 1 in 10 students.

It should be noted however that the large spike in Welsh medium engagement from 2014/15 to 2015/16 is due to better reporting of these figures by the University of Wales, Trinity Saint David. As a result, the number of first-degree students engaged with Welsh medium study at this institution were under reported from 2013/14 to 2014/15 due to differences in reporting systems at newly emerged institutions.

Concentration of Welsh medium higher education engagement across the Welsh HE sector

Further breakdown on the concentration of Welsh medium engagement amongst First degree students by higher education institutions (WG 2019b; 2019l) reveal stark differences, illustrated in Figure 6.4.

Figures for the academic year 2017/18 indicate that the overwhelming majority of First-degree students engaged with some of Welsh medium higher education are studying at the University of Wales, Trinity Saint David.

Meanwhile Bangor accounts for the second largest share, with the number of students studying in Welsh here having increased since 2015/16. A total of 1,090 First Degree students with some degree of Welsh medium study were studying at Bangor University during 2017/18, representing over a quarter of all students.

During this eight-year period, both UWTSO and Bangor have accounted for well over half of all First-degree students with some teaching through the medium of Welsh in Wales. In fact, since 2015/16 around a third of all First-degree students studying through the medium of Welsh are studying at both of these institutions.

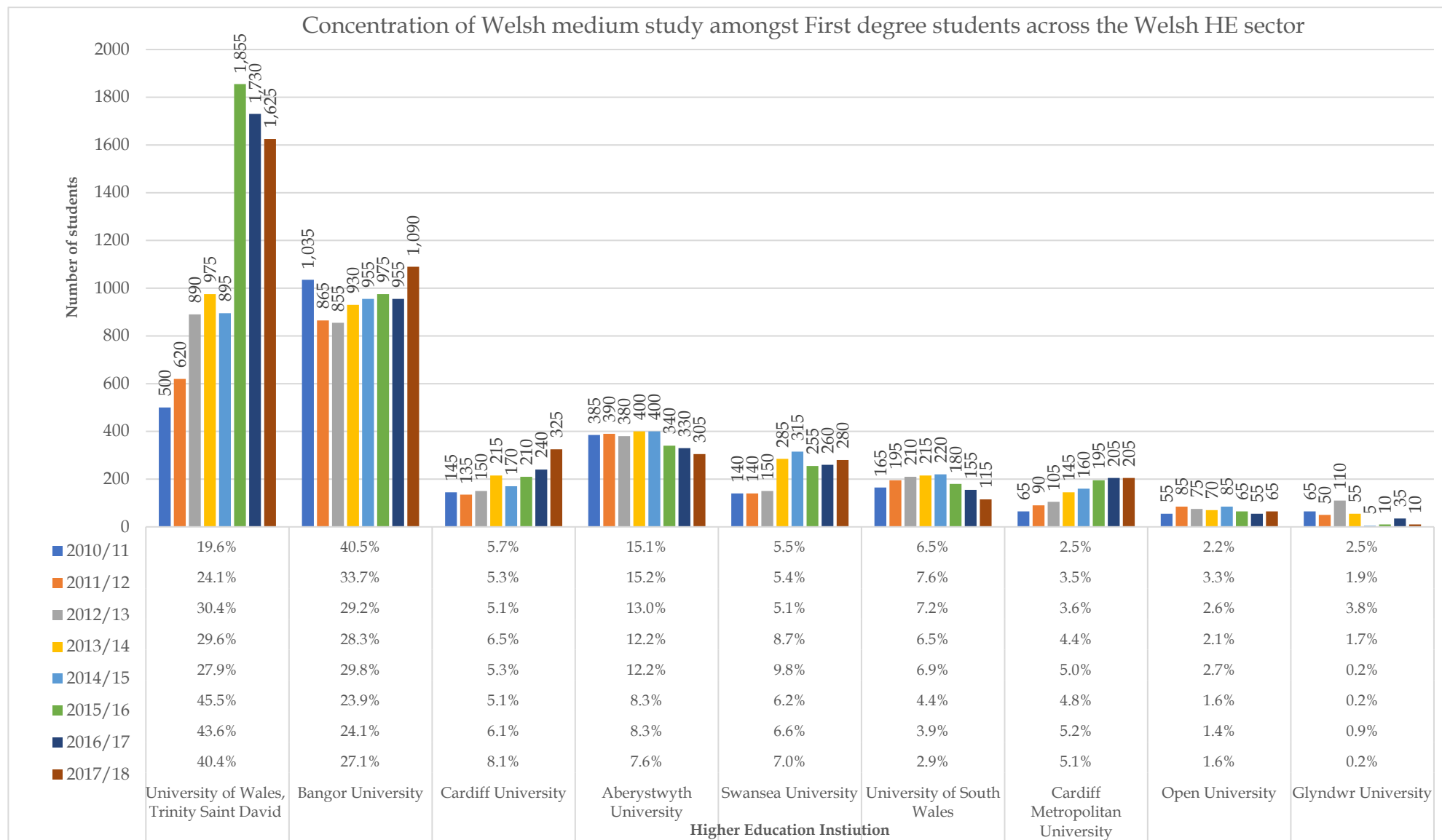
As already noted, the large increases from 2014/15 to 2015/16 in the number of Welsh medium engagement at the University of Wales Trinity Saint David is largely due to better reporting in the number of 'bite-sized' Welsh courses (5 credit courses) offered here. As these courses were only reported via HESA for the first time in 2015/16, according to the Welsh Government (WG 2019b; 2019k) Welsh medium enrolments were under reported for 2013/14 and 2014/15 at UWSTD due to difference in reporting system at newly emerged institutions.

Furthermore, Cardiff University, Swansea University and Cardiff Met have all seen gradual increases in their numbers, with both Cardiff and Cardiff Met recording their larger number to date for the most recent academic year, 325, and 205 respectively. In fact, while the former two institutions have seen their number of students doubled over this eight-year period, the number of First-degree students engaged with Welsh medium study at Cardiff Met from 2010/11 to 2017/18 has more than tripled, from 65 up to 205.

Meanwhile both Aberystwyth and USW have seen slight and persistent falls in their numbers over this period. Whereas the Open University and Glyndwr University have both accounted for the lowest proportion and numbers of students studying a First Degree with some teaching in Welsh.

These figures reveal the clear disparities between institutions in their levels of student uptake of Welsh medium study, which can be attributed to levels of Welsh medium provision availability. From these figures, however, it can be presumed that access to Welsh medium provision is not necessarily equal across Welsh higher education institutions, hence the unequal distribution of students studying through the medium of Welsh at various universities. This is particularly so amongst institutions with a similar proportion of fluent Welsh speaking students.

Figure 6.4 Concentration of first-degree Wales domiciled engaged with Welsh medium higher education across the Welsh HE sector



Credits studied through the medium of Welsh amongst first-degree students

Figure 6.5 presents data by the number of Wales domiciled first-degree students engaged with Welsh medium study relative to the number of credits undertaken⁶⁷⁶⁸ (WG 2019b). It should be noted that this data does not account for the levels of Welsh language ability, but rather on the proportion of credits undertaken. Therefore, the data encompasses all first-degree Wales domiciled students that reported to be Fluent Welsh speaker, Welsh speaker not Fluent and not a Welsh speaker that are undertaking some Welsh medium study. (See Appendix 28 for a breakdown of these figures combining all Wales domiciled students across all degree types by the number of credits undertaking through the medium of Welsh. See also Appendix 29 for these figures relative to both Wales domiciled, and non-Wales domiciled students studying through the medium of Welsh by number of credits.)

The general growth in Welsh medium study amongst these students has largely been attributed to the rise in those undertaking at least 5 credits through the medium of Welsh, despite declines in 2016/17 and 2017/18 compared with 2015/16. By 2017/18 over 1,000 additional students had studied at least 5 credits through the medium of Welsh since 2010/11.

As previously mentioned in Figures 6.3 and 6.4, the large spike in the number of 5 credits studied in Welsh is due to better reporting by the University of Wales, Trinity Saint David. This increase in Welsh medium engagement, from 2013/14 up to 2014/15 is therefore likely to be overestimated/exaggerated. Caution thus should be taken when interpreting these findings particularly at this institution.

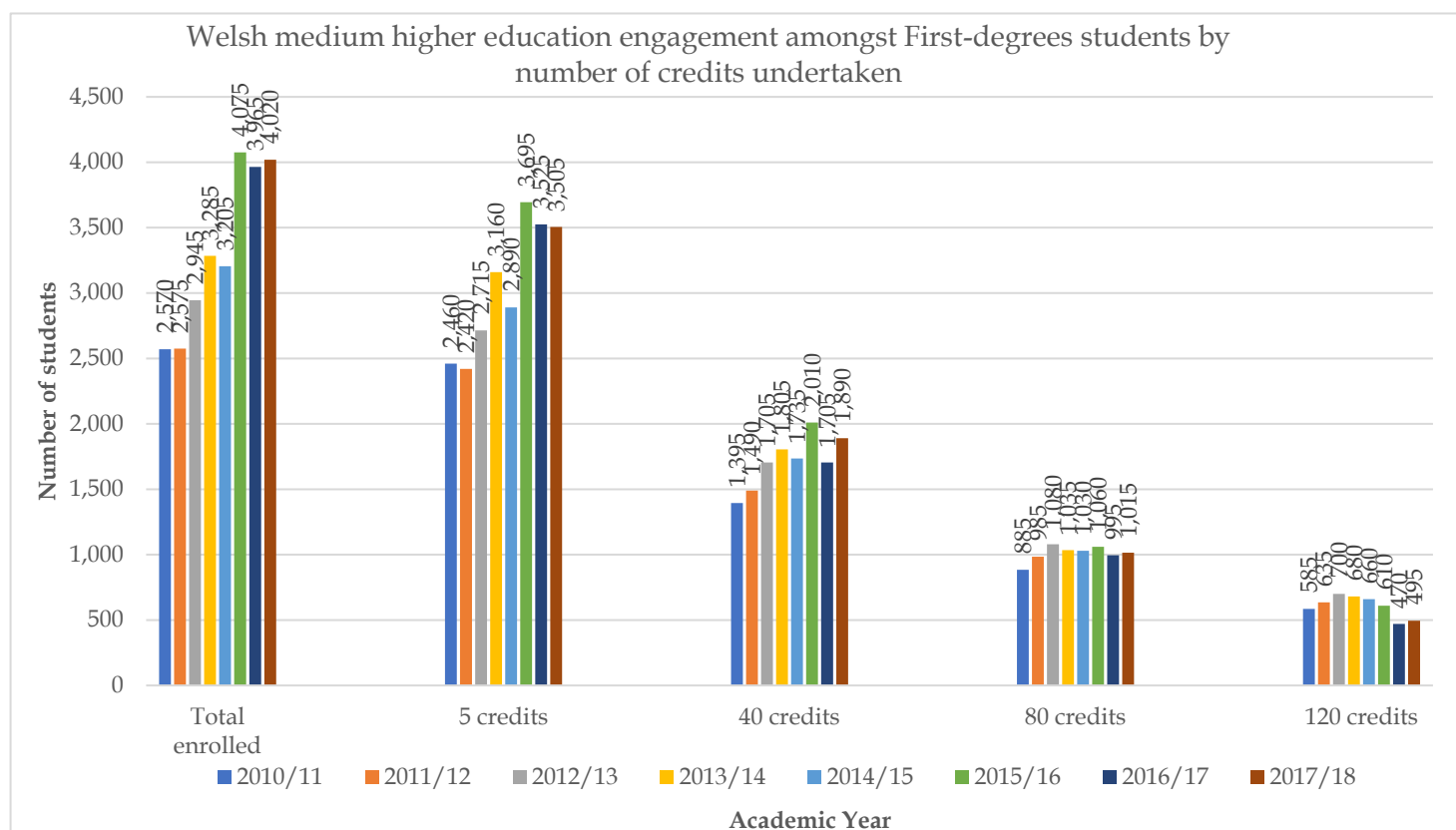
Those studying at least 40 credits in Welsh for the academic year 2017/18 was the second highest recorded, behind 2015/16, with a total of 1,890, compared to 1,400 for 2010/11. This represented a modest growth of 490 additional students. Furthermore, as of 2017/18, more students undertook 80 credits in Welsh at 1,105 than during any other previous academic years, with the lowest being in 2010/11 at 885, although this only accounted for an additional 220 students for this eight-year period.

The number of first-degree students studying at least 120 credits in Welsh during the academic year 2017/18 is actually the second lowest it has ever been with 495 claiming so, compared to 585 in 2010/11, and 700 students when this figure peaked during 2012/13. It is possible however to speculate that these results could be attributed to a general decline in the number of students studying Welsh (Language and/or Literature) as a degree subject.

⁶⁷ The recording of the amount studied through Welsh by credit categories overlap – for example, of those who studied at least 40 credits in Welsh, they are also included as having studied at least 5 credits in Welsh. Therefore, the figures may not appear to match.

⁶⁸ There is no 10 or 20-credit breakdown.

Figure 6.5 Welsh medium higher education engagement by number of credits undertaken



However, it is not possible to ascertain what accounts for the *differences* between those figures presented under ‘total enrolled’ with those presented under ‘5 credits’. Figure 6.5 indicate that fewer students are engaged with at least 5 credits through the medium of Welsh, which is the minimum number of credits that can be studied in HE, than the total number of students that are apparently engaged with Welsh medium study as a whole at this level. While the differences between both of these figures are not necessarily that stark, they do however raise several issues and questions that are worth contemplating. These are particularly pertinent to how ‘some teaching through Welsh’ is defined, and how information on Welsh medium HE engagement is obtained and collected.

The Welsh Government do provide some additional information regarding this data in its annual reports. It stipulates that “the amount studied through Welsh presents information on how much learning a student undertook through the Welsh language that year. It accounts for the amount of each module studied through Welsh. If a student studied half of a 20-credit module through Welsh, that would be counted as 10 credits. The ‘some/5/40/80’ categories also overlap. For example, everyone who has studied at least 40 credits through Welsh is included as having studied at least 5 credits in Welsh” (WG 2019a; 22). It is also reported in the statistical bulletins that “the amount of a students’ learning undertaken through Welsh is presented in credits rather than as percentage of their learning. This presents a better picture of the actual amount of learning being undertaken in Welsh” (WG 2019a; 3). This may refer to situations whereby students have a Welsh speaking personal tutor, or a Welsh speaking

dissertation supervision on a wholly English medium module. These are only speculative though.

However, there is no definition as to what constitutes Welsh medium study. While this may seem evident, that is, the undertaking or opportunities to study some elements of a degree course through the medium of Welsh, no distinction is made between the type of engagement (i.e., what is the form of this engagement). Therefore, it is not possible to determine what actually counts as Welsh medium study. For example, does Welsh medium study refer only to those students who *receive* Welsh medium education in the form of teaching by the institution/staff? Or what about students who may submit assessments in Welsh but might not receive teaching through the medium of Welsh? How are such students accounted for? Additionally, what about students who might attend Welsh medium seminars but receive lectures through the medium of English? It seems that there is only an abstracted sense of what Welsh medium study is, and that the complexities associated with it are not necessarily acknowledged here. Perhaps the lack of consistency in the way that ‘Welsh medium study’ or ‘Welsh medium higher education’ is conceptualised and defined, and thus reported may lead to differences in reporting between institutions. An example of this is the available data on Welsh medium engagement at UWTSO between 2010/11 and 2017/18, illustrated in Figure 6.4 is rather fluctuated and fragmented: a point already highlighted by the Welsh Government in their statistical bulletins.

Secondly, the Welsh Government do not provide a definition of what constitutes a 5-credit module, nor do they explain the differences in those numbers between total enrolled with Welsh medium HE and the number of 5 credit module. Thus, does this difference indicate that some students are undertaking some form of Welsh medium study but that the intensity of this engagement is considered less than 5 credits? If so, how is less than 5 credits defined? And what accounts for this type or degree of engagement? Does a 5-credit module represent a quarter of a standard 20 credit module?

Furthermore, a review of the activities of Y Coleg Cymraeg in 2017 (WG 2017c) pointed to some issues concerning how much ‘5 credits’ could realistically offer students any significant experience of studying through the medium of Welsh. It also alluded to what a 5 credit indicator could mean in practice in terms of Welsh medium engagement. The report stated that:

“Some institutions are of the opinion that the 5 credit indicator is too low to offer students any significant experience of studying through the medium of Welsh. It has been suggested that it is possible to record students under the 5 credit indicator only by providing bilingual materials – with no significant learning requirements for the student to use the language within the learning”.

(WG 2017c; 21)

The review made no reference to the need to clarify this 5 credit indicator, but did provide the following recommendation as a way to ensure some use of the Welsh language amongst students recorded under this indicator:

“The Coleg should consider ways of encouraging institutions to enrich learners’ experience offered under the 5 credits indicator.... Recommendation 13: The Coleg should discuss with individual institutions how they can enrich the experiences offered within the 5 credit indicator to ensure that students are recorded under this indicator use the language to some extent”.

(WG 2017c; 21-22)

Welsh Government data also fails to account for the range of possible modules that students can undertake. That is, there are no incremental/individual breakdown of individual modules available for 5, 10, 20, 40, 60, 80, 100 and 120 credits studied through the medium of Welsh amongst first-degree students. Thus, the number of students who undertake 10, 20, 60 and/or 100 credits through the medium of Welsh remain unknown. This is somewhat surprising given that a typical first-degree module consists of a (single) 20-credit module. Such breakdown could further serve to depict a much more detailed representation of the concentration and intensity of Welsh medium study by credits. To date, this remains an issue that requires clarification.

Subsequently, these issues raise several questions about the relevance and usefulness of such figures in illustrating the intensity of Welsh medium engagement amongst first-degree students. This is particularly true given that the largest concentration of Welsh medium study is founded amongst those students who undertake at least 5 credits in Welsh, *by which no definition is proposed*. Better reporting of this information is crucial to accurately report and reflect the Welsh medium learning experiences of students across the higher education sector in Wales.

Despite these drawbacks they are arguably the most ‘detailed’ information that accounts for the intensity of Welsh medium higher education undertaken by students at this level. This is particularly true given that there is no information available relative to the *nature or form* of Welsh medium engagement undertaken by students. Nevertheless, the lack of clarity and specificity of these official statistics informed the questions proposed for the online survey, and these findings will be presented and discussed shortly in section 6.4.

Welsh medium higher education engagement amongst first degree students at Cardiff and Bangor University

Despite the issues reported and discussed above, the following section will present individual data on the intensity of Welsh medium engagement amongst first-degree students at– Cardiff and Bangor University. These are presented in Figure 6.6, and Figure 6.7 below,

respectively. See Appendix 30 for a full breakdown of the number of Wales domiciled first-degree students engaged with Welsh medium higher education by the number of credits undertaken across each Welsh HE institution since 2010/11.

At Cardiff University, only 5.4% of the Wales domiciled first-degree student population reported to be engaged with some form of Welsh medium study for the academic year 2017/18. However, this is the largest number recorded to date, with around 325 students. This figure has more than doubled since 2010/11, both in relation to the overall number of students (from 145), as well as the proportion, from 2.5%. Most of this engagement has been concentrated amongst those undertaking at least 5 credits through the medium of Welsh.

The number of students undertaking at least 80 credits and 120 credits have largely remained consistent over this eight-year period. However, they represent a tiny proportion of the whole Wales domiciled first-degree students engaged with Welsh medium study at this level.

Meanwhile a third of the Wales domiciled first-degree students at Bangor University reported to be undertaking at least 5 credits through the medium of Welsh in 2010/11. By 2017/18 this had increased to around 2 in 5 students, and the largest number of students recorded to date, at 1,050. This is more than three times as many students studying through the medium of Welsh at Cardiff University.

Those undertaking at least 40 credits through the medium of Welsh have also increased during this eight-year period, from around 1 in 5 during 2010/11 to nearly 3 in 10 by 2017/18. Similarly increases are also reported for those undertaking at least 80 credits, with 2017/18 representing just under 1 in 50. However, the number of students undertaking at least 120 credits during 2017/18 was the lowest number recorded.

These figures appear to indicate that there has been growth in Welsh medium study opportunities at both institutions. However, given that Cardiff University has a slightly higher fluent Welsh speaking Wales domiciled student population than Bangor, as illustrated in Figure 6.2, the disparity between the number of students studying through the medium of Welsh may be indicative of the clear differences in terms of (unequal) Welsh medium study opportunities across both institutions. This is also clear from Figure 6.4 in which 27.1% of the whole first-degree Wales domiciled student population engaged with Welsh medium study are concentrated at Bangor University, compared to just 8.1% at Cardiff University.

However, as just highlighted in Figure 6.5, as there is no definition as to what constitutes a 5-credit module it remains unknown what these students actually study through the medium of Welsh.

Figure 6.6 Number of credits undertaken through the medium of Welsh amongst first degree students at Cardiff University

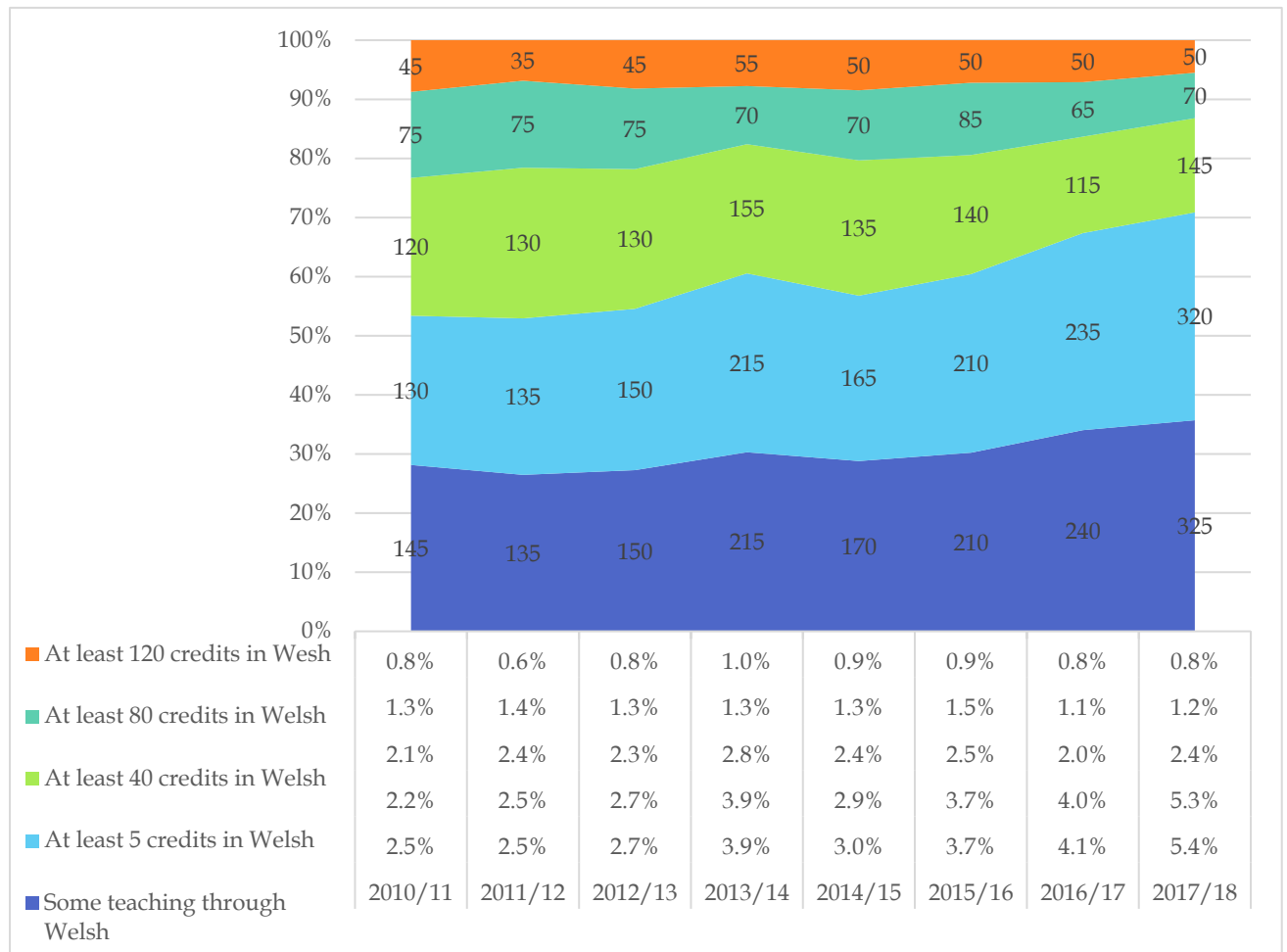
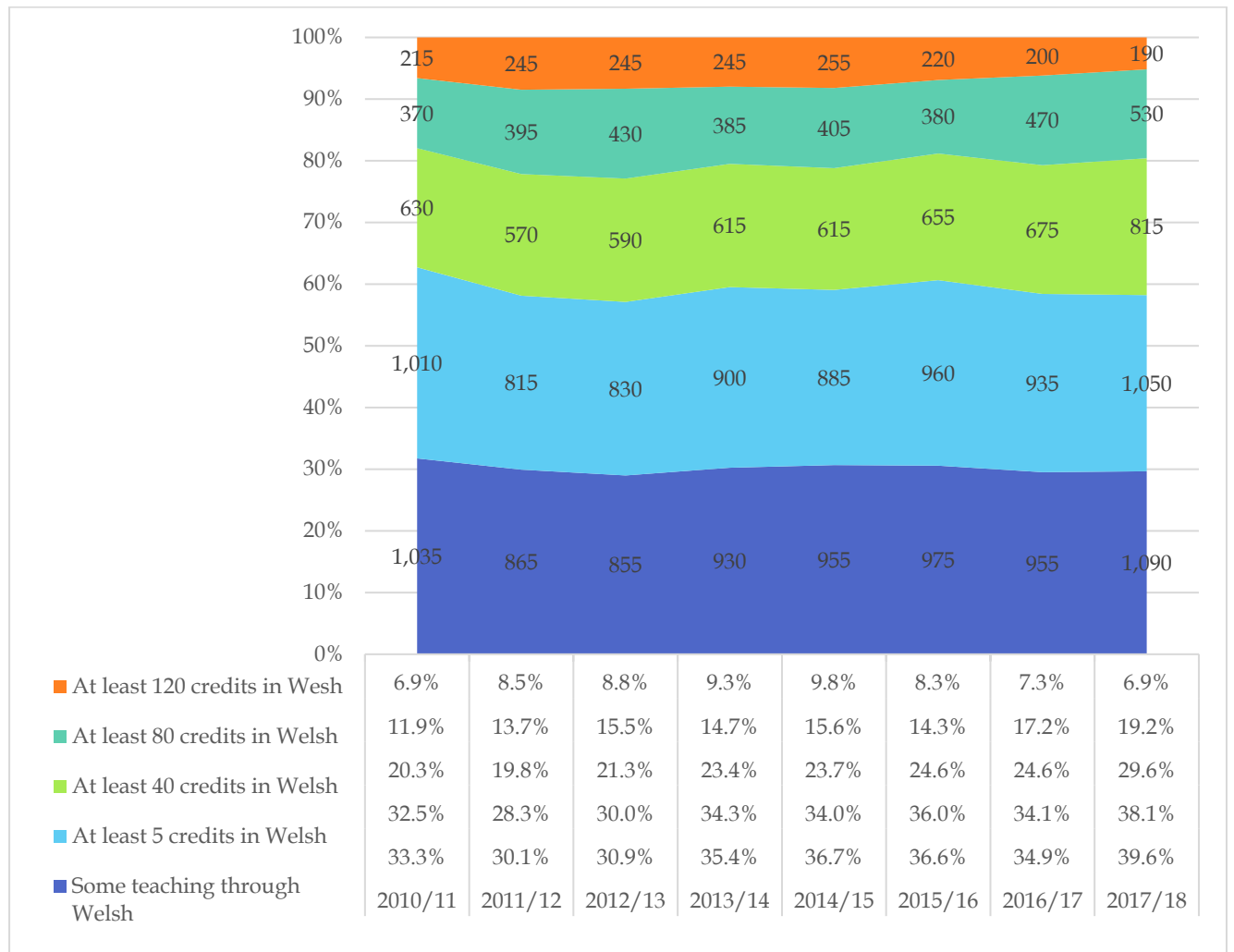


Figure 6.7 Number of credits undertaken through the medium of Welsh amongst first degree students at Bangor University



Welsh language ability and Welsh medium higher education engagement

Having accounted for first-degree students' engagement with Welsh medium study in the previous section across Figures 6.3; 6.4; 6.5; 6.6 and 6.7, the following section will now move specifically to focus on Welsh medium participation of Wales domiciled students by Welsh language ability, illustrated in Table 6.5, below (WG 2019m). The breakdown of this data is presented here because it is important to demonstrate the different trends relative to Welsh medium higher education engagement based on the Welsh language *ability* of these students.

As a reminder, there is no breakdown of the Welsh language ability of first-degree students, rather these statistics encompasses all undergraduate students (first-degree and other undergraduates), as reflected in Table 6.3, and Figure 6.2. Consequently, the figures presented here do not reflect those presented in Figures 6.3; 6.4; 6.5; 6.6 and 6.7. The number and proportion of the Wales domiciled undergraduate student population engaged with Welsh medium study relative to their Welsh language ability are presented below.

Thus, Table 6.5 demonstrates that Welsh medium study is undertaken by Wales domiciled undergraduate students whose Welsh language ability falls into the following four categories; 'Fluent Welsh speaker', 'Welsh speaker not fluent', 'not a Welsh speaker' and those whose Welsh language ability is 'unknown'. Moreover, the following data should be treated with caution as the varying numbers of 'unknown' Welsh language ability of some Wales domiciled students may also inadvertently distort the reality of these figures. Although, these figures have been declining over recent years which may indicate better reporting of students' Welsh language ability.

As a reminder, Figure 6.3 demonstrated that since the academic year 2015/16 around one in ten Wales domiciled first-degree students have been undertaking some form of Welsh medium study. This proportion, when accounting for the whole Wales domiciled undergraduate student population, as presented below in Table 6.5 indicates a slightly lower figure, with 8.7% of undergraduate students engaged with some of Welsh medium study for the academic year 2017/18.

However, there are clear differences when these figures are broken down relative to Welsh language ability. Around three in ten fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students are studying some elements of their degree through the medium of Welsh, compared to only one in ten of those who are deemed as 'Welsh speaker not fluent'.

Table 6.5 Number and proportion of Wales domiciled undergraduate students engaged with Welsh medium study relative to Welsh language ability

	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	2013/14	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17	2017/18
Wales domiciled undergraduate student population	66,030	65,210	63,370	61,445	59,505	57,365	56,235	54,530
Students engaged with Welsh medium study	4,305 (6.5%)	4,040 (6.2%)	4,260 (6.7%)	4,050 (6.6%)	4,540 (7.6%)	6,015 (10.4%)	4,815 (8.6%)	4,745 (8.7%)
<i>Fluent Welsh speakers</i>	9,465	8,915	8,600	8,345	8,230	8,230	8,070	7,935
Enrolments with some teaching through Welsh	2,875 (30.4%)	2,395 (26.9%)	2,660 (29.8%)	2,625 (30.5%)	2,715 (32.5%)	2,775 (33.7%)	2,540 (31.5%)	2,495 (31.4%)
<i>Welsh speaker not fluent</i>	8,790	8,550	9,325	8,650	8,670	8,725	8,215	8,145
Enrolments with some teaching through Welsh	660 (7.5%)	615 (7.2%)	585 (6.3%)	455 (5.3%)	710 (8.2%)	1,120 (12.8%)	750 (9.1%)	820 (10%)
<i>Not a Welsh speaker</i>	40,510	40,140	38,800	38,440	37,335	35,870	35,800	34,640
Enrolments with some teaching through Welsh	625 (1.5%)	870 (2.2%)	895 (2.3%)	885 (2.3%)	1,030 (2.8%)	1,645 (4.6%)	1,335 (3.7%)	1,275 (3.7%)
<i>Unknown Welsh language ability</i>	7,265	7,600	6,330	5,755	5,155	4,540	4,150	3,815
Enrolments with some teaching through Welsh	145 (1.9%)	160 (2.1%)	125 (1.9%)	90 (1.5%)	90 (1.7%)	480 (10.5%)	190 (4.5%)	150 (4%)

It is worth mentioning that this proportion could be greater for fluent Welsh speaking *first-degree students*, but it is not possible to definitively conclude this given that there is no breakdown of data relative to the Welsh language ability of first-degree Wales domiciled students.

However, those who are deemed as ‘not a Welsh speaker’ and studying through the medium of Welsh have also increased. While it is not possible to gather any additional information regarding these definitions, such figures could allude to some methodological issues. For example, these figures could indicate that some students may underestimate their own Welsh language ability. Furthermore, the Welsh Government has frequently flagged up potential methodological issue with these figures. For example, in their annual statistical bulletins on Welsh in higher education institutions for the academic year 2017/18, they report that “55 students studying 120 credits through Welsh reported that they were not fluent. This suggests that there may still be some issues with the data” (2019a; 12. See also for example, WG 2017a; 13, 2018a; 12). Despite this methodological drawback and potential limitation, it is presumed that such an error is less likely to occur when dealing with *the fluent Welsh speaking student population*. So, it is worth proceeding to account for Welsh medium engagement amongst *fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students* by intensity and credits studied, below.

Fluent Welsh speaking Wales domiciled undergraduate students and Welsh medium engagement by intensity

Further breakdown of the Welsh medium engagement amongst the fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate population by intensity and credits studied are presented below in Table 6.6 (WG 2019m). See Appendix 31 for a breakdown of the Wales domiciled undergraduate student population recorded as ‘Welsh speaker not fluent’ by intensity and credits studied in Welsh, and Appendix 32 for these figures for those recorded as ‘Not a Welsh speaker’. Appendix 33 offers these figures for those undergraduate students whose Welsh language ability is unknown.

Table 6.6 Number of credits undertaken by fluent Welsh speaking Wales domiciled undergraduate students

	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	2013/14	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17	2017/18
Wales domiciled Fluent Welsh speaking Undergraduate Students	9,465	8,915	8,600	8,345	8,230	8,230	8,070	7,935
Enrolments with some teaching through Welsh	2,875 (30.4%)	2,395 (26.9%)	2,660 (29.8%)	2,625 (30.5%)	2,715 (32.5%)	2,775 (33.7%)	2,540 (31.5%)	2,495 (31.4%)
At least 5 credits in Welsh	2,810 (29.7%)	2,300 (25.8%)	2,595 (29.1%)	2,555 (29.7%)	2,600 (31.2%)	2,710 (32.9%)	2,455 (30.4%)	2,410 (30.3%)
At least 40 credits in Welsh	1,230 (13%)	1,310 (14.7%)	1,475 (16.5%)	1,585 (18.4%)	1,610 (19.3%)	1,595 (19.4%)	1,535 (19%)	1,605 (20.2%)
At least 80 credits in Welsh	845 (8.9%)	875 (9.8%)	995 (11.2%)	1,015 (11.8%)	990 (11.9%)	895 (10.9%)	945 (11.7%)	960 (12%)
At least 120 credits in Welsh	565 (6%)	585 (6.6%)	665 (7.5%)	665 (7.7%)	645 (7.7%)	590 (7.2%)	440 (5.5%)	455 (5.7%)

Around 3 in 10 fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students reported to be engaged with some form of Welsh medium study, with the majority undertaking at least 5 credits. Although this proportion has remained largely consistent throughout this eight-year period, the actual number of fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students studying at least 5 credits in Welsh have actually declined, with the 2017/18 academic year reporting the second lowest number of students ever. This has occurred while the overall number of Wales domiciled undergraduate student population have been declining, reported in Table 6.3.

Furthermore, while those studying at least 120 credits in Welsh have slightly fallen, the proportion studying at least 40 and 80 credits have actually increased, both in terms of numbers and percentage points. By 2017/18 just over in five Fluent Welsh speakers were undertaking at least 40 credits in Welsh, increasing from 13% in 2010/11, while over one in ten studied at least 80 credits in Welsh, up from 8.9% in 2010/11. These figures may allude to the fact that more students are undertaking a *greater proportion* of Welsh medium study, reflecting increases in those studying at least 40 and 80 credits despite a drop in those undertaking 5 credits in Welsh.

The fact that only 3 in 10 fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students are studying elements of their degree course through the medium of Welsh may very well indicate to lack of Welsh medium study opportunities across the HE sector in Wales. Figure 6.4 (as well as Figure 6.5 and 6.6 specifically for Cardiff and Bangor University), also alludes to this, and depicts the unequal concentration of first-degree students engaged with Welsh medium study across the HE sector in Wales. Equally however is that the increase in the proportion of students studying more than 5 credits through the medium of Welsh may also indicate a rise in Welsh medium study opportunities.

Fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students and Welsh medium HE engagement at Cardiff and Bangor University

It is possible to offer a breakdown of these figures specifically for Bangor and Cardiff University's fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate student population, displayed in Table 6.7 and Table 6.8, overleaf, respectively. While Figure 6.2 illustrated that Bangor and Cardiff have consistency reported similar numbers of Wales domiciled fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students, there is stark differences in terms of the number of fluent Welsh speakers engaged with Welsh medium study, as shown in Tables 6.7 and 6.8 by intensity and credits undertaken.

Just over two thirds of fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students attending Bangor University are engaged with Welsh medium study, while only around a quarter do so at Cardiff University as of 2017/18. This engagement is largely concentrated amongst those undertaking at least 5 credits across both institutions. However, this represents the largest proportion and number of students at Cardiff University engaged with Welsh medium study, having nearly doubled since 2010/11. These numbers for Bangor University have remained somewhat more consistent over this period.

More so, those undertaking at least 40 credits have also gradually increased over this eight-year period across both institutions. The figures reveal that just over half of fluent Welsh speaking students engaged with Welsh medium study at Bangor are undertaking at least 40 credits in Welsh, compared to around one in ten of those at Cardiff University.

Additionally, those engaged with at least 80 credits have increased at Bangor while having declined at Cardiff University. This represents around 2 in 5 of all fluent Welsh speaking undergraduates at Bangor, and only 3% of those at Cardiff.

Both institutions also reported their lowest numbers and figures of those undertaking at least 120 credits in 2017/18, with Bangor reporting around three in twenty students studying in Welsh, while such figures only represented just under one in fifty amongst those at Cardiff.

Such disparities between these figures may reveal a clear difference in Welsh medium study opportunities between both institutions with Bangor University seemingly having much more than Cardiff University.

Table 6.7 *Fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students and Welsh medium HE engagement at Bangor University*

	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	2013/14	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17	2017/18
Wales domiciled Fluent Welsh speaking undergraduates	1,395	1,210	1,075	1,310	1,045	1,285	1,300	1,255
Enrolments with some teaching through Welsh	860 (61.6%)	620 (51.2%)	580 (54%)	745 (56.9%)	805 (77%)	800 (62.3%)	820 (63.1%)	840 (66.9%)
At least 5 credits in Welsh	835 (59.9%)	565 (46.7%)	570 (53%)	715 (54.6%)	765 (73.2%)	795 (61.9%)	805 (61.9%)	830 (66.1%)
At least 40 credits in Welsh	525 (37.6%)	420 (34.7%)	445 (41.4%)	525 (40.1%)	550 (52.6%)	580 (45.1%)	605 (46.5%)	660 (52.5%)
At least 80 credits in Welsh	365 (26.2%)	335 (27.7%)	360 (33.5%)	365 (27.9%)	380 (36.4%)	370 (28.8%)	465 (35.8%)	520 (41.4%)
At least 120 credits in Welsh	210 (15.1%)	200 (16.5%)	230 (21.4%)	250 (19.1%)	255 (24.4%)	220 (17.1%)	200 (15.4%)	185 (14.7%)

Table 6.8 *Fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students and Welsh medium HE engagement at Cardiff University*

	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	2013/14	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17	2017/18
Wales domiciled Fluent Welsh speaking undergraduates	1,310	1,235	1,195	1,135	1,195	1,185	1,280	1,355
Enrolments with some teaching through Welsh	185 (14.1%)	155 (12.6%)	140 (11.7%)	185 (16.3%)	170 (14.2%)	215 (18.1%)	240 (18.8%)	355 (26.1%)
At least 5 credits in Welsh	165 (12.6%)	155 (12.6%)	140 (11.7%)	185 (16.3%)	165 (13.8%)	215 (18.1%)	235 (18.4%)	355 (26.1%)
At least 40 credits in Welsh	105 (8%)	125 (10.1%)	120 (10%)	125 (11%)	110 (9.2%)	115 (9.7%)	85 (6.6%)	140 (10.3%)
At least 80 credits in Welsh	65 (5%)	50 (4%)	60 (5%)	60 (5.3%)	60 (5%)	65 (5.5%)	45 (3.5%)	45 (3.3%)
At least 120 credits in Welsh	40 (3.1%)	30 (2.4%)	35 (2.9%)	45 (4%)	40 (3.3%)	45 (3.8%)	25 (2%)	25 (1.8%)

Welsh medium engagement across academic subjects

This section will now move to focus on Welsh medium engagement across academic subjects, displayed below in Table 6.9 (WG 2019n). Firstly however, it is worth reiterating here that data available on Welsh language ability does not distinguish between first-degree students and other undergraduates, therefore the following figures represent the whole undergraduate student population. In addition to this, the Welsh Government do not differentiate between Wales domiciled and non-Wales domiciled undergraduate students' Welsh medium engagement by subject type. These figures therefore do not correspond to those presented in previous sections. Finally, the figures presented in Table 6.9 are represented by Full-Person Equivalents (FPE) because data on Welsh medium study by academic subjects are collected on a module-by-module basis (see for example, WG 2019a; 10). The figures appear to be small as a result of this.

Table 6.9 Welsh medium study undertaken amongst Fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students by academic discipline

Academic Year	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	2013/14	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17	2017/18
% of Fluent Welsh speaking undergraduates with Welsh medium study (=FPE)	28.1%	24.8%	27.5%	27.9%	30%	31.6%	29.9%	29.6%
Sciences and Applied Sciences	455 (12.2%)	385 (10.7%)	435 (12.2%)	485 (13.9%)	530 (15.5%)	740 (20.9%)	790 (21.8%)	905 (24.5%)
Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences	2,215 (38.2%)	1,840 (34.4%)	2,035 (37.5%)	1,930 (37.2%)	1,995 (40%)	1,880 (39.5%)	1,645 (36.4%)	1,465 (33.8%)

Table 6.9 illustrates the percentage of the fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate student population engaged with some Welsh medium study at this level, represented by Full-Person Equivalents (FPE). Around three in ten of these students are studying through the medium of Welsh at university: a figure that has remained somewhat consistent over the years, par 2011/12. These figures are very similar to those presented in Table 6.6 which accounted only for the Wales domiciled fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students' Welsh medium engagement, however these figures (Table 6.6) are not available for subject type hence why data on Wales-domiciled and non-Wales domicile and presented together here in Table 6.9.

The number and percentage of FPE fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students undertaking some form of Welsh medium study at university by subject type is presented on the last two rows of Table 6.9. As can be seen there has been an increase in both the number and proportion of FPE fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students undertaking some form of Welsh medium across the Sciences and Applied Sciences. At its lowest during the academic year 2011/12, just over one in ten (12.2%) claimed to be studying in Welsh, while by 2017/18 this had nearly doubled accounting for nearly a quarter of all fluent (24.5%) Welsh speaking undergraduate students on Sciences and Applied Sciences to be studying some elements of their degree course through the medium of Welsh.

Conversely, the academic year 2017/18 reported the lowest number of fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students (33.8%) claiming to study through the medium of Welsh on Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences based related degree courses. However, this still represented that around a third of all fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students studying this type of degree course were in fact studying some elements through the medium of Welsh. It is not possible to ascertain what has accounted for this drastic decline in those pursuing Arts based degree courses as no further information is provided. It is not possible to determine whether these figures are largely concentrated around first-degree students, or other undergraduate students as this breakdown simply does not exist. It is plausible however to speculate that this may be attributed to the fall in fluent Welsh speakers pursuing other undergraduate courses, which has been steadily declining over recent years as shown in Table 6.1 given that the proportion fluent Welsh speaking first degree students has remained consistent over these years. However, again, this is only speculative.

Welsh medium engagement across academic subjects at Cardiff and Bangor University

Further to this, there is a breakdown of Welsh medium engagement amongst fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students by individual academic disciplines or subject areas. However, for Cardiff University, along with several other HE institutions, many of these figures have been replaced by asterisks indicating that the data obtained is potentially disclosive or is not sufficiently robust for publication, according to the Welsh Government. In addition to this, figures have been rounded up to the nearest 5, while 0, 1, and 2 are represented by asterisk. See Appendix 34 for a breakdown of the number of fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students by individual academic subject for Cardiff University, and Appendix 35 for this breakdown for these students at Bangor University.

Given these methodological issues, Table 6.10, and Table 6.11 overleaf only accounts for the broader academic disciplines, much like Table 6.9 by grouping these subject areas into the Sciences and Applied Sciences or Arts, Humanities and the Social Sciences for Cardiff and Bangor University, respectively.

What is noticeable about these figures is the rise in the number of students (FPE equivalent) studying Sciences and Applied Sciences based courses through the medium of Welsh at both institutions, reflecting national trends in Table 6.9. By 2017/18 one in five fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students studied a Sciences based course with some elements of Welsh medium teaching at Cardiff University, while this figure represented over two thirds of those attending Bangor University. These figures are the highest recorded to date.

Furthermore, more students are studying Arts based degree courses through the medium of Welsh at Cardiff University than ever before, representing nearly three in ten students. However, Bangor University has actually seen a fall in its numbers of students undertaking Welsh medium study on Arts based courses over this eight-year period although this represents 3 in 5 students as of 2017/18 and more than double those at Cardiff.

Interestingly also, by 2017/18 more FPE equivalent fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students at Bangor University were pursuing a Sciences based degree course than those studying an Arts based course; a trend that has shifted since 2016/17.

The growth in the Sciences at Cardiff University is largely concentrated within medicine & dentistry subjects, as well as subjects allied to medicine such as Nursing. Similarly, a heavy proportion of Welsh medium engagement across the Sciences at Bangor is concentrated amongst those undertaking subjects allied to medicine, attributed greatly to an increase in those studying Nursing (in addition to biological sciences). See Appendix 34 and 35 for these figures.

Table 6.10 Welsh medium study undertaken amongst Fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students by academic discipline at Cardiff University

Academic Year	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	2013/14	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17	2017/18
% of Fluent Welsh speaking undergraduates with Welsh medium study (=FPE)	160 12.2%	120 9.7%	110 8.8%	160 14.1%	150 12.3%	200 16.8%	225 17.6%	340 25%
Sciences and Applied Sciences	0.7% (5)	0% (0)	0.7% (5)	6.4% (40)	2.3% (15)	11.5% (70)	12% (75)	20.1% (135)
Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences	24.4% (155)	20.3% (120)	19.4% (105)	23.3% (120)	23% (135)	22.2% (130)	22.9% (150)	29.7% (205)

Table 6.11 Welsh medium study undertaken amongst Fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students by academic discipline at Bangor University

Academic Year	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	2013/14	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17	2017/18
% of Fluent Welsh speaking undergraduates with Welsh medium study (=FPE)	780 55.5%	590 48.4%	565 51.1%	710 53%	775 72.1%	775 59.4%	795 59.6%	820 64.3%
Sciences and Applied Sciences	41.8% (245)	33.3% (180)	34.6% (180)	40.3% (220)	64.2% (270)	58.1% (340)	61.2% (380)	68.2% (440)
Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences	65.2% (535)	60.3% (410)	65.8% (385)	61.6% (490)	77% (505)	60.4% (435)	58% (415)	60.3% (380)

6.3 Section Summary and Discussion

This section has mapped out the Welsh language across higher education institutions in Wales, accounting for the last eight academic years from 2010/11 up to 2017/18. It has done so by analysing the official data collected by HESA via the Welsh Government.

It has focused on the Wales domiciled undergraduate student population, including the HE destination of these students and their concentration across the Welsh HE sector. It has also explored the Welsh language ability of these students. More so, the section has accounted for the development and trends in Welsh medium higher education engagement and participation of students by institution, intensity and credits studied in addition to engagement across academic subjects. It has also focused specifically on Cardiff and Bangor University, two focus areas of the thesis.

While fewer Wales domiciled undergraduate (and first-degree) students are attending university in general, more and more of these students are choosing to study outside of Wales. Despite this, the proportion of (fluent) Welsh speaking undergraduate students studying in Wales have remained largely consistent, although the numbers have declined slightly since 2010/11. The concentration of fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students is dispersed across all HE institutions in Wales, but they are particularly concentrated at Cardiff University, Bangor University, the University of Wales, Trinity Saint David, and Swansea University.

More students are studying some elements of their undergraduate courses through the medium of Welsh, despite a tiny fall from 2015/16 to 2016/17. However, the concentration of students studying through the medium of Welsh across the Welsh HE sector reveal that

over two thirds of all Welsh medium engagement are based and undertaken at Bangor University and the University of Wales, Trinity Saint David. Such disparities may indicate a lack of Welsh medium study opportunities, and a lack of established provision across certain HE institutions in Wales, further resulting in students having an unequal access to such opportunities. This is particularly apparent when comparing Welsh medium engagement at Cardiff and Bangor as both reported a similar number of fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students despite stark differences in Welsh medium engagement.

Furthermore, the growth in Welsh medium study has largely been concentrated amongst those undertake at least 5 credits in Welsh, with modest increases in those undertaking 40 and 80 credits. Although those studying a full degree course in Welsh, or 120 credits a year have gradually been declining.

Moreover, around a quarter of fluent Welsh speaking undergraduates, represented as Full-Person Equivalents (FPE), undertaking Sciences and Applied Sciences based courses are undertaking some form of Welsh medium study, while this is around a third for those pursuing Arts based subjects. Rather notable however is that these figures for the Sciences have been gradually increasing, while Arts based subjects have been steadily declining. Although it must be noted that the increase in the number of FPE studying Sciences and Applied Sciences through the medium of Welsh can be attributed to Nursing, thus the statistics is likely to be skewed as a result.

However, there are several drawbacks to these official statistics. The focus of this thesis is first-degree students (often referred to as undergraduate students throughout). Yet, some of the official data do not make the explicit distinction between first-degree students and other undergraduate students, primarily in terms of these students' Welsh language ability. While figures for Welsh medium engagement by subject type also encompass both first-degree and other undergraduate students, they also include both Wales domiciled, and non-Wales domiciled students. Therefore, the data presented is somewhat fragmentary because it has not been possible to account for only first-degree Wales domiciled students throughout this section.

Furthermore, the under-reporting of Welsh medium engagement at the University of Wales, Trinity Saint David from 2013/14 to 2015/16 may overestimate the growth in these figures on a national level during this period.

Nevertheless, the number of students engaged with some form of Welsh medium study are promising and are indicative of the work and commitment of the Welsh Government to increasing provision at this level (WG 2010). However, one of the key drawbacks of these statistics is the inability to ascertain and determine the very nature of Welsh medium study or engagement. That is, it is not possible to determine what these figures actually represents. While they account for a range of very useful information such as how many students study in Welsh, where these students study, the intensity of their engagement, and across academic disciplines, they fundamentally overlook the intricacies of Welsh medium higher education.

Most notably it is not possible to determine what *constitutes* Welsh medium higher education study and the *type* of Welsh medium engagement that students experience at this level. Therefore, these official statistics only really portray and abstracted sense of what ‘Welsh medium study’ is.

While Welsh medium provision clearly refers to those learning opportunities offered through the medium of Welsh, there needs to be some distinction between the form of these opportunities to both capture and account for the different types of learning/teaching experiences that students can engage with at this level. For example, lectures, seminars, tutorials, lab work, written assessments and examinations, and the language used across these different forms of learning and teaching. This could potentially lead to a better understanding of the nature of Welsh medium engagement and can be a useful way to characterise the diversity of these (Welsh medium study) opportunities and experiences. The recognition of these different types of Welsh medium study opportunities is an important one to make because these, as Chapter 7 will demonstrate, can play a major role in how students ultimately negotiate language choices for academic purposes.

Further to this, these official statistics are obtained by HE providers rather than students themselves, and so the latter section of the chapter shall now move to present findings from the online survey to illustrate students’ *own* accounts of their Welsh medium higher education engagement and participation.

6.4 Welsh medium higher education participation: Survey findings

As previously noted, the official data on Welsh medium higher education engagement and participation lacked detailed insights into the nature of Welsh medium study. Additionally, such data are collected by HE providers⁶⁹ and therefore, they do not account for students' *own* experiences of their engagement with Welsh medium higher education: the data collected in this thesis however does exactly this.

This final section of the chapter presents key findings from the online survey administered to students during the first phase of data collection. Some of these survey questions had been guided and informed, in part, by the lack of detail in the official statistics about Welsh medium higher education, as just discussed. These findings shed some much-needed light on the intricacies of Welsh medium study at this level as reported by students themselves. The survey was used primarily as a recruitment tool for interviewing participants therefore not all questions are relevant to this section. Some key demographic analyses have already been presented in Chapter 4.

The survey focused on four key areas – Welsh medium engagement by subject and institution; the form or nature of Welsh medium engagement undertaken by students; students preferred language of study; and students' access to a Welsh speaking personal tutor.

These results are obtained from fluent Welsh speaking first-degree students, also referred to as undergraduate students, studying at Cardiff and Bangor University. The data presented in this section are primarily descriptive and does not attempt to make claims or wider generalizations about the nature or form of Welsh medium study across the wider Welsh HE sector other than these two institutions.

It is also important to consider some potential limitations of this method and its findings. Firstly, these findings are obtained from a variety of students in their first, second and third year of university, some of whom completed the survey during their first semester, while others completed it during the second semester. These responses are therefore only likely to be a snapshot of students' engagement and experiences with Welsh medium study reflective of the time in which they participated in the research rather than an exhaustive account of their whole academic year.

Furthermore, there may be some bias in the survey responses. For example, Table 4.9 in Chapter 4 revealed that of the respondents studying at Cardiff and Bangor, a total of 48% reported to be undertaking some form of Welsh medium study; a figure much greater than the national average across the Welsh HE sector reported in Figure 6.3, at 10.1% (WG 2019b; 2019l). Surveys are much more likely to be completed by respondents if they can resonate or feel strongly about the topic under study (Goyder 1986; Dilman 2006). It may be the case that

⁶⁹ Although, figures for students' Welsh language ability are based on students' own subjective assessment.

those who pursued Welsh medium study may have been more inclined to complete the questionnaire than those who did not.

Moreover, it is important to acknowledge that the survey attempted to both capture and reduce a complex phenomenon – Welsh medium higher education – into quantifiable or measurable variables while not allowing students to elaborate further on their own experiences. This is a key limitation to these findings. However, face-to-face interviews with students allowed for the further probing of these figures and enabled students to further comment and account for their experiences of Welsh medium study. However, the number of interview participants (n=36), all of whom also completed the survey, only constituted a tiny proportion of the total survey response of those studying at Cardiff and Bangor (n=443). These accounts will be further discussed in Chapter 7 which explores the sociological aspects of students' educational choices and experiences at university. Combined, the qualitative interviews provide greater context to some of the figures presented in this section, thus increasing their validity and methodological rigour.

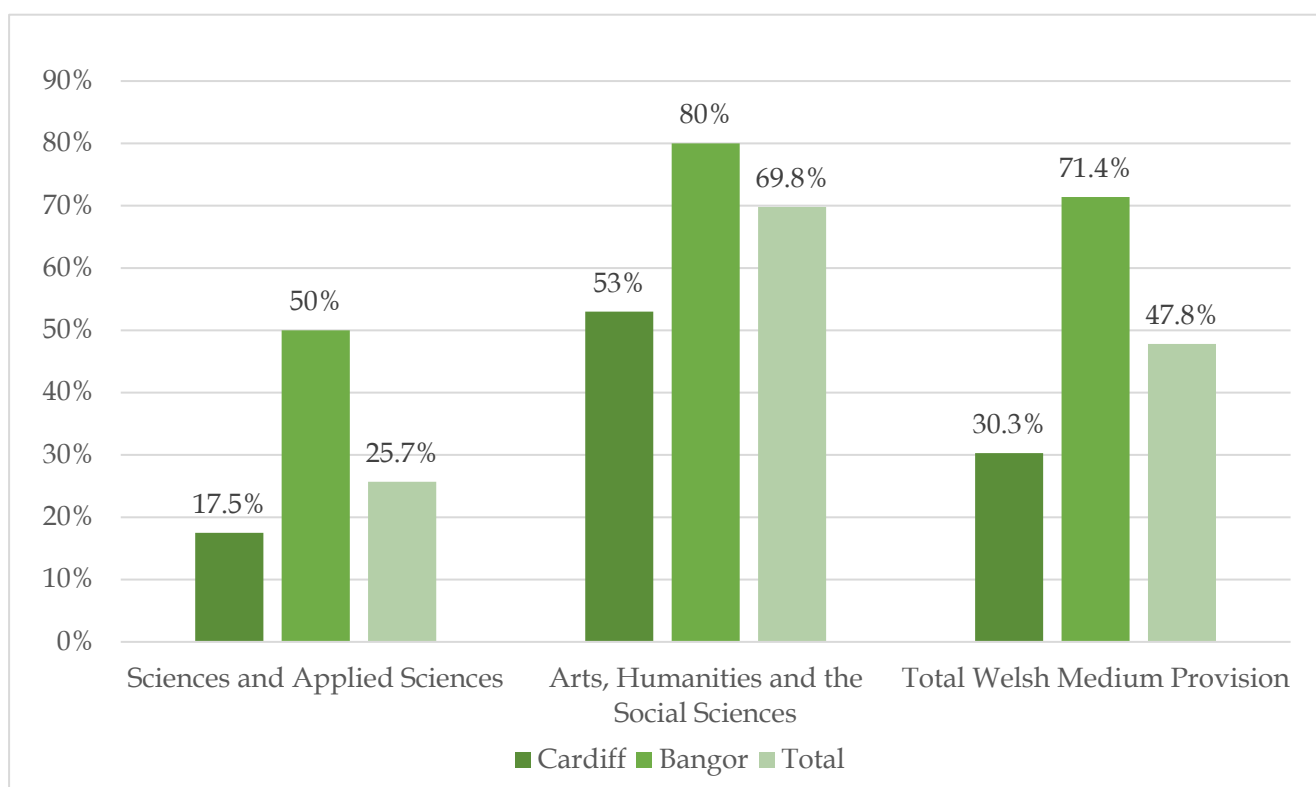
6.4.1 Welsh medium higher education engagement

Welsh medium engagement by subject area and institution

As already mentioned in Chapter 4, a total of 443 responses had been received by first-degree students, in which 57% (254) studied at Cardiff University, while those attending Bangor University made up 43% (189) of the total responses. (A total of 500 responses were received by those studying outside of Wales).

Around an equal number of responses were received by students based on subject areas. A total of 221 students were undertaking a Science or Applied Science based course, with 222 students studying an Arts, Humanities and Social Science based course. However, 75% of those undertaking a Science related degree were studying at Cardiff, while over 60% of those following an Arts based subject studied at Bangor. Findings for Welsh medium engagement across subjects and institution are presented below in Figure 6.8.

Figure 6.8 Welsh medium engagement by subject area and institution



In terms of Welsh medium engagement amongst these students, a total of 47.8% (n=212) of respondents claimed to be studying some elements of their first-degree course through the medium of Welsh. Of these, 63.7% (n=135) were students at Bangor, while 36.3% (n=77) were those at Cardiff. This figure is greater than the official data presented in Table 6.6 with 31.4% of the fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate student population reported to be studying through the medium of Welsh as of 2017/18 (WG 2019m).

However, on an institutional level, a total of 71.4% (n=135) of those studying at Bangor University were undertaking some elements of their degree course in Welsh, while this figure was 30.3% (n=77) for students attending Cardiff University. Again, while these figures differ from the official statistics (WG 2019m) presented in Tables 6.7 (66.9%) and 5.8 (26.1%) respectively, (or Table 6.10 and Table 6.11 for FPE equivalent), the differences between these figures are not drastically stark.

Furthermore, only 25.7% (n=57) of students studying a Sciences related degree indicated to be studying some elements in Welsh. This represented 17.5% (n=29) of students at Cardiff, and 50% (n=28) of respondents from Bangor. Once again, while these figures are slightly higher than the official data presented in Tables 6.9, 6.10, and 6.11 (WG 2019n), they are nonetheless relatively reflective of those figures.

Moreover, 69.8% (155) of respondents undertaking an Arts based degree reported to be studying some form of Welsh medium study, accounting for 53% (48) of those at Cardiff,

and 80% (107) at Bangor. These are also higher than the official data presented in Tables 6.9, 5610, and 6.11 (WG 2019n).

6.4.2 Type of Welsh medium higher education engagement

Welsh medium engagement type within and across modules

For those that indicated to be undertaking some form of Welsh medium study (survey question 20), the survey then asked these students to specify the module details (survey question 20a) which would assist to determine and allow for the mapping of Welsh medium engagement within and across those modules. This had been done by asking students to state, for each individual module they asserted to have some degree of Welsh medium engagement, the language used by the lecturer/tutor during *a)* lectures *b)* seminars and/or labs, and then the language students themselves used for *c)* note taking in class (in both lectures and seminars and/or labs), and *d)* language of assessments and examinations. Although 212 students indicated to be studying some elements in Welsh (survey question 20), only 188 or 88.6% (survey question 20a), provided information to this question, and the results are presented below, in Table 6.12.

Table 6.12 Modules undertaken by students and Welsh medium engagement within and across those modules

Total number of modules (676)	Lectures	Seminars / Labs	Note Taking in Lectures / Seminars	Assessments and Examinations
Welsh	n=364 (53.8%)	n=470 (69.5%)	n=371 (54.8%)	n=435 (64.3%)
Welsh and English	n=36 (5.3%)	n=28 (4.1%)	n=74 (10.9%)	n=51 (7.5%)
English	n=236 (34.9%)	n=75 (11%)	n=196 (28.9%)	n=139 (20.5%)
n/a or Other	n=40 (5.9%)	n=103 (15.2%)	n=35 (5.1%)	n=51 (7.5%)

A total of 676 module details were received by students. It is worth mentioning that for this particular question, while some students provided information on one module, some listed multiple modules hence why the number of modules exceeds the total number of responses. For example, other than not providing information for this question, some might have noted down all the modules currently undertaking for that particular academic year, while others might have only specified those undertaken during that particular semester. It is therefore highly likely that the list of modules generated from this survey is merely a snapshot rather than an exhaustive list of Welsh medium engagement. Moreover, as these figures

represent students' individual accounts of their engagement rather than on a module-by-module basis, like the official statistics have done (WG 2019n), some individual/specific modules are accounted for on more than one occasion.

Over half of the modules students listed (364) delivered a lecture through the medium of Welsh. Even when disregarding those who followed a single honours course in Welsh (Language or Literature), the proportion is unchanged. While just over a third of the module lectures had been delivered through the medium of English. However, it seems that seminars are the most common form of Welsh medium study, with 69.5% (470) of the modules that students listed delivering a seminar through the medium of Welsh followed by 64.3% (435) of assessments and examinations being submitted in Welsh. The proportion of students receiving a Welsh medium lecture (53.8%) and the proportion of those using Welsh as the primary language of note taking in class (54.8%) is also quite consistent.

The variations in the proportion of students using a particular language across the different forms of learning listed is indicative of how students have the ability to choose which language to use for particular academic purposes. How students negotiate language (choices) for academic purposes will be further explored in Chapter 7, but it is important to acknowledge that as bilinguals these students can choose to use either Welsh or English, or both when studying at this level.

Welsh medium engagement type within and across modules by subject area

It is also possible to break down these results based on subject types, presented below in Table 6.13. Although an overwhelming majority of the module details listed by students (540) were by those undertaking an Arts based degree, while only 136 were provided by those pursuing a Sciences related degree, a similar pattern emerges. Nevertheless, these figures are skewed towards Arts, Humanities and Social Science based subjects.

Table 6.13 Type of Welsh medium engagement amongst students by subject area

Welsh Medium Engagement by module subject and language (676)	Arts, Humanities, and the Social Sciences (540)	Sciences and Applied Sciences (136)
Lectures	n=353 (65.3%)	n=11 (8%)
Seminars / Labs	n=429 (79.4%)	n=41 (30.1%)
Note taking in Lectures / Seminars	n=347 (64.2%)	n=24 (17.6%)
Assessments and Examinations	n=397 (73.5%)	n=38 (27.9%)

Across both academic subject areas, while a seminar delivered through the medium of Welsh is more common than a Welsh medium lecture, students are also more likely to submit assessments and sit examinations in Welsh (73.5%) than using Welsh as a language of note taking in class (64.2%). Moreover, nearly two thirds of the Arts based modules offered a lecture through the medium of Welsh compared with 8 in 10 of seminars. This proportion was even greater for the Sciences based modules in which Welsh seminars were more common than a Welsh lecture at a ratio of 3:1.

6.4.3 Preferred language of study

Correlation between students' preferred language of study and Welsh medium study

The survey findings also reveal an apparent correlation between students' preferred language of study and their engagement with that particular language at this level, as shown below in Table 6.14.

Table 6.14 Correlation between students' preferred language of study and those undertaking Welsh medium study

Preferred language of study	Total number of students (n=443)	Proportion of students studying elements of their degree in Welsh (n=212)	No Welsh medium study (n=231)
Welsh	n=176 (39.7%)	n=133 (75.6%)	n=43 (24.4%)
Welsh and English	n=136 (30.7%)	n=58 (42.6%)	n=78 (57.4%)
English	n=131 (29.6%)	n=21 (16%)	n=110 (84%)

Only around four in ten (176) students claimed Welsh to be their preferred language of study, with those asserting both Welsh and English (136), or only English (131) accounting for around three in ten, respectively.

However, just over three quarters of students whose preferred language of study is Welsh also reported to study some elements of their degree course in Welsh. An overwhelming majority of those who claimed English as their preferred language of study, 84%, reported to be studying only through the medium of English. Meanwhile, just over two in five students whose reported both Welsh and English as their preferred language of study claimed to be studying at this level through the medium of Welsh.

The difference in the figures between those who prefer Welsh as a language of study versus those who are engaged with Welsh medium study is likely to be indicative of a lack of Welsh medium study opportunities. It is plausible to assume that those who do in fact regard Welsh as their preferred language of study are more likely to study through the medium of Welsh than those whose preferred study language is both Welsh and English, and/or only English.

Equally plausible is that a lack of access to Welsh medium provision at this level may have inadvertently caused these students to claim English as their preferred language of study at the expense of Welsh. Chapter 7 will illuminate on how students negotiate and navigate

language choices for academic purposes, including how language of assessments are largely guided by the language of lectures and seminars. However, Chapter 5 already demonstrated how some students deliberately switched the language of assessments during A Level study, from Welsh to English, to mitigate linguistic concerns that they may have had about studying at university, including a lack of Welsh medium study opportunities. For some students therefore their preference of English (or even both Welsh and English) as a language of study may have been established during A Level study, while for others this may have occurred once at university.

Students' preferred language of study by subject area type

There are also striking differences across academic subjects, as illustrated in Table 6.15 below. More than half of students pursuing an Arts based degree noted Welsh to be their preferred language of study, while this was only slightly over a quarter amongst students undertaking a Sciences related degree, whose preferred language was English, only just, over both Welsh and English.

Table 6.15 Student's preferred language of study by subject area type

Preferred language of study	Arts, Humanities, and the Social Sciences (n=222)	Sciences and Applied Sciences (n=221)
Welsh	n=116 (52.3%)	n=60 (27.1%)
Welsh and English	n=58 (26.1%)	n=78 (35.3%)
English	n=48 (21.6%)	n= 83 (37.5%)

These results seem to correlate with findings presented in Table 6.13 in which students pursuing Arts based courses were far more likely to be engaged with Welsh medium study either in the form of lectures or seminars/labs, as well as submitting assessments and examinations in Welsh than those pursuing the Sciences. Welsh medium engagement is therefore likely to have a large impact on which language students consider to be their preferred language of study at this level.

The differences in these figures across academic disciplines may allude to more Welsh medium study opportunities within Arts based courses than the Sciences, as Figure 6.8 illustrated. In fact, Table 6.9 demonstrated in the previous section that more fluent Welsh speakers (FPE) are studying through the medium of Welsh on Arts, Humanities and Social

Sciences courses than those pursuing Sciences based degrees across the whole Welsh HE sector⁷⁰ (WG 2019n).

Additionally, it was quite notable in Chapter 5 that students intending on pursuing Sciences based courses at university were much more likely to switch the language of assessments during their A Level from Welsh to English. This, once again, may be indicative of a lack of Welsh medium study opportunities within the Sciences, which in turn, seems to affect how students determine their preferred language of study for, and at higher education. However, it may also be the case that students hold certain expectations about the prestige of English across Sciences based subjects, and that traditionally these have been taught through the medium of English at university level.

Students' preferred language of study by institution

Even by institution and by subject area there seems to be noticeable differences, demonstrated below in Table 6.16.

Table 6.16 Students' preferred language of study by institution

Preferred language of study	Bangor (n=189)	Cardiff (n=254)
Welsh	n=103 (54.4%)	n=73 (28.7%)
Welsh and English	n=40 (21.6%)	n=96 (37.8%)
English	n=46 (24.3%)	n=85 (33.5%)

Over half of fluent Welsh speakers attending Bangor regarded Welsh as their preferred language of study, while this was under 3 in 10 for those studying at Cardiff. While only a quarter preferred English as their language of study at Bangor, this accounted for a third of those attending Cardiff. Most students at Cardiff claimed that both Welsh and English was their preferred language, while this accounted for just over 1 in 5 amongst Bangor students. Given the differences in Welsh medium study opportunities between both institutions, by developing and increasing Welsh medium provision at Cardiff University it may lead to more students preferring Welsh (and English) as a study language.

Despite the official statistics in Figure 6.2 demonstrating that both institutions have a similar number of fluent Welsh speaking domiciled undergraduate students (WG 2019a), these differences presented above in Table 6.16 may indicate yet again the differences in Welsh medium study opportunities across both universities. Far fewer students are studying through the medium of Welsh at Cardiff compared to Bangor (WG 2019b; 2019l), and this is likely to

⁷⁰ Yet interestingly, Table 6.11 demonstrated that more students that are engaged with Welsh medium study at Bangor are pursuing Sciences rather than Arts based courses (WG 2019n).

mean that fewer students are likely to report Welsh (only) as their preferred language of study. This may also be related to students' previous secondary school experiences.

Students' preferred language of study by subject area and institution

However, a greater proportion of fluent Welsh speaking students at both institutions who claimed Welsh as their preferred language of study were more likely to be studying an Arts based degree course than a Science related degree, representing 61.7% of those at Bangor, and 38.4% at Cardiff. Table 6.17

Table 6.17 Students' preferred language of study by subject area and institution

	Bangor (n=189)		Cardiff (n=254)	
Total number of students (n=443)	Arts, Humanities, and the Social Sciences (n=133)	Sciences and Applied Sciences (n=56)	Arts, Humanities, and the Social Sciences (n=89)	Sciences and Applied Science (n=165)
Welsh	82 (61.7%)	21 (37.5%)	34 (38.2%)	39 (23.6%)
Welsh and English	26 (19.5%)	14 (25%)	32 (36%)	64 (38.8%)
English	25 (18.8%)	21 (37.5%)	23 (25.8%)	62 (37.6%)

Most fluent Welsh speakers studying a Sciences degree based at Cardiff proclaimed either Welsh and English (38.8%), or English (37.6%) as their preferred language of study, while the lowest proportion (23.6%) claimed Welsh as their preferred language of study. This contrasts with those at Bangor where an equal proportion of fluent Welsh speakers studying a Sciences degree here claimed Welsh (37.5%), and English (37.5%) to be their preferred study language.

6.4.4 Access to Welsh speaking personal tutor

Welsh speaking personal tutor and Welsh medium study

The survey also asked respondents whether they had access to a Welsh speaking personal tutor. As seen in Table 6.18, subsequent page, a total of 59.1% of respondents indicated that they had, with 24.6% (109) of these attending Cardiff University, while 34.5%

(153) were studying at Bangor University. A greater proportion of these were undertaking an Arts based degree, representing 62.6% (164) of responses, while those studying a Sciences related degree accounted for 37.4% (98) of students. Additionally, there was a marked difference on an institutional level in which fluent Welsh speakers at Bangor University were nearly twice as likely to have been assigned a Welsh speaking personal tutor (80.9%) than those at Cardiff University which accounted for just under half of the survey respondents (42.9%).

The findings also indicate that students that do engage with Welsh medium study are over three times more likely to have been assigned a Welsh speaking personal tutor at 91.5%, compared to those who do not follow any elements of their degree in Welsh (again either by choice, or due to a lack of Welsh medium provision) at 29.4%. There is also a clear disparity in these results with a higher proportion of students claiming to have been assigned a Welsh speaking personal tutor – 59.1% (262) – than the number of students actually studying through the medium of Welsh – 47.8% (212), as Figure 6.8 reported.

Table 6.18 Number and proportion of fluent Welsh speakers with access to a Welsh speaking personal tutor

Total number of students with access to Welsh speaking personal tutor	Welsh medium study + Welsh speaking personal tutor	No Welsh medium study + Welsh speaking personal tutor
59.1% (n=262)	91.5% (n=194)	29.4% (n=68)

Welsh speaking personal tutor by subject area and Welsh medium study

Furthermore, it is possible to break down these results further by subject area and institution, presented below in Table 6.19.

Table 6.19 Number and proportion of students with access to a Welsh speaking personal tutor by institution, Welsh medium study, subject area.

	Sciences and Applied Sciences		Arts, Humanities, and the Social Sciences	
Students assigned a Welsh speaking personal tutor (n=262)	44.3% (n=98)		73.8% (n=164)	
	Bangor	Cardiff	Bangor	Cardiff
No. of students assigned to a Welsh speaking personal tutor	71.4% (n=40)	35.1% (n=58)	84.9% (=113)	57.3% (n=51)

Welsh medium study + Welsh speaking personal tutor	70% (n=28)	43.1% (n=25)	90.2% (n=102)	76.4% (n=39)
No Welsh medium study + Welsh speaking personal tutor	30% (n=12)	56.9% (n=33)	9.8% (n=11)	23.6% (n=12)

Accounting for all responses across both institutions, it seems that nearly three quarters of students undertaking an Arts based degree were more likely to have been assigned a Welsh speaking personal tutor than those studying a Sciences related degree, with less than half of students having access to a Welsh speaking personal tutor.

For those undertaking an Arts based degree and had access to a Welsh speaking personal tutor, 85.9% of these students (141) were also undertaking some form of Welsh medium study, with the proportion slightly higher for those at Bangor a 90.2% (102) and slightly lower for Cardiff students at 76.4% (39). Furthermore, nearly a quarter of students studying at Cardiff, and just under 1 in 10 of those at Bangor had been assigned a Welsh speaking personal tutor despite not undertaking any form of Welsh medium study on their degree courses.

On the other hand, of those pursuing a Science related degree that had access to a Welsh speaking personal tutor, only 54% (53) of these students were also undertaking some form of Welsh medium study, again with a higher proportion at Bangor, representing 7 in 10 students, and under half of those studying at Cardiff (43.1%). A larger proportion of fluent Welsh speaking students that study a Sciences degree at Cardiff and have been assigned a Welsh speaking personal tutor actually do not undertake any Welsh medium study (56.9%).

There are also disparities between those who study in Welsh and have access to a Welsh speaking personal tutor and those who do not study in Welsh but do have access to a Welsh speaking personal tutor across the two academic disciplines. Firstly, for the Arts based students, a total of 164, or 73.8% of students claimed to have access to a Welsh speaking personal tutor, despite only 155 (69.8%) of students claiming to undertake some form of Welsh medium study (as presented in Table 6.10). Secondly, and similarly, for those pursuing a Science based degree, a total of 98 or 44.3% of students had access to a Welsh speaking personal tutor, despite only 57 (25.7%) of these students reporting to be undertaking some form of Welsh medium study.

The disparity between the numbers of students, particularly across the Sciences that have been assigned a Welsh speaking personal tutor versus the number of students that are

undertaking Welsh medium study might be indicative of a lack of provision and access to Welsh medium study opportunities⁷¹, more so at Cardiff University.

⁷¹ Official statistics do include data on the number of academic/university staff able to teach through the medium of Welsh and these are presented in the statistical bulletins. However, as this thesis focuses on students' own personal accounts, such data has not been presented in the thesis. Additionally, it is beyond the scope of this chapter to be able to discuss official data on the number of academic staff able to teach through the medium of Welsh due to the word limit.

6.5 Section Summary and Discussion

This section detailed key findings from the online survey that explored students' own accounts of their Welsh medium higher education engagement.

These figures indicate that there are notable differences not only across academic disciplines but also across both institutions in terms of students' engagement with Welsh medium study, as well as how students determine their preferred language of study at this level. The findings also indicate that students (can and do) engage with *different forms* of Welsh medium study. Overall, it seems that students' experiences of Welsh medium study may differ and vary depending on what they study, and where they study.

6.6 Chapter Summary and Discussion

This quantitative chapter has mapped out Welsh medium higher education engagement amongst undergraduate students by utilising two different quantitative data sets.

The first section of the chapter presented a re-analysis of official data collected by the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) via the Welsh Government's annual statistical bulletins on the Welsh language across the higher education sector. This section focused on key aspects of the undergraduate student population including HE destination, Welsh language ability, and more importantly Welsh medium higher education engagement. In particular it accounted for students' Welsh medium engagement by institution, intensity and credits studied and participation across academic disciplines. However, some of the data is rather fragmented as some data did not include specific breakdown for first-degree Wales domiciled students only. For example, figures for student engagement by academic disciplines in Tables 6.9, 6.10 and 6.11 were presented by fluent Welsh speaking Full Persons Equivalent (FPE) and included both Wales domiciled, and non-Wales domiciled students.

Several key findings can be drawn from these analyses. Firstly, it seems that students face an unequal access to Welsh medium higher education study opportunities across the Welsh HE sector, reflective of the number of Welsh speaking students across universities and the number of students undertaking Welsh medium study. For example, the disparity between Welsh medium engagement amongst students at Cardiff and Bangor are quite apparent despite a similar number of Welsh speaking students attending both institutions. These findings may allude to a lack of established Welsh medium provision across certain institutions compared to others.

Nevertheless, it does seem that more students are studying some elements of their degree course through the medium of Welsh. These increases have been attributed to a substantial number of students studying at least 5 credits through the medium of Welsh, and reflects the work of the Coleg Cymraeg over recent years. However, the intensity or proportion of Welsh medium study are not clearly defined, and thus it is not possible to

accurately determine or capture what ‘at least 5 credits through the medium of Welsh’ represents – which is where the largest concentration of Welsh medium engagement lies.

Furthermore, engagement by academic disciplines suggest that there has been an increase in those pursuing Sciences based courses, with Arts, Humanities, and Social Sciences having seen persistent declines in the number of students undertaking some Welsh medium study. However, these figures are only represented as FPE of fluent Welsh speaking students, and therefore reporting is likely not consistent with how other data have been reported elsewhere in the section. However, it is the only data available on engagement across academic disciplines.

These official statistics provide a range of useful information that enables a representation of Welsh medium study across the Welsh higher education sector to be established.

Particular attention was also paid to Bangor and Cardiff University, and they provide some important context for the remainder of the empirical chapters, particular the next chapter as it accounts for students’ wider learning choices and experiences at university.

However, official statistics ultimately lacked detail as they overlooked the *form* of Welsh medium study students engage with. This is fundamental to understanding the reality of Welsh medium higher education study. Additionally, these figures were obtained from HE providers, and thus were not informed by, or derived from the perspectives of students themselves⁷².

Therefore, the latter section of the chapter presented findings from the online survey administered to undergraduate students studying at Cardiff and Bangor University. The aim of some of these survey questions were essentially to build upon the official statistics by focusing on some of the key areas in which they had overlooked or failed to account for. This was the form of students’ Welsh medium engagement in order to determine what Welsh medium study actually meant. While these findings are only a snapshot of students’ engagement across two institutions, they nevertheless provide a level of detail that illuminated on the form of Welsh medium study, thus providing greater context to the official statistics. These are also key findings as they are the only data available, to date, that are derived from students’ *own* personal accounts of their engagement with Welsh medium study at this level.

These findings illustrated that students engage with different *forms or types* of Welsh medium study – in the form of lectures, seminars, labs, note taking in lectures and seminars, and assessments and examinations.

It is important to acknowledge that students’ engagement with Welsh medium study via lectures and seminars is only possible when there are opportunities of doing so, i.e., that

⁷² Apart from students’ Welsh language abilities.

there are Welsh medium lectures and/or seminars available. Conversely, students can choose to use Welsh for the latter two types of engagement whether they study in Welsh or not. For example, a student may choose to write lecture/seminar notes in Welsh or submit assessments in Welsh even if they receive no Welsh medium engagement via lectures or seminars. Therefore, how students determine which language to use for which type of learning engagement is not always down to the individual, as a lack of Welsh medium provision may negate many from using Welsh for different academic purposes or learning engagements. (As will be demonstrated in the next chapter).

Nevertheless, the survey findings demonstrate that seminars are the most common type of Welsh medium engagement that student experience at university, followed then by the use of Welsh for assessments and examinations. Students are more likely to be studying elements of their degree course in Welsh if they are pursuing an Arts, Humanities and Social Science course.

There were also clear differences amongst students' use of Welsh across academic disciplines, as well as how they determine their preferred language of study. This may further suggest that a lack of Welsh medium study opportunities is likely to inadvertently negate students from using Welsh for academic purposes, thus leading many to claim English as their preferred study language for higher education. This may be particular true for those studying the Sciences as opposed to the Arts.

Official statistics and the survey findings allude to institutional differences in students' engagement with Welsh medium study. Such findings may point to the large disparities in such opportunities and provision across Cardiff and Bangor in which there seems to be far fewer opportunities at the former, rather than the latter university.

The next empirical chapter continues to explore the learning aspects of students' experiences at university, drawing on qualitative data from the face-to-face interviews with students.

Chapter 7: The bilingual student at university: learning choices and experiences

7.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the educational aspects of students' experiences at university. The qualitative chapter emphasises the sociological aspects of students' educational experiences using findings from the face-to-face interviews with undergraduate students, thus contrasting with the quantitative analysis presented Chapter 6. Students' educational choices and experiences at this level are therefore explored using a range of different methods. The chapter identifies and explores the plethora of barriers and challenges that students face in their attempts to engage with Welsh medium higher education, and to use Welsh as an academic language at this level. These challenges, although closely related, can be categorised into two groups – *institutional* barriers and *pedagogical* barriers. Institutional barriers refer to university(-specific) *policies, procedures and practices* aimed to assist and enable students to use Welsh for academic purposes, but in fact end up problematizing (Ruiz 1984) their experiences and their attempts to do so. Essentially these can be viewed as top-down policies that institutions implement to facilitate students' use of Welsh for academic purposes at university. Meanwhile, and relatedly, pedagogical barriers refer specifically to aspects of (the delivery of) Welsh medium higher education provision that students deemed to be challenging or problematic. They encompass the *language-related-learning* obstacles students encounter in the context of learning and/or studying through the medium of Welsh (that does not involve institutional processes and practices), either in the classroom or during independent learning. These are obstacles that make harder students' attempts to use Welsh for academic purposes and thus make difficult their Welsh medium learning experiences at this level. The findings indicate that students continuously encounter and negotiate these learning challenges throughout their time at university, and they become typical of the bilingual student's learning experiences. The chapter further examines how bilingual students negotiate and navigate language choices for academic purposes at this level, reaffirming that the process of negotiating language choices becomes a prominent aspect of students' experiences at higher education.

Arguably, one of the most notable adjustments that many of these bilingual students make in terms of their learning experiences is that of their adjustment and transition into a predominantly English medium learning environment, having previously undertaking most of their secondary education through the medium of Welsh. In fact, Chapter 5 illustrated how students attempted to mitigate such concerns during their time at sixth form usually by switching language of assessments from Welsh to English to prepare for a predominately English medium higher education. Despite a government commitment to the development of Welsh medium higher education (WG 2010), and indeed Chapter 6 demonstrated some growth in Welsh medium engagement at this level, the higher education sector in Wales

nonetheless still becomes an environment whereby a large majority of these bilingual students must engage, to varying degrees, with some form of English medium study⁷³. The transition into this ‘monolingualised’ or ‘monolingualizing’ (Heller 1995) space (Martin 2010; Preece 2009; 2011; Preece and Martin 2009) therefore represents an important juncture or crossroads of, and into these bilingual students’ learning experiences at university.

As previously noted, while there is growing body of literature pertaining to prospective students’ perceptions regarding post-compulsory Welsh medium study (Davies and Trystan 2012; Davies and Davies 2015; G. Jones 2010; S. Jones 2010; S. Jones 2019; Lewis and Williams 2006; C. Williams 2003; I. Williams 1989), by which Chapter 5 further contributed to, there is an even greater lacuna of research pertaining to these students’ experiences *during* their time at university. This is despite a well-established body of literature having explored international students’ learning adjustments into universities (see for example Ramasay et al., 1999) including the transition of those whose second language is English. This chapter thus makes a substantial contribution by accounting for the reality of the learning experiences of these students as bilingual Welsh-English speaking students at university.

7.2 English medium context

This section explores students’ reflections of their adjustments into a predominately English medium context at university. While students were aware of the inevitable language shift from secondary (Welsh) into higher education (English), there was nevertheless a strong sense that this adjustment process goes unnoticed by both staff and the English medium environment that they find themselves in. Ultimately, the learning challenges and barriers encountered by these students (discussed hereafter) become delegitimised in a context which, firstly, does not recognise their prior educational experiences and linguistic background, and secondly disregards how the biliteracy practices and competencies they bring with them may shape and affect their learning experiences at this level.

7.2.1 A ‘different’ student

What became notable throughout these interviews was how students expressed a sense of *difference* to their monolingual counterparts when recounting their experiences of English medium higher education.⁷⁴ There was a sense that little, if any acknowledgement is accorded to bilingual students’ linguistic background and prior educational experiences. This was even expressed amongst those who had gone onto England to study. Although there was no expectation amongst these students that English universities ought to ‘recognise’ this per se, there was nonetheless a sense that this shift in language is ignored, when for some this is a prominent aspect of their learning adjustment. Students felt that their bilingual identity and the

⁷³ As is the case for those who chose to study outside of Wales, evidently.

⁷⁴ In this instance, an English medium context can refer to a monolingual English medium learning environment.

biliteracy competencies they possess are neither considered linguistic capital nor are they problematized (Ruiz 1984) by these universities. Rather they are merely ignored. This is different to international students, or home bilingual minority ethnic students for example, who are seen to require language remediation to address their perceived educational/linguistic deficit (see for example Preece 2009; Preece and Martin 2009).

In fact, some students drew on international students to make sense of and legitimise their learning adjustments into English medium higher education. Heledd, for example, referred to herself as being in a 'grey area' where she positions herself on a continuum between a L1 monolingual English speaker and a L2 English second language speaker. She tells:

"...like students from abroad – the university helps them with their English, yet they wouldn't really think of offering help (with English) to those who speak Welsh. Maybe it's not to the same level, but there's people like from France for example, and their English is as good as mine. I just feel like I'm in a grey area. I'm not like everyone else who's had all of their education in English – and I'm not like those students from abroad – I see myself in a weird situation and I don't think many people understand that"

(Heledd, LLB Law, Year 1, Liverpool)
[Welsh speaking household]

Such references were also made by Gwenno (Leeds) and Charlotte (Nottingham) who felt that international students' identities as L2 English second language speakers were much more marked than they were for bilingual Welsh-English speakers. These students felt a lack of intercultural sensitivity (Stafford et al 1997) towards bilingual Welsh-English speakers, and that their sense of 'othering' is simply overlooked by universities and academic staff alike despite this forming a strong basis of how they relate to their educational experiences and adjustments.

Heledd further claimed that her shift from Welsh medium education into an English medium higher education would not be deemed 'legitimate' enough for her to receive support from her university:

"If I e-mailed the people who help foreign students.... I wouldn't feel that they would take me seriously, I'd be like 'I come from Wales, but I need a bit of help with my English.' It wouldn't make sense to them!"

(Heledd, LLB Law, Year 1, Liverpool)
[Welsh speaking household]

Similar sentiments were also expressed by students at Welsh universities. However, it is interesting to note that these references came overwhelmingly from students studying at Cardiff rather than Bangor. This may allude to institutional differences between the two universities in terms of the legitimisation and institutionalisation (May 2010) of Welsh as a language of academia. For example, more students reported to be undertaking some form of

Welsh medium study at Bangor compared to Cardiff, as Chapter 6 demonstrated. These institutional differences are picked upon throughout this chapter.

Catrin for example attempted to conceive and legitimise her own learning transition into English medium settings at Cardiff by comparing her English language skills and confidence with those students who came to study from abroad. Shell tells of her experience on her Journalism course:

“I remember going into my first English [medium] lecture at university and I just had a shock because the lecturer was using formal, academic English and I remember sitting there and thinking to myself ‘oh gosh what have I done’? It was hard to follow, but the more I went to those lectures, the more I realised we were all in the same boat – you know, there were students from every corner of the world there, and in a way their English was of the same standard as mine”

(Catrin, BA Welsh and Journalism, Year 2, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

Attesting to what Gwenno and Charlotte had previously expressed, both Ffion and Catrin (Cardiff) also explained how the marked visibility of international students makes staff much more aware of these students’ reality of studying through the medium of a second language, yet do not necessarily consider the English language confidence of Welsh-English bilingual students, and *their reality* of studying through the medium of English at university.

“This is the thing – you can tell that they’re international students and that they don’t speak English that well. There are students from Malaysia on my course and they can barely speak English. I just feel people are much more sensitive to them because they don’t know English that well, and staff will tend to say things slowly to help them and stuff. But with us [Welsh speakers] they’re like ‘your English is fine you don’t need help’”

(Ffion, MBBCh Medicine, Year 2, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

“To be honest I don’t think they are [aware]. There was this occasion where I had written and submitted my work in Welsh and about a week later in one of the lectures the lecturer actually said, ‘somebody wrote their essay in Welsh’. It made me panic because that was my first essay at university. I don’t think they actually realise that there are people that may lack confidence in English and that they’re much more comfortable writing in another language”

(Catrin, BA Welsh and Journalism, Year 2, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

Correspondingly, Branwen also echoed the views expressed by her peers at Cardiff, suggesting that there is little acknowledgment or support for bilingual students in adjusting, in

this case, to English medium lectures. Rather, she felt that Welsh speaking students must rely on each other in order to adapt to this new learning environment:

“...there are plenty of people from abroad that are studying Law and you know there are lots of resources available to help them, and then you have a little group of people that studies in Welsh and sits together, and we’re kind of our own resource, kind of thing. In reality the only people we have for support are each other”

(Branwen, LLB Law, Year 1, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

Many students therefore do not feel that their linguistic background and prior educational experiences are acknowledged within an English medium context at university. Moreover, some students felt that there is a taken for granted assumption that they possess equal confidence in both their English and Welsh language skills at this level. The accounts of Ffion, Catrin and Branwen demonstrate that this is not always the case, and these students’ sense of ‘linguistic inferiority’ in English compared to their monolingual peers have been reported in previous research on Welsh-English speakers at university (Desforges and Jones 2000; 2004). For these students, there is a perception that they do not consider themselves to be ‘legitimate speakers’ (Bourdieu 1977; 1991) of English. Furthermore, these students’ insights are telling in how they express and position their learning adjustments to be ultimately different from their monolingual peers. The lack of legitimacy that is accorded to these students’ educational background and linguistic competencies within English medium settings may heighten these students’ sense of difference. Furthermore, the fact that many drew on international students to contextualise their own learning adjustments and experiences is indicative of how some students perceive English medium instruction as studying through the medium of a second language, further echoing prior research on Welsh-English bilingual undergraduates (Desforges and Jones 2004).

7.3 Students’ language rights at university

The interviews also demonstrated how students face a number of barriers and obstacles in their pursuit to engage with Welsh for academic purposes at this level. The next section, section 7.4 deals more with the pedagogical aspects of the student learning experience, including how students navigate and negotiate languages across different types or forms of learning engagements, as well as within English medium contexts. However, this current section deals specifically with the *institutional barriers which can be defined as those policies, procedures and practices intended to facilitate and enable students to use Welsh for academic purposes*. These policies are unique and specific to higher education institutions, therefore clear differences emerge from the interviews between Cardiff and Bangor University. The section will focus on students’ reflections as well as their experiences of these policies and practices, and the consequences these have on the student learning experience. These issues largely

derived from students' understanding of, and concerns regarding their language rights at higher education (see Chapter 2, section 2.4 for a reminder of Welsh speakers' language rights at university). In this particular context, their concerns largely loomed over the (right to) use of Welsh for academic purposes and the processes involved in pursuing and executing those rights.

7.3.1 Awareness and understanding of students' language rights

An apparent trend that emerged from the interviews was the fact that students' awareness of their language rights not only varied across both institutions, but also within different learning contexts. Generally, when students do have access to Welsh medium spaces, that is Welsh medium study opportunities largely in the form of provision (i.e., lectures or seminars, and to a lesser degree having been assigned a Welsh speaking personal tutor), it seems that students have a greater sense of awareness of their rights to use Welsh for academic purposes, compared to those who engage with English medium higher education, either wholly or partly. Welsh medium spaces therefore bring about an implicit understanding, and an expectation of students' right to use Welsh for academic purposes.

However, there are institutional procedures and practices that problematizes (Ruiz 1984) students' access to exercise such rights. This in turn, led to many of the students to deliberate the status accorded to the Welsh language vis-à-vis English at these institutions, and for some, whether it was fair that they had to overcome numerous obstacles to ensure their 'supposed' right to use Welsh. These institutional policies, demonstrated shortly, (as well as pedagogical concerns explored in the next section) also impacts, to varying degrees, on students' willingness to use Welsh for academic purposes. Students, particularly those at Cardiff, concluded that such mismatch of policy and practice reinforced the "monolingualized tendencies" (Heller 1995; 374) of the higher education sector. These findings once again reflect differences in the institutionalisation and legitimisation (May 2010) of the Welsh language across both universities for academic purposes. These findings also echo those found by Cots et al. (2012) in their study of bilingual universities. They found that at Cardiff University English is seen as the unmarked or default language of the institution whereas Welsh is so often seen to be 'backgrounded', despite the strong institutional support it receives.

As previously noted, students suggested that there was a lack of intercultural sensitivity (Stafford et al. 1997) amongst non-Welsh speaking staff towards Welsh-English bilingual students, particularly pertaining their linguistic and educational background. Students such as Ffion, Ceri and Catrin felt that this reality bore no relevancy to some staff members, as they not only questioned why they faced such barriers or confusion regarding their right to use Welsh in the first instance, but these students also questioned whether non-Welsh speaking academic staff were fully informed of the rights that Welsh speakers have to submit assessments through the medium of Welsh.

Catrin for example, accounts for this stark difference in her experiences between a Welsh medium context (Welsh) and an English medium context (Journalism):

“Some lecturers are great – they tell us at the beginning of a module that we’re welcome to do our assignments in Welsh or in English, but others don’t mention that the offer is there. They don’t even acknowledge or recognise that we can use Welsh. In one module [English medium], I asked if I could write the assignment in Welsh and the lecturer said ‘I’ll come back to you, I’ll just have to check’ – it was like something that had never happened before. It’s odd because we’re in Wales and it’s something that they *should* announce at the start of every module, like you’re welcome to do the assessments and exams in Welsh or in English. It’s almost as if they don’t want us to do it in Welsh because it’s such a fuss...”

(Catrin, BA Welsh and Journalism, Year 2, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

Catrin therefore suggests that her right to use Welsh, without encountering any barriers should be an instinctive part of her university experiences, not least because she is studying in Wales. Her accounts also allude to the frustration many expressed regarding the unanticipated problems that they would face in their attempts to engage with Welsh medium study (in this case, submitting assessments in Welsh.)

Similarly, upon asking Ceri if she felt that academic staff were aware of students’ right to submit assessments in Welsh, she commented:

“The Welsh speaking staff are, certainly and they are ready to support us, but on the other hand you have the non-Welsh speaking lecturers or the English-speaking lecturers and they are always like ‘do you really want to do your work in Welsh?’”

(Ceri, BN Adult Nursing, Year 3, Bangor)
[Welsh speaking household]

Quite apparent therefore, students articulated a clear distinction regarding how the language of the learning environment and by extension the academic staff almost dictated the extent of their understanding of those rights. While some, though not all have some awareness, even if this was only an ‘implicit’ understanding of their rights to Welsh medium assessment, it seems that many find it difficult to negotiate those choices and rights in a largely English medium learning environment. For example, Nerys, who explained that there was no Welsh medium opportunities on her course recounts a time where she wanted to submit a written assessment in Welsh only to be told to submit work in English as the module leader/lecturer was non-Welsh speaking:

“I did ask if I could write in Welsh, but they said no as it needs to be in English because of all the lecturers needed to understand the work. I thought Cardiff was really good in supporting the Welsh language”

(Nerys, BSc Occupational Therapy, Year 2, Cardiff)
(Bilingual household)

Meanwhile, Leri also mentioned how she had been unaware of her right to submit work in Welsh on an English medium module until the lecturer told her otherwise, suggesting some degree of confusion regarding this process:

“I don’t think others realise that even if they do the course or module in Welsh that they can submit work in English. They think that if they study the course in Welsh that they have to do everything in Welsh. It wasn’t until a few months into one of my modules [English medium], that the lecturer mentioned that I could do the work in Welsh. I just thought there would be no way for me to do the work in Welsh if I was learning it in English”

(Leri, BA Creative Studies, Year 3, Bangor)
[Welsh speaking household]

These examples therefore demonstrate the lack of clarity regarding the rights of students to submit assessments in a medium different to the one that the lecture is delivered in. This seems to occur largely within English medium contexts whereby students are either confused or do not recognise that it is possible to submit assessments through the medium of Welsh. Arguably, students’ understanding of their rights are being diluted and overlooked within English medium learning environments which is partly attributable to what many expressed is a lack of understanding particularly amongst non-Welsh speaking staff. Consequently, rather than encouraging students to capitalise on their biliteracy skillset by recognising and enabling them to submit work in Welsh, for these students these learning environments and academic staff alike are inadvertently fostering an environment which negates many from doing so and problematises those who wish to do so. These are further illustrated in the next sections.

7.3.2 Bureaucratic Process and the Formal Processing of Assessments submitted in Welsh

One of the most notable differences between both institutions was the bureaucratic process, and the formal processing of those who wished to submit assessments and examinations through the medium of Welsh had to undergo. While this was nearly absent at Bangor, it seemed to be the norm at Cardiff. Ultimately the unintended consequences of such bureaucracy led many of the students to conclude that Cardiff University treated the Welsh language as a ‘problem’ rather than as a ‘resource’ (Ruiz 1984), leaving many to ponder whether it was worthwhile to challenge this.

For example, below are excerpts taken, firstly from Cardiff University’s Welsh language policy (CU 2018a), and secondly, their Academic Regulations Handbook for

2015/16, (CU 2015) regarding the rights of students to submit written assessments/examinations through the medium of Welsh:

“12.3 Personal tutor should discuss with their students if they want to present their assignment/work in the Welsh language. If they wish to do so and aren’t studying through the medium of Welsh, the School will need at least 6 weeks’ notice before the work (written or oral) is due to be presented”.

(CU 2018a; 12)

Meanwhile their Academic Regulations Handbooks (2015/16) stipulates:

“9.10 Any student who wishes to be examined in whole or in part through the medium of Welsh is required to notify the Superintendent in writing by the end of Week Five of each Semester. Whilst every effort will be made to accommodate such requests, it may not be possible to meet these in all cases”.

(CU 2015: 116)

However, slight amendments had been made for the 2019/20 handbook:

“2.2 Any student who wishes to be examined in whole or in part through the medium of Welsh must notify the Head of Registry of the request, in writing, as soon as possible and by the end of **week 9** of each semester, at the latest, to ensure that appropriate arrangements can be made.

2.3 If it is not possible to make appropriate arrangements for an assessment, the student will be notified promptly and in writing stating the reasons for that decision”.

(CU 2019; 83)

Although there is a commitment here to accommodate those who do wish to submit work in Welsh, and while this was recognised amongst the students, it did leave many to conceive of this process as an ‘application’. Ultimately, students felt that they had to ‘apply’, or seek permission to be able to submit work through the medium of Welsh rather than it being an instinctive part of their learning experiences. This, once again heightened students’ perceptions of the inferiority of Welsh alongside English for academic purposes, as Catrin described it:

“The fact that we have to put an application [on the Journalism course] just proves that Welsh isn’t treated the same as English. It’s like they don’t want us to do work in Welsh because it’s such a bother for them”.

(Catrin, BA Welsh and Journalism, Year 2, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

Branwen also described this process, as she explained that she could not fully comprehend why this was relevant to her given that she *was receiving* Welsh medium education on her course:

“[E]very exam and assignment I’ve done so far has been in Welsh – but you have to submit an application around five weeks before you do them explaining that you intend to submit them in Welsh. To think I get all my seminars and tutorials in Welsh and then I have to go through this system where I have to ask if I can do them [work] in Welsh! It’s silly because there are Welsh lecturers available who can mark my work – they mark the English ones too, so why do I have to make an application?”

(Branwen, LLB Law, Year 1, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

Additionally, students commented on how these provisions do not necessarily allow them the flexibility to determine which language to use for assessments, discussed further in section 7.4. Many of these students mentioned that assessment questions were often set to students well into the latter part of their academic terms by which the deadline to notify the appropriate course departments had well passed. For example, Alys, referred to an occasion where she had forgotten to inform her course department of her intention to write an assessment in Welsh, and thus felt compelled to write in English instead.

“I had to let my department know a few months before submitting my work that I was going to write it in Welsh so Canolfan Bedwyr [translation unit] could translate the work from Welsh to English. But I forgot to tell them once because I hadn’t thought much about this particular assignment and by then it was too late for me to do it in Welsh. So I ended up having to write the assessment in English”.

(Alys, BSc Psychology, Year 3, Bangor)
[Welsh speaking household]

Other than feeling frustrated that this seems to be the default policy for those wishing to submit assessments in Welsh, more so at Cardiff than Bangor, many students expressed that this had a variety of unintended consequences. Many expressed that the added practicalities around wanting to use Welsh for academic purposes discourages students from utilising their biliteracy competencies and thus make it less appealing to submit work in Welsh. Branwen had explained that without being a recipient of a scholarship by the Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol, in which she is required to submit some written work in Welsh, she herself expressed although speculatively that she would be unlikely to submit assessments in Welsh if it was not for this financial incentive due to the barriers that exists. She tells that:

“If I wasn’t someone who was that bothered about doing it through the medium of Welsh, or if I didn’t have to because of my scholarship, I probably wouldn’t really bother to be honest and would have done them in English. That needs to be made clearer because it puts people off”

(Branwen, LLB Law, Year 1, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

These sentiments were also shared by Llion (Cardiff), and Llinos (Bangor) both of whom had also been awarded scholarships by the Coleg Cymraeg. While both students cited that pedagogical concerns also impacts how they negotiate language choices for assessments, as will be demonstrated later, it is important to note that the practical issues associated with using Welsh for academic purposes, at times, can be negated by financial incentives.

However, for others such as Catrin and Ffion, their perseverance to challenge these “monolingualized tendencies” (Heller 1995) arguably can be conceived of as their attempt to engage in a process of language legitimisation (May 2010), which implies an underlying affiliation and commitment to the Welsh language, and Welsh medium study. Referring specifically to her Journalism course, Catrin tells that:

“[I]n a way, it’s made me more determined to submit my work in Welsh – perhaps for somebody else it would feel like a fuss or an effort but that’s not the attitude that we [Welsh speakers] should have. We are in a university in the capital city of Wales, and it’s something that should be offered to us automatically instead of us having to apply”.

(Catrin, BA Welsh and Journalism, Year 2, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

This sense of determination was also expressed by Ffion as she claimed it to be important to not let these issues go unchallenged:

“There are so many barriers. It’s just easier to accept that we [Welsh speaking students] should do the work in English, and if some students aren’t as enthusiastic about the Welsh language and they come across these barriers, they aren’t going to fight to receive stuff in Welsh are they because it doesn’t bother them that much. But for me and my friends, we’ll fight for it. We’ll actually send an email to ask why we’re not allowed to do work in Welsh”.

(Ffion, MBBCh Medicine, Year 2, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

For these students therefore, there does seem to be a genuine want to use Welsh for academic purposes; in this context, for written assessments/examinations. However, they face a multitude of obstacles in their pursuit of doing so, most notably of having to opt into a process of applying and informing their respective course department of their intention. Relatedly, this means that students must also negotiate language choices for assessment purposes well in advance.

7.3.3 Translation of Welsh medium assessments and examinations

To further complicate students' existing concerns regarding their rights to submit assessments in Welsh, an additional element of this process it seems is the requirement, if necessary, of the university to translate submitted work into English. Much like the bureaucratic process of having to notify the course department of their intention to submit written work in Welsh, this was a reality for many students studying at Cardiff.

Presented below are excerpts by both institutions that details their stance on the translation of Welsh assessments into English. Firstly, Bangor University states:

“Original work (examinations and coursework) should be marked and translation avoided. If work has to be translated for marking, verification or for an External Examiner:

Students must be given an opportunity to meet the school Welsh medium coordinator to look at a hardcopy of the translated work, and to provide comments on the translated work before it is marked. At the meeting, the student must note any concerns about subject-specific terminology or concepts. The Welsh medium coordinator is responsible for resolving any concerns by discussion with the person who set the assessment and/or translator.”

Bangor University's Regulations on Taught Programmes (BU 2017; 22)
[updated version BU 2019c; 33].

Bangor University therefore stresses the importance of marking *original* work and seems to be much more sensitive to the linguistic challenges that may come about with translation. It is clear they have a process to negate any pedagogical/technical disruption that translation would cause upon students' own work and ensures that the student is involved throughout this process. Although similar provisions are also specified by Cardiff University, see below, the emphasis is on ensuring that any translated work is to be done by a translator with confidence in that particular field of study. These differences between these processes may reflect institutional differences in the 'normalisation' of the use of Welsh as an academic language. For example, Cardiff University's Welsh language policy stipulates:

“12.2 Where a student wishes to sit a written assessment in Welsh, the University will endeavour to ensure that all coursework, examination papers and scripts are marked in Welsh. Where this is not possible, the University will endeavour to ensure that examination papers and scripts are translated into English by a qualified translator with confidence in the relevant field of study.

12.4 The decision to complete any assessment through the medium of Welsh will not affect the outcome of the assessment or the time taken to award a grade in any way”.

Although there are provisions in place to enable students to submit assessments in Welsh, even if this would require translation into English, it seems that merely having these procedures in place may not always guarantee that students are likely to use Welsh for academic purposes. This is primarily because such institutional processes may cause pedagogical concerns for students. Alaw's account exemplifies a common predicament encountered by many of the students interviewed as they deliberated whether to write assessments in Welsh:

“They [staff] told me that I could work in Welsh, but they were going to have it translated into English so that one of the staff could mark it. But that would mean that it wouldn't really be my words and that's not what I wanted to hand in....it wouldn't feel like my work”.

(Alaw, BSc Human Geography, Year 3, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

Such concerns echo previous research (Desforges and Jones 2000; 2001; 2004; Jones and Desforges 2003) in which bilingual Welsh-English students expressed concerns regarding the need for Welsh medium assessments to be translated into English, and the potential implications of this on their learning experience and outcome. Furthermore, Llinos recalled an occasion where she undertook an exam through the medium of Welsh, but encountered issues with the terminology presented in the Welsh version of the paper:

“When I did an exam in my first year, somebody had translated the question, but it was clear that it wasn't done by somebody that specialised in the Sciences, or Biology. The wording was all wrong and because of it, there were a few multiple-choice questions that ended up with more than one possible answer”.

(Llinos, BSc Zoology and Herpetology, Year 2, Bangor)
[Bilingual household]

This was also the experience of Ffion as she remains rather sceptical about Welsh to English translations, and questions the accuracy of the Welsh medium exam papers:

“It's a comfort that we get the Welsh version of the paper because if I don't understand the English one then I can look at the Welsh one. But maybe the translation into Welsh isn't always a 100% right either. Like, I don't know who translate them but sometimes I do wonder if it's even a proper translation of the English version”.

(Ffion, MBBCh Medicine, Year 2, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

Students' accounts also illuminated upon the clear mismatch between policy and practice. For many like Catrin and Ffion, submitting work in Welsh brought about additional (external) issues that they thought was unfair, and seemed to, once again, reflect the lack of

normalisation of the Welsh language within the educational make-up of higher education at Cardiff University. In Catrin's case, her choice to submit work in Welsh resulted in her feedback being delayed compared to those of her peers who had submitted in English. She tells that:

“I told them [Journalism lecturer] that I would hand my work in in Welsh, and they said that it would be okay, but that it would take me longer to have my mark and feedback. Again, they made it out like Welsh as a complete fuss, and course I received my mark later than everyone else, like two weeks later!”

(Catrin, BA Welsh and Journalism, Year 2, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

Meanwhile, Ffion described a time when a staff member expected her to translate her own work from Welsh into English if she intended to produce work in Welsh. She explained:

“So he [lecturer] told us that if we wanted to do work in Welsh then we could, but that we had to translate it into English ourselves. That would mean double the workload, and we weren't going to do that. He was extremely patronising, and he was trying to make out as if they had no one to mark the work in Welsh. But I had a Welsh speaking facilitator last year, so there are people here who can mark my work. I wasn't happy at all”.

(Ffion, MBBCh Medicine, Year 2, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

These accounts demonstrate that a predominately monolingual learning environment can cloud students' understanding as well as their willingness to engage with, and to utilise Welsh as an academic language. Students' first-hand experiences illustrate that policies and procedures intended to accommodate and enable them to utilise Welsh for academic purposes are not always as efficient or as straightforward as they appear to be in policy documentations. Students' own accounts portrays a highly complex representation of how these provisions are actually applied and experienced in reality. Ultimately, the Welsh medium learning experiences of students are highly problematized (Ruiz 1984) by the very processes intended to help those wanting to use Welsh for academic purposes. In addition to what many perceived to be a lack of intercultural sensitivity amongst academic staff, almost exclusively non-Welsh speaking, of students' linguistic background and prior educational experiences. As such, students rendered staffs' knowledge and understanding of bilingual students' rights and entitlements at university to be absent, and at best, limited.

Furthermore, given that both processes (formal processing of Welsh assessments, and translation) apply solely to the use of Welsh for academic purposes, as opposed to English, it reinforces students' perceptions that their learning experiences is dominated by these “monolingualized tendencies” (Heller 1995) of the higher education sector. Consequently, and simultaneously these processes also serve to (arguably, and unintentionally) delegitimise the

use of Welsh as an academic language. These findings are largely pertinent to the experiences of students at Cardiff as opposed to Bangor University. Ultimately, it signifies how bilingual students are faced with added practicalities when wanting to use Welsh for academic purposes, including pedagogical practicalities and issues which will be further explored in the following section.

7.4 Navigating and negotiating language choices

Having explored some of the institutional barriers and challenges that many students face in trying to use Welsh for academic purposes, including some of the pedagogical concerns that these processes may bring about, the final and most substantial section of this chapter will extend on this and focus more upon the pedagogical aspects of students' educational experiences. It will identify some of the pedagogical barriers students face in relation to Welsh medium study, focus on how students navigate and negotiate language choices for academic and learning purposes at university. It considers the different elements and learning engagements that encompasses students' educational experiences – from teaching, and assessments to academic resources – and how these may impact students' willingness to utilise their Welsh language skills for academic purposes. The section further identifies barriers that problematises students' ability and preparedness to use Welsh as an academic language at this level.

7.4.1 Class contribution and participation

The issues of subjective/perceived language confidence and competence became most apparent while discussing students' experiences of class participation and contribution across English medium settings. This was particularly discussed amongst students from Welsh only speaking households. Catrin, for example, felt discouraged to participate in class discussions during English medium seminars on her Journalism course because she felt to be lacking confidence in English. Talking of her experiences, she tells that:

“Actually, I didn't speak in those seminars – I was never answering questions because I didn't feel confident. I knew the answers, but I didn't want to. I always felt that I wouldn't be able to express myself, maybe the syntax would be wrong or something, or I wouldn't get right words in the correct order or something, so I was never contributing”

(Catrin, BA Welsh and Journalism, Year 2, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

As previously mentioned, Catrin's account demonstrates that for her, studying through the medium of English is akin to studying through the medium of a second language which clearly brought about some language anxiety in 'performing' in such contexts. This is similar to Gwenno's experiences of English medium seminars as she explained how she felt her own English language skills to be fundamentally weaker than those of international students':

“I just felt that my English wasn’t good enough; I remember sitting in seminars and realising that everyone was using like formal sophisticated English. And I remember hearing a lot of the foreign students participating in class; and it just made me feel like my English was weaker than them. That was something that was quite difficult for me to adjust, and it did knock my confidence a bit. Like to the point where I wasn’t comfortable speaking aloud. I didn’t want to embarrass myself and for people to think that I was stupid so I wouldn’t contribute in class and stuff. I was worried that I would end up stuttering or saying lots of ‘erms’ or ‘ums’.

(Gwenno, BA Broadcasting Journalism, Leeds, Year 3)
[Bilingual household]

Meanwhile Alaw recalled how she strategizes to ease her anxiety in having to communicate in English during English medium seminars. She explained:

“...this term we have a seminar that we have to contribute in class. So, the first week was so daunting because I was like easily tripping over my words in English, so I had to write down what I was going to say first. Even if I write it down I still go blank sometimes with English words and it’s just embarrassing – but I’m like, I don’t speak English at home, so I guess you can use that as an excuse kind of thing”

(Alaw, BSc Human Geography, Year 3, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

For students therefore there is a sense that the transition into an English medium higher education environment perpetuates anxiety attributed to language, which in turn can affect students’ willingness and confidence to participate in those classes through the medium of English. These findings resonate highly with the work of Parfett et al., (2018) who found a statistically significant correlation between students’ language of secondary education and their contribution in lectures and seminars. They found that Welsh speakers who had received their secondary education in Welsh were less likely to contribute to English-medium class discussions and were less confident to do so compared to their counterparts who had received secondary education through the medium of English. Furthermore, these findings resonate with those documented by Morita (2004), Lee (2009), McLean et al (2012; 472) and Wu et al., (2015) on international students that discovered second language English speaking students who feared making a mistake in public lead to their non-participation in class discussions. Moreover, Ffion’s perception of having no choice but to study through the medium of English demonstrates her frustration in having to contribute in class discussions in what she perceives to be her weaker language⁷⁵:

“...so I feel that I’m being forced to do my work in English in a way. If I get the opportunity to talk or discuss my work in Welsh then I will do that by all means but

⁷⁵ When asking students to elaborate on their *perceived* linguistic incompetence in English, many referred to their secondary school experiences.

with English, like if somebody's hassling me or if I'm forced to, it's only then that I'll talk [in English] in class. Like, we have a module where we have contribute to the group discussion and that's all in English, but I just tend to sit back and say nothing. Why should I speak English in class? I'm just more self-conscious now that I have to study in English and don't really have confidence in discussing my work in English"

(Ffion, MBBCh Medicine, Year 2, Cardiff)

[Welsh speaking household]

Students' *perceived* levels of confidence is therefore key to their participation and contribution in English medium classes. Students' accounts corroborate findings from Desforges and Jones' research (2004; 416) in which "bilingual speakers feel as though their ability and competence in any one language [English, in this case] is structured by the contexts and spaces in which it is being used". Not only do these students have to adjust to a higher education learning environment, but they also must adjust to the language switch and the use of "formal, academic English" (Catrin) to what Branwen referred to as a "double factor" regarding the learning adjustments of her and her peers within English medium contexts. It seems that issues surrounding language anxiety, confidence and competence are heightened when students find themselves in learning environments (English medium) that have largely been unfamiliar to them during their secondary education. Their accounts further reinforce those presented in section 7.2 in which students carefully articulated the *difference in their* learning adjustments to those of their non-Welsh speaking peers (Desforges and Jones 2000; 2001; 2004). They resonate also with findings from Norton's study of immigrant second language English speakers in Canada. Norton found that aspects of self-confidence and "anxiety is not an inherent trait of a language learner, but one that is *socially constructed* within and by the lived experiences of language learners" (2000; 123). While these Welsh-English bilingual students are not English learners, their perceptions of their weak linguistic abilities and feelings of inferiority in English are attributed to the power relations they perceive to exist between members of the wider community (the majority monolingual English speakers), and their self-perceptions as second language English speakers, and thus possessing weaker English language skills.

For students that expressed perceptions of linguistic incompetence in English, it seems that their learning experiences in an English medium context is one that is characterised by a degree of "legitimate peripheral participation" (Lave and Wagner 1991;29) This is largely caused by the disruption to students' ontological security (Giddens 1991), or rather linguistic security which is manifested in their learning experiences and subsequent choices. Most notably, Welsh speaking students tend to sit together during English medium lectures (as alluded by Branwen earlier), reflecting research on bilingual students as a 'self-enclosed group' (Desforges and Jones 2000). Those like Catrin, Branwen, Alys, Ffion, and Ceri for example, all commented on how language groups tend to form during English medium lectures, and that the congregation of students based on language during classes was a common feature across English medium contexts. Ffion explained:

“The *Cymry Cymraeg* are always together and then the English speakers are all together, and then you have the international students that are all together. People just don’t mix in lectures, and you can see very clear who tends to stick with who”

(Ffion, MBBCh Medicine, Year 2, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

Interestingly, Ffion’s sentiments echo similar findings by Lewis and Andrews (2014) in their mixed method study of bilingual teaching at Bangor University’s School of Education. They found that how bilingual lecture classrooms were organised were largely determined by students themselves as they grouped themselves according to language cohorts. Some students, both Welsh speakers and non-Welsh speakers alike, commented on the clear divisions that this practice created in classrooms based on language groups. Additionally, the interviews found that students feel different to their monolingual peers (Desforges and Jones 2000; 2001; 2004) and are less likely to contribute to class discussions using English, as already discussed. These feelings of difference or periphery did not apply within Welsh medium contexts.

Therefore, students’ perceived language confidence and competence in *English* is a key determinant in the extent in which some may actively disengage or feel disengaged from becoming a part of the “community of practice” (Lave and Wagner 1991;29) which largely constitutes monolingual English-speaking students in English medium contexts. This is particularly so when students are faced with having to contribute to class/oral discussions using ‘formal, academic English’. However, as noted earlier, some of the students may not regard themselves as ‘legitimate speakers’ (Bourdieu 1977; 1991) of English. Some even suggested that the consequence of having to ‘perform’ through the medium of a second language, and the anxiety and concerns it brought about, lead many to base educational choices on language considerations rather than course and module contents. Both Catrin and Alys demonstrated this:

“I purposely chose modules where they would be no class presentations or group presentations because I knew I would let myself down with my English, so I chose modules where they had written assessments. Because I just didn’t feel confident in speaking English in front of people or just contributing in English, in a way.”

(Catrin, BA Welsh and Journalism, Year 2, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

“So, 100% my module choices in my third year were based on the fact that they were available in Welsh than anything else”

(Alys, BSc Psychology, Year 3, Bangor)
[Welsh speaking household]

Moreover, Gwenllian had expressed the uncertainty of Welsh medium opportunities on her course as she progresses into her second year had left her confronting the inevitable

reality of contemplating English medium modules and thus contribute to class discussions in English:

“Some of the modules won’t be available in Welsh so I will have to study them in English, and so I have to practise my oral English by then. I reckon I’ll be much quieter in those seminars just because I’d feel that all the students’ ability in English would be better than mine. I either go down the path of doing everything that’s available in Welsh and perhaps not studying what I really want to be studying, or I study some through the medium of English and not feel as confident”

(Branwen, LLB Law, Year 1, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

7.4.2 Note taking in class

Note-taking in classes seemed to be heavily dictated by the language of instruction within those classes. To put simply, a Welsh medium lecture or seminar often found students writing notes in Welsh, while English medium lectures or seminars conversely found students writing notes in English. Despite the ability of students to use either, or both languages for note taking purposes, language consistency seemed to guide these students’ decisions. For those like Angharad and Erin for example, they found the use of a single language (English) for note-taking purposes to be the most practical choice during English medium lectures. Angharad refers specifically to the Sports Sciences component of her degree course:

“It’s really just a hassle having to translate all of my notes in English into Welsh, so I just write them in English instead. I have tried making notes during lectures in Welsh, but I just can’t keep up with them”

(Angharad, BA Welsh and Sports Sciences, Year 1, Bangor)
[Welsh speaking household]

“I’ll sit in the lectures writing notes in English just because I feel it’s easier to follow and then when I go home, I’ll go over the notes to make more sense of them in Welsh”

(Erin, BN Nursing, Year 2, Bangor)
[Welsh speaking household]

Although it is important to appreciate that for some students this was not necessarily an easy shift to make, as Ffion recalled her experience:

“...having to sit in lectures during the first few weeks and having to listen to them [lecturers] talking and explaining things in English, and then having to write it down. At first, I was asking myself whether I write this down in Welsh or in English? I’m writing notes in English, but it still takes me a while to absorb the information. If it was taught in Welsh I would have no problem with following the lecture and writing notes down

at the same time, but with English lectures I have to write notes down word for word like I hear it, so if they've moved on, it's like, how am I mean to finish that sentence? So, I feel I'm not always able to get notes down on paper quick enough"

(Ffion, MBBCh Medicine, Year 2, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

Even amongst those who were committed to submitting written assessments through the medium of Welsh, or for those whose preferred language of study is Welsh, there was no apparent divergences in the language of notetaking in English medium lectures and/or seminars (i.e., note-taking in Welsh). The findings illustrate that for many of these students, the reality for those who are inclined to submit work in Welsh (discussed shortly) means that they are faced with the burden of, firstly, having to translate English medium contents and class notes into Welsh themselves, most often during their own time. And secondly, having to revise and go over their English medium class notes to better comprehend the contents of those English medium lectures and/or seminars in Welsh. These findings corroborate prior research (Desforges and Jones 2004; 416, G.Williams 2005) in which students feel that this element of translation from English to Welsh requires them to undertake additional work. Both Catrin and Ceri expressed this reality:

"I have to make sure that I have time after the lectures to go over the notes I've made, when in reality there's no need for me to do this with Welsh lectures or seminars – I spent less time going over my Welsh notes because I understood them better. Whereas with the English notes I have to go home – read them again, go on the internet to double check some words and definition of key terms and stuff"

(Catrin, BA Welsh and Journalism, Year 2, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

"It's a job translating things from English to Welsh every time. So, in every lecture, most of the students are English [speaking] and you have less Welsh [speakers] – the lecturers are English, and for somebody that's doing everything in Welsh – like written work and exams and stuff – you have to do extra work at home on top of the work we already have to do to translate everything"

(Ceri, BN Adult Nursing, Year 3, Bangor)
[Welsh speaking household]

An English medium learning environment, therefore, either in the form of lectures or seminars, is likely to minimise students' likelihood of notetaking in either Welsh or bilingually. However, it is only those who are committed to submitting work through the medium of Welsh that are, arguably, willing to navigate these challenges by spending their own time translating their English language notes into Welsh, and therefore employing biliteracy practices for academic purposes. By doing so, these students are independently developing and creating their own Welsh medium resources.

Furthermore, within English medium settings the reality for most of these students is that they do not have access to bilingual lecture resources, in the form of lecture handouts, PowerPoint slides, or worksheets for example, and therefore they feel that they have very little opportunity to experience a bilingual learning environment whereby staff use both Welsh and English for teaching purposes. Nevertheless, the experience of Ceri, below, which seems to be the exception rather than the norm, illustrates that even some usage of Welsh in a largely English medium lecture, and access to PowerPoint slides in Welsh is likely to increase and enhance students' prospects of using Welsh, or both Welsh and English for note-taking purposes. Ceri tells:

“You’ll have some lecturers who speak Welsh so at times during the lectures they will make the effort to say things in English and then in Welsh so it’s bilingual. So, it’s been nice to hear terms in English because Medical terms in Welsh are not much help yeah, I think it should be bilingual. The PowerPoint slides get given in Welsh and in English usually and that helps a lot”

(Ceri, BN Adult Nursing, Year 3, Bangor)
[Welsh speaking household]

The data would suggest that there may be a need to promote translanguaging as a learning practice amongst Welsh speaking students and to encourage them to draw on translanguaging as a tool to aid their learning experiences in English medium contexts. This would be an effective way of ensuring that they deal with academic contexts through the medium of both Welsh and English, particularly in settings where Welsh is not used by the lecturer.

7.4.3 Academic Resources and Terminology

It became apparent that a lack of Welsh language academic resources was a noticeable feature of students' learning experiences at university, and students found this to have a major impact on whether to engage and employ biliteracy practices for educational purposes. This seemed to have a detrimental effect on students' use of Welsh for academic purposes, as opposed to English. Similarly, findings by C.Williams (2000) also note how a lack of minoritized language resources and materials was a major obstacle for successful bilingual teaching, and that students who wanted to utilise Welsh for academic purposes were inadvertently disadvantaged by their departments as a result. Additionally, as discussed in Chapter 4, some of these students had made the strategic switch to submit written work and assessments during A Level through the medium of English to mitigate such issues they anticipated to encounter at university.

Terminology

Students like Mari, for example, were committed to studying in Welsh, but discussed how her course offered little resources through the medium of Welsh which ultimately problematized her Welsh medium learning experiences. She recalls one instance whereby she had been given an assessment question only in English, and therefore was faced with the responsibility of having to translate it into Welsh herself. This notion that Welsh-speaking students are often faced to produce their own translations of work assignment has been highlighted by Desforges and Jones (2000; 35). She tells:

“I had an assignment that asked me to “identify stages of healing and stages of wound healing, and how I became familiar with common dressings and emollients”

(Mari, BN Nursing, Year 1, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

Interestingly, although the interview with Mari was conducted in Welsh, she had reiterated her assessment question above, in English. She then proceeded to illustrate how she found it challenging to deconstruct this English medium question into Welsh, citing a lack of established terminology within Nursing for her to ensure an accurate and confident translation. Presented below is an excerpt taken from the original Welsh interview transcript, demonstrating Mari’s challenge:

“Wedyn yn Gymraeg o ni’n meddwl am sut i gyfieithu fo ag o ni’n rhoi w bath fatha, erm ‘stages of wound healing’ alli di’m rhoi fel ‘camau’, so neshi roi fatha medru nabod, medru gwbo be di cyflwr - clwyf o edrych arna fo ag wedyn ar y dressing oni’n goro rhoi gorchuddion achos dyna oddo yn y geiriadur a wedyn eliau ar gyfer emollients. Ti gwbo, mae'n rili anodd achos bod na'm standardized termau nyrsio”.

While encountering such issues did not necessarily deter Mari from using Welsh as an academic language in this instance, it does imply however that there is scope to further develop Welsh medium resources in order to meet the learning needs and expectations of students that are studying some elements of their degree course through the medium of Welsh. These reinforce similar sentiments expressed by bilingual undergraduate students in Ifan and Hodges’ (2017) and by C. Williams (2000). Mari further expressed:

“I feel if there’s an option to write assessments in Welsh, then there should be like standardized terminology for Nursing, rather than us having to use English words in quotations all the time or having to translate it ourselves...But I don’t think they’re quite there yet with Nursing.”

Calls for the need to ensure an ‘established’ Welsh medium pedagogy in the form of Welsh medium academic terminology were also reported by other students, but particularly amongst those undertaking Science based courses. Llinos, for example expressed that there is a need to develop scientific Welsh medium terms and definitions within the biological

sciences based on the lack of Welsh medium terms that exists within the field; the consequence of what she perceives to be an over reliance on English medium terminology. Llinos commented how this has frequently left her having to present English terms in Welsh assessments.

“I believe Welsh vocab in the Sciences need to catch up because there are so many things that I have to put in brackets when I write my essays in Welsh”

Furthermore, Llinos drew on a specific example she had encountered:

“For one assessment, I was writing about a snake called Tiger Keelback and I wanted to use the terms ‘poisonous’ and ‘venomous’. They mean different things in English, but in Welsh they’re both translated as ‘gwenwynig’, and I couldn’t put ‘gwenwynig’ and ‘gwenwynig’ in my essay as it wouldn’t make sense. The specificity isn’t really there in Welsh. So, I told my lecturer about this, and they informed Canolfan Bedwyr [translation unit], and they’ve now created a new term for ‘venomous’ in Welsh which is ‘fenemig’. That’s actually been put in the Porth Termau [terminology portal]”

(Llinos, BSc Zoology and Herpetology, Year 2, Bangor)
[Bilingual household]

In both Mari and Llinos’ case then, despite encountering pedagogical challenges within their Welsh medium learning experiences, their efforts to pursue with using Welsh as an academic language at this level can also be characterised as their attempts to ‘breaking ground’ in disciplines which do not have a very strong tradition of Welsh medium provision. Experiencing Welsh medium higher education allows these students to become active agents in the development and construction of their own Welsh medium pedagogy.

Translation and Translanguaging

Students became familiar with key terms and concepts of their respective courses during their secondary education though the medium of Welsh. However, due to a lack of Welsh medium academic resources and Welsh medium learning opportunities at the higher education level, several students felt that they had no choice but to re-learn academic and scientific concepts through the medium of English. Llion commented on the fact that he must learn terminology in English whether he submits written work in Welsh or not. This is not solely due to the limited availability of Welsh medium resources, but rather Llion referred to the applicability of English as the “de facto universal language of science” (Drubin and Kellog 2012; 1399). In this sense, Llion feels that knowledge of scientific terms and concepts in English is a necessity. He tells:

“There’s a lot of terminology that’s very specific so if I were to learn it in Welsh, then I’d have to learn it in English anyway. Sciences is global and everybody does Science in English”.

(Llion, BSc Biosciences, Year 2, Cardiff)
[Bilingual household]

While Alys felt that Welsh academic terms should be coined to be linguistically similar to their English equivalences for convenience. She explains:

“The only issue is the terms – I have to learn the terms in English as well because like if I google something on Google Scholar, I can’t search for ‘gwybodydd’ [sic] and expect to get results for ‘cognitive’ so we have to learn both terms anyway. So, it would be easier if the Welsh terms were similar to the English”

(Alys, BSc Psychology, Year 3, Bangor)
[Welsh speaking household]

Some students who wanted to utilise Welsh for academic purposes found this process of translating and the deconstructing of words, concepts and ideas as requiring more work and extra effort. These sentiments have been expressed in Ifan and Hodges’ (2017) study, as well as van der Walt and Dornbrack’s (2011) study of bilingual Afrikaans-English postgraduate students. Anwen in particular expressed that:

“Considering all the readings and terminology are in English it’s really difficult. I feel like it’s twice the work to translate from English to Welsh on top of trying to write an assignment”

(Anwen, BSc Criminology, Year 2, Cardiff)
[Bilingual household]

However, some even found the process of combining both Welsh and English for academic purposes to be advantageous. Branwen’s account, below, demonstrate how she actively utilises her biliteracy skills as a way to enhance her learning experiences to increase comprehension and understanding (Cenoz and Gorter 2017; Ifan and Hodges 2017; van der Walt and Dornbrack 2011):

“The thing I was concerned about was the terminology – because I thought I had to learn them in English and in Welsh. If I learn terms in both languages, it’s as if I’m learning and studying them in more depth, if that makes sense? So, I see it as a big advantage having to learn it in both languages and going over it twice”

(Branwen, LLB Law, Year 1, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

The notion that bilingual students regard their biliteracy competencies as ‘resource’ rather than a ‘problem’ (Ruiz 1984) has also been documented by Desforges and Jones (2004; 417) and Ifan and Hodges (2017) which reinforces that translanguaging is an inevitable form of Welsh medium pedagogy employed by students wishing to utilise their Welsh language skills for academic purposes.

Lecture materials

As previously discussed in section 7.4.2, it seems that course resources, in the form of PowerPoint presentation slides and worksheet handouts within English medium contexts (seminars or lectures) are almost only available in English. There does not seem to be any attempt to provide bilingual learning support and resources for bilingual students in such contexts. The consequences of this are twofold. Firstly, it negates many from exploiting their biliteracy skills and practices within a monolingual English learning environment, and secondly it demonstrates how staff/departments do not recognise, nor actively encourage students to employ biliteracy practices as part of their learning experiences. Students felt that these practices once again delegitimised Welsh as an academic language.

During their study, however, Lewis and Andrews (2014) found that providing bilingual (Welsh-English) worksheets and PowerPoint presentations slides were appreciated by students during bilingual/English medium lectures. Additionally, findings from van der Walt's (2006) study of bilingual Afrikaans-English lectures at the University of Stellenbosch, South Africa found that bilingual students felt they benefited more when lecturers used both English and Afrikaans during lectures. These students also showed great support for bilingual teaching materials. There is evidence to demonstrate therefore that a bilingual learning environment can encourage students to exploit their biliteracy practices for learning and increase their preparedness to make use of both languages for academic purposes, as demonstrated by Ceri's account previously. Moreover, Thomas' (2011) study reported that while Welsh medium resources on a Psychology module that was taught through the medium of English was welcomed by Welsh speakers, they made little use of them during independent learning, or self-study time. It is therefore important to ensure that Welsh speakers, particularly within bilingual/English medium contexts are provided a 'bilingual space' during *teaching* (i.e., lectures) whereby they actively draw upon their biliteracy skillset to assist in their learning.

Journal articles and academic books

Generally, students were very much aware of how scarce Welsh medium academic resources were compared to the widespread opportunities to access English medium academic resources, including journal articles and academic books as Ffion mentioned:

“If I went on the internet or to the library to look for a medically based book, then I wouldn't find anything in Welsh – there's nothing in Welsh available, they're all English”

(Ffion, MBBCh Medicine, Year 2, Cardiff)

[Welsh speaking household]

Moreover, students like Branwen and Angharad, both of whom favour Welsh as an academic language explained how they would welcome the development of Welsh medium pedagogy within their respective courses:

“You know there’s so many journal articles and academic stuff like that, and like none of them are available in Welsh. If there was a collection of Welsh medium ones, then obviously I would use those but there aren’t any!”

(Branwen, LLB Law, Year 1, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

“I know there’s not a lot of Welsh resources, but I think there needs to be more resources available through the medium of Welsh in Sports Sciences because the books we have to read are all English. It’d be easier to get something in Welsh to read”

(Angharad, BA Welsh and Sports Sciences, Year 1, Bangor)
[Welsh speaking household]

Similar sentiments have been expressed by undergraduate students in studies by Ifan and Hodges (2017) and G.Williams (2005) in which students must rely on and make use of English medium resources in preparation for any work intended to be submitted through the medium of Welsh. The downfall of this is the lack of opportunities students have to read academic resources through the medium of Welsh and maintain and develop their biliteracy (Welsh) skills at the higher education level.

Furthermore, this was much more prominently discussed amongst those studying Science based subjects in which many referred to clear differences between academic disciplines. Both Llion and Alys for example, commented on how they felt their peers who studied Arts based subjects were able to access more Welsh medium resources than them:

“I see a lot of my friends that study courses like Law or History being able to get more Welsh than, perhaps we do in the Sciences”

(Llion, BSc Biosciences, Year 2, Cardiff)
[Bilingual household]

“Certainly not in all disciplines. I have a friend who studies Business here too, and she has a lot more resources in Welsh than I have, like there’s a few Welsh medium books. But at the end of the day, there’s so much less with Psychology. I’m the only one out of my mates who has that challenge. Because the resources aren’t available in Welsh and it can be a disadvantage at times. I just feel like if I were to ask for a Welsh medium book in Psychology, I think staff would laugh at me”

(Alys, BSc Psychology, Year 3, Bangor)
[Welsh speaking household]

Bilingual students therefore frequently encounter persistent challenges in accessing a variety of forms of Welsh medium resources when seeking to utilise their biliteracy skills and use Welsh for academic purposes. While these interviews demonstrated that this was a more salient feature of the learning experiences of those studying Sciences based courses, it is important to appreciate that all forms of minority language resources at this level is extremely

scarce. The ways in which these issues problematised students' learning experiences and choices seemed to have a far greater impact on how they negotiated language choices for written assessments and examination than any other aspect of their educational experiences.

7.4.4 Written assessments and examinations

It was discussed in section 7.3 how students face institutional barriers and obstacle when contemplating submitting written work and sit examinations through the medium of Welsh. These institutional practices in turn led many students to express pedagogical related concerns, particularly in relation to translation of assessments submitted in Welsh into English. Building on these issues and challenges here, the interviews further demonstrated several factors or aspects of students' learning experiences that may impact, to varying degrees, on how they negotiate language choices for written assessments.

Language confidence and perceived linguistic abilities

The interviews demonstrated a strong correlation between the language students felt most confident in, and their preferred language of study. Logically therefore students seemed to write assessments in their preferred language of study (van der Walt 2006; van der Walt and Dornbrack 2011). While those who claimed Welsh to be their strongest language frequently commented on the lack of Welsh medium study opportunities Welsh medium resources, language confidence for many of these overrode all other factors when negotiating languages for written assessments.

Upon asking Catrin if she would submit written assessments or sit examinations in English (on her Journalism course), she explained:

“Erm, I don't know. The choice is there for me now – I can choose to submit in English if I want to but I decide not to because I feel, well, I'm going to get better grades if I do my work in Welsh because I'm a lot more confident in my Welsh than English. But I would like to try – I want to write an essay in English but because the marks actually count this year, I don't want to be submitting a really bad English written essay, so I just do them in Welsh. But I would like to try and see whether my written English is just as bad as I think it is. I've never written English at university, so I've never tried to write academically in English”

(Catrin, BA Welsh and Journalism, Year 2, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

For those like Catrin therefore, there is some concern that not submitting work in her strongest language could potentially affect her academic performance. Her determination to submit in Welsh due to this means that she, along with other students, are willing to navigate the additional challenges (both institutional and pedagogical) that comes about as a result of

wanting to engage with and utilise Welsh as an academic language. Catrin's concerns about writing assessments in English – her perceived weaker language – reflects findings from Ifan and Hodges (2017) which found a correlation between students' lack of language use and confidence, and how this in turn may impact students' language choices for assessments.

Furthermore, there also seems to be some correlation between home language and language confidence. Those from Welsh speaking homes tend to proclaim Welsh as their strongest language, while those from English speaking homes feel English is their strongest language despite having attended Welsh medium and/or bilingual secondary schools. This also seemed to have had a bearing on how students negotiated language choices for written assessments. This is an important point to highlight because the data would suggest an ongoing struggle to encourage or convince Welsh speaking students from English speaking households to submit assessments through the medium of Welsh. An effective means to encourage the academic use of Welsh amongst these students in particular may be to actively promote the benefits of translanguaging as a leaning tool, and to and increase opportunities to study bilingually at this level.

However, for those who came from Welsh speaking households and had no Welsh medium study opportunities at university, the consequence of this on their perceived language abilities is that they may experience a gradual shift in their preferred language of study, switching from Welsh to English, thus leading them to submit assessments solely in English. This is attributed to the English medium learning environment which predominates their learning experiences, thus inadvertently both problematising and undermining their use, and their confidence to use Welsh as a language of academia. Though this process of language switch is likely to have occurred gradually for some students before university, as many switched the language of assessments during A Level study, as discussed in Chapter 5. This clearly demonstrates how students' perceived confidence in Welsh for learning purposes, and their confidence to use Welsh as an academic language is conditional, to some extent upon existing Welsh medium opportunities which would otherwise allow/encourage students to utilise their biliteracy skills in the first instance. In fact, Table 6.14, presented in Chapter 6, section 6.4.3, found that students who undertook some form of Welsh medium study were more like to claim Welsh as their preferred study language than those who did not.

Consistency in language of instruction

For others however, consistency in the language of learning was a key aspect that determined the language of assessments, much like how students negotiated languages for note-taking purposes, as discussed earlier. However, the predominance of English medium higher education meant that this often occurs to the detriment of Welsh. For students like Deylth and Alaw, who studied wholly through the medium of English, they explained that consistency in their language choice for assessments seemed to be a practical decision guided by the language of their learning environment.

“[B]ecause I learn everything in English now, it would be more confusing for me to write my essays in Welsh”

(Delyth, BMedSci Medical Sciences, Year 2, Bangor)

[English speaking household]

“all of my notes are in English and like I don’t really want to try and translate them into Welsh in time for the exams. It’s just more effort and it takes too much to try and translate everything and learn it in Welsh and I don’t have time for that”

(Alaw, BSc Human Geography, Year 3, Cardiff)

[Welsh speaking household]

There is evidence to suggest however that when students do have access to Welsh medium study opportunities, either in the form of lectures and seminars/tutorials, then they are much more likely to submit assessments in Welsh than those who do not have such opportunities, and this seemed to be the case for Leri, Mari, Anwen, Llion, Ffion, Catrin, Cerys, Ceri, Shauna, Leri, Angharad, Alys, Erin, Llions and Tesni. This demonstrates the importance of the language of provision as a basis for negotiating language choices for written assessments. Leri in particular explained how studying some modules in Welsh and some in English served as a basis for how she negotiated language choices, opting for language consistency for each module.

“In Welsh modules I submit everything in Welsh. But in English medium modules I would say that I do the assessments in English and not Welsh because I felt that it would be a bit of a struggle because I had learnt everything in English. It would have been difficult then for me to have to translate everything and to understand it in Welsh”

(Leri, BA Creative Studies, Year 3, Bangor)

[Welsh speaking household]

It is also worth highlighting that students’ choice to submit written assessments through the medium of English cannot be solely attributed to their lack of awareness or understanding of their rights to do so in Welsh. But rather the language of the learning environment outweighed this decision for many students. As Sarah succinctly illustrates:

“We were told that we could sit the exam in Welsh, but I didn’t choose that option because I’m learning everything in English. I just feel it’s easier to stick to one language”

(Sara, BSc Env. Geography, Year 1 Cardiff)

[English speaking household]

Academic resources and terminology

There were also references to the convenience of English medium academic resources as a major factor in how students rationalised language choices for assessments. Christina’s account, below, illustrates the thought process of many of her peers interviewed who were

studying through the medium of English. Her comment clearly demonstrates a pattern/progression of language choices that is primarily conditional upon the language of the learning environment:

“I write my essays in English cause the lectures are in English, all the resources I’ve had off the lecturer like the course handbook and the books in the library are all in English. So, if I’m writing and want to use a quote it’s easier, I think to use the English ones instead of trying to translate it into Welsh. And also, especially in Archaeology and History where there’s specific terms for everything, I don’t want to spend hours trying to find a specific term in Welsh or change it to Welsh”

(Christina, BA Archaeology, Year 3, Bangor)
[English speaking household]

Meanwhile, Alys felt much more confident in her Welsh language ability compared to English, yet she explained how her decision to submit all assessments during her first year at university through the medium of English was largely predicated on a lack of access to Welsh medium resources, as well as her lack of confidence in translating key concepts from English into Welsh (recalled in the previous section). She recalls:

“During my first year I didn’t submit any of my essays through the medium of Welsh. Back then I was scared of translating terms incorrectly and stuff, and Google Translate isn’t really reliable. I remember taking to Mum and Dad about this, saying that I’d prefer to write and submit my work in Welsh because I write better in Welsh than in English. But back then I thought that I couldn’t put all the English terms in italics because I would lose marks over it, and I couldn’t really rely on Google Translate. So I eventually spoke to my personal tutor about it, and she said that I should use the Porth Termau [terminology portal]. It’s very useful, especially with scientific stuff and to be fair they’ve translated lot of stuff, so I became more confident to do my work in Welsh by my second year. And use the Welsh terms there, and if there isn’t a Welsh term then I should include the English term in italics. So that calmed me down big time, and I felt more comfortable doing my work in Welsh then. But I didn’t know anything about the Porth Termau until I was in my second year”

(Alys, BSc Psychology, Year 3, Bangor)
[Welsh speaking household]

Alys’ predicament therefore highlights how for her, the language choice of assessments is not always intertwined with language confidence, compared to Catrin for example, but rather it is dictated not only by the learning environment (i.e., predominately English medium), but also the lack of Welsh language terminology and resources. This had also been the case for Angharad, who despite favouring Welsh as a language of study explained that scarce access to Welsh medium academic resources and terminology on her Sports Sciences course led to abandon her academic use of Welsh for assessments. She explained:

“I’ve done a few exams and assignments now and I’ve done them all in English because trying to translate these big words from English into Welsh is such a struggle, and they don’t really make much sense. I just gave up really. I get the Welsh paper in the exams but when I read them, I feel I don’t know what they’re supposed to mean. It’s like I can’t make the connection in Welsh now because all these scientific terms are only given to us in English”

(Angharad, BA Welsh and Sports Sciences, Year 1, Bangor)
[Welsh speaking household]

Types of assessments

The interviews also alluded to the fact that some students may allocate different language for different types of assessments. Though this was a far less significant factor compared to those already discussed. Generally, students seemed to find more creative and reflective-based writing easier in Welsh, while most other scientific/academic work were easier in English, largely due to the lack of Welsh medium resources. Ffion for example articulated this difference, despite favouring Welsh as a language of study.

“So, most of the work I do is in English, but there are things that I do write in Welsh. Like in the module Reflective Writing – it’s about our feelings and experiences and because I don’t need to use English terminology, I feel that I’m able to do that in Welsh. But even though they say that we can do the SSC [Student Selective Components] module in Welsh for example, and write like a 2,000 word essay in Welsh, it’s actually very difficult to do that. I feel I can’t do it in Welsh because half of the words are in English. So although they say that we can do the work in Welsh – we actually can’t”

(Ffion, MBBCh Medicine, Year 2, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

Similarly, while asking Anwen how she decided what language to use for assessments, she explained:

“The last essay I wrote in English had been for the Social Research Methods module and we had to incorporate graphs and a lot of data into it. Because there were so many examples in the lectures, I was able to use those examples and guidance and it was just easier to do that assignment in English. The next one is more qualitative. There is less terminology and it’s more about my opinions and stuff. It’s something I’m more familiar doing in Welsh, so it’s easier to do that in Welsh”

(Anwen, BSc Criminology, Year 2, Cardiff)
[Bilingual household]

Financial incentives: Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol scholarships

It was previously discussed in section 7.3.2 how students' willingness to use Welsh for academic purposes can be influenced by financial incentives. A requirement for those awarded financial incentives in the form of scholarships by the Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol is to undertake some elements of their degree course through the medium of Welsh, and this usually includes submitting assessments in Welsh. These incentives can therefore negate many of the pedagogical, as well as institutional challenges and concerns that students may face when negotiating language choices (Welsh) for academic purposes.

However, because these financial incentives are conditional upon already existing Welsh medium study opportunities (i.e., provision on degree courses), it means that not all students have an equal opportunity to (be incentivised) to use Welsh for academic purposes. For example, the cases of Delyth, Christina, Alaw, Sara, Nerys and Jennifer demonstrate that no Welsh medium study opportunities on their respective courses meant that they were not only ineligible to apply for these scholarships, but their learning choices illustrate how a solely English medium learning environment, negates these students from using Welsh as an academic language, including submitting assessments in Welsh. All students submitted work in English given the predominance of the language of their learning environment, including academic resources.

Despite facing similar pedagogical challenges to use Welsh for academic purposes, scholarships recipients are nevertheless *required* to submit assessments in Welsh. These incentives therefore serve as an effective mechanism to encourage students to employ biliteracy practices as part of their learning experiences. It is plausible to conclude that without these financial incentives many of these students would likely opt to submit assessments in English rather than Welsh because of the variety of pedagogical issues and challenges they face. In fact, both Llion and Llinos had explained they only submit the minimum work required through the medium of Welsh to reach the terms and condition of their scholarships, because of these concerns and challenges. The exception being students who perceived Welsh as their preferred/strongest language of study, like Branwen, Catrin, Ceri, Erin and Alys, for example.

7.5 Chapter Summary and Discussion

This chapter has focused on the sociological aspects of bilingual students' educational experiences at university. The chapter identified and examined the various challenges and barriers that students face in their attempts to engage with Welsh medium higher education, and to use Welsh as an academic language at this level. These challenges can be grouped as *institutional* barriers and *pedagogical* barriers, which, at times, can ultimately problematise (Ruiz 1984) students' Welsh medium learning experiences. The chapter also explored how students negotiate and navigate language choices for academic purposes. These interviews served as

a means for students to voice and accord legitimacy to *their own* learning experiences as bilinguals at university. This is an experience which is typified by the continuous negotiation of two languages for academic purposes, the continuous navigation of various pedagogical and institutional challenges and barriers, as well as students' sense of *difference* as bilingual Welsh-English speaking students.

The previous empirical chapter focused on Welsh medium higher education engagement and participation from a quantitative perspective. But the data only really reveals a partial representation of the learning experiences of these bilingual students. This qualitative chapter adds further depth and illuminates upon the complexity of the bilingual student learning experiences, and the many challenges that students encounter when deliberating to use Welsh for academic purposes.

Firstly, some of the institutional barriers reported by students include the lack of awareness amongst academic staff of the rights of Welsh speaking students to submit written assessments in Welsh. Further to this, students seem to suggest that there is a lack of intercultural sensitivity (Stafford et al 1997) towards bilingual students regarding their linguistic background and prior educational experiences, and how these in turn may impact their learning experiences in a predominately English medium environment. These instances occur largely in English medium settings. For those wanting to utilise Welsh as an academic language in the form of submitting assessments in Welsh, students must undergo a process of informing their course departments of their intentions of doing so. Many see this as an 'application', and often students must negotiate language choices well in advance of receiving the nature/questions of their assessments as to comply with university regulations. Thirdly, and most concerning to students is the requirement of Welsh assessments to be translated into English for marking. Combined, students felt that these processes delegitimise the use of Welsh as an academic language as these practices are only implemented for the use of Welsh, and not English. These institutional barriers also reinforce the "monolingualized tendencies" (Heller 1995) of the higher education sector for many of these bilingual students as they are demonstrative of the power dynamics between Welsh and English.

The interviews also alluded to differences between students' experiences at Cardiff and Bangor University. While students studying at both universities encountered similar pedagogical challenges, institutional barriers differed across both institutions. Namely the formal processing of Welsh assessments and the requirement of these to be translated into English seemed to be norm at Cardiff University, while these were not widely shared or experienced by those studying at Bangor University. It seems that there is a correlation between Welsh medium study opportunities (Chapter 6) and the degree in which the Welsh language is both institutionalised and legitimised (May 2010) as a language of learning/academia across these universities.

In addition to these practices, several pedagogical concerns and challenges were raised. It seems that pedagogical issues are far more pertinent to how students negotiate and

navigate language choices for academic purposes than institutional barriers are. For example, even if students became aware of their rights to submit written assessments in Welsh, the consequence of the predominance of English as the language of learning at higher education is that bilingual students' language choices for academic purposes more often than not will orientate towards English at the expense of Welsh. This is coupled with a lack of access to Welsh medium pedagogy in the form of lecture materials, academic resources, including journal articles and academic books, terminology, and concerns about English to Welsh translations. Several of these challenges have been documented in prior research on bilingual Welsh-English undergraduate students, by Desforges and Jones (2000; 2001; 2004), (G.Williams 2005), and Ifan and Hodges (2017). As these pedagogical issues are likely to problematize (Ruiz 1984) students' Welsh medium learning experiences and inadvertently negate many from utilising Welsh as an academic language and from employing biliteracy practices, English may become the default language employed by many students for learning purposes at this level. This is particularly apparent for assessments and note-taking purposes as many felt attempting to use Welsh would require additional work and effort.

Nevertheless, students may be willing to navigate these pedagogical issues to utilise Welsh as an academic language. Language consistency and language of the learning environment also applied to Welsh medium study opportunities, and therefore students are more likely to submit written assessments through the medium of Welsh if they have access to Welsh medium spaces (a lecture/seminar, for example). Similarly, scholarships offered by the Coleg Cymraeg are also an effective way of ensuring students employ biliteracy practices and utilise Welsh for academic purposes in a predominately English medium environment. They also require students to negate both the institutional and pedagogical barriers that many face.

Confidence also plays a key role in how students negotiate language choices. Students whose preferred language of study is Welsh are also (more) likely to use Welsh for academic purposes regardless of these pedagogical challenges. They also inevitably draw upon their biliteracy skills, which for some enriches their learning experiences as it benefits their academic understanding and comprehension (Cenoz and Gorter 2017; Ifan and Hodges 2017; van der Walt and Dornbrack 2011). Furthermore, students' preferred study language is highly correlated with the language they feel most confident in. Therefore, submitting work in Welsh is seen as a way of benefiting students' academic performance/progress better than submitting work in English would do – to what many perceived to be their weaker or second language.

Most of those who perceived Welsh to be their strongest language came from Welsh only speaking households, and so home language seems to impact how students assess their linguistic abilities vis-à-vis their Welsh and English language skills. Additionally, confidence was key to understanding how students related to their English medium learning environments. For many who came from Welsh speaking households and expressed some linguistic incompetence in English, their learning experiences at university is characterised by their sense of difference as bilinguals, corroborating similar findings by Desforges and Jones

(2000; 2001; 2004). As some of these students felt their English language skills were inferior to their monolingual English-speaking peers, many may disengage in English medium learning contexts, the consequence of which may bring about a sense of 'legitimate peripheral participation' (Lave and Wagner 1991) amongst students. For example, some may be too anxious to participate in oral class discussions in English, they may make educational choices based on (Welsh) language rather than educational content, and there is a tendency for bilingual students to congregate together during English medium contexts. These practices heighten students' sense of difference.

Building upon students' relationship between the Welsh language and higher education participation, the next and final empirical chapter of the thesis moves away from the academic and learning aspects of higher education and shifts to focus on bilingual students' social life and experiences at university.

Chapter 8: The bilingual student at university: students' social life and experiences

8.1 Introduction

So far, the thesis has focused predominately on the educational or learning aspects of bilingual students' university experiences. The previous chapter (Chapter 7) explored how students negotiate and navigate language choices for academic purposes, as well as explore the barriers and challenges many students face in their attempts to utilise Welsh as an academic language at this level. Relatedly, Chapter 6 mapped out Welsh medium higher education participation and engagement amongst students using secondary data analysis of official statistics and primary statistical analysis of online survey. Meanwhile, the first empirical chapter of the thesis, Chapter 5, set out to explore bilingual students' university choice making process, and specifically focused on exploring how the Welsh language had informed those choices. The chapter demonstrated that language choices, or language considerations are not solely reduced to students' learning, or academic choices. For many students rather, the Welsh language was also intertwined in their university choice making processes for *social* and *cultural* reasons.

Now this empirical chapter will widen its focus by moving away from the educational and conclude the thesis by considering the wider student experience. The chapter focuses on bilingual students' social life and experiences at university and explores the degree to which the Welsh language informs these choices and experiences. Doing so demonstrates how the Welsh language is also embedded in bilingual students' social choices and experiences at university, as opposed to just the learning or academic aspects of university. It also further illustrates that the constant negotiating and navigating of language choices become a key aspect/characteristic of Welsh speaking students' university life and experiences. The chapter explores the *intra-group* (Welsh speaking students) dynamics and relations amongst Welsh speakers at university, and how these relations in turn impact upon students' sense of belonging to, and their engagement with the in-group (Welsh speakers/Welsh society). Ultimately, the chapter illustrates how the diverse socio-cultural backgrounds of these students, as well as *intra-group* relations and dynamics amongst Welsh speakers at university play a key role in informing and influencing students' social choices and experiences in the context of the Welsh language.

Firstly, however, a brief note on the structure of this chapter is necessary. The chapter is divided into two main sections. The first section focuses specifically on students studying at Bangor and Cardiff University, while the latter section accounts for the experiences of those studying at universities *outside* of Wales. This is done primarily due to the differences in the organisation or formation of 'Welsh societies' across universities depending on location. The key difference between Welsh societies at higher education institutions in Wales is that membership here are largely based on a shared linguistic ability or identity – hence what has been referred to as the 'Welsh speaking community' in Chapter 5 – a term that will also be

used throughout this chapter. Whereas Welsh societies at English universities⁷⁶ are characterised by a collective cultural, non-linguistic identity. It is therefore important to account for these contextual factors when exploring the range of social experiences of bilingual students at university.

8.2 The Welsh speaking community at university

The first section of the chapter examines the social experiences of students at Bangor and Cardiff University.

8.2.1 A Home from Home

The first empirical chapter of the thesis, Chapter 4, demonstrated that many students (Group 1) from Welsh speaking households tended to base their university choices in relation to the Welsh language, suggesting a strong correlation between home language and the importance assigned to the Welsh language as part of their university choices. For example, many anticipated the instinctive sense of belonging to a nation (Thompson and Day 1999) of Welsh speakers they would experience, and the desire for many to be a part of a larger Welsh speaking community. Many students also felt the importance of having access to certain Welsh 'monolingual zones' at university, such as Welsh halls of residence and the Welsh society. It was not surprising therefore that many students that came from Welsh speaking households, including Alaw, Ffion, Branwen, Alys, Tesni and Catrin were more likely to want to pursue and achieve a monolingual Welsh language university social life and experience *during* their time at university.

There was consensus that being a part of the Welsh speaking community was akin to being a part of a family, whereby everyone felt that they truly belonged, and this brought about great comfort to students, with several home-related connotations used to describe this special relationship. These students felt more comfortable speaking Welsh and being around the Welsh language and other Welsh speakers. For Branwen and Catrin, being able to live alongside Welsh speakers and being a part of a wider social group in which social activities and events were conducted entirely through the medium of Welsh helped ease their transition into university. Also, having the Welsh language in common was a way for students to easily establish and cement social relations with their peers. Branwen and Catrin both claimed that this was such an instinctive thing for them to do and appreciated just how special being a part of this community was. Both students explained:

“I never joined any other society only the GymGym⁷⁷ because I only wanted to be with Welsh speakers. You feel part of a family, you know everyone, you're comfortable and you feel safe. I just felt it was the natural thing for me to live in Welsh halls to settle at university and feel homely [*cartrefrol*]. I've never questioned that!”

(Catrin, BA Welsh and Journalism, Year 2, Cardiff)

⁷⁶ The exception to this being the Welsh society at the University of Liverpool, as will be discussed later.

⁷⁷ Cardiff University Welsh Society.

[Welsh speaking household]

“For me, the Welsh language is more homely [*cartrefol*] so I feel closer to those who can speak Welsh, and I kind of trust them more than other people. There’s a really nice sense of community here and it’s helped me settle in and feel a part of something. We’re basically a family. I speak Welsh every day at university and that’s so fantastic”

(Branwen, LLB Law, Year 1, Cardiff)

[Welsh speaking household]

Self-separation

These students frequently emphasised how integral the Welsh language was as part of their social life at university. However, to achieve this notion of a monolingual Welsh language experience, students admittedly had to be willing to become separated from the rest of the majority, non-Welsh speaking student population. For most of these students, this was not an issue. Any opportunities to mix and become part of the wider student population was simply rejected. When asked about their social life *outside* of the Welsh community, many students were quick to defend and assert that this simply did not exist, and that this was simply not an experience that they wanted at university. The importance of, and the commitment to the Welsh language is therefore manifested and demonstrated by students through a clear rejection of any form of socialising, contact and social experiences with others that did not centre around Welsh language. This was carefully articulated by Tesni who seemed to be very aware of what her decision to only affiliate and associate with the Welsh speaking community meant in terms of her social life, citing that this was precisely the type of university experience that she had strived for. She explained:

“I wouldn’t want to live elsewhere to be honest because this is the university experience for me. When you go to university you can basically choose what sort of experience you want, so if I had wanted a bilingual experience and to meet people from across the world, then I would have done that. But it’s living in JMJ, socialising with the Welsh society, being a part of a big Welsh speaking community, participating in the Eisteddfod, going on trips with them etc, – those are all things which have *made* my university experience. I wouldn’t know where I’d be without the Welsh lot”.

(Tesni, BA Welsh, Bangor, Year 1)

[Welsh speaking household]

Similarly, while Alys recognised that she inevitably would have had different experiences if she had decided to live amongst non-Welsh speakers, she was adamant in her choice not to, expressing that there was a genuine necessity for her to be around the Welsh language. She particularly emphasised the importance of being around people that she could identify with and relate to. She explained how easy and uncomplicated it was to form relationships and to maintain closeness to those which she shared a similar culture and background with. Alys explained:

“I know I would have come across people from different backgrounds if I had lived in non-Welsh speaking halls, but I feel that I *need* the Welsh language, and I don’t think my university life would have been the same if it wasn’t for this really closed knit community that we have here. I lived in JMJ for two years and now live in a big house with other Welsh speakers. The fact that the Welsh halls is separate from the rest means that we only socialise with each other. I never socialise outside of the society. I would never change it for the world and that’s because I’m a part of this community...[i]t’s been so easy making friends and getting to know others because we’ve got Welsh in common, the same culture, and you sometimes even know some of the other students from things like Maes B and stuff, so we have this massive advantage I feel. Like, you get to know everyone that’s a part of the community, not just those in your flat or off your course but every single person who speaks Welsh. I can be on a night out and be amongst students in their first year and students in their second year – it’s something you can’t explain to non-Welsh speakers...so, it’s really special to be a part of this community”.

(Alys, BSc Psychology, Bangor, Year 3)
[Welsh speaking household]

For students to immerse themselves within a monolingual Welsh language experience, this is achieved when they deliberate self-separate from the rest of the student population, purposefully rejecting those who are deemed to be different or who are unlike them; those who do not speak Welsh. Andersson et al (2012) also found that some students tend to self-segregate as soon as they arrive at university especially in relation to social contexts. Doing so means rejecting, arguably, a more open and diverse university experience (as argued by other students, see section 7.2.2) with the inevitable use of English, and opting rather to remain within the parameters of their close-knit community where the sole goal is to live authentically through the medium of Welsh. As a result, the Welsh community becomes a ‘self-enclosed’ (Desforges and Jones 2000) and self-contained group, choosing to remain independent from other students and groups. They embrace familiarity and focus on maintaining their linguistic identity. Parallels can be drawn here to Berry’s model of acculturation (see for example Berry 1974; 1997; 2005; 2006a; 2006b; 2008) in which he examines how cross-cultural contact may influence how individuals wish to relate to other individuals and groups⁷⁸. Berry argues that underlying the process of acculturation are two key orientations: orientations towards one’s own group, and orientations towards other groups. The former is concerned with cultural maintenance or maintenance of original cultural identity, while the latter centres around maintenance of contact and relations with other groups. It seems that *Separation* is the preferred orientation by many of these students. This is a process which Berry describes as placing emphasis on maintaining a high value onto one’s culture, while at the same time wanting to avoid interactions with others - at least on a micro-level across students’ social life and experiences at university.

⁷⁸ The four responses to acculturation include Assimilation, Integration, Separation and Marginalisation.

Welsh halls of residence

There was also a marked difference in the organisation and structure of Welsh halls of residence between the two universities which may further perpetuate this self-separation of Welsh speaking students from others. At Cardiff University, its Welsh halls of residences is made up of a number of separate floors of flats across a number of block of flats within the wider Senghenydd halls of residence. Therefore, while Welsh speakers may not live on the same floor as non-Welsh speakers, they do live in the same building. Conversely for Bangor University students, its Welsh halls of residence, JMJ, is comprised of two block of flats – Bryn Dinas and Tegfan that are located separately from the rest of the student accommodation on Ffriddoedd campus. This is a similar set up to the Welsh halls of residence at Aberystwyth University, Pantycelyn (Desforges and Jones 2000) for example. Halls of residences become almost like enclaves through which social life and culture is maintained and where it is possible to live through the medium of Welsh. Arguably, the Welsh speaking community at Bangor University is able to establish itself as a distinct cultural entity far greater than its Cardiff University counterpart because the separation of its Welsh accommodation becomes such a distinctive and notable feature of the community and university life. Interestingly this difference was also recognised by many of the students at Cardiff with those like Branwen claiming that the congregation of Welsh speaking students at Bangor and Aberystwyth University living together and apart from other students strengthened its sense of community. She mentioned:

“I imagine and believe the sense of community with Welsh speakers is even greater in places like Bangor and Aberystwyth because they’re all together”

(Branwen, LLB Law, Year 1, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

‘Speaking my first language’

Many students like Anwen, Ffion and Alaw mentioned how nice it was to be able to revert to speaking their *first* language – Welsh, after attending English medium lectures. These students either had no access to, or very little Welsh medium opportunities on their course (Chapter 7) and therefore depended greatly on more informal means and opportunities at university such as Welsh accommodation and the Welsh society to use and be surrounded by the Welsh language. These spaces therefore became key areas for students to be able to immerse themselves within monolingual Welsh-only settings. Both Alaw and Anwen illustrated this point:

“It’s just a massive relief for me that I can come back from my English lectures and get back to speaking Welsh with my flatmates. I’ve been brought up speaking Welsh and I prefer speaking it over English. I have no attachment to English whatsoever, whereas Welsh is part of my identity – it’s a part of who I am”

(Alaw, BSc Human Geography, Year 3, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

“I can go a full week with having English lectures and writing notes in English, and sometimes it can be quite tiring. It doesn’t feel natural for me not to speak Welsh as it’s something I’ve never been used to so it’s nice that I have the society there so I can go and speak Welsh”

(Anwen, BN Adult Nursing, Year1, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

Within these students’ narratives there is a strong proclamation of the lack of ownership they hold over the English language, compared to the closeness associated with the Welsh language and its importance to their identity. (A point which was also observed in Chapter 5 regarding students’ university choices). For example, the Welsh language is associated with notions of comfort, familiarity, and home, clearly demonstrated by Alaw and Anwen’s use of words ‘relief’ and ‘natural’, respectively. Conversely, speaking English, students’ second language was viewed more negatively, with Anwen describing it as ‘tiring’, and those like Ffion explaining that it takes more energy and effort:

“I feel when I speak English it takes more energy, so when I go to meet up with my Welsh friends – it’s like I’m able to fully relax and be myself. It’s way less effort”

(Ffion, MBBCh Medicine, Year 2, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

8.2.2 In-group exclusivity

Some of the very aspects which made the Welsh society at university and the social experiences of some students so comforting as just discussed was precisely what other students had deemed to have negatively impacted their experiences and their interactions and relations with their fellow Welsh speaking peers. Students’ accounts and experiences largely centred around the notion of group/members exclusivity. The data suggests that *home location*, i.e., where these students are from, and *home language* play a particular role in the construction of these students’ experience vis-à-vis their Welsh speaking peers at university.

A ‘legitimate’ and ‘authentic’ member?

For example, Cerys (from South West Wales) described how she had made the effort to join *y Cymdeithas Cymraeg* during her first year at university to meet other Welsh speakers, yet her experiences led her to question her sense of belonging to the group largely because she perceived the community to be very exclusive. Cerys identified several aspects which disrupted her Welsh language experiences at university, and ultimately swayed her decision to largely disengage with the community as a result. She explained:

“I have never felt so out of place in my life! Everyone knew each other already. There was like no icebreaker, like, talk to someone you’ve never met before. A lot of these were people who had grown up together, went to school together, went to Eisteddfodau together, and so on. So there’s nothing inclusive about it; it’s all exclusive! I suppose it can be nice and comforting for some. Like, if you come to Cardiff to study at 17 or 18 for the first time and if the only people that you know are those that you’ve

gone to school with then you'll stick with them, or people from the same background. But I can't help but feel that it's a bit damaging because *Cymdeithas Cymraeg* then becomes something quite exclusive in terms of it's only those who come from Welsh speaking, middle class homes from the traditional Welsh speaking areas that can be a part of this bubble. It just feels very exclusive and something almost elite, like it's only for the Welsh middle class. You know, it's not just divided in that sense, but also divisive. So, to me it wasn't nice, you know, coming to university, fresh-faced, 18 years old and not knowing anybody, walking into a room where everyone knew each other! I just didn't belong there whatsoever. Then eventually you start to find other people who are on their own or feel left out, and that's how you find people who are kind of compatible with you. If you're not a part of this bubble, it's almost like you end up creating an alternative society or group. Most of my [Welsh speaking] friends are those who felt like we didn't fit in. I'm from Swansea, my other friends are from Swansea, Cardiff, and the Valleys so there was a common denominator there"

(Cerys, BA Welsh and History, Year 3, Cardiff)
[English speaking household]

The notion that the Welsh speaking community was an exclusive club was also discussed by Anwen, Nerys and Sara whom all felt that it was difficult to integrate and gain acceptance since many their peers already knew each other before starting university. Notably, Nerys (South East Wales) alluded that a lot of these students had come from North Wales and as a result felt that she did not belong because she was not from where most of her peers was. These students' experiences led them to feel as if the community was somewhat restricted to certain types of Welsh speakers, and thus questioned their sense of belongingness. Nerys and Sara (South East Wales) commented:

"I feel if you don't know people in the society already then you're a bit of an outsider. Because a lot of them come from North Wales and it's like they all went to the same school, or they all know each other. And I'm just there like from the Rhondda – I don't know anybody that I went to school with that's part of the Y GymGym".

(Nerys, BSc Occupational Health, Year 2, Cardiff)
[Bilingual household]

"I have a few friends from home [Caerphilly] who studies at Cardiff too, but they don't go to these Welsh things. I have a friend of my course who's a part of y GymGym, but it's like everyone went to the same secondary school, and everyone knew each other from back home.... Like it was fun, and everyone was nice, but it was just a bit intimidating because everyone seemed to know each other".

(Sara, BSc Env. Geography, Year 1, Cardiff)
[English speaking household]

It is interesting how these students relate to their Welsh speaking peers based on language geography and where they come from, referring to the contrast between the Welsh speaking heartlands (North Wales) and non-Welsh speaking heartlands (in this case, Swansea,

Rhondda, and Caerphilly). Such finding echo those found by O'Rourke (2011) in which non-native Irish speakers regard Irish spoken by speakers from the Gaeltacht as more 'legitimate'. The distribution and prevalence of the Welsh language across Wales (see for example H.Jones 2008, 2012; WG 2019c) is thus mirrored within the community of Welsh speakers at university, whereby a large proportion of its members are from the traditionally Welsh speaking areas. While this may not be entirely surprising, for students who are not from these areas (particularly for Cerys, Nerys, Sara, Jennifer, Shauna, Christina, Anwen and Llinos) this re-creation of the Welsh speaking community on a micro-level at university clearly led to these students feeling a clear distinction, and a strong tendency to differentiate themselves between 'us' and 'them' amongst their Welsh speaking peers. Subsequently for some of these students, not being from the Welsh speaking heartlands may be associated with a weaker sense of belonging, and a weaker perception of group acceptance. This is clear from students' narratives, as has been presented above, and the negative connotations they use, for example Cerys' decision to orientate towards people that are 'compatible' with, her, in this case, those who did not feel to 'fit in', or Nerys who felt like an 'outsider', and Sara whose experience was 'intimidating'. Such experiences essentially complicate students' relationship with the Welsh society and their Welsh speaking peers. As a result, many may feel delegitimised as a member of the society because they perceive themselves to be 'different' from what they regard as the 'typical' member. Such experiences generally led students to disengage with the group, or at the very most engage peripherally with the society.

Christina (North East Wales) also mentioned that she felt as if she did not belong to this 'exclusive group' because she did not regard herself a first language Welsh speaker, having been brought up in an English-speaking household. For Christina, these Welsh language 'spaces' were restricted purely to first language Welsh speakers. She tells that:

I don't live in Welsh halls, and I don't hang around with the Welsh society as it's mainly for first language Welsh speakers".

(Christina, BA Archaeology, Year 2, Bangor)
[English speaking household]

Therefore, Christina does not perceive herself to have the legitimacy to ascribe to the label of Welsh first language/native speaker, and therefore feel that she cannot claim to truly belong to the Welsh speaking community at university. Consequently, she finds herself on the periphery of the language community (Hornsby and Vigers 2018), despite being a fluent Welsh speaker. Her remarks reflect much of the debate surrounding the power dynamics that exists between 'native speakers' and 'new speakers' (or first language and second language speakers/new learners), and the questions of language ownership, and what constitutes a legitimate speaker (see for example Fhlannchadha and Hickey 2015; Hornsby and Vigers 2018; O'Rourke 2011; O'Rourke and Pujolar 2013; O'Rourke et al 2015). It is notable that most of these students that self-identified as second language Welsh speakers came from English speaking households.

Clearly for these students there are certain features that are characteristic or typical of the Welsh society and its members, and these characteristics may be associated with notions of legitimacy, authenticity, and belongingness to the in-group. Particularly, students perceive

members of the society to be largely homogenous, characterised primarily by what they expressed as first language Welsh speakers; from Welsh speaking homes; from traditional Welsh speaking regions; middle class; having attended the same secondary schools; and/or having pre-established social/cultural relations before coming to university. For those who felt to be lacking these socio-cultural traits group contact and group engagement led to a heightened sense of difference in relation to their peers. It seems that students use these points of cultural differences as the basis or criteria to position themselves vis-à-vis their peers within the group, derive meaning and assess in-group acceptance and belongingness. Merely being a fellow Welsh speaker is not necessarily sufficient for some students to feel like they truly belong to the Welsh speaking community.

However, group disengagement, the struggle of group belongingness/acceptance, or the struggle to relate to other Welsh speakers were not the only consequences for some of these students. Llinos (South East Wales) discussed how she struggled with positioning her sense of identity, or her sense of Welshness as a result of her experiences with her fellow Welsh speaking peers. Llinos explained that she did not feel 'as Welsh' as many of her peers, particularly those from North Wales given that the Welsh language, and thus Welsh culture was more prevalent in the lives of her peers than her own life. Llinos explained:

"I try and go to the socials...but I feel there's just a different culture here [North Wales] compared to the South. Like I didn't go Eisteddfodau just for fun, and I had never been to the Eisteddfod Genedlaethol until last week. It wasn't something that I did. I never listened to Welsh music back home and everyone here are really into Welsh music—that's a culture that I never had any contact with, so it was very different. I didn't feel that I could identify with them because I feel they're a lot more Welsh than me because they've lived *more* through Welsh than I have"

(Llinos, BSc Zoology and Herpetology, Year 2, Bangor)
[Bilingual household]

Clearly Llinos regards the prevalence of Welsh culture in one's life to be a strong marker of Welsh identity. However, despite being a Welsh speaker herself and having been raised in a bilingual household, Llinos still feels that her Welsh (language) identity is somewhat less authentic than her peers as she attributes the notion of being brought up in north Wales – a Welsh speaking heartland – with greater cultural capital or significance, and thus the meaning that she assigns to the idea of a Welsh (language) identity. Language geography therefore becomes a way for Llinos to legitimise her lack of Welsh identity vis-à-vis her peers.

An insular and isolated community

Relatedly, another theme which became apparent through the interviews was how there was a tendency to construe the Welsh speaking community as an isolated and insular community, largely cut off from the majority student population (non-Welsh speakers). This was the result of having designated Welsh halls of residence that were separate from the rest

of the student population, and the propensity of Welsh speaking students' social life to centre solely around the Welsh society and through the medium of Welsh. Cerys described it as:

"[t]hey live in this sort of bubble where they don't have any contact with the outside world"

(Cerys, BA Welsh and History, Year 3, Cardiff)
[English speaking household]

Talking specifically about the literal separation that exists between the Welsh halls of residence at Bangor University and the rest of its student accommodation, Christina felt that this was extremely damaging and represented a clear desire for the Welsh speaking community to remain cut off from others, and an evident unwillingness to socialise with non-Welsh speakers. Christina tells:

"...you get the feeling of 'isolationism', like 'we're keeping our Welsh people over here away from you'...[t]hey [Welsh community] have the mentality of keeping themselves to themselves and not really mingling with other people at university and I feel they're kind of missing out on things because they're insular and they're kept separate from the rest of the students. It's like they think they're better than others because they speak Welsh".

(Christina, BA Archaeology, Year 2, Bangor)
[English speaking household]

Similar sentiments were expressed by others such as Mari, Shauna, Cerys, Leri, Sara, Angharad and Llinos. Many of these students felt that there was an element of snobbery that surrounded the Welsh society which in turn reinforced certain stereotypes or negative connotations about the Welsh speaking community, such as being closed off, insular, unwelcoming, judgmental, exclusive, and somewhat elitist. Llinos for example commented:

"I feel JMJ is isolating itself from others, and I don't think it helps people's perceptions about Welsh speakers...the idea of it being kind of elite, making people feel uncomfortable, non-Welsh speakers who come from Wales perhaps feeling as if the Welsh community looks down on them because they don't speak Welsh".

(Llinos, Zoology and Herpetology, Year 2, Bangor)
[Bilingual household]

Meanwhile Angharad implied that there was an 'unwritten rule' or a mutual understanding amongst the community that socialising with 'others' outside of the society was somewhat frowned.

"It's like this unwritten rule that they shouldn't socialise with English students. It's stupid! And it's like other students feel that the Welsh are snobs because they don't want to mix with the English students".

(Angharad, BA Welsh and Sports Sciences, Year 1, Bangor)
[Welsh speaking household]

Furthermore, students expressed how a high degree of engagement and association with the Welsh speaking community, including the decision to live in Welsh halls of residence represented a certain 'type' of university experience, namely a more limiting, Welsh monolingual experience. Conversely, the opposite of this was a more diverse, bilingual, and culturally enriching university experience that could only be achieved if students were willing to remove themselves from certain monolingual Welsh language situations. In fact, many of the students interviewed explained how they did not want the former to be characteristic of their own experiences at university, thus navigated towards challenging the idea of being associated with what many felt to be an 'inward looking', 'limited' and 'insular' community. For many like Mari, Leri, Anwen, Llinos and Shauna, this was mainly done through distancing themselves from the community, particularly in the form of choosing not to live in designated Welsh halls of residence⁷⁹. Anwen for example explained how not living in Welsh halls afforded her the ability to acquire new cultural experiences such as meeting new people from around the world:

"The main issue for me is that the Welsh community is very cliquey, so I decided against living in Senghenydd⁸⁰. I'm so glad I didn't go there. It's really nice to live with people that come from different backgrounds and who are not necessarily familiar with our way of life. I have friends from France, Spain, Hong Kong, and Brazil for example, and it's been so fulfilling meeting them and getting to know them and their cultures. I could never have done that if I lived in Welsh halls".

(Anwen, BSc Criminology, Year 2, Cardiff)
[Bilingual household]

Mari also expressed a similar viewpoint, explaining the importance of diversifying her university experiences but not always having to associate with other Welsh speakers merely because she is a Welsh speaker herself. Interestingly she felt the need to justify her support for the Welsh language before commenting:

"Welsh is really important to me, and I'm really *Gymreicaidd* but that doesn't mean I want to be a part of a [Welsh] community that's quite inward looking and cliquey. There's more to my university experience than just stuck with the same people, and not everything *has* to be done in Welsh and with Welsh speakers"

(Mari, BN Nursing, Year 1, Cardiff)
[Welsh speaking household]

Pressure to engage with the community

Some students also discussed how they felt some degree of pressure into ensuring that they engaged with the Welsh society on a regular basis, and if not that this could potentially affect their sense of place within the group.

⁷⁹ For some students this was typical done as a response to their own experiences of living in Welsh halls during their first year, and by now had opted to not live here for their second and/or third year at university.

⁸⁰ Welsh halls of residence at Cardiff university.

Leri explained how she had missed a social event aimed towards meeting Welsh speaking students during her first year due to her wanting to meet her peers off her course. As a result, Leri felt this choice had ultimately disrupted her acceptance and her sense of belongingness to the Welsh society, even two years later. She explained how she felt this choice still lingers now even in her third year:

"Because I had missed the opportunity to be introduced to the Welsh society one evening because I chose to meet up with those off my course as they weren't going to be drinking, I can't help but feel that disrupted the process of meeting other Welsh speakers and my relationship with the society. I find the society really bad and off putting in that sense, like you have to go out with people from the Welsh society all the time, and it's almost like you can't have friends outside of it. It's very cliquey, and it's not very accessible either. In a way I became kind of lonely because I was trying to balance socialising with those off my course and doing stuff with the Welsh society and felt that I had to be in two places at once".

(Leri, BA Creative Studies, Year 3, Bangor)
[Welsh speaking household]

Similarly, Nerys felt that not frequently attending social events organised by the Welsh society may have inadvertently made her less visible than her peers to the group. She explained that socialising and meeting with other students outside of Y Gym Gym, which inevitably led to her spending less time here, may have cost her her 'status' as a 'true member' of the group and thus gaining acceptance as a legitimate member. Nerys seemed to feel that she was only a peripheral member of the group:

"During my first year I was doing quite a bit with Y GymGym, but I was also socialising with other societies as well, so I wasn't with the Welsh crew constantly. Eventually I found that the more I went to socialise with Y GymGym the more cliquey the group became. There seems to be lot of inside jokes. They have a Facebook page and an Instagram page where they have lots of banter and jokes and stuff. It felt like they won't let you be a part of their group, and I definitely feel I can't join in anymore because of these cliques that have formed. It's like you're either in or you're out".

(Nerys, BSc Occupational Health, Year 2, Cardiff)
[Bilingual household]

Both Nerys and Leri's narratives suggest that there may be some implicit pressure amongst Welsh speaking students to prioritise the Welsh society, or 'anything Welsh' at university over any other form of social or cultural experiences, including meeting other students who are deemed to be outside of the group, for example. This may be indicative of some degree of cultural 'obligation' that surrounds the Welsh speaking community, and that acceptance or true membership may only realistically be attainable when this commitment is 'performed' by individual members. Therefore, frequency of engagement with the Welsh society, including attending social events and socialising with other members, and even choosing to live in Welsh halls, may be rewarded through group acceptance and their recognition as legitimate members. Holton (2016) has also concluded similar findings in his

study of UK students' experiences of living in halls. Additionally, it does seem that the degree of visibility/presence and engagement amongst students with the group may also inadvertently create a hierarchy amongst its members: which can be distinguished between those who always engage with the group, versus those who do not (Leri and Nerys). As a result, it is likely that the former group of students may go on to form a very exclusive group *within* the group in the form of cliques within the Welsh society, while the latter group of students may often feel on the periphery of the community.

8.2.3 Nature of social events

Several references were made to the *types* of events or 'socials' organised by Welsh societies. The very nature of these social events influences students' likelihood of participating and engaging with the Welsh speaking community.

Culture of drinking

Primarily, students' narratives allude to a strong culture of drinking and watching rugby as being typical of Welsh societies. The notion that drinking was 'part and parcel' of the Welsh language community experience was agreed upon by many, with many describing how drinking was a useful tool to develop friendships, achieve a sense of belonging, and alleviate any concerns about university transition (Brown and Murphy 2020; Supski et al. 2017). However not all felt that this was appealing, and many expressed their reluctance to associate as a result. Despite having initially gone to a few events organised by Y GymGym and UMCB respectively, both Sara and Leri for example seemed to be put off by what they perceived to be an intense drinking culture:

"I went along to the GymGym, I became a member and stuff but after going three of four times to their socials I just found them quite intense. They just tend to drink a lot".

(Sara, BSc Env. Geography, Year 1, Cardiff)
[English speaking household]

Leri further commented on how this culture of drinking was so prevalent as the primary form of socialising that there was fear of missing out on the whole Welsh language community experience if she did not attend socials. She explained:

"So, I didn't really know what to expect from these socials but when I arrived it was all about going out to drink. If you're not really one of these people who likes going out drinking and likes to get drunk and stuff, then you're kind of missing out on the whole experience. That was my issue with it, and I never did as much as I thought I would with the Welsh society because of it".

(Leri, BA Creative Studies, Year 3, Bangor)
[Welsh speaking household]

Leri's narrative here clearly alludes to some degree of peer pressure she faced as part of the Welsh society, but ultimately her decision to distance herself from the group was largely

due to her being 'not a big drinker'; the consequence of which resulted in very infrequent engagement with the society. These findings reflect those founded by Brown and Murphy (2020) in which social drinking can impact students' sense of social connectedness at university.

Although the experiences of students at English universities will be discussed shortly in the next section, it is worth highlighting that even these students' sentiments echoed those of their peers (at Welsh universities). The findings illustrate a lack of homogeneity in the events organised by Welsh societies, regardless of the location of study. For these students there was a sense of disappointment that their universities' Welsh societies could not or did not offer anything additional or different to the predictability of drinking and watching rugby. Many students, like Tomos and Gwawr below, construed these events to be mundane and uninteresting, and felt that they did not do enough to address or target those who may not necessarily like *drinking*.

"The society's kind of going-to-the-pub-and-watch-rugby type of society! I have joined but I haven't been to a lot of their events. Like I do like going to the pub and I'll watch the rugby, but I feel that I can do that with anyone. It's something I can do without going [to the society], if that makes sense? Give me something different or interesting and then I'll go, but for now I choose not to".

(Tomos, PPE, Year 2, Exeter)
[Welsh speaking household]

"...and I do think that's important, but you kind of want to say that there's more to being Welsh than just watching rugby and drinking".

(Gwawr, BA English Literature, Year 2, Oxford)
[Bilingual household]

Evidently for these students there is a degree of reluctance to participate and engage with their universities' Welsh societies given that social life is largely predicated upon a culture of drinking. Many students found this incompatible and ultimately discouraging. Those like Cerys for example spoke in particular about how she felt that members of Cardiff University's Welsh society were missing out on a variety of Welsh cultural activities as the 'typical student' experience consisting of drinking and going on nights out took precedence over anything 'culturally enriching'. Cerys explained:

"I don't think it [Welsh society] really promotes like the Welsh cultural experience you can get in Cardiff. Like it's the capital city, and there are loads of stuff going on every week through the medium of Welsh like going to the theatre, going to gigs – there's plenty to do but for the Welsh society it's all about going for a sesh on a Wednesday or a Friday night! That, for me doesn't promote Welsh culture at all! I'm not really a part of the society and don't bother with their socials anymore. Don't get me wrong, I have Welsh speaking friends and we socialise in Welsh, and we often go to see Welsh bands and I love doing that sort of stuff, including speaking Welsh. But I chose to do that on my own terms. Like, I decide what I want to do".

(Cerys, BA Welsh and History, Year 3, Cardiff)
[English speaking household]

Eisteddfodau

Nevertheless, some students discussed how the *Eisteddfod Ryng-Golegol* was one of the highlights of their Welsh speaking community experience at university. This is an annual intercollegiate competition between Welsh universities represented by Welsh societies at Bangor, Cardiff, Swansea, Aberystwyth, and Trinity Saint David – though over recent years the Welsh society at the University of Liverpool has also competed⁸¹ – the only English university to do so. Crucially, students commented on how these competitions were an important cultural aspect of the Welsh language, and thus a way for many to both enact and embrace their Welsh language identity. Despite it providing great opportunities to meet and network with Welsh speakers across universities in Wales, including catching up with friends studying at different institutions, the *Eisteddfod* was, like many other events or socials organised by Welsh societies, strongly associated with drinking

Moving to other societies

Meanwhile, some students may seek alternative involvement with other societies that align more closely with their own interests rather than being primarily driven by linguistic or cultural factors. Interestingly these students had been much more likely to express sentiments of in-group derogation and conflict, and low levels of engagement with the Welsh society in the first instance (section 8.2.2), thus reaffirming their perceived lack of belongingness to the in-group. This had been the case for Victoria and Sara, both of whom expressed being much more comfortable having joined other societies:

“I don’t drink so that’s the biggest issue for me to be honest, plus I’m on the Book Club committee – and that’s my sort of society. From what I’ve heard it seems to be a very social thing – that they drink a lot, and they speak Welsh”.

(Victoria, BA English Literature, Year 2, Cardiff)
[English speaking household]

“I’m part of the rock-climbing society and I feel that I have more in common with them because the only thing I have in common with those in Y GymGym is the fact that we can speak Welsh. Like it would be like having an English-speaking society – everybody that would go there would speak English, but that’s it really”.

(Sara, BSc Env. Geography, Year 1, Cardiff)
[English speaking household]

It is interesting to observe how both Cerys, Victoria and Sara reduce the Welsh speaking community/Welsh society to merely a social space where students ‘speak Welsh and drink alcohol’, rather than deriving any cultural attachment or significance that is so evidently represents for other students. Arguably, their comments demonstrate a lack

⁸¹ This is due to the Welsh society at the University of Liverpool being an exclusively Welsh-speaking society.

attachment that is so apparent in the narratives of those like Alys and Catrin for example, (section 8.2.1) both of whom explained the importance of having access to a monolingual Welsh space. The findings suggest therefore that the difference in terms of students' attitudes towards, and engagement with the in-group may be accounted for by students' perceived level of belongingness to the group.

8.3 Welsh societies at English universities

This final section of the chapter proceeds to explore the social life and experiences of students studying at universities *outside* of Wales.

8.3.1 Collective cultural, non-linguistic identity

It is worth reminding that these groups of students did not necessarily prioritise the Welsh language as part of their university choices (Group 3, Chapter 5). However, their accounts of their experiences *during* their time at university are uniquely different to their counterparts in Wales and are worthy of discussion for several key reasons. Firstly, the findings highlight that there is indeed an active attempt amongst students to situate and incorporate the Welsh language as part of their university experiences, despite studying outside of Wales⁸². This was most notably attempted through engaging with their respective universities' Welsh societies; this will be discussed shortly. Secondly, and more interestingly however is that students' experiences are complicated by the fact that formation/group membership of these societies do not conflate national/cultural identity with language ability⁸³ - unlike those at Welsh universities – which makes navigating the Welsh language for social purposes particularly complex and challenging. This is largely due to the lack of Welsh language presence, and the subsequent dominance of English as the 'de facto' language of Welsh societies at English universities⁸⁴. Tomos' words, below, neatly encapsulates the fundamental difference that characterizes these Welsh societies depending on location (i.e., England/Wales). There was a strong consensus amongst the students interviewed of how these spaces are essentially English medium settings:

“There is a society here... but it's a 'Welsh society' not a '*Cymdeithas Cymraeg*'”.

(Tomos, BA PPE, Year 2, Exeter)
[Welsh speaking household]

Furthermore, as there are no designated Welsh halls of residence for Welsh speakers at universities outside of Wales, arguably, Welsh societies here become the only channel, or space for cultural expression (i.e., as a way for these students to perform or 'do' their Welsh identity). For many students however this was heavily intertwined with the Welsh language –

⁸² This further strengthens the perspectives of many in Chapter 5 that going to England to study was not indicative of their de-commitment or total abandonment of the Welsh language. This was only in relation to their HE choices.

⁸³ It is interesting to observe that there does not seem to be Welsh societies at Welsh universities geared toward non-Welsh speaking, Welsh students.

⁸⁴ The exception to this being the University of Liverpool, discussed in the previous section.

much like it was for those studying in Wales – yet their experiences were problematised given the lack of visibility of, and accessibility to the Welsh language within these spaces.

Both Amelia and Lea, below, discussed this in depth and expressed how they felt conflicted given that their respective universities' Welsh societies were open to both Welsh speakers and non-Welsh speakers. They described the difficulties they faced in initially 'finding' other Welsh speaking peers at events organised by Welsh societies as most group members were non-Welsh speaking. Despite both students being in their second year at university, their experiences in relation to the Welsh language, such as opportunities to speak Welsh, meet other Welsh speaking members, engage in Welsh medium activities or events were still largely uncertain and irregular. Students found this lack of certainty to be a very unappealing facet of their societies, and one that required constant negotiating with other group members. These practical issues clearly impacted upon both Amelia and Lea's enthusiasm and their sense of belonging to these groups. They both expressed:

"It means that the society is open to everyone and that everyone can feel a part of it. Like you have people in the society who has a grandmother or a great-aunt who is Welsh, so it's a nice place to come and meet people who likes Wales and has a fondness of the culture. But then again it makes it really hard to know who speaks Welsh and who you can speak your first language with because there's a part of me that's more comfortable speaking Welsh than English. I reckon it's good that everyone is able to come to the society, but I suppose I'd just like to know who speaks Welsh, and to not worry about leaving some people out. But we all end up speaking English with each other anyway because it's easier than figuring out who speaks Welsh".

(Amelia, BA Human Geography, Year 2, Exeter)
[Welsh speaking household]

"...it's not exactly a problem, but one way it doesn't exactly appeal to me as much as it could is that the students are half English speaking and half Welsh speaking. I suppose it would be difficult trying to make everyone feel welcome if we only spoke Welsh. Rugby matches are a huge thing for the Welsh society, and we often go to the pub to watch the games and they'd always be a massive group of us. But you'd always end up starting a conversation in English until you worked out who spoke Welsh".

(Lea, BA English and French, Year 2, Oxford)
[English speaking household]

The contrast between students' conceptualisation of what these Welsh societies should be, or what they (had) hope for as predominately a space to engage with the Welsh language, to meet other Welsh speakers, and to socialise through the medium of Welsh, versus the reality of their experiences demonstrate the difficulties students face in navigating language choices across these spaces. Furthermore, students' narratives imply not only their disappointment but also a clear desire for a stronger linguistic presence, and greater consideration and certainty regarding the incorporation of the Welsh language across these societies. (Although both Amelia and Lisa acknowledge the practical difficulties this would result in for non-Welsh speaking members). This was evident in Amelia's narrative, above, for

example as she spoke of her frustration of not being able to always speak her 'first language', and both her and Lisa usually having to revert to use English to gauge/navigate the society rather than using Welsh; a practice that was commonly expressed by many of the students interviewed. Even Tomos was adamant that the Welsh society ought to make more effort to meet the needs of Welsh speakers, claiming that some activities should be conducted exclusively through the medium of Welsh. He mentioned that any effort to date to introduce Welsh across his university's Welsh society was merely tokenistic; a view shared by many others interviewed. Tomos mentioned:

"...like there are Welsh speakers who are a part of the society, it's just that they don't do activities or events *through the medium* of Welsh. I'm not saying it should be a society only for Welsh speakers, but that they should be organising events through the medium of Welsh as well. I'd like more opportunities to use Welsh".

(Tomos, PPE, Year 2, Exeter)
[Welsh speaking household]

The consequence of this led many students to re-assess the compatibility of these societies with their very own desires or priorities to engage with the Welsh language. Ultimately it seems that the extent to which these societies allow students to engage with the Welsh language or is accommodating towards the Welsh language is the *primary* factor that determines students' levels of participation and engagement across Welsh societies at English universities. For example, Charlotte and Lisa's experiences, below, led them to completely disengage from their university's Welsh societies. Both explained that their primary reasons for engaging with the Welsh society at university was to 'keep up' with their Welsh language skills as both cited the importance of having opportunities to use Welsh post-16 education, particularly given both came from English speaking homes. As Charlotte and Lisa expressed:

I joined the Welsh society, but I don't really go because nobody spoke Welsh. I didn't really feel like I fitted in because I wanted somewhere to go so I could go and speak Welsh, and it's not that kind of society unfortunately".

(Charlotte, BSc Mathematics, Year 3, Sheffield)
[English speaking household]

"I've been to a few events organised by the Welsh society to try and find other Welsh speakers but there just aren't here! It hasn't been easy for me to be able to meet up with other Welsh speakers to be honest. I've kind of given up because I don't think the Welsh society at Nottingham is that good!"

(Lisa, BA Sociology, Year 2, Nottingham)
[English speaking household]

Lisa and Charlotte's references of having 'given up' and 'not fitted in' are telling insofar as how these societies do not really do much to appeal to *them personally*. Students' accounts also suggests that there is an attempt to distance and position themselves differently from other members of these Welsh societies as it seems that group interaction with non-Welsh speaking peers may heighten or reaffirm these students' linguistic identities. Implicit in these

students' narratives therefore is the acknowledge or recognition of the differences that exists between group members – namely between those who speak Welsh and those who do not. It is interesting to observe how these students' sense of difference is largely based on language ability, even though group membership of Welsh societies at English universities are not explicitly defined around Welsh language ability. This is in comparison to the accounts of Welsh speaking students studying in Wales, discussed earlier, in which group membership are based exclusively on Welsh language ability, and whereby students' sense of differences (and similarities for that matter) are largely defined and marked in relation *to* and *amongst other* Welsh speakers.

It is worth bearing in mind however that the difficulty and frustration expressed by many of these students in trying to meet other Welsh speakers at these Welsh societies may simply be attributed to the very few numbers of Welsh speaking students attending any given institution outside of Wales. Arguably it seems that the concentration of Welsh speakers studying across English universities are not evenly dispersed and this in turn may affect the extent to which the Welsh language is incorporated into the formation of these societies. The accounts of Charlotte and Lisa versus Lea and Amelia, above, for example, serves as a good comparison here. Additionally, no data exists that maps out *where* Welsh speaking students study outside of Wales. It is therefore not possible to ascertain how many Welsh speakers are active members of Welsh societies⁸⁵, or the total number of members (both Welsh speaking and non-Welsh speaking) to assess the vitality of these groups.

8.4 Chapter Summary and Discussion

This final empirical chapter has explored the social life and experiences of bilingual students studying at Cardiff and Bangor University, as well as those studying outside of Wales. It has illustrated the ways in which the Welsh language is considered as students recounted their social experiences at university. The findings demonstrated that the socio-cultural backgrounds of students alongside intra-group contact and relations with fellow Welsh speakers and the Welsh community at university play a key role in how the Welsh language is situated within these social experiences.

Students from Welsh speaking households tended to express more positive experiences of their relationship with the Welsh language and Welsh speaking peers during their time at university. Many of these students made decisions based solely around the Welsh language, with many focusing on achieving and maintaining a monolingual Welsh only university experience and social life, reinforcing their affiliation and attachment to the Welsh language. Here there is an attempt amongst the students to replicate the socio-cultural experiences of home at university. This involved deliberately self-separating from the majority, non-Welsh speaking student population by only engaging socially with the Welsh society and their fellow Welsh speakers, as well as choosing to live in designated Welsh halls of residence.

⁸⁵ The researcher contacted each 'Welsh society' at English universities to acquire these figures, but no such data exists.

Furthermore, there was consensus that the Welsh speaking community provided students with a strong sense of belonging, with many comparing it to a family.

For others however their relationship with the Welsh language was much more complex. Many students negotiated and navigated the Welsh language at university as a direct result of, and in relation to their engagement and wider experiences with the Welsh speaking community. Many commented on the negative experiences they had encountered.

Some students, particularly, though not exclusively, those from English speaking households seem to associate the Welsh speaking community with certain characteristics, most notably students from the Welsh speaking heartlands and those who are considered first language Welsh speakers. Subsequently, such a homogenous and exclusive view of the Welsh society in which differences are heightened amongst group members led many of the students who did not share these traits to re-assess and re-evaluate their sense of belongingness to the group. Others conceived of the Welsh speaking community as too insular and self-contained, with many arguing that not all social interactions had to be with fellow Welsh speakers. Finally, students felt an element of pressure to engage with the society, with less interaction considered to pose a potential threat to the legitimacy of group membership. These aspects played a crucial role in how students positioned themselves vis-à-vis their Welsh speaking peers, and for some students, this ultimately affected their engagement and association with the Welsh speaking community at university.

The latter section of the chapter explored the social experiences of students studying outside of Wales. Students' experiences here are different to those of their counterparts in Wales due largely to the formation of Welsh societies. Group membership across Welsh societies here were predicated on a national identity rather than a linguistic identity and Welsh language ability. This made it difficult for students to navigate these spaces which is made up of both Welsh speakers and non-Welsh speakers, with many of the students explaining that the primary reason for engaging with the society was to use their Welsh language skills and socialise with other Welsh speakers. Therefore, while bilingual students may disengage with the Welsh society regardless of their location of study, the fundamental differences in the basis of group formation means that students disengage for very different reasons. Such societies at English universities do not account for the distinction *between* its members, as all students are categorised and conceived of as a homogenous group. Welsh speakers may disengage here primarily because the group negates many to use or be around the Welsh language. Meanwhile at Welsh universities students may choose to disengage because of how they position themselves in *relation* to their Welsh speaking peers.

Despite these differences, a notable similarity all Welsh societies held was the prominence of drinking/alcohol and celebrating sporting events, particularly rugby, as key aspects of students' social life at university.

This chapter concludes the empirical findings of the thesis. The thesis now proceeds to present a conclusion to the study.

Chapter 9: Discussion and Conclusion

9.1 Introduction

This thesis set out to explore the relationship between the Welsh language and higher education choices and experience of bilingual Welsh-English speaking undergraduate students. The aim of the thesis has been to examine how the Welsh language influences and informs the higher education choices and experiences of these bilingual students. One of the rationales underpinning this particularly study has been the scarcity of academic literature that has focused on the university experiences of current bilingual Welsh-English speaking undergraduate students. Very few studies have looked at this which is somewhat surprising given that the Welsh language and Welsh medium education are key policy areas of the Welsh Government. Moreover, the establishment of Y Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol in 2011 to drive the vision of expanding Welsh medium study opportunities at the higher education level marked a significant milestone in the history and development of Welsh medium higher education. Subsequently, while the Welsh language and Welsh medium higher education now enjoy a greater profile and greater visibility across the HE sector, there has been a clear mismatch between recent policy interventions and developments at higher education alongside empirical research that have looked at the experiences of bilingual students at this level. This is particularly apparent post-2011 after the inception of the Coleg Cymraeg. This thesis has therefore set out on what has been a long-overdue need for empirical research on Welsh speaking students across the HE sector in Wales. It makes an original contribution to these policy areas of the Welsh Government (Welsh language, and Welsh medium higher education), alongside disciplines such as bilingualism, education, bilingual education, sociology of language, and minoritized languages at higher education.

Prior research concerning the Welsh language and higher education, including Welsh speaking students and HE choices, and/or Welsh medium higher education have tended to be geared from the perspective of prospective university students (for example, Davies and Davies 2015; Davies and Trystan 2012; G. Jones 2010; S. Jones 2010; S. Jones 2019; I. Williams 1989; C. Williams 2003; Lewis and Williams 2006). There are even fewer studies that have focused entirely the experiences of students *during their time* university. These have tended to be small scale studies such as Desforges and Jones (2000, 2001, 2004); Ifan and Hodges' (2017); G. Williams (2005) and Thomas (2011), for example. Additionally, these studies have looked at specific courses and subjects: Geography at Aberystwyth University, an interdisciplinary module entitled Sociology of Music at Bangor University, Law at Aberystwyth University, and an English medium module in Psychology at Bangor University, respectively.

Moreover, research relating to the Welsh language at higher education have almost exclusively been framed as research relating to Welsh medium higher education and studying through the medium of Welsh. Although this focus on the learning/academic aspect is

unsurprising given the policy focus and context of Welsh medium higher education, the extant literature has not necessarily taken a broader view of the student experience and has not necessarily considered how, as bilinguals, the Welsh language is also embedded in students' social choices and experiences at university. Thus, even fewer studies have looked at the holistic experiences of bilingual students at this level. This thesis has addressed this lacuna in the academic literature by exploring language, specifically how the Welsh language is situated within the two separate but interrelated spheres of bilingual students' university experiences, that is the academic or learning and the social. By not limiting itself to one particularly aspect of students' university experiences, the thesis has carefully examined the relationship between the Welsh language and the higher education choices and experiences of these students across both their learning and social aspects of university. This broader and holistic approach has been critical to offer a comprehensive representation of bilingual students' university experiences and sets itself apart from prior research such as Ifan and Hodges' (2017); G. Williams (2005) and Thomas (2011) in this field.

Furthermore, this study situates itself within a relatively unexplored research area by focusing on current bilingual undergraduate students at the university level, spanning two Welsh HE institutions and on students across a range of academic disciplines and subject areas, as well as differing academic years of study. It is the largest piece of empirical research to date that has attempted to explore Welsh speakers' experiences at higher education – both their academic and social experiences, using a combination of qualitative interviews, primary quantitative survey findings, and secondary analysis of official datasets.

To examine the relationship between the Welsh language and higher education choices and experience of these student, the thesis set out to address the following aims:

1. **To explore, retrospectively how and to what extent the Welsh language has influenced and informed bilingual students' higher education choices [Chapter 5]**
2. **To examine the engagement and participation levels of Welsh medium higher education amongst undergraduate students [Chapter 6]**
3. **To identify and assess the barriers and challenges that students face in trying to access and engage with Welsh medium higher education, including using Welsh as an academic language [Chapter 7]**
4. **To explore how, and to what extent the Welsh language informs bilingual students' social choices and experiences at university [Chapter 8]**

This discussion and conclusion chapter draws the thesis to a close and begins by exploring the empirical contributions of the study by the research aims proposed. The chapter then proceeds to consider the implications of the empirical findings presented in the thesis and offers practical and policy recommendations that are pertinent to bilingual undergraduate students, Welsh medium higher education, and the Welsh language across the higher

education sector in Wales. The chapter then presents some of the limitations of the study and suggests potential avenues for future research.

9.2 Research aims and empirical contributions

This thesis has successfully accentuated the centrality of the ‘language question’ in the university experiences of bilingual Welsh-English speaking students. The study recognizes how language considerations are intertwined in students’ education/learning and social life at university. As bilingual students, higher education becomes a site of constant negotiation between two languages: between the Welsh language and English. The study sheds light on this complex reality and the challenges that students face in situating, negotiating, and using the Welsh language throughout their time at university. The question of language, including language choice, language negotiation, and language concerns seem to be a much more prominent feature of students’ learning and educational experiences at university, than it is for their social experiences. How the Welsh language is embedded in students’ experiences varies considerably, and the social and academic experiences of bilingual students at university are shaped by multiple interacting factors. Thus, the study illustrates the heterogenous nature of these Welsh speaking students, their choices, and subsequent experiences at university. The main results of the study are discussed below in relation to each research aims.

9.2.1 To explore how, and to what extent the Welsh language has influenced and informed bilingual students’ university choices.

The first empirical chapter, Chapter 5, presented a retrospective account of bilingual students’ university choice-making process, with a particular focus on exploring how and to what extent the Welsh language had informed these choices. The chapter demonstrates the complex process and ways in which students negotiate language considerations, and the varying degree of priority that is assigned to the Welsh language in relation to other educational factors that influence their university choices. Students were categorized into three groups, depending on the degree of importance assigned to the Welsh language as part of their university choices.

Students in Group 1 prioritized the Welsh language as part of their university choice making process as opposed to course quality, content and institutional reputation that were apparent in the narratives of those in Groups 2 and 3, for example. Most of these students came from Welsh speaking households, which may indicate a correlation between home language and the degree of importance that is assigned to the Welsh language when accounting for students’ university choices. Furthermore, these students wanted to stay close to home. The notion of home is represented here for some through their immediate locales or *cynefin*, while others interpret it to refer to Wales or the nation.

Cynefin (Jones 1985; 121) is a useful concept to understand the bond between individual and place, and the attachment that people hold to place specifically through language. This was most notable amongst students who originated from North West Wales,

traditionally a heartland of the Welsh language. For this group of students, there was a clear correlation between language dictating place. Maintaining this attachment to language and thus place resulted in many of these Welsh speaking students remaining local and studying at a local university – Bangor University. Conversely, many students from outside *Y Fro Gymraeg* seem to choose Bangor University as it represented a microsite of Welsh language culture. Bangor University therefore enables and allows students access to a predominantly Welsh language cultural life and experience at university. This was an important aspect of students' university choices, with many citing the importance of belonging to a community of Welsh speakers, to being able to live amongst Welsh speakers and to live through the medium of Welsh, and to also study through the medium of Welsh. Students in Group 1 also highlighted the importance of pursuing Welsh medium higher education. Linguistic progression from secondary education into higher education was a frequently cited reason, alongside their confidence in Welsh, and their preference of Welsh as a 'natural' academic language. Financial incentives were also a motivating factor, albeit a secondary factor for these students.

Students in Group 2 prioritised course quality and the institutional reputation of Welsh universities, although this constrained possible HE destinations within Wales. These students rejected studying at less prestigious universities in Wales, thus orientated toward studying at Cardiff University as the only Russell Group university in Wales. This meant at times rejecting Welsh medium study opportunities that were available elsewhere. Though it is important to recognise here that many of these students had at least contemplated and researched Welsh medium study opportunities. While far less priority was assigned to Welsh-medium study, the Welsh language was important for these students both culturally and socially, much like it was for those in Group 1. For example, attending Cardiff University became a way for many of these students to balance their educational choices – course/institutional quality, status, and prestige as it was with cultural factors such as remaining in Wales/home to study, and being able to meet and socialise with other Welsh speakers. The findings would suggest that Bangor and Cardiff University may represent different types of HE destinations for students. Cardiff University may draw students more for its prestige, status, and reputation, while cultural factors may be more important for students choosing Bangor University as demonstrated by those in Group 1, attracting more 'local' students.

Meanwhile, students in Group 3 actively ejected the Welsh language when accounting for their university choices. Students in this group opted to study outside of Wales, expressing that course quality and institutional reputations of English universities were fundamentally better than that of their Welsh counterparts. These students also envisioned the 'university experience' as affording them with new and increased opportunities such as moving away from home, meeting new people, having new social and cultural experiences (Hinton 2011), as well as spatial/geographical mobility (Holdsworth 2009; Donnelly and Evans 2016). These choices were made to the exclusion of Wales and the Welsh language. Though it is worth acknowledging that some students wrestled with cultural and linguistic affiliation with their educational choices.

Furthermore, an interesting observation was made amongst students from South-East Wales in this group and how they came to account for and rationalise their university choice making process. Despite regarding Cardiff University as the best university in Wales, many students felt that living in close proximity to the city of Cardiff itself discouraged them from contemplating Cardiff University as a possible HE destination. These students may be regarded as 'metropolitan learners' in which there is a desire to move on to larger, urban areas or cities as part of their university experiences, as opposed to moving toward the more rural areas that the majority of HE destinations in Wales are located. This may explain, although not exclusively, why so many of these students from South East Wales orientated towards studying outside of Wales.

There were some concerns shared amongst students of having to progress into higher education for which the medium of instruction would be English. This was either due to a lack of Welsh medium study opportunities across the HE sector in Wales, or that they had decided to study outside of Wales, and thus the inevitable reality they faced of having to use English as an academic language. In response, students attempt to mitigate linguistic and educational concerns they had about English medium higher education by strategizing language choices during their A Level study. Ultimately this became a way for students to prepare for an English medium higher education, albeit to varying degrees.

Educational concerns centred around linguistic progression routes pre-16 to post-16 education, a lack of Welsh medium study opportunities at the university level, and thus the reality of having to study through the medium of English. Language confidence in English was also another notable concern, particular amongst those from Welsh only speaking households. In response to these concerns, several changes can occur at A Level study. It is worth noting that students' ability to mitigate these concerns largely occurred at bilingual secondary schools, where there is some degree of flexibility in relation to the proportion of the curriculum that is taught through the medium of Welsh (see WG 2007a: 12-14), as opposed to designated Welsh medium secondary schools.

Firstly, students may switch the language of assessments and examinations of their A Level subjects from Welsh to English. This was most notably across Sciences based subjects, with many students citing a lack of Welsh medium provision at the HE level, and the need to comprehend and familiarise themselves with scientific terminology and concepts through the medium of English for preparation into university. This became a way to ensure some degree of linguistic continuity from A Level study into higher education.

Secondly, students' accounts also reveal a heterogeneity of teaching practices at bilingual secondary schools. Although not the focus of the study, these accounts shed important light on the reality of bilingual education and teaching practices for A Level study across bilingual schools in Wales from the perspectives of students themselves. These teaching practices seem to have an impact on the language used for A Level study, with students frequently citing a language switch occurring from GCSEs to A Level study with teachers teaching some A Level subjects, most notably Science based subjects, through the

medium of English. While some students expressed frustration about teachers teaching through the medium of English, some commented on how this switch actually assisted them in their preparation for university given the lack of Welsh medium study opportunities at university.

Thirdly, a minority of students opted to study at English as a subject at A Level as a way to address and improve their subjective confidence and academic skills in English.

The findings demonstrate these bilingual students as strategic choosers when it comes to negotiating language choices for post-16 education, including mitigating linguistic concerns they may have about their transition into university, and English medium higher education. However, many of these choices that occur during A Level study are likely to occur at the expense of Welsh, and the use of Welsh as an academic language at this level. (These choices are likely to have a further knock-on effect for higher education study.)

9.2.2 To examine the engagement and participation levels in Welsh medium higher education amongst undergraduate students

Chapter 6 is the only quantitative empirical findings chapter to the thesis and focuses on Welsh medium higher education provision. Section 6.2 of the chapter presented a temporal re-analysis of secondary data sets from the Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) via the Welsh Government's statistical bulletins on 'Welsh language in higher education' between the academic years 2010/11 up to 2017/18. The focus here was to map levels of engagement and participation with Welsh medium higher education provision across the Welsh HE sector from 2010/11 up until 2017/18, with particular focus on Cardiff University and Bangor University. To do so it focused primarily on Welsh medium higher education engagement amongst (Wales domiciled) undergraduate/first-degree students by mapping participation rates across Welsh HE institutions, by the number of credits undertaking through the medium of Welsh, and Welsh medium engagement across academic disciplines.

The number of first-degree Wales domiciled students engaged with Welsh medium higher education has gradually risen from 2,570 students during 2010/11, representing around 6.1% of the proportion of all Wales domiciled first-degree students, up to 10.1% by 2017/18, with 4,020 students reported to be engaged with Welsh medium higher education.

In relation to the concentration of Welsh medium higher education engagement amongst first-degree Wales domiciled students across the Welsh HE sector (see Figure 6.4), the overwhelming majority of these students are studying at the University of Wales, Trinity Saint David. As of 2017/18, this represented 40.1% of all first-degree Wales domiciled students – a figure that has been on the rise since 2010/11, although has experienced slight dips during 2015/16, and 2016/17. This was followed by Bangor University, whereby over a quarter of students were engaged with Welsh medium higher education during the same academic year 2017/18. Although this proportion has gradually decreased since 2010/11. For

Cardiff University, this figure, as of 2017/18 only stood at 8.1% but has shown a steady increase since 2010/11. The proportion at Aberystwyth has nearly halved since 2010/11 from 15.1% down to 7.6% by 2017/18, while this figure stood at 7% at Swansea University for 2017/18. Glyndwr University reported the lowest concentration of the proportion of first-degree students engaged with Welsh medium higher education, representing only 0.2% for the academic year 2017/18.

The chapter also identified a clear disparity between the concentration of where fluent Welsh speaking-students study, and the number of students engaged with Welsh medium higher education. For example, during 2017/18 Cardiff University recorded the largest number of fluent Welsh speaking students studying here than any other institution (17.1%), followed closely by Swansea University (16.2%) (See Figure 6.2). However, the proportion of undergraduate students actually engaged with Welsh medium study at both these universities only represented 8.1% and 7%, respectively, of all Welsh medium higher education engagement. Conversely during 2017/18 the University of Wales, Trinity Saint David accounted for 40.2% of the proportion of all Welsh medium study engagement amongst undergraduate students, despite recording only 11% of all fluent Welsh speaking students across the Welsh HE sector for that year. The data points to the unequal distribution of provision in (and access to) Welsh medium higher education opportunities and availability across the Welsh HE sector. This is particularly the case amongst institutions with a similar proportion of fluent Welsh speaking students whereby figures for Welsh medium study/engagement are highly varied. This has been evident in the case of Cardiff and Bangor University for example.

There are also variations in terms of Welsh language ability and engagement Welsh medium higher education (see Table 6.5). Since 2010/11 around three in ten fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students study some elements of their degree course through the medium of Welsh, compared to one in ten who recorded as being 'Welsh speaker not fluent'. While caution must be taken when dealing with such figures (see Chapter 6 for further discussion), they may very well indicate once again to the lack of access to Welsh medium study opportunities students face at the higher education sector. This is well demonstrated in the differences found between Cardiff and Bangor University. For example, during 2017/18 just over two thirds of fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students at Bangor University were engaged with Welsh medium higher education (see Table 6.7), compared to only around a quarter of students at Cardiff University. (Table 6.8).

Data on Welsh medium engagement by academic subjects are obtained on a module-by-module basis, and these statistics are represented by Full-Person Equivalents (FPE). (Table 6.9). They account for fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students.

As previously noted, around 3 in 10 of fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students were engaged with Welsh medium higher education during 2017/18, a somewhat steady figure since 2010/11, par 2011/12. While engagement has tended to be greater across Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences based subjects with just over a third of students as of 2017/18,

these figures have been steadily declining since 2014/15. Meanwhile, the proportion of students engaged with Sciences and Applied Sciences based courses have been steadily increasing since 2012/13, now accounting for just under a quarter of fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students as of 2017/18.

For Cardiff University (Table 6.10), a quarter of all fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students, Full Person Equivalent, were engaged with some Welsh medium study during 2017/18: a figure which has been gradually increasing. Nearly 3 in 10 were studying Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences based subjects, while 1 in 5 were pursuing Sciences and Applied Sciences based courses.

For Bangor University (Table 6.11), over two thirds of its fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate student population (FPE) were engaged with Welsh medium study during 2017/18. Equally, over two thirds were pursuing Sciences and Applied Sciences based subjects, while around 3 in 5 were studying Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences courses during the same academic year. Despite these high figures, there has been a gradual fall in these figures for those studying Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences courses, while an increase has occurred in those studying Sciences and Applied Sciences based subjects. In fact, during 2017/18 more students (FPE) were studying former type of subjects than those studying the latter.

In terms of Welsh medium higher education engagement by number of credits studied, the official statistics, Figure 6.5, reveal that the increase in engagement has been centred around those students studying at least 5 credits through the medium of Welsh, accounting for 3,505 first-degree students in 2017/18. This is compared to 2,460 during 2010/11 for example. Furthermore, there have been slight increase amongst those engaged with at least 40 credits and 80 credits through the medium of Welsh, while those engaged with 120 credits have declined.

Cardiff University has seen gradual increase in the number of its first-degree students engaged with Welsh medium higher education by the number of credits undertaken, see Figure 5.6. Those undertaking at least 5-credit during 2017/18 has more than doubled since 2010/11, with those studying 80 and 120 credits having remained somewhat steady over the same period. There has been a small increase in those undertaking at least 40 credits through the medium of Welsh. For Bangor University, see Figure 6.7, there have been steady increases in those undertaking at least 5-credit through the medium of Welsh, from 32.5% in 2010/11 to 28.1% by 2017/18. Likewise, there have been gradual increases amongst those studying at least 40 and 80 credits here.

However, further analysis of these figures demonstrates a lack of clarity and detail in how Welsh medium study engagement is both measured or accounted for, and more importantly defined. For example, as presented in Figure 6.5 the data reveals a difference in the figures between 'total enrolled' and '5 credits' in terms of student numbers and Welsh medium higher education engagement. For the academic year 2017/18, a total of 4,020

students were engaged with ‘some form of Welsh medium study’ but this number dropped to 3,505 to those studying at least 5 credits in Welsh. It is also worth noting that official statistics use the figures for ‘total enrolled’ to account for the number of students that study through the medium of Welsh at this level, as reflected in Figure 6.3. However, it is not possible to account for the differences in these numbers, and to ascertain what the difference refers to or what they represent. Why are the former figures used rather than the latter when accounting for the number of students engaged with Welsh medium higher education? Relatedly, because no definition of ‘5 credits through the medium of Welsh’ is proposed it is not possible to infer what this means.

The data also fails to fully define what counts as a Welsh medium module, and what is the criteria that students must meet in order to be counted as studying through the medium of Welsh on a particular module. For example, if a student studies 40 credits in Welsh (two single 20-credit modules) – does this mean that all of the teaching/learning components within that single module is available and thus delivered through the medium of Welsh? What if a student receives a seminar in Welsh and submits assessments in Welsh but the lecture for that module is only through the medium of English; how is this accounted for in the data? It seems that the data does not account for the possible divergences or variations in the language used across the different modes of learning (lecture, seminar, assessments etc) within modules. This point is further discussed in the next section.

Relatedly, official statistics and the Welsh Government alike fail to explicitly define or conceptualise terms such as Welsh medium higher education/Welsh medium higher education engagement/Welsh medium study/ ‘some teaching through Welsh’. While it may be self-evident in the sense that it refers to student undertaking some of their degree course ‘through the medium of Welsh’, there is no clarity in the data to be able to infer or discern what constitutes as Welsh medium study and the nature or form of the provision. For example, it is not known whether what counts as ‘Welsh medium study’ at this level refers to solely students *who* receives Welsh medium education in the form of teaching by staff, or whether it also refer to students who may not necessarily receive Welsh medium education via Welsh medium lectures or seminars but may submit assessments in Welsh or have access to a Welsh speaking course tutor. The differing layers of Welsh medium engagement amongst students (as demonstrated in section 6.4 of Chapter 6 and discussed in the next section) are not defined or acknowledge here. As such these terms are often used vaguely and generically without really accounting for the complexities and intricacies of the reality of students’ engagement with Welsh medium education at this level.

The findings of this chapter also reveal that students engage with different forms or types of Welsh medium higher education, as demonstrated in Table 6.12. They encompass lectures, seminars, labs, note-taking in lectures and seminars, and assessments and examinations. The data indicate that seminars are the most common form of Welsh medium engagement at university, followed closely by students’ use of Welsh for assessments and examinations. Meanwhile Welsh medium lectures are the least common mode of Welsh

medium engagement at this level. This also applied across academic disciplines, with a similar trend occurring across Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences and the Sciences and Applied Sciences. Students are also more likely to be studying elements of their degree courses through the medium of Welsh on Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences based courses than those on Sciences and Applied Sciences based courses.

Around four in ten students stated Welsh as their preferred language of study, followed closely by around three in ten that indicated both Welsh and English or only English, respectively (Table 6.14). Those engaged with Welsh medium study at this level were also more likely to indicate Welsh as their preferred language of study, while those that declared English were more likely to be studying through the medium of English. The data suggests that the medium of learning may impact how students determine which language is their preferred language of study. It may also indicate a lack of access to Welsh medium study opportunities at this level which may negate or discourage many students from using Welsh for academic purposes, and thus resulting in English being their preferred language of study due to consistency in the (English) medium of learning.

Furthermore, students undertaking Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences based courses were more likely to claim Welsh as their preferred language of study, followed by Welsh and English, then only English (Table 6.15). There was also a marked difference by institution (Table 6.16) with students studying at Bangor University more likely to report Welsh as their preferred language of study, followed then by English only, and Welsh and English. Meanwhile for students at Cardiff University, most declared Welsh and English to be their preferred language of study, followed closely by English, with fewer claiming Welsh only as their preferred language of study. The differences in these data may point to a clear difference in Welsh medium study opportunities across both institutions, which may inadvertently result in fewer students reporting Welsh as their preferred language of study.

The data indicates that just over 9 in 10 students engaged with Welsh medium higher education also had access to a Welsh speaking personal tutor. Interestingly under a third of students not studying through the medium of Welsh also had access to one (Table 6.18). Access to a Welsh speaking personal tutor was more apparent amongst those studying Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences based courses, with nearly three quarters indicating they had been assigned one, compared to 44.3% of those studying Sciences and Applied Sciences courses (Table 6.19). There were also marked differences by institution, with those studying at Bangor more likely to have access than those at Cardiff. The differences in these numbers representing the relationship between Welsh medium engagement and Welsh speaking personal tutor may also allude to the differences that exists in terms of the number of Welsh speaking academic staff, as well as Welsh medium study opportunities across both institutions.

9.2.3 To identify and assess the barriers and challenges that students face in trying to access and engage with Welsh medium higher education.

This research aim was addressed in Chapter 7, which focused on examining the sociological aspects of undergraduate students' learning experiences at university. The findings demonstrate that students face several barriers and challenges in their attempts to engage with Welsh medium higher education at this level, and to use Welsh as an academic language. These challenges can broadly be categorised into two groups – institutional barriers and pedagogical barriers. The findings indicate that students continuously negotiate these challenges throughout their time at university.

Institutional barriers refer to university policies, procedures and practices aimed to assist and enable students to utilise Welsh for academic purposes, but in fact end up problematizing (Ruiz 1984) their experiences and their attempts to do so.

Firstly, students expressed concerns regarding their awareness and understanding of their language rights as Welsh speakers to use Welsh for academic purposes particularly within English medium contexts. Many students felt that non-Welsh speaking academic staff lacked a degree of intercultural sensitivity (Stafford et al. 1997) concerning their linguistic and educational background, and thus students felt some staff were not fully aware or informed of the linguistic rights of Welsh speakers at this level (see section 7.3.1). The findings suggest that the language of the learning environment, and by extension the academic staff, may have an impact on the degree of understanding Welsh speakers have about their linguistic rights at university, and as a result their willingness to execute those language rights. This makes it difficult for many Welsh speakers to negotiate language choices within English medium contexts (discussed shortly), which largely centred around their ability to submit written assessments through the medium of Welsh. The findings would suggest that English medium contexts may discourage Welsh speakers from capitalising and employing their biliteracy skillsets for academic purposes.

A second barrier identified is the bureaucratic process and the formal processing of assessments submitted in Welsh. Students, predominately at Cardiff University, felt that having to notify their departments of their intention of submitting assessments through the medium of Welsh was unfair, required more effort, and ultimately highlighted how unfavourably the university treated the Welsh language compared to English. Many regarded this process as an 'application'. Students expressed their frustration of having to notify their departments weeks in advance, usually at the beginning of academic terms, and weeks before assessment questions are normally set by course leaders.

Thirdly, the findings identified that translation of Welsh medium assessments and examinations to be another barrier and challenge that Welsh speaking student face at university. Lack of Welsh speaking academic staff often means that assessments submitted through the medium of Welsh are required to be translated into English. However, some students find this concerning, and the process itself might discourage many from submitting

assessments in Welsh as a result as they may cause pedagogical concerns (discussed shortly). Some students encountered issues with translated versions of papers or assessments question from English into Welsh, citing issues with terminology and thus expressed some concerns about the accuracy of the translation process itself and questioned who translated them. Furthermore, some students were left with the responsibility of translating assessments questions from English into Welsh themselves, which cause a variety of pedagogical concerns and problems. Meanwhile, students explained how submitting assessments through the medium of Welsh delayed their feedback, resulting in receiving feedback later than those who submit through the medium of English.

Another set of challenges students faced can be categorised as pedagogical barriers. Other than a lack of Welsh medium provision or Welsh medium study opportunities at this level, several pedagogical barriers impact students' ability to use and engage with Welsh medium higher education.

These include a lack of access to Welsh medium pedagogy through lecture materials and class notes provided within English medium contexts, academic resources such as journal articles and academic books, and a lack of established terminology in Welsh. Furthermore, a lack of, and concerns about English to Welsh, and Welsh to English translations was also cited by students as being a barrier. These challenges and barriers ultimately illustrate a very fragmented, uncertain and inconsistent representation of the reality of Welsh medium higher education experienced by bilingual students. Additionally, these issues have a direct impact on how students negotiate and navigate language choices for academic purpose, which was the focus of the subsequent research aim, discussed below.

It is worth noting that there was a clear contrast between the experiences of those at Cardiff and Bangor University, with institutional barriers and challenges being a more prominent aspect of students' learning experiences Cardiff as opposed to Bangor. Such findings may very well underly a key difference in the degree of institutionalisation and legitimisation (May 2010) of the Welsh language across both universities. The processes intended to facilitate those wanting to use Welsh at this level seem to be much more 'normalised' at Bangor compared to Cardiff University. For pedagogical challenges and barriers however, these were widely shared and experienced by students regardless of location of study.

This chapter also explored and examined how bilingual students negotiate language choices for academic purposes at university given their ability in both Welsh and English, in section 7.4. Much like having to negotiate various institutional and pedagogical barriers as discussed in the previous section, the findings demonstrate that students also continuously negotiate language choices and language considerations for academic and educational purposes throughout their time at university. Ultimately however, the findings indicate that pedagogical barriers relating to Welsh medium higher education is a much more pertinent and influential factor in determining how students negotiate language choices for academic purposes, rather than institutional barriers.

The findings identify several factors at play that may influence how students come to negotiate language choices for academic purposes, and the extent to which they may use Welsh at this level. Pedagogical barriers are more likely to discourage some students from using Welsh as an academic language at this level compared to institutional barriers.

Firstly, the institutional barriers discussed in the previous section such as the bureaucratic process and the formal processing of assessments submitted in Welsh, and translation of Welsh medium assessments and examinations can at times discourage students from using Welsh as an academic language and submit academic work through the medium of Welsh. For ease and convenience, and because many students feel that too much effort is required in this process, many may opt to not submit assessments in Welsh because they feel the reality of these processes – which is meant to assist and enable them to use Welsh at this level in fact problematizes their educational experiences. The result of this is that English is highly likely to be used at the expense of the Welsh language.

Language consistency of the learning environment has a big impact on how students determined which language to use for written assessments. Due to a lack of Welsh medium study opportunities and the predominance of English as the lingua franca at higher education, most students submitted written assessments through the medium of English. However, those who have access to Welsh medium study opportunities are also more likely to submit written assessments through the medium of Welsh than those who do not have access. The findings highlight the key role that the language of the learning environment has on other aspects of students' learning choices and experiences. Yet findings would also indicate a reluctance amongst many of these students to use Welsh for written assessments because a lack of Welsh medium higher education provision, in the form of lectures and seminars. It demonstrates the importance of having access to Welsh medium study opportunities as a basis for further utilising their Welsh language and biliteracy skills for written assessments. For example, one student did comment on how the use of bilingual PowerPoint presentation slides within English medium lectures increased the likelihood of using Welsh for note-taking purposes during class.

The same trend can be seen regarding the language used for note-taking purposes in class. Students' choice of which language to use seems to be dictated by the language of instruction. Therefore, an English medium seminar or lecture likely leads to students using English for note-taking purposes, and vice versa. The findings demonstrate the importance of language consistency for students' academic studies. Students expressed that using a different language for note-taking purpose than that of the learning environment was more work, and often required them to translate notes from English into Welsh in their own spare time after class. While many of these students expressed that this was simply too much work, it is worth recognising that by doing so these students are independently developing and creating their own Welsh medium resources. Nevertheless, the use of both Welsh and English, including translanguaging, for academic purposes was welcomed by some of the students. Some found it advantageous to be able to deal (*ymdrin*) with their subjects through the medium of both

languages and expressed that it was a way to better develop their academic understanding and comprehension, corroborating findings by those such as Cenoz and Gorter (2017), Ifan and Hodges (2017) and van der Walt and Dornbrack (2011).

One of the most frequently cited factors amongst students as they accounted for their learning experiences at university was the clear lack of Welsh medium academic resources as well as a lack of established Welsh medium terminology. This seems to have a significant impact on students' likelihood of using Welsh for academic purpose, particularly for written assessments and examinations. A lack of academic resources here refers to not only the absence of many journal articles and academic books through the medium of Welsh, but also lecture materials, worksheet handouts and class notes within English medium contexts, such as English medium seminars and lectures.

Terminology was a key issue for many students undertaking Sciences based courses. Many students explained how they had learnt key concepts in English during their A Level study as a way prepare for an English medium higher education, as discussed in Chapter 5 for example. As a result, many expressed that they now had greater confidence in using and applying those concepts to their academic work through the medium of English as opposed to Welsh.

Even those whose preferred language of study is Welsh and who felt more comfortable in Welsh may submit assessments in English because of a lack of access to Welsh medium provision. This is coupled with the fact that many are responsible for their own translation of key concepts and assessments questions – which many expressed a lack of confidence in doing so. It does seem that assessments questions within English medium modules/contexts are not set bilingually; the burden of translating these into Welsh befalls students themselves. This brings about a lot of concerns amongst students regarding the accuracy of assessments questions and the translation of key terms and concepts from English into Welsh. These issues may discourage and negate many bilingual students from utilising their biliteracy skills at this level.

Confidence also plays a key role in how students negotiate language choices for academic purposes. Students' preferred language of study is associated with the language they perceive themselves to be strongest in, and feel most comfortable in. This seems to be a basis in which students often determine which language to employ for written assessments. Thus, students' whose preferred language of study is Welsh are also likely to utilise Welsh as an academic language and submit assessments through the medium Welsh. (Most of these students came from Welsh speaking households). Many felt that submitting work in Welsh, through their strongest language would benefit them academically rather than having to submit work in what many felt to be their weaker language, English. The findings reveal that language confidence and perceived linguistic abilities overrode many of other factors and barriers that students face when negotiating language considerations for written assessments. These students are willing to navigate the additional challenges that come about as a result of the lack of Welsh medium higher education, both institutional and pedagogical, to ensure that they

perform better academically through the medium of Welsh, rather than through the medium of English.

The findings also demonstrate how language confidence was a factor in how students came to choose course modules. Some students may choose Welsh medium modules based solely on linguistic considerations as opposed to educational contents. These include to be able to submit assessments in Welsh as opposed to English and thus perform better academically, or even to avoid having to contribute to class discussions through the medium of English via class presentations for example.

Another aspect of students' learning experience worth noting is how their language confidence and perceived linguistic abilities impacted their willingness to engage and contribute to class discussions through the medium of English. Once again, such sentiments were expressed primarily by those from Welsh speaking households. Some students went as far as to say that they felt discouraged and/or unwilling to participate in class discussions through the medium of English because they felt that their English language skills were not on par with their peers. They felt lacking in confidence in their English language skills and perceived that their linguistic skills were ultimately weaker than native/first language English speakers. Many students illustrated how having to participate in these class discussions through the medium of English was to contribute through their second language. Such narratives demonstrate a lack of ownership many Welsh speakers have toward the English language, with many not necessarily regarding themselves as 'legitimate speakers' of English (Bourdieu 1977; 1991).

While not a primary factor in how students negotiate language choices for academic purposes, it does seem that students may designate different languages for different types of assessments. While many felt that reflective and creative pieces of work was easier through the medium of Welsh, many students claimed that more academic and scientific related work was easier to write and submit in English, citing a lack of Welsh medium resources at this level.

As this study has clearly demonstrated, students face a number of institutional and pedagogical issues and challenges in their attempts to engage with Welsh medium higher education. While this may discourage some students from using Welsh as a language of academia, reverting rather to English, there is evidence to illustrate that financial incentives in the form of Coleg Cymraeg scholarships, may be an effective means to circumvent many of these challenges that are commonly experienced by bilingual students. Recipient of such scholarships is conditional upon submitting work and/or studying through the medium of Welsh. These financial incentives therefore enable and require students to employ biliteracy skills and thus the use of Welsh for academic purposes, negating the pedagogical and institutional concerns and barriers they face as Welsh speaking undergraduate students at this level.

9.2.4 To explore how, and to what extent, the Welsh language informs bilingual students' social choices and experiences at university.

This research aim was addressed in the final empirical chapter of the thesis, Chapter 8. The aim here was to account for the social and cultural experiences of bilingual students during their time at university, with a particularly focus on how the Welsh language was situated within these experiences. The chapter explored the inter-group dynamics amongst bilingual students and illustrated how the diverse socio-cultural backgrounds of these students play a key role in informing their socio-cultural choices and experiences at university. This aim also serves to demonstrate that language considerations are not solely reduced to students' learning or academic choices, as has been discussed in previous sections. But rather the Welsh language also plays a key role within students' social and cultural choices and experiences at university.

Many students, particularly those from Welsh only speaking households discussed the importance of living through the medium of Welsh during their time at university. What is noteworthy here is that remaining in Wales to study allows these students to re-create or replicate their socio-cultural experiences or home-life at university. As a result, many navigate language choices at university to achieve this monolingual Welsh only university experience. This includes living in Welsh medium halls of residence and living amongst Welsh speakers, being a part of the Welsh speaking community, and socialising through the medium of Welsh with Welsh speaking peers. The Welsh language for these students instilled a sense of belonging, akin to a family, and ultimately eased their transition into university. The language was a common factor that helped to build and maintain social relations. Many students preferred to speak Welsh, to be around the Welsh language, and generally felt more comfortable around the language as opposed to English. However, for students to achieve this monolingual Welsh only university experience, many had to become self-separated from the majority, non-Welsh speaking student population. This was not an issue for many as they focused solely on engaging and interacting with fellow Welsh speaking students to the exclusion of others, including gaining new experiences.

For other Welsh speaking students, their socio-cultural experiences during their time at university was not as positive as some of their peers had expressed. For example, some students felt that there was an element of exclusivity that surrounded the Welsh speaking community. These centred around many of the Welsh speaking community knowing each other before starting university, often attending the same secondary school, or coming from the same place geographically, particularly North Wales. Some of the students from English speaking households even felt that the Welsh speaking community was somehow restricted to first language Welsh speakers, reflecting the debate around 'authentic speaker' and feelings of ownership surrounding the Welsh language. This led many to question their sense of belongingness to the group; a relationship which was characterised and marked by strong feelings of difference - between 'us' and 'them'. The consequence of this not only affected students' sense of belongingness to the group, but also discouraged many from engaging and

participating as a result. It would seem therefore that students' linguistic backgrounds, in particular home language and to some degree geography and location plays a key role in how students resonate and position themselves alongside their Welsh speaking peers.

Relatedly, several references were made to the Welsh society as being both insular and isolated. These students felt that social life centred solely and wholly around the Welsh language and through the medium of Welsh, and that there was no desire or want to socialise with others who did not speak Welsh. Students also expressed some degree of pressure to engage with the Welsh society at university on a regular basis. Frequenting events and socials seemingly become a way for many to cement their membership with many expressing that not attending or making an effort to be 'visible' may impact their sense of place within the group.

The nature of social events organised by the Welsh society was also a factor in how students negotiated their engagement and participation with the group. Many students commented on the importance of having access to spaces where they could go and meet up with other Welsh speakers, to be able to socialise through the medium of Welsh, and to celebrate and participate in cultural events such as Eisteddfodau and even watch Wales play rugby. Yet, some students commented on how most of these events organised by the Welsh society and students' social life at university centred largely around drinking. For those who were not big drinkers, there was a degree of reluctance to engage with the society as a result of this. This was widely shared amongst the students interviewed regardless of location of study.

The chapter also accounted for the socio-cultural experiences of Welsh speaking students studying outside of Wales. This is the first piece of empirical work to do so. The findings demonstrate that the experiences of Welsh speaking students at universities in England fundamentally differ from their peers at Welsh universities because of the formation of group membership. Group membership here is based on a cultural, non-linguistic identity whereas at Cardiff and Bangor university, membership across Welsh societies is predicated on a shared linguistic ability and identity.

For those studying outside of Wales, navigating and negotiating language choices within these Welsh societies become much more difficult given that members here include both Welsh speakers and non-Welsh speakers. By default, it seems that these spaces are English medium in nature. The findings illustrate that the primary reason why many of these Welsh speaking students engage with their Welsh societies at English universities is, much like their peers at Cardiff and Bangor, is to use their Welsh language skills, to socialise through the medium of Welsh, and to ultimately immerse themselves within a Welsh language environment. This, however, is simply not possible. As such, Welsh societies at English universities become almost unsought for many Welsh speakers because they are simply not compatible with their goal to use their Welsh language skills. For example, Welsh medium events or activities were uncertain and irregular. The consequence of this is that many students will become discouraged from engaging with the society. Despite this, the findings do

indicate that even amongst those that have gone to England to study, there is still an effort amongst many to seek out opportunities to use their Welsh language skills via their respective universities' Welsh societies.

9.3 Discussion

The use of three different datasets in this thesis was used primarily to focus on students' learning experiences and choices at university, rather their social experiences. This is the first piece of empirical work to do so and presents a novel approach to investigating the academic experiences of Welsh speaking undergraduate students by integrating official statistics, primary survey findings and qualitative interviews. The use of these different datasets throughout the thesis has been important because it has provided greater depth and understanding to students' learning experiences at this level. It also strengthens the credibility of the research and the findings. This section synthesizes some of the findings across these datasets and relates them to the academic literature.

Firstly, the official statistics on Welsh medium higher education were presented to map current trends and levels of engagement with Welsh medium higher education across the HE sector. These figures have provided useful insights into how many students study through the medium of Welsh, where these students study, the number of credits studied in Welsh, and engagement across academic disciplines. However, what was noticeable in these statistics was the absence of any detailed information regarding the form or characteristics of Welsh medium higher education engagement. Essentially, *what exactly were these students studying through the medium of Welsh?* This is information which is essential to fully understand the Welsh medium experiences of students at this level and their engagement with Welsh medium higher education. Secondly, there was a complete omission of students' voices in these data and their own accounts of their Welsh medium higher education experiences. This is because official data is collected by individual HE institutions rather than directly through students themselves. The use of the primary survey was thus a way to address this drawback in the official statistics and to obtain data on Welsh medium higher education that had not previously been collected. Primarily, to obtain data on the form of Welsh medium study undertaken by students. For example, the survey asked students to account for the type of Welsh medium education they were engaged with at this level by modes of learning – lectures, seminars, labs, note taking in lectures and seminars, and examinations and assessments. Furthermore, the survey marks the first piece of empirical work that has attempted to collect quantitative data on Welsh medium higher education engagement *directly* from the accounts of students. Of course, while previous research such as Ifan and Hodges (2017), Desforges and Jones (2000, 2001, 2004), Thomas (2011) and G.Williams (2005) have looked at students' learning experiences including the practicalities of using Welsh for academic purposes (discussed later on), they have nevertheless not paid attention to the nuances within students' *Welsh medium higher education engagement* such as the form of the provision itself, and the different form of engagement and Welsh language use across modes of learning, for example.

The survey findings contribute to academic literature by having identified and established, for the first time, Welsh medium engagement by modes of learning. The survey found that seminars are the most common form and mode of learning through the medium of Welsh, at least at Cardiff and Bangor University, while Welsh medium lectures were the least common form of engagement. Of the proportion of students that said to be undertaking some form of Welsh medium study, the full breakdown of Welsh medium study relative to the mode or form of learning is as follows: 69.5% seminars; 64.3% assessments and examinations; 54.8% note taking in lectures/seminars, and 53.8% lectures.

By expanding the scope of what kind of data official statistics collect and report on, the survey findings provide much needed context and additional information on these statistics. For example, while a similar number of fluent Welsh speaking students (WG 2019a; 2019b) attend Bangor and Cardiff University, both the official statistics and the survey findings corroborates one another and suggests that there are institutional differences in students' engagement with Welsh medium higher education. These findings seem to point to large disparities between opportunities and provision across Cardiff and Bangor in which there seems to be far fewer opportunities at Cardiff compared to Bangor University. Significant disparities were also found across academic subjects, with fewer students studying through the medium of Welsh across the Sciences than Arts based subjects, for example. From this, it is plausible to conclude that this is due to the differences in provision, with Arts-based subjects more likely to be taught in Welsh compared to sciences. Similar findings have been observed by Cenoz (2012) and Larrinaga and Amurrio (2015) in which Basque higher education is more likely to be concentrated across Social Sciences and the Humanities, compared to the Sciences. However, through the survey it has been possible to discern that current and already existing Welsh medium provision at higher education is likely to have a knock-on effect on the students' language use for study and students' language preferences for academic study. In other words, students are much more likely to use Welsh for academic purposes if they are engaged with Welsh medium study at university which highlights the importance of effective progression routes for students to study through the medium of Welsh at this level. These students are also more likely to claim Welsh as their preferred language of study. Findings by C.Williams (2003) and Lewis and Williams (2006) have noted that one of the main reasons why prospective students choose not to follow or undertake Welsh medium courses at university was simply attributed to the lack of opportunities to do so. Similarly, while Davies and Trystan (2012) argue that the lack of Welsh medium provision is the main barrier facing students as they make their decision about the language of study for post-16 education, these survey findings demonstrate what the potential consequences of this can be on students' academic use of Welsh and their preferred language of study at the university level. There is a clear shift towards English at the expense of Welsh for those who do not have the opportunities to study through the medium of Welsh. This is despite the fact that these students have received the majority of their secondary education through the medium of Welsh.

Furthermore, the survey findings also reveal that when students are not engaged with Welsh medium education at this level, these students were overwhelmingly more likely to claim English as their preferred language of study and are less likely to make academic use of Welsh. Results from the primary survey suggests that this is more prominent in students studying Sciences based subjects compared to the Arts. It is plausible to infer that a lack of Welsh medium provision may have inadvertently caused these students to claim English as their preferred study language at the expense of Welsh. These findings support the work of Davies and Trystan (2012) on prospective university students that showed that effective Welsh medium progression routes are critical for those students wanting to study through the medium of Welsh at higher education. When there are clear opportunities to study in Welsh then students are likely to pursue with this choice, however if no provision exists then language choices for A Level study may be impacted. This is likely to occur at the expense of the Welsh language, as illustrated in the accounts of many of the students in Chapter 5 of the thesis about higher education choices. Again, there was a marked difference between subject types with those pursuing Sciences showing greater concerns about having to study through the medium of English. Through qualitative interviews it was established that many students strategized language choices at A Level study to mitigate linguistic concerns about university, including the inevitability of having to study through the medium of English. These findings corroborate previous research by S.Jones (2010), Davies and Trystan (2012), Davies and Davies (2015), and S.Jones (2019) that showed how bilingual students may consider post-16 education through the medium of English because of the lack of Welsh medium provision at university. These findings also corroborate those found by Thomas and Parry (2021) in which students expressed that they would want to study STEM subjects at university bilingually yet preferred to study these subjects in Welsh for A Level. Thomas and Parry argue that pupils' understanding of linguistic provision at the university level is an aspect which influences their languages choices at school. Therefore, this thesis highlights a bidirectional relationship that exists regarding current Welsh medium provision at the higher education level and how this significantly informs the language choices for students for A Level study. This observation attests to the work of Davies and Trystan (2012). Students' choice to study through the medium of Welsh at university is largely predicated on current provision and opportunities to do so. This also informs the language choices for A Level study. Current Welsh medium higher education provision serves as a strong basis for students' use of the Welsh language for academic purposes. Therefore, Welsh medium higher education opportunities and provision has a significant bearing on the academic use of Welsh, and the preference of Welsh as an academic language for bilingual students.

However, secondary school experiences of students play a big role here too. While the intention of this study was not to explore the teaching practices across bilingual and Welsh medium schools, the learning experiences of these students at secondary schools seem to corroborate the works of scholars such as Baker (1993; 2004), Khelif (1976; 1980), Jones (1997) and Morgan (1998). These studies observed clear differences in the language of study subjects, with schools traditionally teaching Science subjects through the medium of English,

and a tendency for Arts subjects to be taught in Welsh. Decades later, this thesis has shown how this is still an ongoing reality across many secondary schools in Wales. For example, this thesis found that a ‘language switch’ occurred from Welsh at GCSE level to English for A Level study, particularly across the Sciences. What was notable about these findings was that the change in the medium of instruction was implemented by the school and teachers. The fact that bilingual schools are replacing, to varying degrees, Welsh as a medium of instruction across A Level Sciences subjects with English raises a significant question: that is, *to what extent is this helping or hindering efforts to strengthen linguistic progression routes from A Level study to higher education, and in encouraging students to study Sciences through the medium of Welsh at university?* The consequences of this cannot be overstated as, at the moment, this is unlikely to cultivate much demand for Welsh medium higher education across the Sciences. This is coupled with the fact English is regarded as the “de facto universal language of science” (Drubin and Kellog 2012; 1399) and thus possess greater status than any other language. These findings further attest to the work of Thomas and Parry (2021), as mentioned above. These findings also highlight the need to challenge this long tradition of teaching Science through the medium of English and that this needs to be addressed at the secondary school level. Moreover, Thomas and Parry (2021) have called for the bias that exists toward English within the sciences to be addressed at the secondary school level by making Science more visible and accessible through the medium of Welsh.

While the primary survey findings complement and extend on the official statistics, quantitative data alone cannot fully comprehend and explain the ‘on the ground’ learning experiences of bilingual students at higher education; they only tell part of the story. The third and most substantial dataset of this thesis included in-depth qualitative interviews with undergraduate students. The use of qualitative interviews elicited greater understanding of students’ learning experiences at this level, highlighting how such experiences are complex and diverse – something that quantitative data has been unable to capture. Equally most of what is known about the practicalities of Welsh medium higher education have stemmed from quantitative data, particularly those from official statistics. Therefore, while these statistics point to key information such as how many students study through the medium of Welsh and what is the form of Welsh medium engagement undertaken by students, what these interviews have been able to do differently is to carefully illustrate and understand *how* language is embedded, and often negotiated, within students’ learning choices and experiences.

Studies by C. Williams (2003), Lewis and Williams (2006), and Trystan and Davies (2012) have identified that a lack of Welsh medium opportunities at the higher education level to be a key factor as to why students do not want to pursue with post-16 study through the medium of Welsh. However, this thesis has extended beyond this by having demonstrated that while provision does encourage students to study through the medium of Welsh and encourages the academic use of the Welsh language, the reality of students’ learning experiences is much more complex and nuanced than that is implied in quantitative data. This thesis has shown that there are in fact many barriers and challenges that university students

must face when they want to use Welsh for academic purposes at this level, even in cases where students *do* in fact study through the medium of Welsh (i.e. receive Welsh medium lectures and/or seminars, for example). Ultimately, these challenges problematize their Welsh language learning experiences at higher education and can discourage students' willingness to use Welsh for learning purposes. While sustained efforts have been made to increase opportunities to use the Welsh language as a language of academia across the higher education sector in Wales, including Welsh medium provision and established language rights, this thesis has demonstrated that opportunities to use Welsh does not always result in uptake of those opportunities and students' academic use of the language. At times such opportunities are seen as inconsequential to many students because of the many barriers they must face and navigate to use Welsh at this level.

This thesis has identified many of these barriers and challenges which go beyond merely a lack of Welsh medium higher education provision. These can be categorized broadly into two groups. First, institutional barriers refer to university policies, procedures and practices aimed to assist and enable students to use Welsh for academic purposes, but in fact end up problematizing their experiences and their attempts to do so. Second are pedagogical barriers which refer to aspects of (the delivery of) Welsh medium higher education provision that students deemed to be challenging or problematic. They encompass the language-related-learning obstacles students encounter in the context of learning and/or studying through the medium of Welsh (that does not involve institutional processes and practices), in the classroom and/or during independent learning. Some of these key challenges centered around the formal processing of submitting academic work in Welsh; lack of awareness among academic staff in regard to students' Welsh language rights at university; translation concerns; lack of Welsh medium lecture materials, academic resources, journal articles and academic books, and a lack of established Welsh medium terminology, particularly across the Sciences. These challenges identified in this thesis adds to the current literature that have looked at the university experiences of Welsh speaking students by Desforges and Jones (2000; 2001; 2004), Jones and Desforges (2003), G.Williams (2005) and Ifan and Hodges (2017). It adds to current understanding of how students must come to confront and negotiate the practicalities associated with using Welsh as an academic language, and the fact that that their Welsh language learning experiences often requires overcoming many barriers and concerns due to the prevalence of English as a language of academia. This is a reality that many Welsh speaking students feel requires additional work and that is simply not a feature of studying through the medium of English. It also serves as a reminder that the use of minoritized languages in higher education is simply not a common phenomenon (Cenoz 2012; Cenoz and Etxague 2013), and that creating a bilingual infrastructure for the HE sector in Wales is a serious and ongoing challenge.

Moreover, the thesis also found that home language seemed to have a large bearing on how students negotiated language choices for academic purposes. Students from Welsh speaking homes generally favored Welsh as an academic language over English and were

more likely to submit assessments through the medium of Welsh. Moreover, these students were also more likely to overcome and negotiate the various pedagogical and institutional challenges they faced at university. These findings corroborate those by Ifan and Hodges (2017) which found that students from Welsh speaking homes preferred to write assessments in Welsh. Similarly, Thomas and Parry (2021) also found that home language plays a key role in pupils' choices regarding their language of study for A Level. Pupils from Welsh speaking homes indicated that they wanted to study these STEM subjects through the medium of Welsh, while those from English speaking homes were likely to want to study them through the medium of English. In a similar fashion, C. Williams (2003) also found a correlation between the language of study of year 12 and 13 pupils with home language. Those from Welsh speaking homes were more likely to study their subjects for A Level in Welsh, and those from English homes likely to do so through the medium of English.

Students' language preferences are arguably established pre-university, linked closely to the language spoken at home and it seems that these preferences are extended to the university level, at least initially. Although this may not always be exclusive. For example, Thomas and Parry (2021) found in their study that students from Welsh speaking homes favored a bilingual approach to university when asked about their choice of language for HE. Additionally, as discussed earlier, the quantitative survey findings of the thesis suggests that students' language preferences are closely tied to current Welsh medium provision with those not studying through the medium of Welsh preferring English as an academic language. This thesis's findings further illustrate the impact that a lack of Welsh medium linguistic progression pre- to post-16 education can have on students' language preferences at university, and thus their chances of using Welsh for academic purposes. This is also the case for students from Welsh speaking homes who are more likely to favor Welsh as an academic language in the first instance. This seems a particular challenge facing students studying Science courses.

The findings of this thesis also support similar work by Desforges and Jones (2004) Ifan and Hodges (2017) that found that employing biliteracy practices such as translanguaging for learning purposes becomes a prominent feature of university students' academic experiences. Despite many of the barriers that students must face and navigate when wanting to use Welsh for academic purposes, students in this study found that having to draw on both their Welsh and English language skills was seen as a positive aspect of their learning experiences. It was regarded by many as an effective learning tool that advanced their understanding of their subject areas. These findings also corroborate international research by van der Walt (2006) and van der Walt and Dornbarck (2011), and Kuteeva et al., (2015) in the South African and Swedish context respectively. Although these findings seem to contradict those by Thomas (2011) who found that Welsh speakers studying an English medium module in Psychology made very little use of Welsh medium academic resources that was developed specifically for them to encourage many to make use of their bilingual skills.

Previous research by Donnelly and Evans (2016) has noted that students' attachment to place plays a key role in determining the location of study for non-Welsh speaking students.

However, this thesis is the first study to utilise the concept of *cynefin* to illustrate the attachment that Welsh speaking students have to place that is constructed through, and indivisible of the Welsh language. Many Welsh speaking students from the traditionally Welsh speaking heartlands of Y Fro Gymraeg (specifically North West Wales) naturally orientated towards studying at a local university citing cultural reasons that was inextricably bound up with the Welsh language. The majority of these students came from Welsh speaking households. This interplay between language, culture, and place, in which language seems to dictate place has been documented by G. Jones (2010) as to why some Welsh speaking students opted to study at Bangor University, and by Davies and Trystan (2012), Jones and Desforges (2003), and Hinton (2011) as to why many students wanted to study at Aberystwyth University. Thus, it does seem that universities within Y Fro Gymraeg (Bangor in this particular study, and G.Jones 2010, and Aberystwyth in Davies and Trystan 2012; Jones and Desforges 2003; Hinton 2011) may appeal to students primarily for cultural reasons. These findings also support the work of C.Williams (2003) who found a correlation between home language and location of study with those from Welsh speaking homes more likely to study at Aberystwyth and Bangor University compared to those from English speaking homes. This study also found that Cardiff University appealed to Welsh speaking students largely because of its status and prestige as the only Russel Group university in Wales. Similar findings have been reported in G.Jones (2010) in which status and reputation were key factors in Welsh speaking students' university choices and why they chose to study at Cardiff over other Welsh universities.

The thesis has also observed the tension that exists among the community of Welsh speakers at university and that in-group relations and perceptions of belongingness amongst Welsh speakers are largely influenced by home language and the socio-cultural background of students. While language is seen by many as a marker of identity and belongingness to the Welsh speaking community at university, the study has shed light on the ways in which a linguistic hierarchy is formed within this community that is based on the *types of Welsh speakers*. This is ultimately characterized by the use of labelling dichotomies like: native vs non-native speakers, new speakers vs traditional speakers, and/or first language (L1) vs second language (L2) speakers. These findings reinforce O'Rourke and Ramallo's (2013) assertion that the emergence of 'new speakers' challenges the traditional concept of what it means to be a speaker of a minoritized language.

The findings of this thesis also attest to the works of Hornsby and Vigers (2018) and Selleck (2018) in the Welsh context, O'Rourke (2011) and Fhlannchadha and Hickey (2016) in the Irish context, and O'Rourke and Ramallo (2013) in the Galician context. These studies found that that new speakers of these minoritized languages, or L2 speakers, struggled with speaker legitimacy (Bourdieu 1977; 1991). These studies have shown how native speakers are regarded as legitimate speakers of the language and are thus considered to possess authority and ownership of the language over non-native speakers. This thesis has documented similar findings with many Welsh speaking students attributing ownership and legitimacy over the Welsh language to the notion of nativeness. The thesis found that many students constructed the idea of legitimacy and ownership over the Welsh language through having been brought

up speaking Welsh, speaking it as a first or native language, and having come from Y Fro Gymraeg. In this sense, Y Fro Gymraeg is seen as a qualifier for claiming speaker legitimacy which is similar to the work of O'Rourke's (2011) who found that non-native speakers of Irish associated the Irish spoken by those from the Gaeltacht to be more legitimate than their own.

9.4 Implications for Policy and Practice

The findings of the thesis have a number of important implications for policy and practice, particularly in areas relating to bilingual students' learning experiences at university, as well as Welsh medium higher education. These findings presented in this study are of particular relevance to the Welsh Government, policy makers, Y Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol and Higher Education Institutions in Wales. Bilingual students' experiences at university have received little attention to date, despite Welsh medium higher education being a key policy area of the Welsh Government. The findings therefore provide valuable insights and much needed data into the reality of Welsh speaking students' experiences of HE. As such, the findings have the potential to inform and influence Y Coleg Cymraeg's aims and future direction and strategy for the development of Welsh medium higher education and can assist ways to improve the Welsh language learning experiences of bilingual students at this level. Three key areas of recommendations have been identified. These include *improving the learning experience of bilingual students at university*; *the development of Welsh medium higher education provision*; and *students' HE choices: linguistic progression and HE reputation*. These recommendations, presented shortly, complement three (out of six) of the Coleg Cymraeg's priorities set out in their Strategic Plan for 2020-2025 (Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol 2020). These include:

- Priority 1: Lead the development and implementation of language policy in Wales in the context of post-compulsory education
- Priority 2: Enrich the experience of students and learners
- Priority 5: Contribute towards a bright and sustainable future for post-16 education and training through the medium of Welsh

1. Improving the learning experiences of bilingual students at university

A major contribution of this thesis is that it has provided much needed data and insight into bilingual students' experiences at university, particularly their educational and learning experiences. By identifying and illustrating the various institutional and pedagogical challenges and issues students face during their time at university, there are several aspects that require further attention and addressing to improve the learning experiences of these students. It is important to incorporate and recognise the experiences of *current bilingual students at university* as a key strategic area for the Coleg Cymraeg. These insights can be used to enhance the

quality and experience of Welsh medium learning amongst bilingual students at this level, including mitigating many of the pedagogical and institutional challenges and barriers students often face. They may also be used to inform and guide future strategic aims and objectives of Y Coleg with the 'student experience' firmly set as a priority for future planning and development.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are made based on the findings of this study. The implementation of these recommendations, which offer means to re-dress both *pedagogical* and *institutional* related barriers and challenges, might not only improve students' Welsh language learning experiences at university, but they might also play a key role in increasing the number of students studying through the medium of Welsh and/or using Welsh as an academic language. In addition, they offer practical means to integrate, normalise and subsequently (further) legitimise the Welsh language as an academic language across HE institutions.

Recommendations to re-dress pedagogical barriers and challenges

- Continue with the development of Welsh medium higher education provision and Welsh medium study opportunities across the Welsh HE sector.
- Continue to invest in the development of Welsh medium resources across academic disciplines at this level to facilitate student learning through the medium of Welsh. For example, the development of digital resources through the e-learning platform Y Porth
- Promote the advantages of studying bilingually to students. For example, how employing biliteracy skills such as translanguaging can advanced comprehension of subject topics. This could be a way to convince students who may be apprehensive about using Welsh for academic purposes.
- Promote and encourage students who do not study through the medium of Welsh that drawing on their biliteracy skills can be a beneficial tool to complement their learning.
- Foster a sympathetic understanding amongst Welsh speaking students of their value and role in sustaining the future of Welsh medium higher education.
- Ensure that assessment/examination questions are set bilingually and are made available in both Welsh and English as the default university policy. Firstly, this provides choice for Welsh speaking students and removes the burden of students themselves having to translate questions from English into Welsh. This is particularly the case in English medium settings. Secondly, this removes the notion that Welsh can

only be used within Welsh medium settings and can help normalise the right to use Welsh in English medium contexts.

- Ensure that English-to-Welsh translated assessment questions goes through a thorough translation process and is thereafter reviewed by Welsh speaking academic staff in the subject area, where applicable. This can enhance the quality of translation.
- Encourage Welsh speaking academic staff who teach through the medium of English to utilise their Welsh language skills in lectures/seminars, such as presenting key terms in Welsh on lecture presentations or worksheets, to foster a bilingual learning environment. This is likely to increase students' willingness to use Welsh for academic purposes, such as for note-taking for example. This can help normalise Welsh as an academic language.
- Continue to champion financial incentives via Coleg Cymraeg scholarships as a way to encourage students to utilise their Welsh language skills for academic purposes.

Recommendations to re-dress institutional barriers and challenges

- Ensure that non-Welsh speaking academic staff are informed and sensitive to the linguistic and educational backgrounds of Welsh speaking students. This could be done through Welsh language awareness courses, for example, to increase intercultural sensitivity.
- Ensure that all staff members, but particularly non-Welsh speaking, are made aware of students' language rights at university, such as the right to submit assessments through the medium of Welsh, and actively communicate and promote those rights to Welsh speaking students.
- Remove the requirement that is imposed upon Welsh speaking students to notify their course departments in advance of their intention to submit written assessments and/or sit examinations through the medium of Welsh. This will help normalise the Welsh language as an academic language.
- Ensure that if translations of written Welsh assessments/examinations into English are necessary, due to lack of Welsh speaking academic staff for example, then that this process is clearly communicated to students to ensure transparency, and to mitigate any concerns they might have about the quality and content of translated works.

2. Students HE choices: linguistic progression and reputation

The findings further suggest that there are two key areas relating to students' HE choices that may have important implications for policy.

a. A level study and linguistic progression

Firstly, Chapter 5 shed light on the teaching and learning practices of A Level study from the perspective of students. While the data alluded to a switch from GCSE's to some A-Level study in the medium of instruction from Welsh to English, (and further research is needed to corroborate these findings), these practices have important implications because they may inadvertently influence students' language choice for A Level study, and subsequently HE. It is therefore recommended to:

- Review the teaching practices and the medium of instruction of A-Level subjects across bilingual secondary schools.
- Examine the learning practices of A-Level students across bilingual secondary schools.

Combined, these can shed light on bilingual secondary schools' language policies in relation to the teaching of A Level subjects, and assess how these impact students' choice of language, both for their A Level and higher education. This focus can potentially identify areas to be strengthened, such as the development of Welsh medium A-Level study across certain subjects to strengthen effective progression routes from A-Level study into HE through the medium of Welsh.

b. Student reputation of Welsh universities

Another policy implication here refers to students' university choice making process and the question of institutional reputation vis-à-vis staying in Wales to study, and Welsh medium higher education. The Coleg recognises that reputation affects students' HE choices (Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol 2017). The findings of this study also demonstrate that many students consider course quality and institutional reputation as principal aspects of their university choices, such as those in Groups 2 and 3, in Chapter 4. At times, this results in students rejecting Welsh universities because of the perception that English universities are of better quality and status and have greater reputation than their Welsh counterparts. This also results in a rejection of Welsh medium higher education. Given that the Welsh HE sector must contend with English universities, there needs to be more effort into retaining Wales domiciled students to stay in Wales to study, and to encourage them to study through the medium of Welsh. This is particularly the case amongst those who prioritise reputation and status of higher education institutions. It is recommended therefore that there should be:

- A targeted effort to increase Welsh medium study opportunities specifically at Cardiff University on the basis that it is the only Russell Group university in Wales.

This could be an effective way of retaining Welsh speaking students in Wales to study who prioritise institutional reputation and status (over non-Russell Group universities). By expanding Welsh medium study opportunities here, it would encourage more students to study through the medium of Welsh.

3. The development of Welsh medium higher education provision

Another important implication of these findings relates to the future and development of Welsh medium higher education and Welsh medium study opportunities. Analysis of official statistics in Chapter 6 point to the differences in Welsh medium study opportunities across the HE sector in Wales. This is typically characterised by the differences in Welsh medium higher education engagement amongst students by institution. The following recommendation is made as a way to increase Welsh medium study opportunities, and to optimise the number of students studying through the medium of Welsh at the HE level:

- For Y Coleg Cymraeg to consider expanding and developing Welsh medium study opportunities particularly across universities with high numbers of Welsh speakers such as Swansea University and University of South Wales, for example (as discussed in section 6.2.2, Figure 6.2) but where engagement with Welsh medium higher education is relatively low (Figure 6.3).

4. Better reporting on Welsh medium higher education engagement

Chapter 6 of the thesis presented official data on Welsh medium higher education. An aspect of this data related to the number of students engaged with Welsh medium study relative to the number of credits undertaken, based on the label 'some teaching through Welsh', presented in Figure 6.5. Currently, data on the number of credits undertaken by students are categorised using the following descriptors: 'total enrolled', '5 credit', '20 credit', '40 credit', '80 credit' and '120 credits'. Upon conducting analysis of these figures there seems to be some confusion and a lack of clarity regarding the differences between the numbers of students that fall under 'total enrolled' versus the number of those studying '5 credits' through the medium of Welsh. Arguably there should be consistency in these figures. However, no explanation or description is provided on the number of credits by the official statistics. For example, what counts as a 5-credit module when most undergraduate modules are 20 credit units? And how about students who do not receive any Welsh medium teaching but do submit assessments and examinations through the medium of Welsh? How are these students accounted for in these figures? This is an important point to address given that most students who engage with Welsh medium study fall under the labels 'total enrolled' and '5 credit' of which no descriptions are provided. In light of this then, the following recommendations are made to improve reporting on Welsh medium higher education engagement:

- To clarify and conceptualise what is meant by ‘some teaching through Welsh’, including discerning any differences between students who receive teaching in Welsh (i.e. lectures and seminars) versus students who do not, but use Welsh as an academic language for assessment and examination purposes, for example.
- To adopt the following credits breakdown as a way to better and accurately reflect the number of credits studied through the medium of Welsh: 10, 20, 40, 60, 80 and 120 credits.

5. International collaboration on minoritized languages at higher education

The findings of this thesis shed light on the challenges that many students face in using Welsh as an academic language at the university level. By providing an international context to the use of minoritized languages at higher education in Chapter 2, it demonstrates that the Welsh language and Welsh speakers are not alone in encountering these challenges. There are a number of bi/trilingual minoritized/majority language(s) settings within the HE context. This is an area that offers great opportunities for cross-collaboration amongst international higher education institutions to further explore aspects relating to minoritized languages at university. The following recommendations offer potential ways to enhance understanding of minoritized language students’ learning experiences at higher education, including, similarly to this study, balancing and negotiating a minoritized language vis-à-vis a majority language for academic purposes. These recommendations may also be useful means to share best practice to address such challenges, and collaborate to ensure the vitality of minoritized languages as languages of academia/mediums of instruction across the international HE community:

- Develop a forum akin to the World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium (WINHEC) for minoritized languages to provide a platform to share and discuss the concerns and challenges facing minoritized languages and speakers of minoritized languages across a range of international HE contexts.
- Encourage collaboration with international HEI’s to conduct research into the bi/multilingual learning practices and strategies of students in bi/multilingual HE contexts, particularly in minoritized/majority language settings.

9.5 Limitations of study, and avenues for future research

This section acknowledges some of the limitations of the study, before proceeding to discuss potential avenues and opportunities for future related research based on the empirical findings of the study.

9.5.1 Limitations of the study

Firstly, there are drawbacks relating to the sampling of participants in the study. While gender was not a variable that was examined in this study, the gender composition of participants meant that an overwhelming majority of those who participated in the qualitative interviews were female (33), with only three males included. Furthermore, the study took a purposively sampling approach to ensure a range of factors were considered when designing the sampling frame to identify research participants. These included variables such as home language, geographical location, academic year, course type, and if students were studying through the medium of Welsh or not. Therefore, the sampling of the participants for this study were not generated at random. Relatedly, the focus of the research was on the Welsh language, including Welsh medium higher education: subjects which can be viewed as ‘political’ in nature. The study therefore may have drawn or attracted Welsh speaking students who held more positive or favourable attitudes towards the Welsh language and Welsh medium higher education than those who may have less favourable attitudes, for example.

Additionally, parts of the study only focused on two HEIs in Wales – Bangor and Cardiff University. While the rationale for doing so has been outlined in Chapter 4, it is worth considering the extent that these findings can be generalized to the wider Welsh speaking undergraduate student population, and those studying at other universities in Wales. The study found similar educational or pedagogical challenges to using Welsh as an academic language at this level between students at both Cardiff and Bangor. These include a lack of Welsh medium learning opportunities, lack of Welsh medium educational resources, and the difficulties associated with translating concepts/terms from English into Welsh, for example. These findings corroborate similar findings by those such as Desforges and Jones (2000; 2001; 2004), G.Williams (2005), and Jones and Desforges (2003) at Aberystwyth University, and Ifan and Hodges (2017) at Bangor University. While these may be regarded as ‘universal’ barriers and challenges that Welsh speaking students face, it is also important to acknowledge that findings of this study also point out to specific institutional issues and challenges that are unique to certain universities. Generalizing these findings should therefore be treated with caution.

Another limitation to the thesis is that the official data on Welsh medium higher education presented and discussed in Chapter 6 has been a re-analysis of the official statistics obtained by HESA via the Welsh Government’s statistical bulletins on ‘Welsh language in higher education’ (WG 2012a; 2013a; 2014a; 2015a; 2016a; 2017a; 2018a; 2019p). These data sets were not retrieved nor obtained directly from the original source – HESA. This was justified as the data were used primarily for descriptive purposes, and to map out trends and development in Welsh medium higher education. Nevertheless, it is not possible to account for some of the potential methodological issues and drawbacks of these statistics, and how these might impact the data presented in the thesis (as well as by the Welsh Government).

9.5.2 Avenues for future research

This section considers avenues for future related research based on the findings of this study.

Incorporating students accounts on Welsh medium higher education

For this study, students' accounts of their learning experiences including Welsh medium higher education was collected qualitatively through face-to-face interviews, as well as quantitatively through the primary survey. The latter focusing specifically on the *form* of Welsh medium higher education participation and engagement.

It is integral that students' *own* accounts of their educational experiences are at the forefront of any future research, be it quantitative or qualitative research, and policy development pertaining to their learning experiences at university, including Welsh medium higher education and development of provision. Arguably this may seem like an obvious statement to make; that is, to investigate and understand Welsh medium higher education engagement, research ought to focus on students themselves. However, official data on Welsh medium higher education by HESA is reported and collected by HE providers, thus omitting any direct contribution from students themselves. Most of what is known about Welsh medium higher education particularly relating to participation and engagement has primarily been through these official statistics, and thus from a quantitative perspective. This is reason enough to conduct further qualitative research within the field. These quantitative data have been very useful to map trends, growth and to understanding the current situation of Welsh medium higher education, for example. However, their applicability and relevance are somewhat limited to *understanding students' experiences* at this level. These include students' 'on the ground' experiences of Welsh medium higher education, how they negotiate and navigate language choices for academic purposes, as well as the countless pedagogical challenges and institutional barriers they face as part of their learning experiences. Obtaining direct accounts of students' experiences not only serves as a means to redress this shortcoming, but also has the potential to better and accurately reflect the reality of their experiences. This applies to both quantitative and qualitative research. As already noted in this thesis, these primary survey findings are the only quantitative data set available, to date, that has sought to report student's *own* accounts of Welsh medium higher education study. Furthermore, the qualitative findings of the study represent only a tiny minority of empirical studies that have looked at the learning experiences of bilingual students at this level. These methods combined have been used to better comprehend and elucidate the complex reality of students' learning experiences at university; an element that official statistics simply fails to account for, and, up until now has been lacking within the academic literature and empirical research.

There is a need therefore to ensure that future research, including policy development and consultations, for example, prioritise the involvement of current undergraduate students within their studies, and to recognise that any research into students' learning experiences at

university such as Welsh medium higher education, pedagogical challenges faced by students, or how students negotiate language choices for academic purposes, *must* be geared from the perspective of students themselves. Simultaneously, and more generally there needs to be increased effort into conducting further empirical research from the perspectives of students across the Welsh HE sector.

A further point worth mentioning here is that the quantitative findings of the survey obtained a much more granular form of data and accounted for the intricates and nuances that official data simply overlooks. Future research may want to consider the potential benefits of applying a similar method or approach to account specifically for students' engagement and participation with Welsh medium higher education. Further quantitative work that focuses on these granular details about the nature of participation could better support, complement and strengthen current and official statistics on Welsh medium higher education. It could, for example, be useful for mapping out where exactly Welsh medium opportunities lies across variables such as academic year and academic disciplines, and more importantly what is the form or nature of those opportunities (lectures, seminars, workshops, etc). Such data could be key in terms of marketing and promoting Welsh medium study opportunities as it could allow for clarity and specificity. Collecting quantitative data on a large scale such as across the whole of the HE sector in Wales provides a golden opportunity to really document a large population of students' experiences of their Welsh medium higher education engagement and participation. For example, questions asked in the survey could be adapted or extended and used by the Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol to better map Welsh medium engagement and participation at this level, leading to the creation of a (separate) database of Welsh medium higher education engagement. These surveys could be circulated annually and be sent to students who study through the medium of Welsh and/or Welsh speaking undergraduate students across universities in Wales. Thus, adding much needed detail and specificities to mitigate the shortcomings/drawbacks of official data and to better account for the reality of Welsh medium higher education as experienced directly by student themselves. Moreover, employing multiple methods to further explore Welsh medium higher education and Welsh speakers' educational choices and experiences at university can be an effective way to enhance validity and rigour. The triangulation of data could benefit research within this area.

Stakeholders' views

Additionally, further research could enhance the scope of participants to include a variety of key stakeholders. This study focused on current undergraduate students at university and did not consider key stakeholders involved in the planning, development, and implementation of Welsh medium higher education provision as part of the research. Future research into Welsh medium higher education, or the learning choices and experiences of bilingual students at this level may want to consider exploring the views of these key stakeholders. These could include Welsh speaking academic staff that teach through the medium of Welsh at higher education, Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol branch officers across universities in Wales, as well as Coleg Cymraeg staff such as academic managers, those

responsible for developing Welsh medium academic resources, terminologist, and policy makers. Collecting data from a range of stakeholders' perspectives not only ensures the generation of rich and insightful data, but it could be effective to elicit greater understanding surrounding the processes and challenges associated with the implementation of Welsh medium higher education provision and using Welsh as an academic language at this level. Thus, bridging and complementing findings from studies that explore undergraduate students such as those presented in this thesis. These findings could have the potential to inform policy development and university/institutional policies regarding the Welsh language across higher education and could be used to address many of the challenges identified in this thesis. Such practical solutions are very much needed to untangle the countless complexities Welsh speaking students face in their pursuit to access Welsh medium higher education/ using Welsh language at this level. These are key to improving students' Welsh language experiences at university.

HE choices and students from South-East Wales

Further research may be needed to focus more specifically on the HE choice making process of bilingual students across South-East Wales. Findings of this study suggests a tendency for many students from this area whose HE choices are largely based on course quality/reputation and institutional prestige to move outside of Wales to study. However further evidence is needed to corroborate these findings and to establish whether there is a specific trend amongst these particular cohort of students that ultimately discourage many to remain in Wales to study. Further research in this area is needed as they could have important implications for policy and practice, such as the issue of retaining students to study in Wales, and the ever increasing 'brain drain'⁸⁶ of Welsh graduates. Recently, the *Darogan Network* was established and aims to attract Wales domiciled graduates who study outside of Wales back to Wales after they graduate. Further research could also consider conducting longitudinal research into the post-university/graduate life of Welsh speakers from South-East Wales, and Wales more generally in order to explore this issue further.

Socio-cultural

Further research may also want to consider paying particular attention to Welsh speaking students' social and cultural aspects of their experiences at university; an equally important and prominent feature of students' university life. The findings of this study have demonstrated a number of aspects which seem to discourage many Welsh speakers from engaging with the Welsh speaking community, including perceived exclusivity amongst Welsh speakers, in-group relations and tension, and the nature of social events. It might be worth further exploring these intra-group relations in greater detail and the consequences of the 'negative' experiences shared by some Welsh speaking students upon their relationship with the Welsh language, including perception and use of the Welsh language and its speakers more generally. This could offer practical means and solutions to address and reduce intra-group

⁸⁶ See for example: <https://www.iwa.wales/agenda/2021/10/no-country-for-young-folks-brain-drain/>

conflict amongst Welsh speakers. Further research could also benefit from exploring ways to increase student engagement and participation with the Welsh speaking community, and to ensure that it is made more accessible or attractive to those who may not necessarily feel that they 'belong'. These could encompass attracting Welsh learners for example, or by expanding social events and activities that do not centre around alcohol and embracing different types of Welsh speakers. Moreover, this thesis also looked at the experiences of Welsh speaking students studying at English universities. This is the only piece of empirical piece of research to do so. There is an opportunity here for further research to explore notions of identity and Welshness amongst these students, including how and to what extent has moving away from Wales and 'home' impacted upon their relationship with the Welsh language.

9.6 Concluding Remarks

To conclude, this thesis set out to examine bilingual Welsh-English speaking undergraduate students' relationship with the Welsh language at higher education. It has demonstrated that students' relationship with the Welsh language at this level is complex, diverse, and multifaceted. As bilinguals, the HE sector becomes a site of constant negotiation of language choices and considerations for these students. It has demonstrated that language considerations are continuously negotiated by students and that such considerations must be navigated throughout their time at higher education; language choices are not merely pre-fixed choices for these students. The thesis has also carefully demonstrated that the Welsh language is implicated, to varying degrees in the separate but interrelated spheres of university – the academic and the social choices and experience of these bilingual students. The thesis has clearly demonstrated that language choices are not only negotiated for learning purposes, and that the language is also firmly embedded in students' social choices and experiences. Doing so has enabled the study to take a more holistic view of the university experiences of bilingual students and broaden current understanding of the differences (and similarities) in students' choices and experiences around language at higher education. This is a marked difference to studies such as Ifan and Hodges (2017), G.Williams (2005), Parfett et al., (2018), and Thomas (2011) for example, which have only focused on the learning experiences of Welsh speaking students at this level, including using Welsh for academic purposes. This study has illustrated that the ways in which the Welsh language is situated and embedded within the university experiences of these bilingual students, including how they inform their academic and social experiences range considerably and is interlinked to a multitude of factors. The findings illustrate the heterogeneous nature of Welsh speaking students, their university choices, and subsequent experiences.

While official statistics point to a healthy rise in the number of students undertaking and engaged with some form of Welsh medium study at this level, as discussed in Chapter 6 – this is fundamentally only a partial representation of the reality of Welsh medium higher education. By employing a qualitative approach to elicit greater understanding of students' own learning and academic experiences at this level, the thesis makes an original contribution to the university experiences of undergraduate students across the higher education sector in Wales. This is particularly in reference to Welsh medium higher education and students' attempts to use Welsh as an academic language. By doing so it has not only shed light on a relatively unexplored area of study, but it has also presented a more accurate representation of the reality of these students' experiences at university (that official data has unable to do). The thesis demonstrates that students face several challenges in accessing Welsh medium higher education as well as their attempts to use Welsh as an academic language at this level. Many of these are pedagogical in nature, while many refer to several specific institutional barriers and challenges. It is important that these challenges are addressed and further explored by policy makers and institutions alike in order to improve the learning experiences of Welsh speaking students across the higher education in Wales; an experience which is often

characterised by constant and continuous negotiation, uncertainty and additional work and effort. Further work is also needed to normalise and mainstream the Welsh language across the higher education sector.

These findings hold particular relevance to the policy development and future of Welsh medium higher education, and the experiences of bilingual Welsh-English speaking students at universities across the higher education in Wales. Policy makers, higher education institutions, Y Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol and researchers should take note of these empirical findings and consider them in any future developments, strategies and approaches concerning the learning experiences of Welsh speakers at university.

•
;

“

References

Aberystwyth University (2017). *Aberystwyth University's Welsh Language Standards*. Available at: <https://www.aber.ac.uk/en/media/departmental/cwls/canllawiausafonauiaithhefyd/welshlanguagestandardsdocuments/canllawiausafoniaith/SAESNEG-Safonau-Iaith-Gymraeg-Prifysgol-Aberystwyth-vii---Copi.docx>

Aberystwyth University (2018). *Policy on the Internal Use of Welsh*. Available at: <https://www.aber.ac.uk/en/media/departmental/cwls/pdfs/Policy-on-the-Internal-Use-of-Welsh---FINAL.pdf>

Aberystwyth University (2019a). *Pantycelyn*. <https://www.aber.ac.uk/cy/study-with-us/accommodation/accommodation-options/pantycelyn/>

Aberystwyth University. (2019). *Welsh Language and Culture Sub-Strategy 2019-2023*. Available at: <https://www.aber.ac.uk/en/media/departmental/cwls/pdfs/Welsh-Language-and-Culture-Sub-Strategy.pdf>

Aberystwyth University. (2019b). *Undeb Myfyrwyr Cymraeg Aberystwyth (UMCA)* <https://www.aber.ac.uk/cy/study-with-us/student-life/umca/>

Airey, John., and Lauridsen, Kare., and Räsänen, Anne., Salö, Linus., and Schwach, Vera (2017). The expansion of English-medium instruction in the Nordic countries: Can top-down university language policies encourage bottom-up disciplinary literacy goals? *Language Indexing Higher Education Policy*, 73(4), pp.561-576. Available: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/26447636>

Aitchison, John., and Carter, Harold (1994). *A Geography of the Welsh Language 1961-1991*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Aitchison, John., and Carter, Harold (2000a). The Welsh Language 1921-1991: A Geolinguistic Perspective. In: Jenkins, Geraint., and Williams, Mari. (eds., 2000). *'Let's do our best for the ancient tongue': The Welsh Language in the Twentieth Century*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, pp. 29-108.

Aitchison, John., and Carter, Harold. (1991). Rural Wales and the Welsh language. *Rural History*, 2(1), pp. 61-79. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0956793300002624>

Aitchison, John., and Carter, Harold. (2000b). *Language, Economy, and Society: The Changing Fortunes of the Welsh Language in the Twentieth Century*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Alastrué, Ramón (2015). Debates and discourse on English as an academic and research language. In: Alastrué, Ramón., and Pérez-Llantada, Carmen (eds., 2015). *English as a Scientific Research Language*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, pp.3-8.

Altarriba, Jeanette., and Heredia, Roberto. (2008). Introduction: Theoretical and Methodological Background. In: Altarriba, Jeanette., and Heredia, Roberto. (eds., 2008). *An Introduction to Bilingualism: Principles and Processes*. London; New York: Taylor and Francis Group, pp. 3-10.

Anderson, Benedict (ed., 1991). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*. London: Verso.

Andersson, Johan., and Sadgrove, Joanna., and Valentine, Gill (2012). Consuming campus: geographies of encounter at a British university. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 13(5), pp. 501-515. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649365.2012.700725>

Andrews, Dorine., and Nonnecke, Blair., and Preece, Jennifer. (2003). Electronic survey methodology: A case study in reaching hard to involve Internet Users. *International Journal of Human-Computer Interaction*, 16(2), pp. 185-210. Available: https://doi.org/10.1207/S15327590IJHC1602_04

Anning, Bercie., and Arbon, Veronica., and Robertson, Boni., and Thomas, Gary. (2012). Celebrating and Sustaining Indigenous Knowledge through Higher Education. *World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium Journal*, pp. 27-45.

Antoun, Christopher., and Zhang, Chan., and Conrad, Frederick., and Schober, Michael. (2015). Comparisons of Online Recruitment Strategies for Convenience Samples: Craigslist, Google, AdWords, Facebook, and Amazon Mechanical Turk. *Field Methods*, 1-16. Available: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/1525822X15603149>

Arad Consulting (2006). *Options Appraisal: Models for Welsh Medium Teaching in Higher Education*. Cardiff: Arad Consulting.

Areif, Mahyar. (1999). Non-place and placelessness as narratives of loss: Rethinking the notion of place. *Journal of Urban Design*, 4(2), pp.179-183. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13574809908724445>

Arzoz, Xabier (2012a). Linguistic Minorities in Spain. In: Richter, Dagmar., and Richter, Igno., and Toivanen, Retta., and Ulasiuk, Iryna (eds., 2012). *Language Rights Revisited – The Challenge of Global Migration and Communication*. Berlin: Wolf Legal Publishers. pp. 271-286.

Arzoz, Xabier (2015). The Impact of Language Policy on Language Revitalization. In: Marten, Heiko., and Rießler, Michael., and Sarrikivi, Janne., and Toivanen, Reeta. (eds.,

2012). *Cultural and Linguistic Minorities in the Russian Federation and the European Union – Comparative Studies on Equality and Diversity*. New York: Springer, pp. 315-334.

Arzoz, Xavier (2007). The Nature of Language Rights. *Journal of Ethnopolitics and Minority Issues in Europe*, 6(2). pp. 1-35. Available: https://www.ecmi.de/fileadmin/redakteure/publications/JEMIE_Datens%C3%A4tze/Jemie_datens%C3%A4tze_2007/2-2007-Arzo.pdf

Arzoz, Xavier (2012b). Legal Education in Bilingual Contexts: A Conceptual, Historical and Comparative Introduction. In: Arzoz, Xabier (2012b). *Bilingual Higher Education in the Legal Context: Group Rights, State Policies and Globalisation*. Lieden: Martinus Nijhoff Publishers, pp.3-36.

Baker, Colin (1985). *Aspects of Bilingualism in Wales*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Baker, Colin (1993). In: Beardsmore, Hugo (ed., 1993). *European Models of Bilingual Education*. Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters. Pp. 7-30.

Baker, Colin (2000). Three Perspectives on Bilingual Education Policy in Wales: Bilingual Education as Language Planning, as Pedagogy and as Politics. In: Daugherty Richard., and Phillips, Robert., and Rees, Gareth. (eds., 2000). *Education Policy-Making in Wales: Explorations in Devolved Governance*. Cardiff: University of WALES Press. pp. 102-123.

Baker, Colin (2007). Becoming bilingual through bilingual education. In: Auer, Peter., and Wei, Li (eds., 2007). *Handbook of Multilingualism and Multilingual Communication*. New York: De Gruyter Mouton. pp. 131-152.

Baker, Colin (2010). Bilingual Education. In: Kaplan, Robert (ed., 2010). *The Oxford Handbook of Applied Linguistics*. New York: Oxford University Press. pp.318-328.

Baker, Colin (2011). *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Baker, Colin (2014). *A Parents' and Teachers' Guide to Bilingualism*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Baker, Colin., and Jones, Meirion (2000). Welsh Language Education: A Strategy for Revitalization. In: Williams, Colin (ed., 2000). *Language Revitalization: Policy and Planning in Wales*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, pp.116-137.

Baker, Therese. (1994). *Doing Social Research*. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Balsom, Denis (1985). 'The Three Wales Model'. In: Osmond John (ed., 1985). *The National Question Again: Welsh Political Identity in the 1980's*. Llandysul: Gomer, pp.6-31.

Bangor University (2016). *Bangor University Welsh Language Scheme: Prepared in accordance with the Welsh Language Act 1993*. Bangor: Bangor University.

Bangor University (2017). *Regulations for Taught Programmes: Regulations for the Award and Assessment of Taught Degrees, Diplomas and Certificates*. Bangor: Bangor University.

Bangor University (2018). *Bangor University Welsh Language Policy and Action Plan*. Available at: https://www.bangor.ac.uk/canolfanbedwyr/pdf/Welsh_Language_Policy_March_2018_gwefan.pdf

Bangor University (2019a). *John Morris-Jones*. <https://www.bangor.ac.uk/accommodation/halls/jmj>

Bangor University (2019b). *Beth ydy UMCB?* <https://www.undebbangor.com/cy/umcb-general-information/what-is-umcb>

Bangor University (2019c). *Regulations for Taught Programmes*. Bangor: Bangor University.

Bauman, Zygmunt., et al. (2002). Qualitative Interviewing: Asking, Listening and Interpreting. In: May, Tim (ed., 2002). *Qualitative Research in Action*. London: SAGE Publications, pp. 226-241.

Bentahila, Abdelâli., and Davies, Eirlys (2015). Patterns of code-switching and patterns of language contact. *Lingua*, 96, pp.75-93. Available: [https://doi.org/10.1016/0024-3841\(94\)00035-K](https://doi.org/10.1016/0024-3841(94)00035-K)

Benzie, Helen (2010). Graduating as a 'native speaker': international students and English language proficiency in higher education. *Higher Education Research & Development*, 29(4): 447-459.

Berger, Roni (2015). Now I see it, now I don't: researcher's position and reflexivity in qualitative research. *Qualitative Research*, 15(2), pp.219-234. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F14687941112468475>

Berman, Rachel., and Tyyskä, Vappu. (2011). A Critical Reflection on the Use of Translators/Interpreters in a Qualitative Cross-Language Research Project. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 10(2), pp. 178-190. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F160940691101000206>

Berry, John (1974). Psychological Aspects of Cultural Pluralism: Unity and Identity Reconsidered. *Culture Learning*, 2 pp.17-22.

Berry, John (1997). Immigration, Acculturation, and Adaptation. *Applied Psychology: An International Review*, 46(1), pp. 5- 68. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1464-0597.1997.tb01087.x>

Berry, John (2005). Acculturation: Living successful in two cultures. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 29 (2005), pp. 697-712.

Berry, John (2006a). Mutual attitudes among immigrants and ethnocultural groups in Canada. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 30 (2006), pp. 719-734.

Berry, John (2006b). Acculturative stress. In: Wong, Paul., and Wong, Lilian (eds., 2006). *Handbook of Multicultural Perspectives on Stress and Coping*, pp. 287-298. Canada: Springer.

Berry, John (2008). Globalisation and acculturation. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 32 (2008), pp. 328-336.

Bickford, Julia., and Nisker, Jeff. (2015). Tensions Between Anonymity and Thick Description When “Studying Up” in Genetics Research. *Qualitative Health Research*, 25(2), pp. 276-282. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1049732314552194>

Blackaby, David., and Drinkwater, S (1996). Welsh-speakers and the Labour Market. *Contemporary Wales*. 9, pp. 158-170.

Blaxter, Loraine., and Hughes, Christina., and Tight, Malcolm. (eds 2011). *How to Research*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Bloomer, Leonard (1984). *Language*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.

Bolton, Kinglsey., and Kuteeva, Maria (2012). English as an academic language at a Swedish university: parallel language use and the ‘threat’ of English. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 33(5), pp.429-447. Available: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/epdf/10.1080/01434632.2012.670241?needAccess=true&role=button>

Bolton, Kingsley., and Botha, Werner., and Bacon-Shone, John (2017). English-medium instruction in Singapore higher education: policy, realities and challenges. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*. 38(1), pp. 913-930. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2017.1304396>

Bourdieu, Pierre. (1977). The economics of linguistic exchanges. *Social Science Information*, 16(6), pp. 645-668. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F053901847701600601>

Bourdieu, Pierre. (1991). *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Braun, Virginia., and Clarke, Victoria (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2): 77-101. Available: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>

Brenn, White, Megan., and van Rest, Edwin (2012). *English-Taught Master's Programs in Europe: New Findings on Supply and Demand*. New York: Institute of International Education.

Brenn, White, Megan., and van Rest, Edwin (2013). *English-Taught Master's Programs in Europe: A 2013 Update*. New York: Institute of International Education.

Brenn-White, Megan., and Faethe, Elias (2013). *English-Taught Masters' Programs in Europe: A 2013 Update*. Institute of International Education.

Brenn-White, Megan., and van Rest, Edwin (2012). *English-Taught Master's Programs in Europe: New Findings on Supply and Demand*. New York: Institute of International Education.

Briggs, Senga., and Wilson, Alex (2007). Which university? A study of the influence of cost and information factors on Scottish undergraduate choice. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management*, 29(1): 57-72.

British Council (2021). *The Changing Landscape of English-Taught programmes*. London: British Council.

British Educational Research Association (2018). *Ethical Guidelines for Education Research*. London: BERA.

British Sociological Association (2017). *Statement of Ethical Practice*. Durham: BSA.

Brooks, Rachel (2002). Transitional Friends? Young People's Strategies to Manage and Maintain their Friendship During a Period of Repositioning. *Journal of Youth Studies*, 5(4): 449-467.

Brooks, Rachel (2003a). Discussing higher education choices: differences and difficulties. *Research Papers in Education*, 18(3): 237-258.

Brooks, Rachel (2003b). Young People's Higher Education Choices: The role of family and friends. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 24(3): 283-297.

Brooks, Rachel (2008). Accessing Higher Education: The Influence of Cultural and Social Capital on University Choice. *Sociology Compass*, 2(4): 1355-1371.

Brown, Rachel., and Murphy, Simon. (2020). Alcohol and social connectedness or new residential university students: implications for alcohol harm reduction. *Journal of Further and Higher Education*, 44(2), pp. 216-230. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/0309877X.2018.1527024>

Bryer, Nia., and Davies, Rhys., and Yunus, Suhaer. (2018). *Seren Network Evaluation*. Welsh Government: Cardiff.

Bryer, Nia., and Duggan, Brett (2018). *Evaluation of Welsh-Medium Provision in Initial Teacher Education*. Cardiff: Welsh Government. Available at: <https://www.gov.wales/sites/default/files/statistics-and-research/2019-06/180928-evaluation-welsh-medium-provision-initial-teacher-education-en.pdf>

Bryman, Alan (2006). Integrating quantitative and qualitative research: how is it done? *Qualitative Research*, 6(1), pp. 97-113. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1468794106058877>

Bryman, Alan (2006). Integrating quantitative and qualitative research: how is it done? *Qualitative Research*, (6)1, pp. 97-113. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1468794106058877>

Bryman, Alan (ed., 2012) *Social Research Methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bull, Tove (2012). Against the mainstream: universities with an alternative language policy. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, pp.55-73. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl-2012-0039>

Burgess, Robert. (1984). *In the Field: An Introduction to Field Research*. London: Allen & Unwin.

Bwrdd Yr Iaith Gymraeg (2008). *The Welsh Language Use Survey of 2004-06*. Cardiff: Welsh Language Board.

Cardiff Metropolitan University (2018a). *Welsh Language Policy*. Available at: <https://www.cardiffmet.ac.uk/about/Welsh%20Language%20Unit/Documents/Cardiff%20Met%20Welsh%20Language%20Policy.pdf>

Cardiff Metropolitan University (2018b). *Welsh Language Standards*. Available at: <https://www.cardiffmet.ac.uk/about/Welsh%20Language%20Unit/Pages/Welsh-Language-Standards-.aspx#:~:text=Cardiff%20Met%20welcomes%20correspondence%20in,for%20students%20and%20public%20use.>

Cardiff Metropolitan University (2019). <https://www.cardiffmet.ac.uk/accommodation/Pages/Allocations-Procedure.aspx>
Cardiff University (2014). *Welsh Language Scheme: Revised*. Cardiff: Cardiff University.

Cardiff University (2015). *Academic Regulations Handbook 2015/16*. Cardiff: Cardiff University.

Cardiff University (2018a). *Cardiff University Welsh language policy in relation to the delivery of services to students and members of the public*. Cardiff: Cardiff University.

Cardiff University (2018b). *Welsh Language Service Delivery Policy*. Available at: https://www.cardiff.ac.uk/data/assets/pdf_file/0004/1163992/Cardiff-University-Welsh-Language-Operational-Standards-Policy-v1.0-FINAL.pdf

Cardiff University (2018c). *Welsh Linguistic Skills Strategy*. Available at: https://www.cardiff.ac.uk/data/assets/word_doc/0008/78452/Cardiff-University-Welsh-Linguistic-Skills-Strategy.docx

Cardiff University (2019). *Academic Regulations Handbook 2019/20*. Cardiff: Cardiff University.

Cardiff University (2019). *Research Integrity and Governance Code of Practice*. Cardiff: Cardiff University.

Cardiff University (2020a). *Browse Accommodation*. <https://www.cardiff.ac.uk/study/accommodation/residences?collection=website-residences&form=residences&gscope=1=1&&sort=metat>

Cardiff University (2020b). *Cardiff's Students' Union for Welsh speakers to be launched at the Eisteddfod*. <https://www.cardiff.ac.uk/news/view/1247709-cardiffs-students-union-for-welsh-speakers-to-be-launched-at-the-eisteddfod>

Cenoz, Jasone (2012). Bilingual education policy in higher education in the Basque Country. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 25(1), pp.41-55. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1080/07908318.2011.653057>

Cenoz, Jasone., and Etxague, Xabier (2013). From Bilingualism to Multilingualism: Basque, Spanish and English in Higher Education. In: Abello-Contesse, Christian., and Chandler, Paul., and López-Jiménez., and Chacón-Beltrán, Rubén. (eds., 2013). *Bilingual and Multilingual Education in the 21st Century: Building on Experience*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, pp 85-106.

Cenoz, Jasone., and Gorter, Durk (2019). Minority Languages, National State Languages, and English in Europe: Multilingual Education in the Basque Country and Friesland. *Journal of Multilingual Education Research*, 9(9), pp.61-77. Available: https://fordham.bepress.com/jmer/vol9/iss1/9?utm_source=fordham.bepress.com%2Fjmer%2Fvol9%2Fiss1%2F9&utm_medium=PDF&utm_campaign=PDFCoverPages

Cenoz, Jasone., and Gorter, Durk. (2017). Minority languages and sustainable translanguaging: threat or opportunity? *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 38(10), 901-912. Available at: <https://www.tandfonline.com/action/showCitFormats?doi=10.1080/01434632.2017.1284855>

Christie, Hazel. (2009). Emotional journeys: young people and transitions to university. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 30(2): 123-136.

Clarke, Victoria., and Braun, Virginia (2013). Teaching thematic analysis: Overcoming challenges and developing strategies for effective learning. *The Psychologist*, 26(2), pp. 120-123. Available:

http://www.thepsychologist.org.uk/archive/archive_home.cfm?volumeID=26&editionID=222&ArticleID=2222

Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol (2011). *Our work*. <http://www.colegcymraeg.ac.uk/en/ourwork/>

Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol (2014). *Strategic Plan 2014/15 to 2016/17*. Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol: Cardiff.

Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol (2016). *Annual Report, 2015/16*. Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol: Cardiff.

Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol (2017). *Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol Academic Plan – Towards 2020 and beyond*. Caerfyrddin: Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol.

Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol (2020). *Setting the Pathways of Success: The Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol's Strategic Plan 2020/21 to 2024/25*. Caerfyrddin: Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol.

Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol (2023). *Higher Education Academic Plan*. <https://colegcymraeg.ac.uk/en/pages-a-z-content/higher-education-academic-plan/>

Coleman, James (2006). English-medium teaching in European Higher Education. *Language Teaching*. 39(1), 1-14.

Coles, Rebecca., and Swami, Viren (2012). The sociocultural adjustment trajectory of international students and the role of university structures: A qualitative investigation. *Journal of Research in International Education*, 11(1): 87-100.

Commission of the European Communities (2003). *Promoting Language Learning and Linguistic Diversity: An Action Plan 2004-2006*. Brussels: European Commission.

Cormier, Gail (2018). The language variable in educational research: an exploration of research positionality, translation, and interpretation. *International Journal of Research & Method in Education*, 41(3), pp. 328-341. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1743727X.2017.1307335>

Cortazzi, Martin., and Pilcher, Nick., and Jin, Lixian. (2011). Language choices and 'blind shadows': investigating interviews with Chinese participants. *Qualitative Research*, 11(5), pp. 505-535. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1468794111413225>

Costa, James (2015). New speakers, new language: on being a legitimate speaker of a minority language in Provence. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 2015(321), pp. 127-145. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl-2014-0035>

Cots, Josep., and Llurda, Enric., and Garrett, Peter (2014). Language policies and practices in the internationalisation of higher education on the European margins: an introduction. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 35(4), pp. 311-317. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2013.874430>

Cots., Josep., and Lasagabaster, David., and Garrett, Peter (2012). Multilingual policies and practices of universities in three bilingual regions in Europe. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*. 2012(216), pp.7-23. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl-2012-0037>

Council of Europe (1992a). *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (1992)*. <https://rm.coe.int/1680695175>

Council of Europe (1992b). *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages (1992) – Explanatory Report*. <https://rm.coe.int/16800cb5e5>

Council of Europe (1995a). *The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*. <https://rm.coe.int/16800c10cf>

Council of Europe (1995b). *The Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities – Explanatory Report*. <https://rm.coe.int/16800cb5eb>

Couture, Amanda., and Zaidi, Arshia., and Maticka-Tyndale, Eleanor. (2012). Reflexive Accounts: An intersectional approach to exploring the fluidity of insider/outsider status and the researcher's impact on culturally sensitive post-positivist qualitative research. *Qualitative Sociology Review*, 1(1), pp. 86-105.

Creswell, John (1999). Mixed-Method Research: Introduction and Application. In: Cizek, Gregory (ed., 1999). *Handbook of Educational Policy*. San Diego: Academic Press, pp. 455-472.

Creswell, John (ed., 2003). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Method Approaches*. London: SAGE Publications.

Creswell, John. (ed., 2003). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*. London: SAGE Publications.

Creswell, John., and Clark, Vicki., and Gutmann, Michelle., and Hanson, William. (2003). An Expanded Typology for Classifying Mixed Methods Research Into Designs. In: Tashakkori, Abbas., and Teddlle, Charles (eds, 2003). *Handbook of mixed methods in social and behaviour research*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications, pp. 209-240.

Crotty, Michael (1998). *The Foundations of Social Research: Meaning and Perspective in the Research Process*. London: SAGE Publications.

Cummins, Jim (2005). Bilingual education. In: Bourne, Jill., and Reid, Euan (eds., 2005). *World Yearbook of Education 2003: Language and Education*. London: Routledge. pp.3-20.

Data Protection Act, 1998. *Data Protection Act 1998*. [online]. Available at: <https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/29/contents>

Davies, Andrew., and Davies, Prysor. (2015). Asset, affiliation, anxiety? Exploring student perspective on Welsh-medium study at post-sixteen further education colleges. In: Jones, Mari (ed, 2015) *Policy and Planning for Endangered Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp 67-79.

Davies, Andrew., and Trystan, Dafydd (2012). ‘Build and they shall come?’ An evaluation of qualitative evidence relating to student choice and Welsh-medium higher education. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 15(2): 147-164. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2011.607230>

Davies, Janet. (2014). *The Welsh Language: A History*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Davies, John (ed., 2007). *A History of Wales*. London: Penguin.

de Varennes, Fernand (1996). *Language, Minorities and Human Rights*. Nijoff Publishers: The Hague.

de Varennes, Fernand (2001). Language Rights as an Integral Part of Human Rights. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies*, 3(1), pp.15-25. <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000143762>

de Varennes, Fernand (2009). Language Right Standards in Europe: The Impact of the Council of Europe’s Human Rights and Treaty Obligations. In: Pertot, Susanna., Priestly, Tom., and Williams, Colin (eds., 2009). *Rights, Promotion, and Integration for Minority Languages in Europe*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, pp. 23-31.

de Wit, Hans (2018). The Bologna Process and the Wider World of Higher Education: The Cooperation Competition Paradox in a Period of Increased Nationalism. In: Curaj, Adrian., and Deca, Ligia., and Pricopie, Remus (eds., 2018). *European Higher Education Area: The Impact of Past and Future Policies*. Switzerland: Springer, pp.15-22.

de Wit, Hans., and Altbach, Phillip. (2021). Internationalization in higher education: global trends and recommendations for its future. *Policy Reviews in Higher Education*. 5(1), pp.28-46. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1080/23322969.2020.1820898>

Dearden, Julie (2014). *English as a medium of instruction – a growing global phenomenon*. London: British Council.

Denzin, Norman., and Lincoln, Yvonna. (1998). Introduction: Entering the Field of Qualitative Research. In: Denzin, Norman., and Lincoln, Yvonna. (eds., 1998). *Collecting and Interpreting Qualitative Materials*. London: SAGE Publications, pp. 1-34.

Desforges, Luke., and Jones, Rhys. (2000). The production of national identity in Wales: Higher Education and the Welsh language. *Contemporary Wales*, 13(2000), pp. 27-45. Available at: <https://journals.library.wales/view/1179046/1181915/38>

Desforges, Luke., and Jones, Rhys. (2001). Bilingualism and geographical knowledge: A case study of students at the University of Wales, Aberystwyth. *Social and Cultural Geography*, 2(3), pp. 333-346. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649360120073897>

Desforges, Luke., and Jones, Rhys. (2004). Learning Geography Bilingually. *Journal of Geography in Higher Education*, 28(3), pp. 411-424. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/0309826042000286974>

Dilman, Don (2006). *Mail and internet surveys: The tailored design method*. New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons.

Doiz, Aintzane., and Lasagabaster, David., and Sierra, Juan (2014). What does 'International university' mean at a European bilingual university? The role of languages and cultures. *Language Awareness*, 23(1-2), pp. 172-186. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09658416.2013.863895>

Donnacha, Seosmah, (2010). The Role of the University in Sustaining Linguistic Minorities – An Irish Case Study. In: Humar, Marjeta., and Karer, Mojca (eds, 2010). *National Languages in Higher Education*. Narodna in univerzitetna knjižnica: Ljubljana, pp. 49-61.

Donnelly, Michael., and Evans, Ceryn (2016). Framing the geographies of higher education participation: schools, place and national identity. *British Educational Research Journal*, 42(1), pp. 74-92. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1002/berj.3196>

Drinkwater, S., and O'Leary, N. (1997). Unemployment in Wales: Does Language Matter? *Regional Studies*. 31(6), pp.583-591. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00343409750131712>

Drubin, David., and Kellogg, Douglas. (2012). English the universal language of science: opportunities and challenges. *Molecular Biology of the Cell*, 23(8), pp. 1399. Available at: <https://dx.doi.org/10.1091%2Fmbc.E12-02-0108>

Dublin City University (2020) *Fiontar & Scoil na Gaeilge*. <https://www.dcu.ie/fiontarscoilnagaeilge>

Dunbar, Robert (2011). A unilingual minority language college in a multilingual university: Sabhal Mòr Ostaig. *European Journal of Language Policy*, 3(2), pp. 197-213. Available: <http://dx.doi.org/10.3828/ejlp.2011.11>

Dwyer, Sonya., and Buckle, Jennifer. (2009). The Space Between: On Being an Insider-Outsider in Qualitative Research. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 8(1), pp. 54-63. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F160940690900800105>

Edwards, Rosalind (1998). A critical examination of the use of interpreters in the qualitative research process. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 24(1), pp. 197-208. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1369183X.1998.9976626>

Edwards, Viv (2004). *Multilingualism in the English-speaking World: Pedigree of Nations*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Elwood, Sarah., and Martin, Deborah. (2000). “Placing” Interviews: Location and Scales of Power in Qualitative Research. *The Professional Geographer*, 52(4), pp. 649-657. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1111/0033-0124.00253>

Essson, James., and Ertl, Hubert. (2014). No point worrying? Potential undergraduates, study-related debt, and the financial allure of higher education. *Studies in Higher Education*, 41(7) 1265-1280.

Estyn (2013). *The Annual Report of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector of Education and Training in Wales, 2012-2013*. Cardiff: Estyn.

Estyn (2022). *The Annual Report of Her Majesty’s Chief Inspector of Education and Training in Wales, 2020-2021*. Cardiff: Estyn.

European Convention (2000). *The Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, 2000*. <https://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/EN/TXT/PDF/?uri=CELEX:12012P/TXT&from=EN>

European Higher Education Area [EHEA] (1999). *The Bologna Declaration of 19 June 1999*. [online]. https://www.ehea.info/media.ehea.info/file/Ministerial_conferences/02/8/1999_Bologna_Declaration_English_553028.pdf

- Evans, Gareth (1989). *A History of Wales, 1815 – 1906*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Evans, Gareth (2000a). In: Jenkins, Geraint., and Williams, Mari (eds., 2000). *'Let's Do Our Best for the Ancient Tongue': The Welsh Language in the Twentieth Century*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, pp. 343-370.
- Evans, Gareth (2000b). *A History of Wales, 1906 – 2000*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.
- Evans, Joel., and Marthur, Anil. (2005). The value of online surveys. *Internet Research*, 15(2), pp. 195-219. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1108/10662240510590360>
- Fhlannchadha, Siobhán., and Hickey, Tina (2016). Minority language ownership and authority: perspective of native speakers and new speakers. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 21(1), pp.38-55. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2015.1127888>
- Finn, Kirsty (2017). Multiple, relational and emotional mobilities: Understanding student mobilities in higher education as more than 'staying local' and 'going away'. *British Educational Research Journal*, 43(4), pp.743-758. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1002/berj.3287>
- Fishman, Joshua (1991). *Reversing Language Shift*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Gagnon, Marilou., and Jacob, Jean., and McCabe, Janet. (2015). Location the qualitative interview: reflecting on space and place in nursing research. *Journal of Research in Nursing*, 20(3), pp. 203-215. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1744987114536571>
- Galloway, Nicola (2020). *English in higher education – English medium. Part 1: Literature Review*. London: British Council
- Galloway, Nicola., and Kriukow, Jaroslaw., and Numajiri, Takuya (2017). *Internationalisation, higher education and the growing demand for English: an investigation into the English medium of instruction (EMI) movement in China and Japan*. London: British Council.
- García, Ofelia (2009a). *Bilingual Education in the 21st Century: A Global Perspective*. MA; Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell.
- García, Ofelia. (2009b). Education, Multilingualism and Translanguaging in the 21st Century. In: Mohanty, Ajit., and Panada, Minati., and Phillipson, Robert., and Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove. (eds., 2009). *Multilingual Education for Social Justice: Globalising the Local*. New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, pp.140-158.
- García, Ofelia. (2012). Theorizing translanguaging for educators. In Celic, Christina., and Seltzer, Kate (eds., 2012). *Translanguaging: A CUNY-NYSIEB guide for educators*, 1-6.

Available: <https://www.cuny-nysieb.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Translanguaging-Guide-March-2013.pdf>

García, Ofelia., and Wei, Li (2014). *Translanguaging: Language, Bilingualism and Education*. New York; London: Palgrave.

Garrett, Peter., and Gallego-Balsà, Lidia (2014). International universities and implications of internationalisation for minority languages: views from university students in Catalonia and Wales. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*. 35(4), pp. 361-375. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2013.874434>

García, Ofelia and Lin, Angel. (2017). In: García, Ofelia and Lin, Angel., and May, Stephen (eds., 2017). *Bilingual and Multilingual Education*. Springer: Switzerland, pp. 117-130.

Gartziarena, Mikel., and Villabona, Nerea (2022). Teachers' belief on multilingualism in the Basque Country: Basque at the core of multilingual education. *System*, 105, pp.1-10. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.system.2022.102749>

Gathercole, Virginia., and Thomas, Enlli., and Jones, Leah., and Gusach, Nestor., and Young, Nia., and Hughes, Emma. (2010). Cognitive effects of bilingualism: digging deeper for the contributions of language dominance, linguistic knowledge, socio-economic status and cognitive abilities. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 13(5), pp. 617-664. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2010.488289>

Gelinas, Luke., and Pierce, Robin., and Winkler, Sabune., and Cohen I. Glenn., and Lynch, Holly., and Bierer, Barbara. (2017). Using Social Media as Research Recruitment Tool: Ethical Issues and Recommendations. *The American Journal of Bioethics*, 17(3), 3-14. Available: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/28207365>

General Assembly of the United Nations. (1966). International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, 1966. <https://www.ohchr.org/en/instruments-mechanisms/instruments/international-covenant-civil-and-political-rights>

General Assembly of the United Nations. (1992). *The Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities, 1992*. <https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Publications/GuideMinoritiesDeclarationen.pdf>

General Assembly of the United Nations. (1998). *The Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights, 1996*. https://culturalrights.net/descargas/drets_culturals389.pdf

Gibbs, Graham (2007). Thematic Coding and Categorization. In Gibbs, Graham (ed., 2007). *Qualitative Research Kit: Analyzing Qualitative Data*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, pp. 38-55.

Giddens, Anthony. (1991). *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Gill, Tim., and Rodeiro, Carmen., and Zanini, Nadir. (2017). Higher education choices of secondary school graduates with a Sciences, Technology, Engineering or Mathematics (STEM) background. *Journal of Further and Higher Education*, 42(7), 998-1014.

González, Roger., and Colangelo, Patricia (2010). The Development of Indigenous Higher Education: A Comparative Historical Analysis between Australia, Canada, New Zealand, and the U.S: 1880-2005. *Journal of American Indian Education*, 49(3), pp.3-23. Available: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43608577>

Government of Ireland (2010). *20-Year Strategy for the Irish Language 2010-2030*. [online] <https://www.gov.ie/pdf/?file=https://assets.gov.ie/24380/865cef555ba845af8c1e71088f9a6e9d.pdf#page=null>

Goyder, John (1986). Surveys on Surveys: Limitations and Potentialities. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 50(1), pp. 27-41. Available: <https://academic.oup.com/poq/article/50/1/27/1821385>

Goyder, John. Surveys on Surveys: Limitations and Potentialities. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 50(1), pp. 27-41. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1086/268957>

Grádaigh, Seán. (2015). Who are qualified to teach in second-level Irish-medium schools? *Irish Education Studies*, 34(2), pp.165-182. Available at: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/03323315.2015.1025533?needAccess=true>

Gruffudd, Heini (2000). Planning for the Use of Welsh by Young People. In: Williams, Colin (ed., 2000). *Language Revitalization: Policy and Planning in Wales*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, pp.173-207.

Gu, Qing., and Schweisfurth, Michele., and Day, Christopher. (2010). Learning and growing in a 'foreign' context: intercultural experiences of international students. *Compare: A Journal of Comparative and International Education*, 40(1). 7-23.

Guillemin, Marilys., and Gillam, Lynn. (2004). Ethics, Reflexivity and "Ethically Important Moments" in Research. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 10(2), pp. 261-280. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1077800403262360>

Haberland, Hartmut., and Mortensen (2012). Language variety, language hierarchy and language choice in the international university. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 2012(216), pp.1-6. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl-2012-0036>

- Hamers, Josiane., and Blanc, Michel. (2000). *Bilinguality and Bilingualism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Harrison, Neil., and Chudry, Farooq., and Waller, Richard., and Hatt, Sue. (2015). Towards a typology of debt attitudes among contemporary young UK undergraduates. *Journal of Further and Higher Education*, 39(1), 85-107.
- Haugh, Michael (2016). Complaints and troubles talk about the English language skills of international students in Australian universities. *Higher Education Research & Development*, 35(4): 727-740.
- Heath, (2001). *Language, Culture and Markets in Further Education*. Unpublished PhD Thesis. Cardiff: Cardiff University, School of Social Sciences.
- Heller, Monica. (1995). Language Choice, Social Institutions, and Symbolic Domination. *Language in Society*, 24(3), pp. 373-405. Available at: www.jstor.org/stable/4168625
- Hemsley-Brown, Jane., and Oplatka, Izhar. (2015). *Higher Education Consumer Choice*. London: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Henley, Andrew., and Jones, Rhian (2005). Earnings and Linguistic Proficiency in a Bilingual Economy. *The Manchester School*, 73(3), pp.300-320. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9957.2005.00448.x>
- Her Majesty's Stationery Office (1967). *Welsh Language Act 1967, c.66*. London: HMSO.
- Her Majesty's Stationery Office. (1993). *Welsh Language Act 1993, c.38*. London: HMSO.
- Her Majesty's Stationery Office. (1999). *Welsh Language Act 1993, c.38*. London: HMSO.
- Her Majesty's Stationery Office. (2014). *Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011*. London: HMSO.
- Her Majesty's Stationery Office. (2014). *Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011*. London: HMSO.
- Her Majesty's Stationery Office. (2017). *The Welsh Language Standards (No.6). Regulations 2017. SI 2017/90*. London: HMSO.
- Her Majesty's Stationery Office. (2017). *The Welsh Language Standards (No.6). Regulations 2017. SI 2017/90*. London: HMSO.
- Heron, Marion (2018). Pedagogic practice to support international students in seminar discussions. *Higher Education Research & Development*, 38(2): 266-279.

Herzog, Hanna (2005). On Home Turf: Interview Location and Its Social Meaning. *Qualitative Sociology*, 28(1), pp. 25-47. Available: <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11133-005-2629-8>

Herzog, Hanna (2012). Interview Location and its Social Meaning. In: Guburim, James., and Holstein, James., and Marvasti, Amir. And McKinney, Karyn (eds., 2014). *The SAGE Handbook of Interview Research: The Complexity of the Craft*. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications, pp. 207-218.

Higher Education Funding Council for Wales (2000). *Overview of the Higher Education Sector in Wales*. Cardiff: HEFCW.

Higher Education Funding Council for Wales (2002). *Welsh Medium Provision in Higher Education: Report to the Welsh Assembly Government*. HEFCW: Cardiff.

Higher Education Funding Council for Wales (2004). *Steering Group for Welsh medium provision in higher education: Strategy*. HEFCW: Cardiff.

Higher Education Funding Council for Wales (2014). *Corporate Strategy 2013-14 - 2015-16*. Cardiff: HEFCW.

Higher Education Funding Council for Wales (2016). *Draft Welsh Government Higher Education Strategy to 2027*. Cardiff: HEFCW.

Hindley, Reg. (1991) Defining the Gaeltacht: Dilemmas in Irish Language Planning. In: Williams, Colin (ed., 1991). *Linguistic Minorities, Society and Territory*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters Ltd, pp.66-95

Hinton, Denise (2011). 'Wales is my home': higher education aspirations and student mobilities in Wales. *Children's Geographies*, 9(1), pp.23-34. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14733285.2011.540436>

Hinton, Denise (2011). 'Wales is my home': higher education aspirations and student mobilities in Wales. *Children's Geographies*, 9(1), pp.23-34. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14733285.2011.540436>

Hodges, Rhian (2009). Welsh Language Use among Young People in the Rhymney Valley. *Contemporary Wales*, 22(1). Available at: <https://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/uwp/cowa/2009/00000022/00000001/art00004>

Hodges, Rhian (2021). Defiance within the decline? Revisiting new Welsh speakers' language journeys. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* pp. 1-17. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2021.1880416>

- Hoffman, Charlotte (1991). *An Introduction to Bilingualism*. London: Longman.
- Hogg, Michael (1996). Intragroup Process, Group Structure and Social Identity: In: Robinson, W (ed., 1996). *Social Groups and Identities: Developing the Legacy of Henri Tajfel*. Butterworth-Heinemann: Oxford, pp.65-94.
- Hokke, Stacey., and Hackworth, Naomi., and Bennetts, Shannon., and Nicholson, Jan., and Keyzer, Patrick., and Lucke, Jayne., and Zion, Lawrie., and Crawford, Sharinne. (2019). Ethical Considerations in Using Social Media to Engage Research Participants: Perspectives of Australian Researchers and Ethics Committee Members. *Journal of Empirical Research on Human Research Ethics*, 1-16. Available: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/1556264619854629>
- Holdsworth, Clare (2009). 'Going Away to Uni': Mobility, Modernity, and Independence off English Higher Education students. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 41(8), pp.1894-1864. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1068%2Fa41177>
- Holmes, Luke (2020). Disrupting Dual Monolingualisms? Language Ideological Ordering in an Internationalizing Swedish University. In: Kuteeva, Maria., and Kaufhold, Kathrin., and Hynninen, Niina (eds., 2020). *Language Perceptions and Practices in Multilingual Universities*. Switzerland: Palgrave, pp.269-292.
- Holton, Mark (2016). The geographies of UK university halls of residence: examining students' embodiment of social capital. *Children's Geographies*, 14(1), pp.53-76. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14733285.2014.979134>
- Hornberger, Nancy (1990). Creating successful learning contexts for biliteracy. *Working Papers in Educational Linguistics*, 6(1), pp.212-229. Available: <https://repository.upenn.edu/wpel/vol6/iss1/1>
- Hornberger, Nancy (2005). Opening up and Filling Implementational and Ideological Spaces in Heritage Language Education. *The Modern Language Journal*, 89(4), pp.605-609. Available: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3588632>
- Hornberger, Nancy (2010). Language Shift and Language Revitalization. In: Kaplan, Robert (ed., 2010). *The Oxford Handbook of Applied Linguistics*. New York: Oxford University Press. pp.433-442.
- Hornberger, Nancy (ed., 2003). *Continua of Biliteracy: An Ecological Framework for Educational Policy, Research, and Practice in Multilingual Settings*. Multilingual Matters: Clevedon.
- Hornberger, Nancy., and King, Kendall (1996). Language Revitalisation in the Andes: Can the Schools Reverse Language Shift? *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 17(6), pp. 427-441.

Hornsby, Michael., and Vigers, Dick (2018). 'New' speakers in the heartlands: struggle for speaker legitimacy in Wales. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 39(5), 419-430. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2018.1429452>

Horwitz, Elaine., and Horwitz, Michael., and Cope, Joann. (1986). Foreign Language Classroom Anxiety. *The Modern Language Journal*, 70(2), pp.125-132. Available: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/327317>

Hultgren, Anna (2014). Whose parallellingualism? Overt and covert ideologies in Danish universities and language policies. *Multilingua*. 33(1-2), p.61-87.

Hultgren, Anna. (2016). Parallel Language Use. In Linn, Andrew (ed. 2006) *Investigating English in Europe: Contexts and Agendas*. Berlin: Mouton, pp.158-163.

Hultgren, Anna., and Gregersen, Frans., and Thøgersen, Jacob (2014). Introduction. In: Hultgren, Anna., and Gregersen, Frans., and Thøgersen, Jacob (eds., 2014). *English at Nordic universities: ideologies and practices*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp.1-27.

Hultgren, Anna., and Jensen, Christian., and Dimova, Slobodanka (2015). English-Medium Instruction in European Higher Education: From the North to the South. In: Dimova, Slobodanka., and Hultgren, Anna., and Jensen, Christian. (eds., 2015). *English-Medium Instruction in European Higher Education: English in Europe, Volume 3*, Berlin: De Gruyter, pp1-16.

Hunt, Shelby., Sparkman, Richard., and Wilcox, James. (1982). The Pretest in Survey Research: Issues and Preliminary Findings. *Journal of Marketing Research*, 19(2), pp. 269-273. Available: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2307/3151627>

Ifan, Gwawr., and Hodges, Rhian. (2017). Creative Collaboration in Higher Education: A Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol case-study. In: Palfreyman, David., and van der Walt, Christa. (eds, 2017). *Academic Biliteracies: Multilingual Repertoires in Higher Education*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, pp.142-159.

Irvine, Fiona., and Roberts, Gwerfyl., and Bradbury-Jones, Caroline. (2008) The Researcher as Insider Versus The Researcher as Outsider: Enhancing Rigour Through Language and Cultural Sensitivity. In Liamputtong, Pranee (ed.,2008). *Doing Cross-Cultural Research: Ethical and Methodological Perspectives.*, pp. 35-48.

Jacob, W. James., and Lee, Che-Wei., and Wehrem, Nancy., and Gökbel, Veysel., and Dumba, Joel., and Lu, Xiaolin., and Yin, Shengjun. (2013). An Organisational Analysis of the World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium. *Taiwan Journal of Indigenous Studies*, pp.1-15.

Johnson, R., and Onwuegbuzie, Anthony., and Turner, Lisa. (2007). Towards a Definition of Mixed Methods Research. *Journal of Mixed Method Research*, 1(2), pp. 112-133. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1558689806298224>

Jones, Bryn (2010). 'Amrywiaeth Caleidosgopig': Addysg ddwyieithiog yng Nghymru heddiw ['Kaleidoscopic Variety': Bilingual education in Wales today]. *Gwerddon*, (5), pp. 9-26.

Jones, Bryn (2017). Translanguaging in Bilingual Schools in Wales. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, 16(4), pp.199-215. Available <https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2017.1328282>

Jones, Dafydd (1998a). Problemau Prifysgol. *Y Traethodydd*. 153, 71-75.

Jones, Dafydd (1998b). Coleg Ffederal Cymraeg ym Mhrifysgol Cymru. Papur gan Dafydd Glyn Jones ar gyfer cyfarfod Bwrdd Dysgu trwy'r Gymraeg y Brifysgol, 23 Ebrill 1998. [A Paper by Dafydd Glyn Jones presented to the Learning through Welsh University Board, 23 April 1998].

Jones, Dylan, (1997). Bilingual mathematics: development and practice in Wales. *The Curriculum Journal*, 8(3), pp. 393-410. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/0958517970080305>

Jones, Dylan., and Martin-Jones, Marilyn (2003). Bilingual Revitalization in Wales: Past Achievements and Current Issues. In: Tollefson, James., and Tsui, Amy (eds., 2003). *Medium of Instruction Policies – Which Agenda? Whose Agenda*. London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. pp.43-70.

Jones, Gareth., and Roderick, Gordon (2003). *A History of Education in Wales*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Jones, Gwenda (2010). Factors Influencing Choice of Higher Education in Wales. *Contemporary Wales*, 23(1): 93-116. Available at: <https://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/uwp/cowa/2010/00000023/00000001/art00009>

Jones, Hywel (2007). Goblygiadau newid ym mhroffeil edran siaradwyr Cymraeg (Implications of change in the age profiles of Welsh speakers). *Gwerddon*. pp.12-34.

Jones, Hywel (2008). The Changing Social Context of Welsh: A Review of Statistical Trends. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 11(5), pp.541-557. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050802149176>

Jones, Hywel (2010). Welsh Speakers: Age Profile and Out-Migration. In; Morris, Delyth (ed., 2010). *Welsh in the Twenty-First Century*. University of Wales Press: Cardiff. pp. 118-147.

Jones, Hywel (2012). *A statistical overview of the Welsh language*. Cardiff: Welsh Language Board.

Jones, Ian., and Brown, Lorraine., and Holloway, Immy. (2013). *Qualitative Research in Sport and Physical Activity*. London: SAGE Publications.

Jones, John Roberts (1966). *Prydeindod*. Llyfrau'r Dryw: Llandybie.

Jones, Lewis (1985). Cynefin – The Word and Concept. *Natural Wales*, 4(1/2), pp. 121-122. Available at: <https://journals.library.wales/view/1220475/1224976/122#?xywh=-1565%2C0%2C6113%2C3974>

Jones, Meirion (2022). Language Planning in Action: Joining up the Dots in Wales. In: McLeod, Wilson., and Dunbar, Robert., and Jones, Kathryn., and Walsh, John (eds., 2022). *Language, Policy and Territory: A Festschrift for Colin H. Williams*. Switzerland: Palgrave MacMillan. pp. 99-120.

Jones, Rhys (2008). Relocating nationalism: on the geographies of reproducing nations. *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 33(3), pp. 319-344. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-5661.2008.00306.x>

Jones, Rhys., and Desforges, Luke. (2003). Localities and the reproduction of Welsh nationalism. *Political Geography*, 22(3), pp. 271-292. Available at: [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0962-6298\(02\)00096-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0962-6298(02)00096-3)

Jones, Rhys., and Fowler, Carwyn (2007). National élites, national masses: oral history and the (re)production of the Welsh nation. *Social & Cultural Geography*, 8(3), pp. 417- 432. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649360701488872>

Jones, Rhys., and Lewis, Huw (2018). *New Geographies of Language: Language, Culture and Politics in Wales*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Jones, Sandra (2010). *Mesur y galw am addysg ôl-16 trwy gyfrwng y Gymraeg ymhlith disgyblion Blwyddyn 11 sydd yn astudio'r Gymraeg fel iaith gyntaf mewn tair ysgol uwchradd yng Ngheredigon*. Unpublished Masters Thesis: University of Wales, Trinity Saint Daivd.

Jones, Sion (2019). Perspectives and attitudes towards Welsh-medium study at post-compulsory level among 15-16-year-old students in the South Wales Valleys. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2019.1668349>

Kanno, Yasuko., and Harklau, Linda (2012). *Linguistic Minority Students Go to College: Preparation, Access and Persistence*. Routledge: New York; London.

Kerklaan, Vincent., and Moreira, Gillian., and Boersma, Kees (2008). The Role of Language in the Internationalisation of Higher Education: an example from Portugal. *European Journal of Education*, 43(2), pp.241-255. Available: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/25481855>

Khleif, Bud (1976). Cultural Regeneration and the School: An Anthropological Study of Welsh-Medium Schools in Wales. *International Review of Education*, 22(2), pp. 177-192. Available: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3443088>

Khleif, Bud (1980). *Language, Ethnicity, and Education in Wales*. New York: Mouton Publishers.

Kibbee, Douglas (ed., 1998). *Language Legislation and Linguistic Rights – Selected Proceedings of the Language and Linguistic Rights Conference, the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, March, 1996*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Kibbermann, Kerttu. (2017). Responses to the Internationalisation of Higher Education in Language Policies of Estonia and Latvia. *Journal of Estonian and Finno-Ugric Languages*, (8)1 pp. 97-113. <https://doi.org/10.12697/jeful.2017.8.1.06>

Kim, Yujin. (2010). The Pilot Study in Qualitative Inquiry: Identifying Issues and Learning Lessons for Culturally Competent Research. *Qualitative Social Work*, 10(2), pp. 190-206. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1473325010362001>

King, Nigel (2004). Using Interviews in Qualitative Research. In: Cassell, Catherine., and Symon, Gillian. (eds., 2004). *Essential Guide to Qualitative Methods in Organizational Research*. London: SAGE Publications, pp.11-23.

Knight, Jane (2004). Internationalization Remodeled: Definition, Approaches, and Rationales. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 8(1), pp.5-31. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1028315303260832>

Knight, Jane (2008). *Global Perspectives on Higher Education – Higher Education in Turmoil: The Changing World of Internationalization*. Rotterdam: Sense Publishers.

Kuteeva, Maria (2014). The parallel language use of Swedish and English: the question of ‘nativeness’ in university policies and practices. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*. 35(4), pp. 332-344. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2013.874432>

Kuteeva, Maria., and Hynnien, Niina., and Haslam Mara (2015). “It’s so natural to mix languages”: Attitudes towards English-medium instruction in Sweden. In: Linn, Andrew., and Bermel, Neil., and Ferguson, Gibson. (eds., 2015). *Attitudes towards English in Europe*. Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton. pp.193-212.

Larrinaga Ane., and Amurrio, Mila (2015). Internationalisation in higher education and its impact in multilingual contexts: redefining identities of Basque-speaking academics. *Language Culture and Curriculum*, 28(2), pp. 158-169. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1080/07908318.2015.1027215>

Lave, Jean., and Wenger, Etienne. (1991). *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lavrakas, Paul (ed.,2008). *Encyclopedia of Survey Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Lee, Given (2009). Speaking up: Six Korean students' oral participation in class discussion in US graduate seminars. *English for Specific Purposes*, 28(3): 142-156.

Lewis, Gwyn (2008). Current Challenges in Bilingual Education in Wales. *AILA Review*, (21) 1, pp.69-86. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1075/aila.21.06lew>

Lewis, Gwyn (2011). Addysg Ddwyeithog yn yr unfed ganrif ar hugain: adolygu'r cyd-destun rhyngwladol. [Bilingual Education in the twentieth first century: reviewing the international context] (7). *Gwerddon*. pp.66-87.

Lewis, Gwyn., and Andrews, Hunydd. (2014). Bilingualism in Higher Education. In: Thomas, Enlli., and Mennen, Ineke. *Advances in the Study of Bilingualism*. Multilingual Matters: Bristol. pp. 171- 197.

Lewis, Gwyn., and Jones, Bryn., and Baker, Colin (2012). Translanguaging: origins and development from school to street and beyond. *Educational Research and Evaluation*, 18(7), pp.641-654. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13803611.2012.718488>

Lewis, Hywel., and Williams, Edwyn (2006). *Adroddiad ar agweddau myfyrwyr ôl-16 at Addysg Uwch Cyfrwng Cymraeg [Report on Post-16 pupils' attitudes to Welsh medium higher education*. Carmathenshire: Dysg.

Lillyman, Sue., and Bennet, Clare (2014). Providing a positive experience for international students studying at UK universities: A literature review. *Journal of Research in International Education*, 13(1), pp.63-75. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1475240914529859>

Linn, Andrew (2010). Can Parallelingualism save Norwegian from extinction? *Multilingual*, 29(3-4), p.289-305.

López, Alba (2012). Article 8.1 Education. In: Nogueira, Alba., and Vieytez, Eduardo., and Urrutia, Iñigo (eds., 2012). *Shaping language rights: Commentary on the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages in light of the Committee of Experts' evaluation*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing, pp. 248-255.

Low, Setha. (1992). Symbolic Ties That Bind: Place Attachment in the Plaza. In: Altman, Irwin., and Low, Setha (eds, 1992). *Place Attachment: Human Behaviour and Environment – Advances in Theory and Research*. New York: Plenum Press, pp.165-186.

Low, Setha., and Altman, Irwin (1992). Place Attachment: A Conceptual Inquiry. In: Altman, Irwin., and Low, Setha (eds, 1992). *Place Attachment: Human Behaviour and Environment – Advances in Theory and Research*. New York: Plenum Press, pp.1-12.

MacIntyre, Peter (2007). Willingness to Communicate in the Second Language: Understanding the Decision to Speak as a Volitional Process. *The Modern Language Journal*, 91(4), pp.564-576. Available: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4626086>

MacIntyre, Peter., and Gardner R (1994). The Subtle Effects of Language Anxiety on Cognitive Processing in the Second Language. *Language Learning*, 44(2), pp.283-305. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-1770.1994.tb01103.x>

MacIntyre, Peter., and Noels, Kimberly., and Clément, Richard (1997). Biases in Self-Ratings of Second Language Proficiency: The Role of Language Anxiety. *Language Learning*, 47(2) pp.265-287. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1111/0023-8333.81997008>

Mackay, William (1957). The Description of Bilingualism. *Journal of the Canadian Linguistic Association*, 7, pp.51-85.

Maiworm, Friedhelm., and Wächter, Bernd (eds., 2002). *English-Language-Taught Degree Programmes in European Higher Education: Trends and Success Factors*. Bonn: Lemmens

Marshall, Catherine., and Rossman, Gretchen. (eds., 1999). *Designing Qualitative Research*. London: SAGE Publications.

Marshall, Gill (2005). The purpose, design and administration of a questionnaire for data collection. *Radiography*, 11(2), pp. 131-136. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.radi.2004.09.002>

Marshall, Martin (1998). Sampling for qualitative research. *Family Practice*, 13(6), pp. 522-525.

Martin, Peter (2010). ‘They have lost their identity but gained a British one’: non-traditional multilingual students in higher education in the United Kingdom. *Language and Education*, 24(1), pp. 9-20. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09500780903194028>

Mason, Jennifer. (ed., 2007). *Qualitative Researching*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications

May, Stephen (2006). Language Policy and Minority Rights. In: Ricento, Thomas (ed., 2006). *An Introduction to Language Policy: Theory and Method*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 255.-272.

May, Stephen. (2010). Accommodating and Resisting Minority Language Policy: The Case of Wales. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 3(2), pp.101-128. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050008667702>

May, Tim (ed., 2001). *Social Research: Issues, Methods and Process*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

McKinley, Jim., and Galloway, Nicola (2022). *English-Medium Instruction Practices in Higher Education*. London: Bloomsbury Publishing.

McLean, Michelle., and Murdoch-Eaton, Deborah., and Shaban, Sami. (2012). Poor English language proficiency hinders generic skills development: a qualitative study of the perspectives of first-year medical students. *Journal of Further and Higher Education*, 37(4), pp. 462-481. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/0309877X.2011.645461>

Merriman, Peter., and Jones, Rhys. (2009). 'Symbols of Justice': the Welsh Language Society's campaign for bilingual road signs in Wales, 1967 – 1980. *Journal of Historical Geography*, 35(2), pp. 350-375. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jhg.2008.07.018>

Mesidor, Jean., and Sly, Kaye (2016). Factors that Contribute to the Adjustment of International Students. *Journal of International Studies*, 6(1): 262-282.

Meyer, Manulani (2005). Remembering our Future: Higher Education Quality Assurance and Indigenous Epistemology. *Journal of World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium*, pp.1-5.

Moore, Joanne., and McNeill, Joanne., and Halliday, Sally. (2011). Worth the price? Some findings from young people on attitudes to increases in university tuition fees. *Widening Participation and Lifelong Learning*, 13(1): 57-70.

Morgan, Gerald. (1988). The Place of School in the Maintenance of the Welsh Language. *Comparative Education*, 24(2), pp.247-255. Available at: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3099079>

Morita, Naoko (2004). Negotiating Participation and Identity in Second Language Academic Communities. *TESOL Quarterly*, 38(4): 573-603.

Morita, Naoko. (2004). Negotiating Participation and Identity in Second Language Academic Communities. *TESO Quarterly*, 38(4), pp. 573-603. Available: <https://doi.org/10.2307/3588281>

Morris, Delyth (2010). Young People and their Use of the Welsh Language. In; Morris, Delyth (ed., 2010). *Welsh in the Twenty-First Century*. University of Wales Press: Cardiff. pp. 80-98.

Morris, Jonathan (2014). The influence of social factors on minority language engagement amongst young people: an investigation of Welsh-English bilinguals in North Wales. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 2014 (230), pp.65-89. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl-2014-0027>

Munisamy, Susila., and Jaffar, Noor., and Nagaraj, Shyamala. (2014). Does Reputation Matter? Case Study of Undergraduate Choice at a Premier University. *Asia-Pacific Education Researcher*, 23(3): 451-462.

Musk, Nigel (2006). *Performing Bilingualism in Wales with the Spotlight on Welsh: a Study of Language Policy and the Language Practices of Young People in Bilingual Education*. Linköping: Linköping University Electronic Press.

National Assembly for Wales (2001). *The Learning Country - A Paving Document: A Comprehensive Education and Lifelong Learning Programme to 2010 in Wales*. National Assembly for Wales: Cardiff.

National Assembly for Wales (2002a). *Dyfodol Dywieithog: Bilingual Future*. National Assembly for Wales: Cardiff.

National Assembly for Wales (2002b). *Reaching Higher: Higher Education and the Learning Country - A Strategy for the higher education sector in Wales*. National Assembly for Wales: Cardiff.

National Assembly for Wales (2003a). *Our Language: It's Future - Policy Review of the Welsh Language*. National Assembly for Wales: Cardiff.

National Assembly for Wales (2003b). *Iaith Pawb: A National Action Plan for a Bilingual Wales*. National Assembly for Wales: Cardiff.

National Assembly for Wales (2006). *Statistical Bulletin - Welsh in Higher Education Institutions, 2004/05*. Cardiff: National Assembly for Wales.

Nespor, Jan (2000). Anonymity and Place in Qualitative Inquiry. *Qualitative Inquiry*, 6(4), pp. 546-569. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F107780040000600408>

Nevins, Andrew (2022). *When Minoritized Languages Change Linguistic Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Nevins, Andrew., and Coler, Matt (2022). Introduction. In: Coler, Matt., and Nevis, Andrew (eds, 2022). *Contemporary research in minoritized and diaspora languages of Europe*. Berlin: Language Science Press. pp.1-8.

Newsome, Luke., and Cooper, Paul (2016). International Students' Cultural and Social Experiences in a British University: "Such a hard life [it] is here". *Journal of International Students*, 6(1), pp.195-215. <https://doi.org/10.32674/jis.v6i1.488>

Ng, Elaine. (2015). Bilingualism, biliteracy and cognitive effects: A review paper. *University of Sydney Papers in TESOL*, 10(2015), pp. 93-128. Available: http://faculty.edfac.usyd.edu.au/projects/usp_in_tesol/pdf/volume10/Article04.pdf

Nordiska Ministerrådet (2007). *Deklaration om Nordisk Språkpolitik* [Declaration on a Nordic Language Policy]. Denmark: Nordic Council of Ministers. <http://norden.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:700895/FULLTEXT01.pdf>

Norton, Bonny. (2000). *Identity and Language Learning: Gender, Ethnicity, and Educational Change*. Pearson Education: London.

Ó hifearnáin, Tadgh (2008). Endangering Language Vitality through Institutional Development: Ideology, Authority, and Official Standard Irish in the Gaeltacht. In: King, Kendall., and Schilling-Estes, Natalie., and Lou, Jia., and Fogle, Lyn., and Soukup, Barbara. (eds., 2008). *Sustaining Linguistic Diversity: Endangered and Minority Languages and Language Varieties*. Washington: Georgetown University Press, pp.113-128.

O'Connor, Patricia (2004). The conditionality of status: Experience-based reflections on the insider/outsider issue. *Australian Geographer*, 35(2), 169-176. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1080/0004918042000249476>

O'Hanlon, Fiona. (2015). Choice of Scottish Gaelic-medium and Welsh-medium education at the primary and secondary school stages: parent and pupil perspectives. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 18(2) pp. 242-259. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2014.923374>

O'Rourke, Bernadette (2011). Whose Language Is It? Struggles for Language Ownership in an Irish Language Classroom. *Journal of Language, Identity & Education*, 10(5), pp.327-345. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2011.614545>

O'Rourke, Bernadette., and Pujolar, Joan (2013). From Native Speakers to "New Speakers" – Problematizing Nativeness in Language Revitalization Contexts. *Histoire Épistémologie Langage* (35)2, pp. 47-67. Available: https://www.persee.fr/doc/hel_0750-8069_2013_num_35_2_3457

O'Rourke, Bernadette., and Pujolar, Joan., and Ramallo, Fernando (2015). New speakers of minority languages: the challenging opportunity – foreword. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 2015(231), pp. 1-20. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl-2014-0029>

O'Rourke, Bernadette., and Ramallo, Fernando (2013). Competing ideologies of linguistic authority amongst news speakers in contemporary Galicia. *Language in Society*, 42(3), pp.287-305. Available: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/23473602>

O'Sullivan, K., and Robson, J., and Winters, N (2018). 'I feel like I have a disadvantage': how socio-economically disadvantaged students make the decision to study at a prestigious university. *Studies in Higher Education*, 44(9): 1676-1690.

OldBell3 (2014). *An evaluation of the Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol's progress to date – Final Report*. Carmarthenshire: OldBell3.

Palfreyman, David., and van der Walt, Christa (2017). Introduction: Biliteracies in Higher Education. In: Palfreyman, David., and van der Walt, Christa. (eds, 2017). *Academic Biliteracies: Multilingual Repertoires in Higher Education*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, pp.1-19.

Parfett, Holly., and Morgan-Jones, Myfanwy., and Hartt, Maxwell (2018). Home-Grown Foreign Language Anxiety: Experiences of Welsh University Students Studying Through the Medium of English. *Wales Journal of Education*, 21(1), pp.46-64. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.16922/wje.21.1.4>

Parry, Gwynedd (2012). *Cymru'r Gyfraith: Sylwadau ar Hunaniaeth Gyfreithiol*. University of Wales Press: Cardiff.

Patton, Michael (2002). *Qualitative Research & Evaluation Methods*. London: SAGE Publications.

Pavlenko, Aneta. (ed., 2006). *Bilingual Minds: Emotional Experience, Expression and Representation*. Toronto: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Pennell, Hazel., and West, Anne. (2005). The Impact of Increased Fees on Participation in Higher Education in England. *Higher Education Quarterly*, 59(2): 127-137.

Petersen, Hjalmar (2010). *The Dynamics of Faroese-Danish Language Contact*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.

Phillipson, Robert (2006). English, a cuckoo in the European higher education nest of languages? *European Journal of English Studies*, 10(1), pp. 13-32. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13825570600590846>

Phillipson, Robert (2008). Lingua franca or lingua frankensteinia? English in European integration and globalisation. *World Englishes*, 27(2), pp. 250-267. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-971X.2008.00555.x>

Phillipson, Robert (2015). English as a threat or opportunity to European Higher Education. In: Dimova, Slobodanka., and Hultgren, Anna., and Jensen, Christian (eds., 2015). *English-Medium Instruction in European Higher Education: English in Europe, Volume 3*, Berlin: De Gruyter, pp. 19-42.

Phillipson, Robert., and Rannu, Mart., and Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove (1994). Introduction. In: Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove., and Phillipson, Robert. (eds., 1994). *Linguistic Human Rights: Overcoming Linguistic Discrimination*. New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 1-22.

Plessis, Du Theo (2006). From Monolingual to Bilingual Higher Education: The Repositioning of Historically Afrikaans-Medium Universities in South Africa. *Language Policy*, (5), pp.87-113. Available: <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s10993-005-5627-5>

Pons Parera, Eva (2014). The Position of Catalan in Higher Education in Catalonia. In: Vila Xavier., and Bretxa, Vanessa. (eds., 2014). *Language Policy in Higher Education: The Case of Medium-Sized Languages*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, pp.153-180.

Porsanger, Jelena (2019). Building Sámi Language Higher Education: The Case of Sámi University of Applied Sciences. In: McKinley, Elizabeth., and Smith, Linda (eds., 2019). *Handbook of Indigenous Education*. Singapore: Springer, pp.969-996.

Preece, Sian (2009). Multilingual identities in higher education: negotiating the 'mother tongue', 'posh', and 'slang'. *Language and Education*, 24(1), pp. 21-39. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09500780903194036>

Preece, Sian (2011). Universities in the Anglophone centre: sites for multilingualism. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 2(1), pp. 121-145. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110239331.121>

Preece, Siân., and Marshall, Steve (2020). Plurilingualism, teaching and learning, and Anglophone higher education: an introduction Anglophone universities and linguistic diversity. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 33(2), pp. 117-125. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1080/07908318.2020.1723931>

Preece, Sian., and Martin, Peter. (2009). Imagining higher education as a multilingual space. *Language and Education*, 24(1), pp. 3-8. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09500780903343070>

Preisler, Bent (2005). Deconstructing 'the domain of science' as a sociolinguistic entity in EFL societies: The relationship between English and Danish in higher education and research. *The Consequences of Mobility: Linguistic and Sociocultural Contact Zones*, pp.238-248. Available: <https://rucforsk.ruc.dk/ws/files/37440220/%3Chighlight%3EPreisler%3C/highlight%3E.pdf>

Presser, Stanely., Couper, Mick., Lesser, Judith., Martin, Elizabeth., Martin, Jean., Rothgeb, Jennifer., and Singer, Eleanor. (2004). Methods for Testing and Evaluating Survey Questions. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 68(1), pp. 109-130. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1093/poq/nfh008>

Price, Robert (2010). Sense of Welsh Identity: Further Education Students' Perceptions of Wales and Welshness. *Contemporary Wales*, 23(1), pp. 17-35. Available at: <https://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/uwp/cowa/2010/00000023/00000001/art00005>

Pryce, W.T.R., and Williams, Colin (1988). Sources and Methods in the Study of Language Areas: A Case Study of Wales. In: Williams, Colin (ed., 1988). *Language in Geographic Context*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, pp.-167-237.

Pugsley, Lesley (1998). Throwing your brains at it: Higher education, markets and choice. *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 8(1): 71-92.

Quan, Rose., and Smailes, Joanne., and Fraser, Walter. (2013). The transition experience of direct entrants from overseas higher education partners into UK universities. *Teaching in Higher Education*, 18(4): 414-426.

Ramachandra, Narayanan (2011). Enhancing international students' experiences: An imperative agenda for universities in the UK. *Journal of Research in International Education*, 10(2), pp.201-220. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1475240911413204>

Ramsay, Sheryl., and Barker, Michael., and Jones, Elizabeth. (1999). Academic Adjustment and Learning Processes: a comparison of international and local students in first-year university. *Higher Education Research & Development*, 18(1) 129-144.

Rao, Pramila (2016). Learning challenges and preferred pedagogies of international students. *International Journal of Educational Management*, 31(7): 1000-1016.

Relph, Edmund (1976). *Place and Placeness*. London: Pion.

Rife, Sean., and Cate, Kelly., and Kosinski, Michal., and Stillwell, David. (2016). Participant recruitment and data collection through Facebook: the role of personality factors. *International Journal of Social Research Methodology*, 19(1), pp. 69-83. Available: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/13645579.2014.957069>

Roberts, David (2009). *Bangor University 1884-2009*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Roberts, Elen (2009). Accommodating "new" speakers? An attitudinal investigation of L2 speakers of Welsh in south-east Wales. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, (195), pp.93-116. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1515/IJSL.2009.007>

Robertson, Margaret., and Line, Martin., and Jones, Susan., and Thomas, Sharon. (2000). International Students, Learning Environments and Perceptions: a case study using the Delphi technique. *Higher Education Research & Development*, 19(1): 89-102.

Ruiz, Richard. (1984). Orientations in Language Planning. *National Association for Bilingual Education*, 8(2), pp. 150-34. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/08855072.1984.10668464>

Sabhal Mòr Ostaig (2020). *Undergraduate*. <https://www.smo.uhi.ac.uk/cursaichean-fo-cheum/?lang=en>

Sahan, Kari., and Mikolajewska, Agata., and Rose, Heath., and Macaro, Ernesto., and Searle, Mark., and Aizawa, Ikuya., and Zhou, Siyang., and Veitch, Ann (2021). *Global mapping of English as a medium of instruction in higher education: 2020 and beyond*. London: British Council.

Sámi allaskuvla (2022). *Our Vision*. <https://samas.no/en/node/298>

Sampson, Helen (2004). Navigating the waves: the usefulness of a pilot in qualitative research. *Qualitative Research*, 4(3), pp. 383-402. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1468794104047236>

Sandström, Anna-Malin., and Neghina, Carmen (2017). *English-taught bachelor's programmes – Internationalising European Higher Education*. European Association for International Education. <https://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=&cad=rja&uact=8&ved=2ahUKewimyY20w8D-AhXKa8AKHTVLDDesQFnoECBMQAO&url=https%3A%2F%2Fwww.studyportals.com%2Fwp-content%2Fuploads%2F2017%2F09%2FEAIE-StudyPortals-English-taught-bachelor-programmes-Europe.pdf&usg=AOvVaw3eFa1AWaXPhPiK9OhzkPUJ>

Sarantakos, Sotirios (1998) *Social Research*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Sawir, Erlenawati (2005). Language difficulties of international students in Australia: The effects of prior learning experiences. *International Education Journal*, 6(5): 567-580.

Scott, Craig. (2005). Anonymity in Applied Communication Research: Tensions Between IRBs, Researchers and Human Subjects. *Journal of Applied Communication Research*, 33(3), pp.242-257. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/00909880500149445>

Selleck, Charlotte (2013). Inclusive policy and exclusionary practices in secondary education in Wales. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 16(1), pp.20-41. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2012.676622>

Selleck, Charlotte. (2018). 'We're Not Fully Welsh': Hierarches of Belonging and 'New' Speakers of Welsh. In: *New Speakers of Minority Languages: Linguistic Ideologies & Practices*.

(eds., 2018). Smith-Christmas, Cassie., and Murchadha, Noel., and Hornsby, Michael., and Moriarty, Máiréad. Palgrave: London, pp. 45-65.

Serna-Bermejo, Iratxe., and Lasagabaster, David (2022). Translanguaging in Basque and English: practices and attitudes of university teachers and students. *International Journal of Multilingualism*. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2022.2086984>

Shklarov, Svetlana (2007). Double Vision Uncertainty: The Bilingual Researcher and Ethics of Cross-Language Research. *Qualitative Health Research*, 17(4), pp. 529-538. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1049732306298263>

Simões. Cláudia., and Soares, Ana. (2010). Applying to higher education: information sources and choice factors. *Studies in Higher Education*, 35(4), 371-389.

Sing, Anil., and Taneja, Aakasg., and Mangalaraj, George. (2009). Creating Online Surveys: Some Wisdom from the Trenches Tutorial. *IEEE Transactions on Professional Communication*, 52(2), pp. 197-212. Available: doi: 10.1109/TPC.2009.2017986

Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove (2006). Language Policy and Linguistic Human Rights. In: Ricento, Thomas (ed., 2006). *An Introduction to Language Policy: Theory and Method*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 273-291.

Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove. (1981). *Bilingualism or not: the education of minorities*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove., and Phillipson, Robert (1994). Linguistic Human Rights: Past and Present. In: Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove., and Phillipson, Robert. (eds., 1994). *Linguistic Human Rights: Overcoming Linguistic Discrimination*. New York: Mouton de Gruyter, pp

Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove., and Phillipson, Robert (2023). Introduction: Establishing Linguistic Human Rights. In: Skutnabb-Kangas, Tove., and Phillipson, Robert (eds., 2023). *The Handbook of Linguistic Human Rights*. Oxford: Wiley Blackwell, pp.1-22.

Soler, Josep., and Gallego-Balsà, Lúdia (2019). *The Sociolinguistics of Higher Education: Language Policy and Internationalisation in Catalonia*. Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan.

Soutar, Geoffrey., and Turner, Julia. (2002). Students' preferences for university: a conjoint analysis. *International Journal of Educational Management*, 16(1): 40-45.

Squires, Allison (2009). Methodological Challenges in Cross-Language Qualitative Research: A Research Overview. *International Journal of Nursing Studies*, 46(2), pp. 277-278. Available: <https://dx.doi.org/10.1016%2Fj.ijnurstu.2008.08.006>

Stafford, Joby., and Bowman, Robert ., and Ewing, Tod., and Hanna, Janice., and Lopez-De Fede, Ana.(1997). *Building Cultural Bridges*. Indiana: National Education Services.

Stewart, Kate (2010). Considering CAQDAS: using and choosing software. In: Delamont, Sara (ed., 2010). *Handbook of Qualitative Research in Education*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar, pp. 503-511.

Stroh, Matt (2000). Computers and Qualitative Data Analysis: To Use or Not To Use...? In: Burton, Dawn (ed., 2000). *Research Training for Social Scientists: A Handbook for Postgraduate Researchers*. London: SAGE Publications, pp. 226-243.

Sue, Valerie., and Ritter, Lois. (2007). *Conducting Online Surveys*. Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Supski, Sian., and Lindsay, Jo., and Tanner, Claire. (2017). University students' drinking as a social practice and the challenge for public health. *Critical Public Health*, 27(2), pp. 228-237. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09581596.2016.1190001>

Swansea University (2017). *Welsh Language Standards Action Plan*. Available at: <https://www.swansea.ac.uk/welsh-language-standards/compliance/welsh-language-standards-action-plan/#introduction=is-expanded>

Swansea University (2019). *Accommodation for Welsh speaking students* <https://www.swansea.ac.uk/academi-hywel-teifi/learn/welsh-accommodation/>

Tajfel, Henri (1981). *Human Groups and social categories: studies in social psychology*. Cambridge University Press: Cambridge.

Tajfel, Henri., and Turner, John (1979). An Integrative Theory of Group Conflict. In: Austin, William., and Worchel, Stephen (eds., 1979). *The social psychology of intergroup relations*. Monterey: Brooks/Cole, pp.33-37.

Te Wānanga o Raukawa (2023). *Ngā Akoranga | Our Courses*. <https://www.wananga.com/nga-akoranga>

Temple, Bogusia (1997). Watch Your Tongue: Issues in Translation and Cross-Cultural Research. *Sociology*, 31(3), pp. 607-618. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F0038038597031003016>

Temple, Bogusia (2002). Cross Wires: Interpreters, Translators, and Bilingual Workers in Cross-Language Research. *Qualitative Health Research*, 12(6), pp. 844-854. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F104973230201200610>

Temple, Bogusia., and Edwards, Rosalind. (2002). Interpreters/Translators and Cross-Language Research: Reflexivity and Border Crossings. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 1(2), pp. 1-12. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F160940690200100201>

Temple, Bogusia., and Young, Alys. (2004). Qualitative research and translation dilemmas. *Qualitative Research*, 4(2), pp. 161-178. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1468794104044430>

The Open University (2017). *The Open University Welsh Language Standards: How we will comply with the standards.* Available at: [https://www.open.ac.uk/wales/sites/www.open.ac.uk.wales/files/files/Compliance%20Plan%20FINAL%20ENG\(1\).pdf](https://www.open.ac.uk/wales/sites/www.open.ac.uk.wales/files/files/Compliance%20Plan%20FINAL%20ENG(1).pdf)

Thingnes, Jorunn (2020). Making linguistic choices at a Sámi University: negotiating visions and demands. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, pp.153-174. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1080/14664208.2019.1671712>

Thomas, Enlli (2004). Welsh-medium teaching in psychology. *Psychology Learning and Teaching* 4(1), pp.11-14. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.2304/plat.2004.4.1.11>

Thomas, Enlli (2011). Datblygu a Gwerthuso Dulliau Dysgu Cyfunol a Thrawsieithu mewn Sefyllfa Ddysgu Dwyieithog. *Welsh Journal of Education*, 15(1), pp.91-102. Available: <https://journal.uwp.co.uk/wje/article/id/298/>

Thomas, Enlli., and Apolloni, Dafydd., and Lewis, Gwyn (2014). The learner's voice: exploring bilingual children's selective language use and perceptions of minority language competence. *Language and Education*, 28(4), pp.340-361. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09500782.2013.870195>

Thomas, Enlli., and Dunne, Claire (2022). ITE provision in minority language contexts: The case of Wales and Ireland. *Journal of Immersion and Content-Based Language Education*, 10(20), pp.374-399. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1075/jicb.21031.tho>

Thomas, Enlli., and Parry, Nia (2021). *Provision for Welsh-Medium STEM subjects: An exploratory study.* Bangor: Bangor University.

Thomas, Enlli., and Roberts, Dylan (2011). Exploring bilinguals' social use of language inside and out of the minority language classroom. *Language and Education*, 25(2), pp. 89-105. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/09500782.2010.544743>

Thomas, Enlli., and Sian, Lloyd-Williams., and Parry, Nia., and ap Gruffudd, Gwilym., and Parry, David., and Williams, Gwawr., and Jones, Delyth, and Hughes, Sioned., and Evans, Rhodri., and Brychan, Anna (2021). *Assessing Welsh during the Covid-19 pandemic: challenges and support for non-Welsh-speaking households.* Cardiff: Welsh Government. Available at: <https://hwb.gov.wales/api/storage/ad1bd45e-9537-48fb-8cd0-ed7e3d0b7dd4/covid-rs3-final-en.pdf>

Thomas, Huw. (2010). *Brwydr I Baradwys?: Y Dylanwadau ar Dwf Ysgolion Cymraeg De-Ddwyrain Cymru.* Cardiff: Cardiff University Press.

Thomas, Huw., and Williams, Colin (eds., 2013) *Parents, Personalities and Power: Welsh-Medium Schools in South-East Wales*. Cardiff: Cardiff University Press.

Thompson, Andrew., and Day, Graham (1999). Situating Welshness: 'Local' Experience and Identity. In: Fevre, Ralph., and Thompson, Andrew (1999). *Nation, Identity & Social Theory: Perspectives from Wales*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, pp. 27-47.

Tomlinson, Michael (2017). Student perceptions of themselves as 'consumers' of higher education. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 38(4), 450-467.

United Nations (2007). *Declaration On The Rights of Indigenous People*. https://social.desa.un.org/sites/default/files/migrated/19/2018/11/UNDRIP_E_web.pdf

United Nations (2010). *Minority Rights: International Standards and Guidance for Implementation*. https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/Publications/MinorityRights_en.pdf

United Nations (2017). *Language Rights of Linguistic Minorities: A Practical Guide for Implementation*. https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/Issues/Minorities/SR/LanguageRightsLinguisticMinorities_EN.pdf

University of Galway (2020). *Cúrsaí*. <https://www.universityofgalway.ie/acadamh/cursai/>

University of South Wales (2018a). *Welsh Language Standards: Action Plan*. Available at: https://www.southwales.ac.uk/documents/1047/EN_CYNLLUN_GWEITHREDU_SAF_ONAU_2018-19_v3.pdf

University of South Wales (2018b). *Welsh Language Standards*. Available at: <https://www.southwales.ac.uk/welsh-language-standards/>

University of South Wales (2018c). *Students' Welsh Language Rights*. Available at: <https://uso.southwales.ac.uk/welsh-language-unit/students-welsh-language-rights/>

University of South Wales (2018d). *Students' Rights in detail: Meetings, Assessments, Exams & Conducting Research*. Available at: https://uso.southwales.ac.uk/documents/3341/Student_Rights_En.pptx

University of the Faroe Islands (2020). *Strategic Plan 2020 – 2024*. https://www.setur.fo/media/6819/setur_strategiatlan_en_2020.pdf

University of the Faroe Islands (2021a). *Language Policy of the University of the Faroe Islands*. https://setur.cdn.fo/media/7539/ufi-language-policy-en.pdf?s=6hzxUDFq8_Zi1lpMFnswpDfxMKA

University of the Faroe Islands (2021b). *University degrees*. <https://www.setur.fo/en/education/>

University of Wales Trinity Saint David (2017). *Welsh Language Standards – Action Plan*. Available at: <https://uwtsd.ac.uk/media/uwtsd-website/content-assets/documents/strategies-policies/welsh-language-standards-compliance-plan.docx>

van den Hoonard, Will (2003). Is Anonymity an artifact in Ethnographic research? *Journal of Academic Ethics*, 1(2), pp. 141-151. Available: <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1023%2FB%3AJAET.0000006919.58804.4c>

van der Walt, Christa (2006). University Students' Attitudes Towards and Experiences of Bilingual Classrooms. *Current Issues in Language Planning*, 7(2-3), 359-376. Available: <https://doi.org/10.2167/cilp104.0>

van der Walt, Christa., and Dornbrack, Jacqui. (2011). Academic biliteracy in South African higher education: strategies and practices of successful students. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 24(1), 89-104. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/07908318.2011.554985>

van Nes, Fenna., and Abma, Tineke., and Jonsson, Hans., and Deeg, Dorly. (2010). Language differences in qualitative research: is meaning lost in translation? *European Journal of Ageing*, 7(4), pp. 313-316. Available: <https://dx.doi.org/10.1007%2Fs10433-010-0168-y>

Vogel, Sara., and García, Ofelia. (2017). Translanguaging. 12(2017), pp. 1-21. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190264093.013.181>

Wächter, Bernd., and Maiworm, Friedhelm (2008). *English-Taught Programmes in European Higher Education – The Picture in 2007*. Bonn: Lemmens.

Wächter, Bernd., and Maiworm, Friedhelm (2014). *English-Taught Programmes in European Higher Education: The State of Play in 2014*. Bonn: Lemmens.

Wasilewski, Marina., and Stinson, Jennifer., and Webster Fiona., and Cameron. Jill. (2019). Using Twitter to recruit participants for health research: An example from a caregiving study. *Health Informatics Journal*, 25(4), pp. 1485-1497. Available: <https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pubmed/29843545>

Weinreich, Uriel (1968). *Languages in Contact*. The Hauge: Mouton.

Welsh Assembly Government (2007a). *Statistical Bulletin - Welsh in Higher Education Institutions, 2005/06*. Cardiff: Welsh Assembly Government.

Welsh Government (2002). *Reaching Higher: Higher Education and the Learning Country: A Strategy for the higher education sector in Wales*. Welsh Government: Cardiff.

Welsh Government (2003). *Iaith Pawb: A National Action Plan for a Bilingual Wales*. Welsh Government: Cardiff.

Welsh Government (2007a). *Defining schools according to Welsh medium provision*. Cardiff: Welsh Government.

Welsh Government (2007b). *One Wales: A progressive agenda for the government of Wales*. Welsh Government: Cardiff.

Welsh Government (2009). *For Our Future: The 21st Century Higher Education Strategy and Plan for Wales*. Cardiff: Welsh Government.

Welsh Government (2010). *Welsh Medium Education Strategy*. Cardiff: Welsh Government.

Welsh Government (2012a). *Welsh in Higher Education Institutions, 2010/11*. Welsh Government: Cardiff.

Welsh Government (2012b). *School Census Results, 2012*. Cardiff: Welsh Government.

Welsh Government (2013a). *Welsh in Higher Education Institutions, 2011/12*. Cardiff: Welsh Government.

Welsh Government (2013b). *School Census Results, 2013*. Cardiff: Welsh Government.

Welsh Government (2013c). *Increasing the number of communities where Welsh is the main language: Report of the Task and Finish Group*. Cardiff: Welsh Government.

Welsh Government (2014a). *Welsh in Higher Education Institutions, 2012/13*. Cardiff: Welsh Government.

Welsh Government (2014b). *School Census Results, 2014*. Cardiff: Welsh Government.

Welsh Government (2015a). *Welsh in Higher Education Institutions, 2013/14*. Cardiff: Welsh Government.

Welsh Government (2015b). *School Census Results, 2015*. Cardiff: Welsh Government.

Welsh Government (2015c). *Welsh Language use in Wales, 2013-15*. Cardiff: Welsh Government.

Welsh Government (2016a). *Welsh Language in Higher Education Institutions, 2014/15*. Cardiff: Welsh Government.

Welsh Government (2016b). *School Census Results, 2016*. Cardiff: Welsh Government.

Welsh Government (2017a). *Welsh Language in Higher Education Institutions, 2015/16 – Revised*. Cardiff: Welsh Government.

Welsh Government (2017b). *School Census Results, 2017*. Cardiff: Welsh Government.

Welsh Government (2017c). *Review of the activities of the Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol: The Task and Finish Group's report*. Cardiff: Welsh Government.

Welsh Government (2017d). *Cymraeg 2050: A million Welsh speakers*. Welsh Government: Cardiff.

Welsh Government (2017e). *Cymraeg 2050: A million Welsh speakers – Work programme 2017-21*. Welsh Government: Cardiff.

Welsh Government (2018a). *Welsh Language in Higher Education, 2016/17*. Cardiff: Welsh Government.

Welsh Government (2018b). *School Census Results, 2018*. Cardiff: Welsh Government.

Welsh Government (2018c). Statistics Bulletin: National Survey for Wales, 2017-18: Welsh Language: Confidence and Attitudes. Welsh Government: Cardiff. Available: <https://www.gov.wales/sites/default/files/statistics-and-research/2019-01/national-survey-wales-welsh-language-confidence-attitudes-2017-18.pdf>

Welsh Government (2019a). Welsh speaking students in Wales, from Wales, by institution. [online]. Available at: <https://statswales.gov.wales/Catalogue/Education-and-Skills/Post-16-Education-and-Training/Higher-Education/Welsh-Medium/welshspeakingstudentsinwalesfromwales-by-institution>

Welsh Government (2019b). Students in Wales with teaching through the medium of Welsh by institution. [online]. Available: <https://statswales.gov.wales/Catalogue/Education-and-Skills/Post-16-Education-and-Training/Higher-Education/Welsh-Medium/studentsinwaleswithteachingthroughthemediumofwelsh-by-institution>

Welsh Government (2019c). Welsh speakers by local authority, gender and detailed age group, 2011 Census. [online]. Available: <https://statswales.gov.wales/Catalogue/Welsh-Language/Census-Welsh-Language/welshspeakers-by-localauthority-gender-detailedagegroups-2011census>

Welsh Government (2019d). Student enrolments in Wales by home country and year. [online]. Available at: <https://statswales.gov.wales/Catalogue/Education-and-Skills/Post-16-Education-and-Training/Higher-Education/Students/Enrolments-at-Welsh-HEIs/highereducationenrolments-by-domicile-year-mode>

Welsh Government (2019e). Enrolments of students from Wales by local authority and year. [online]. Available at: <https://statswales.gov.wales/Catalogue/Education-and-Skills/Post-16-Education-and-Training/Higher-Education/Students/Welsh-Domicile-Enrolments-at-UK-HEIs/welshdomicileenrolmentsatukheis-by-localauthority-year>

Welsh Government (2019f). Enrolments of students from Wales by year, level and mode of study. [online]. Available at: <https://statswales.gov.wales/Catalogue/Education-and-Skills/Post-16-Education-and-Training/Higher-Education/Students/Welsh-Domicile-Enrolments-at-UK-HEIs/enrolmentsduringtheyearatukheis-by-level-modeofstudy-year>

Welsh Government (2019g). Cross border flow of full-time students by level of study. [online]. Available: <https://statswales.gov.wales/Catalogue/Education-and-Skills/Post-16-Education-and-Training/Higher-Education/Students/Cross-Border-Flows/crossborderflowoffulltimehighereducationstudents-by-level-domicile-yearofstudy-locationofinstitution>

Welsh Government (2019h). Students in Wales with teaching through the medium of Welsh by gender and year. [online]. Available: <https://statswales.gov.wales/Catalogue/Education-and-Skills/Post-16-Education-and-Training/Higher-Education/Welsh-Medium/studentsinwaleswithteachingthroughthemediumofwelsh-by-gender-year>

Welsh Government (2019i). Students in Wales with teaching through the medium of Welsh by mode of study and level. [online]. Available: <https://statswales.gov.wales/Catalogue/Education-and-Skills/Post-16-Education-and-Training/Higher-Education/Welsh-Medium/studentsinwaleswithteachingthroughthemediumofwelsh-by-level-modeofstudy>

Welsh Government (2019j). Welsh speaking students in Wales, from Wales, by domicile and year. [online]. Available at: <https://statswales.gov.wales/Catalogue/Education-and-Skills/Post-16-Education-and-Training/Higher-Education/Welsh-Medium/welshspeakingstudentsinwales-by-domicile-year>

Welsh Government (2019k). Pupils by local authority, region and Welsh medium type. [online]. Available: <https://statswales.gov.wales/Catalogue/Education-and-Skills/Schools-and-Teachers/Schools-Census/Pupil-Level-Annual-School-Census/Welsh-Language/pupils-by-localauthorityregion-welshmediumtype>

Welsh Government (2019l). Students in Wales with teaching through the medium of Welsh by mode of study and level. [online]. Available: <https://statswales.gov.wales/Catalogue/Education-and-Skills/Post-16-Education-and-Training/Higher-Education/Welsh-Medium/studentsinwaleswithteachingthroughthemediumofwelsh-by-level-modeofstudy>

Welsh Government (2019m). Welsh speaking students in Wales, from Wales, by intensity. [online]. Available: <https://statswales.gov.wales/Catalogue/Education-and-Skills/Post-16-Education-and-Training/Higher-Education/Welsh-Medium/welshspeakingstudentsinwalesfromwales-by-intensity>

Welsh Government (2019n). Students in Wales with teaching through the medium of Welsh by subject and Welsh speaking ability. [online]. Available: <https://statswales.gov.wales/Catalogue/Education-and-Skills/Post-16-Education-and-Training/Higher-Education/Welsh-Medium/studentsinwaleswithteachingthroughthemediumofwelsh-by-subject-welshspeakingability>

Welsh Government (2019o). Ability to speak Welsh, as assessed by parents, of pupils in primary, middle and secondary schools by year, sector and category. [online]. Available: <https://statswales.gov.wales/Catalogue/Education-and-Skills/Schools-and-Teachers/Schools-Census/Pupil-Level-Annual-School-Census/Welsh-Language/abilityspeakwelshpupils5andover-by-year-sector-category>

Welsh Government (2019p). *Welsh Language in Higher Education, 2017/18*. Cardiff: Welsh Government.

Welsh Government (2021a). *Guidance on school categories according to Welsh-medium provision*. Welsh Government: Cardiff.

Welsh Government (2021b). *Cymraeg 2050: A million Welsh speakers – Work programme 2021-26*. Welsh Government: Cardiff.

Welsh Government (2021c). *A National policy on Welsh language transmission and use in families*. Cardiff: Welsh Government.

Welsh Government (2022a). Ability of people aged three or older to speak Welsh by local authority and single year of age, 2011 and 2021. [online]. Available: <https://statswales.gov.wales/Catalogue/Welsh-Language/Census-Welsh-Language/abilityofwelshpeopleaged3oroldertospeakwelsh-by-localauthority-singleyearage-censusyear>

Welsh Government (2022b). *Welsh Language in Higher Education, 2020/21*. Cardiff: Welsh Government.

Welsh Government (2022c). *Welsh language in Wales (Census 2021)*. [online] <https://www.gov.wales/welsh-language-wales-census-2021-html>

Welsh Government (2022d). *Welsh in the home and in education (Welsh Language Use Survey): July 2019 to March 2020*. Available at: <https://www.gov.wales/sites/default/files/pdf->

[versions/2022/6/4/1654765599/welsh-home-and-education-welsh-language-use-survey-july-2019-march-2020.pdf](https://www.welsh.gov.uk/versions/2022/6/4/1654765599/welsh-home-and-education-welsh-language-use-survey-july-2019-march-2020.pdf)

Welsh Government (2022e). *Welsh in Education Workforce Plan*. Welsh Government: Cardiff.

Welsh Government (2023a). *Curriculum for Wales*. Available at: <https://hwb.gov.wales/curriculum-for-wales/>

Welsh Government (2023b). *School by local authority, region and Welsh medium type*. Available at: <https://statswales.gov.wales/Catalogue/Education-and-Skills/Schools-and-Teachers/Schools-Census/Pupil-Level-Annual-School-Census/Schools/schools-by-localauthorityregion-welshmediumtype>

Welsh Government (2023c) *Pupils by local authority, region and Welsh medium type*. Available at: <https://statswales.gov.wales/Catalogue/Education-and-Skills/Schools-and-Teachers/Schools-Census/Pupil-Level-Annual-School-Census/Welsh-Language/pupils-by-localauthorityregion-welshmediumtype>

Welsh Government (2023d). *Speaking Welsh at home, as assessed by parents, of pupils aged 5 and over in primary, middle and secondary schools by year, sector and category*. Available at: <https://statswales.gov.wales/Catalogue/Education-and-Skills/Schools-and-Teachers/Schools-Census/Pupil-Level-Annual-School-Census/Welsh-Language/speakingwelshhomepupils5andover-by-year-sector-category>

Welsh Government (2023e). *Pupils taught Welsh as a first language by local authority and year group*. Available at: <https://statswales.gov.wales/Catalogue/Education-and-Skills/Schools-and-Teachers/Schools-Census/Pupil-Level-Annual-School-Census/Welsh-Language/pupilstaughtwelshfirstlanguage-by-localauthorityregion-yeargroup>

Welsh Government (2023f). *Welsh language composition of households in Wales (Census 2021)*. Cardiff: Welsh Government.

Welsh Language Commissioner (2017a). Compliance Note – Section 44 Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011: Cardiff University. Available at: [http://www.comisiynyddygydraeg.cymru/English/Publications%20List/20190123%20Hysbysiad%20Cydymffurfio44%20Prifysgol%20Caerdydd%20\(en\).pdf](http://www.comisiynyddygydraeg.cymru/English/Publications%20List/20190123%20Hysbysiad%20Cydymffurfio44%20Prifysgol%20Caerdydd%20(en).pdf)

Welsh Language Commissioner (2017a). Compliance Note – Section 44 Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011: Cardiff University. Available at: [http://www.comisiynyddygydraeg.cymru/English/Publications%20List/20190123%20Hysbysiad%20Cydymffurfio44%20Prifysgol%20Caerdydd%20\(en\).pdf](http://www.comisiynyddygydraeg.cymru/English/Publications%20List/20190123%20Hysbysiad%20Cydymffurfio44%20Prifysgol%20Caerdydd%20(en).pdf)

Welsh Language Commissioner (2017b). Compliance Note – Section 44 Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011: Bangor University. Available at: <http://www.comisiynyddygydraeg.cymru/English/Publication>

s%20List/20170929%20Hysbysiad%20Cydydffurfio44%20Prifysgol%20Bangor%20_en
_pdf

Welsh Language Commissioner (2017b). Compliance Note – Section 44 Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011: Bangor University. Available at: http://www.comisiynyddygydraeg.cymru/English/Publications%20List/20170929%20Hysbysiad%20Cydydffurfio44%20Prifysgol%20Bangor%20_en_pdf

Welsh Language Commissioner (2017c). Compliance Note – Section 44 Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011: Swansea University. Available at: [http://www.comisiynyddygydraeg.cymru/English/Publications%20List/20180723%20Hysbysiad%20Cydydffurfio44%20Prifysgol%20Abertawe%20fel%20amrywiwyd%20\(en\).pdf](http://www.comisiynyddygydraeg.cymru/English/Publications%20List/20180723%20Hysbysiad%20Cydydffurfio44%20Prifysgol%20Abertawe%20fel%20amrywiwyd%20(en).pdf)

Welsh Language Commissioner (2017c). Compliance Note – Section 44 Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011: Swansea University. Available at: [http://www.comisiynyddygydraeg.cymru/English/Publications%20List/20180723%20Hysbysiad%20Cydydffurfio44%20Prifysgol%20Abertawe%20fel%20amrywiwyd%20\(en\).pdf](http://www.comisiynyddygydraeg.cymru/English/Publications%20List/20180723%20Hysbysiad%20Cydydffurfio44%20Prifysgol%20Abertawe%20fel%20amrywiwyd%20(en).pdf)

Welsh Language Commissioner (2017d). Compliance Note – Section 44 Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011: Aberystwyth University. Available at: [http://www.comisiynyddygydraeg.cymru/English/Publications%20List/20170929Hysbysiad%20Cydydffurfio44%20Prifysgol%20Aberystwyth%20\(en\).pdf](http://www.comisiynyddygydraeg.cymru/English/Publications%20List/20170929Hysbysiad%20Cydydffurfio44%20Prifysgol%20Aberystwyth%20(en).pdf)

Welsh Language Commissioner (2017d). Compliance Note – Section 44 Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011: Aberystwyth University. Available at: [http://www.comisiynyddygydraeg.cymru/English/Publications%20List/20170929Hysbysiad%20Cydydffurfio44%20Prifysgol%20Aberystwyth%20\(en\).pdf](http://www.comisiynyddygydraeg.cymru/English/Publications%20List/20170929Hysbysiad%20Cydydffurfio44%20Prifysgol%20Aberystwyth%20(en).pdf)

Welsh Language Commissioner (2017e). Compliance Note – Section 44 Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011: University of Wales Trinity St David. Available at: [http://www.comisiynyddygydraeg.cymru/English/Publications%20List/20170929%20Hysbysiad%20Cydydffurfio44%20Prifysgol%20Cymru%20Drindod%20Dewi%20Sant%20\(en\).pdf](http://www.comisiynyddygydraeg.cymru/English/Publications%20List/20170929%20Hysbysiad%20Cydydffurfio44%20Prifysgol%20Cymru%20Drindod%20Dewi%20Sant%20(en).pdf)

Welsh Language Commissioner (2017e). Compliance Note – Section 44 Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011: University of Wales Trinity St David. Available at: [http://www.comisiynyddygydraeg.cymru/English/Publications%20List/20170929%20Hysbysiad%20Cydydffurfio44%20Prifysgol%20Cymru%20Drindod%20Dewi%20Sant%20\(en\).pdf](http://www.comisiynyddygydraeg.cymru/English/Publications%20List/20170929%20Hysbysiad%20Cydydffurfio44%20Prifysgol%20Cymru%20Drindod%20Dewi%20Sant%20(en).pdf)

Welsh Language Commissioner (2017f). Compliance Note – Section 44 Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011: University of South

Wales. Available at: [http://www.comisiynyddygyraeg.cymru/English/Publications%20List/20180706%20Hysbysiad%20Cydydffurfio44%20Prifysgol%20De%20Cymru%20\(en\).pdf](http://www.comisiynyddygyraeg.cymru/English/Publications%20List/20180706%20Hysbysiad%20Cydydffurfio44%20Prifysgol%20De%20Cymru%20(en).pdf)

Welsh Language Commissioner (2017f). Compliance Note – Section 44 Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011: University of South Wales. Available at: [http://www.comisiynyddygyraeg.cymru/English/Publications%20List/20180706%20Hysbysiad%20Cydydffurfio44%20Prifysgol%20De%20Cymru%20\(en\).pdf](http://www.comisiynyddygyraeg.cymru/English/Publications%20List/20180706%20Hysbysiad%20Cydydffurfio44%20Prifysgol%20De%20Cymru%20(en).pdf)

Welsh Language Commissioner (2017g). Compliance Note – Section 44 Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011: Cardiff Metropolitan University. Available at: [http://www.comisiynyddygyraeg.cymru/English/Publications%20List/20180607%20Hysbysiad%20Cydydffurfio44%20Prifysgol%20Metropolitan%20Caerdydd%20\(en\).pdf](http://www.comisiynyddygyraeg.cymru/English/Publications%20List/20180607%20Hysbysiad%20Cydydffurfio44%20Prifysgol%20Metropolitan%20Caerdydd%20(en).pdf)

Welsh Language Commissioner (2017g). Compliance Note – Section 44 Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011: Cardiff Metropolitan University. Available at: [http://www.comisiynyddygyraeg.cymru/English/Publications%20List/20180607%20Hysbysiad%20Cydydffurfio44%20Prifysgol%20Metropolitan%20Caerdydd%20\(en\).pdf](http://www.comisiynyddygyraeg.cymru/English/Publications%20List/20180607%20Hysbysiad%20Cydydffurfio44%20Prifysgol%20Metropolitan%20Caerdydd%20(en).pdf)

Welsh Language Commissioner (2017h). Compliance Note – Section 44 Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011: Wrexham Glyndŵr University. Available at: http://www.comisiynyddygyraeg.cymru/English/Publications%20List/20170929%20Hysbysiad%20Cydydffurfio44%20Prifysgol%20Glynd_r%20_en_.pdf

Welsh Language Commissioner (2017h). Compliance Note – Section 44 Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011: Glyndwr University. Available at: http://www.comisiynyddygyraeg.cymru/English/Publications%20List/20170929%20Hysbysiad%20Cydydffurfio44%20Prifysgol%20Glynd_r%20_en_.pdf

Welsh Language Commissioner (2017i). Compliance Note – Section 44 Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011: The Open University. Available at: [http://www.comisiynyddygyraeg.cymru/English/Publications%20List/20180509%20Hysbysiad%20Cydydffurfio44%20Y%20Brifysgol%20Agored%20\(en\).pdf](http://www.comisiynyddygyraeg.cymru/English/Publications%20List/20180509%20Hysbysiad%20Cydydffurfio44%20Y%20Brifysgol%20Agored%20(en).pdf)

Welsh Language Commissioner (2017i). Compliance Note – Section 44 Welsh Language (Wales) Measure 2011: The Open University. Available at: [http://www.comisiynyddygyraeg.cymru/English/Publications%20List/20180509%20Hysbysiad%20Cydydffurfio44%20Y%20Brifysgol%20Agored%20\(en\).pdf](http://www.comisiynyddygyraeg.cymru/English/Publications%20List/20180509%20Hysbysiad%20Cydydffurfio44%20Y%20Brifysgol%20Agored%20(en).pdf)

Welsh Language Commissioner (2018). *New rights for students to use Welsh*. Available at: <http://www.comisiynyddygyraeg.cymru/English/News/Pages/New-rights-for-students-to-use-Welsh.aspx>

Welsh Language Commissioner (2018). *New rights for students to use Welsh*. Available at: <http://www.comisiynyddygydraeg.cymru/English/News/Pages/New-rights-for-students-to-use-Welsh.aspx>

Whitehead, Joan., and Raffan, John., and Deaney, Rosemary. (2006). University Choice: What Influences the Decisions of Academically Successful Post-16 Students? *Higher Education Quarterly*, 60(1): 4-26

Wilkins, Stephen., and Shams, Farshid., and Huisman, Jeroen. (2012). The decision-making and changing behavioural dynamics of potential higher education students: the impacts of increasing tuition fees in England. *Educational Studies*, 39(2): 125-141.

Wilkinson, Robert (2013). English-Medium Instruction at a Dutch University: Challenges and Pitfalls. In: Doiz, Aintzane., and Lasagabaster, David., and Sierra, Juan (eds., 2013). *English-Medium Instruction at Universities: Global Perspectives*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, pp.3-26.

Wilkinson, Robert (2014). Contrasting attitudes towards a bilingual institutional language policy under internationalization. *Journal of Professional and Scientific Communication*. 36(1-2), pp.11-29. Available: <https://doi.org/10.24989/fs.v36i1-2.1311>

Wilkinson, Robert., and Gabriëls, René (2021). Englishization of Dutch higher education: Divergent language policies and practices. In: Wilkinson, Robert., and Gabriëls, René (eds., 2021). *The Englishization of Higher Education in Europe*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, pp.-239-257.

Williams, Cen (1994). *Arfarniad o ddulliau dysgu ac addysgu yng nghyd-destun addysg uwchradd ddwyieithog*. Unpublished PhD: University of Wales, Bangor.

Williams, Cen (2000). Bilingual Teaching and Language Distribution at 16+. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 3(2), pp.129-148. Available at: <https://www.tandfonline.com/action/showCitFormats?doi=10.1080/13670050008667703>

Williams, Cen (2003). *Cyfrwng Cymraeg mewn Addysg Uwch: Tueddiadau a Dyheadau [Welsh Medium in Higher Education: Trends and Aspirations]*. Bangor: University of Wales Press.

Williams, Colin (1976). Non-violence and the development of the Welsh Language Society, 1962-1974. *Welsh History Review / Cylchgrawn Hanes Cymru*, 1976(8), pp. 426-455. Available at: <https://www.proquest.com/docview/1310497560/fulltext/67C60F85F90E406EPO/1?accountid=9883&imgSeq=1>

Williams, Colin (2010). From Act to Action in Wales. In: Morris, Delyth (ed., 2010). *Welsh in the Twenty-First Century*. Cardiff: Cardiff University Wales Press, pp.36-60.

Williams, Colin. (2014). The Lightning Veil: Language Revitalization in Wales. *Review of Research in Education*, 38, pp. 242-272. Available: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/43284069>

Williams, Glenys. (2005). Legal education in Welsh – An empirical study. *The Law Teacher*, 39(3), pp. 259-276. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1080/03069400.2005.9993187>

Williams, Iolo (1989). *Y Gymraeg fel cyfrwng mewn Addysg Uwch: Agweddau a disgwyliadau disgyblion ysgol: agweddau a disgwyliadau disgyblion ysgol 1987 a 1988 – adroddiad I Fwrdd Dysgu Trwy'r Gymraeg*. Cardiff: Board for Welsh Medium Teaching.

Williams, Iolo (ed., 2003). *Our Children's Language: The Welsh-medium Schools of Wales 1939-2000*. Ceredigion: Y Lolfa.

Williams, Meinir., and Cooper, Sarah (2021). Adult New Speakers of Welsh: Accent, Pronunciation and Language Experience in South Wales. *Languages*, 6(86). Available: <https://doi.org/10.3390/languages6020086>

Williams, Richard (2004). *Methiant Prifysgolion Cymru*. Caerdydd Sefydliad Materion Cymreig.

Williams, Robin (2009). *Y Coleg Ffederal: Report to the minister for children, education, lifelong learning and skills*. <http://wales.gov.uk/docs/dcells/publications/090622ColegFfederalReporten.pdf>

Wilson, William (2018). Higher Education in Indigenous Language Revitalization. In: Hinton, Leanne., and Huss, Leena., and Roche, Gerald (eds., 2018). *The Routledge Handbook of Language Revitalization*. New York: Routledge, pp.83-93.

WISERD (2023). *Young People's attitudes towards the Welsh language*. [online]. Available at: <https://wiserd.ac.uk/blog/young-peoples-attitudes-towards-the-welsh-language/#:~:text=Lack%20of%20confidence%20to%20learn,of%20confidence%20in%20classroom%20settings>.

Wong, Josephine., and Poon, Maurice. (2010). Bridging Translation Out of the Shadows: Translation as an Issue of Methodological Significance in Cross-Cultural Qualitative Research. *Journal of Transcultural Nursing*, 21(2), pp. 151-158. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1043659609357637>

World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium (WINHEC). (2021). *Constitution of the World Indigenous Nations Higher Education Consortium*.

<https://winhec.org/resources/Documents/KeyDocuments/WINHEC%20Constitution%202021%20AGM%20Website.pdf>

Wrexham Glyndŵr University (2018). *Welsh Language Policy*. Available at: <https://glyndwr.ac.uk/media/marketing/policies-and-documents/management/Welsh-Language-Policy--2021.pdf>

Wrexham Glyndŵr University (2019). *Welsh Language*. <https://glyndwr.ac.uk/about/welsh-at-wrexham-glyndwr-university/>

Wright, Kevin (2005). Researching Internet-Based Populations: Advantages and Disadvantages of Online Survey Research, Online Questionnaire Authoring Software Packages, and Web Survey Services. *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication*, 10(3) pp. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1083-6101.2005.tb00259.x>

Wu, ping-Hisao., and Garza, Esther., and Guzman Norma (2015). International Students' Challenge and Adjustment to College. *Education Research International*, Volume 2015, pp. 1-9. <https://doi.org/10.1155/2015/202753>

Xavier, Vila (2011). Language in Education Policy. In: Strubell, Miquel., and Boix-Fuster, Emili (eds., 2011). *Democratic Policies for Language Revitalisation: the Case of Catalan*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan. pp.119-149.

Yeh, Christine., and Inose, Mayuko (2003). International students' reported English fluency, social support satisfaction, and social connectedness as predictors of acculturative stress. *Counselling Psychology Quarterly*, 16(1): 15-28.

Zalbide, Mikel., and Cenoz, Jasone (2008). Bilingual Education in the Basque Autonomous Community: Achievements and Challenges. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*, 21(1), pp.5-20. Available: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2167/lcc339.0>

Zhang, Yanyin., and Mi, Yinan. (2010). Another Look at the Language Difficulties of International Students. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 14(4), 371-288. Available: <https://doi.org/10.1177/1028315309336031>

Appendices

Appendix 1: Letter of Ethical Approval



School of Social Sciences
Ysgol Gwyddorau Cymdeithasol
Head of School, Pennaeth yr Ysgol
Professor, Yr Athro Amanda Coffey FAcSS

Cardiff University
Glamorgan Building
King Edward VII Avenue
Cardiff CF10 3WT
Wales UK
Tel +44(0)29 2087 5179
Fax +44(0)29 2087 4175
www.cardiff.ac.uk/social-sciences

Our ref: SREC/1978

Adam Pierce
PhD Programme
School of Social Sciences

Prifysgol Caerdydd
Adeilad Morgannwg
Rhodfa'r Brenin Edward VII
Caerdydd CF10 3WT
Cymru, Y Deyrnas Unedig
Ffôn +44(0)29 2087 5179
Ffacs +44(0)29 2087 4175
www.caerdydd.ac.uk/social-sciences

Dear Adam,

Your project entitled 'The relationship between the Welsh Language and Higher Education Participation' has been approved by the School of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee and you can now commence the project.

If you make any substantial changes with ethical implications to the project as it progresses you need to inform the SREC about the nature of these changes. Such changes could be: 1) changes in the type of participants recruited (e.g. inclusion of a group of potentially vulnerable participants), 2) changes to questionnaires, interview guides etc. (e.g. including new questions on sensitive issues), 3) changes to the way data are handled (e.g. sharing of non-anonymised data with other researchers).

In addition, if anything occurs in your project from which you think the SREC might usefully learn, then please do share this information with us. All ongoing projects will be monitored every 12 months and it is a condition of continued approval that you complete the monitoring form. Please inform the SREC when the project has ended.

Please use the SREC's project reference number above in any future correspondence.

Yours sincerely

Professor Alan Felstead
Chair of School of Social Sciences Research Ethics Committee

cc: Hannah Vincent
Supervisor: Chris Taylor
Gareth Rees



Registered Charity, no. 1136855
Elusen Gofrestredig, rhif 1136855



I-3 Museum Place
SOCSI Graduate Office
Prifysgol Caerdydd
Caerdydd
CF10 3BD

Annwyl _____,

Fy enw i yw Adam Pierce, ac rwy'n fyfyrwr PhD yn yr adran Gwyddorau Cymdeithas ym Mhrifysgol Gaerdydd.

Ysgrifennaf atoch er mwyn gofyn eich caniatâd a'ch cymorth er mwyn gweinyddu arolwg ar gyfer fy mhrosiect ymchwil PhD. Rwy'n ceisio archwilio'r berthynas rhwng yr iaith Gymraeg a Chyfranogiad Addysg Uwch ymysg myfyrwyr israddedig. Rwy'n awyddus iawn i archwilio a thrafod y ffactorau sydd wedi dylanwadau ar siaradwyr Cymraeg i astudio drwy gyfrwng y Gymraeg, a'r rheiny sydd wedi penderfynu astudio'n gyfan gwbl drwy gyfrwng Saesneg yn y Brifysgol.

Rwy'n ceisio recriwtio siaradwyr Cymraeg sydd yn astudio graddau israddedig ym Mhrifysgol Gaerdydd a Phrifysgol Bangor. Ar gyfer yr astudiaeth hon, byddai myfyrwyr/siaradwr Cymraeg yn cael ei ddiffinio fel unrhyw unigolyn sydd wedi mynychu neu wedi derbyn addysg uwchradd cyfrwng Cymraeg neu ddwyieithog yng Nghymru.

Byddai'r holiadur yn ceisio archwilio cefndir ieithyddol ac addysgol y myfyrwyr, a'r iaith y maent yn eu defnyddio fel iaith cyfrwng dysgu/astudio yn y Brifysgol. Mae'r holiaduron yn fodd o gael mynediad i gyfranogwyr (posib) er mwyn cymryd rhan mewn cyfweiliadau wyneb-yn-wyneb a byddai'n ffurfio prif ran fy ymchwil PhD.

Fel darlithydd Y Coleg Cymraeg, byddaf yn hynod werthfawrogol o'ch caniatâd i recriwtio myfyrwyr Cymraeg ac eich cymorth chi i gylchredeg/ dosbarthu'r arolwg hwn i'ch myfyrwyr. Cydnabyddaf y mae hi'n adeg brysur o'r flwyddyn, felly i gynorthwyo yn y broses yr wyf yn hapus i ddarparu copïau caled, ac i gasglu'r arolygon a gwblhawyd ar adeg sydd yn gyfleus.

Atodaf fersiwn Cymraeg a Saesneg o'r holiadur gyda'r e-bost hon ynghyd a'r Daflen Wybodaeth.

Mae hefyd linc ar-lein i'r holiadur:

Fersiwn Cymraeg: <https://cardiff.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/arolwg-yr-iaith-gymraeg-a-chyfranogiad-addysg-uwch>

Fersiwn Saesneg: <https://cardiff.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/survey-the-welsh-language-and-higher-education-participa>

Gobeithiaf y cytunwch i'n nghynorthwyo yn yr astudiaeth hon, a gwerthfawrogwn eich cyfraniad. Os nad ydych am i mi gysylltu â myfyrwyr, oes modd i chi gysylltu â mi yn datgan hyn os gwelwch yn dda.

Os oes gennych unrhyw gwestiynau neu ymholiadau pellach am yr ymchwil, croeso i chi gysylltu â mi.

Byddwn yn ddiolchgar iawn petaech chi'n cysylltu â mi gyda chadarnhad o'ch cymorth.

Diolch yn fawr iawn am eich cydweithrediad,

Yr Eiddoch yn Gywir,

Adam Pierce (PierceAR1@cardiff.ac.uk)



I-3 Museum Place
SOCSI Graduate Office
Cardiff University
Cardiff
CF10 3BD

Dear _____,

My name is Adam Pierce, and I am a PhD student based at the School of Social Sciences at Cardiff University.

I am writing to you to ask for your permission and assistance in administering a survey as part of my PhD project. I am seeking to understand the relationship between the Welsh language and Higher Education Participation amongst undergraduate students. I am particularly interested in exploring contributing factors that have influenced Welsh speakers to study through the medium of Welsh, and also those that have chosen to study entirely through the medium of English.

I am hoping to recruit Welsh speaking undergraduates that are currently studying at Cardiff University and Bangor University. For the purpose of this study, a Welsh speaker/Welsh-speaking undergraduate student will be defined as an individual that has attended or received Welsh-medium or bilingual secondary education in Wales.

The survey will seek to explore students' linguistic and educational background as well as the language they currently use to study/learn at higher education. The questionnaire is a means to access potential participants for the face-to-face interviews, which will form the main component of my research.

As a Coleg Cymraeg lecturer, I would very much appreciate firstly, your permission to recruit students from within your department, and secondly your assistance in circulating/distributing the survey to these students. I appreciate it is a busy time, so as to assist in the process I am happy to provide hard copies, and collect completed surveys at a convenient time.

I attach a Welsh version and an English version of the questionnaire with this e-mail.

There is also an online link to the survey:

Welsh Version: <https://cardiff.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/arolwg-yr-iaith-gymraeg-a-chyfranogiad-addysg-uwch>

English Version: <https://cardiff.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/survey-the-welsh-language-and-higher-education-participa>

I hope you will agree to assist in the study, and would really appreciate your involvement and assistance. If you do not wish me to contact students from your department, please get in touch.

If you have any further questions or queries about the way this research is being conducted, please do not hesitate to contact me.

I would appreciate if you could get back to me with confirmation of your assistance.
Thank you very much for your co-operation,

Yours faithfully / Yr Eiddoch yn Gywir,

Adam Pierce (PierceARI@cardiff.ac.uk)



I-3 Museum Place
SOCSI Graduate Office
Prifysgol Caerdydd
Caerdydd
CF10 3BD

Annwyl _____,

Fy enw i yw Adam Pierce, ac rwy'n fyfyrwr PhD yn yr adran Gwyddorau Cymdeithas ym Mhrifysgol Gaerdydd.

Ysgrifennaf atoch er mwyn gofyn eich caniatâd a'ch cymorth er mwyn gweinyddu arolwg ar gyfer fy mhrosiect ymchwil PhD. Rwy'n ceisio archwilio'r berthynas rhwng yr iaith Gymraeg a Chyfranogiad Addysg Uwch ymysg myfyrwyr israddedig. Rwy'n awyddus iawn i archwilio a thrafod y ffactorau sydd wedi dylanwadau ar siaradwyr Cymraeg i astudio drwy gyfrwng y Gymraeg, a'r rheiny sydd wedi penderfynu astudio'n gyfan gwbl drwy gyfrwng Saesneg yn y Brifysgol.

Rwy'n ceisio recriwtio siaradwyr Cymraeg sydd yn astudio graddau israddedig ym Mhrifysgol Gaerdydd a Phrifysgol Bangor. Ar gyfer yr astudiaeth hon, byddai myfyrwyr/siaradwr Cymraeg yn cael ei ddiffinio fel unrhyw unigolyn sydd wedi mynychu neu wedi derbyn addysg uwchradd cyfrwng Cymraeg neu ddwyieithog yng Nghymru.

Byddai'r holiadur yn ceisio archwilio cefndir ieithyddol ac addysgol y myfyrwyr, a'r iaith y maent yn eu defnyddio fel iaith cyfrwng dysgu/astudio yn y Brifysgol. Mae'r holiaduron yn fodd o gael mynediad i gyfranogwyr (posib) er mwyn cymryd rhan mewn cyfweiliadau wyneb-yn-wyneb a byddai'n ffurfio prif ran fy ymchwil PhD.

Fel aelod o staff y brifysgol, byddaf yn hynod werthfawrogol o'ch caniatâd i recriwtio myfyrwyr Cymraeg ac eich cymorth chi i gylchredeg/ dosbarthu'r arolwg hwn i'ch myfyrwyr. Cydnabyddaf y mae hi'n adeg brysur o'r flwyddyn, felly i gynorthwyo yn y broses yr wyf yn hapus i ddarparu copïau caled, ac i gasglu'r arolygon a gwblhawyd ar adeg sydd yn gyfleus.

Atodaf fersiwn Cymraeg a Saesneg o'r holiadur gyda'r e-bost hon ynghyd a'r Daflen Wybodaeth.

Mae hefyd linc ar-lein i'r holiadur:

Fersiwn Cymraeg: <https://cardiff.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/arolwg-yr-iaith-gymraeg-a-chyfranogiad-addysg-uwch>

Fersiwn Saesneg: <https://cardiff.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/survey-the-welsh-language-and-higher-education-participa>

Gobeithiaf y cytunwch i'n nghynorthwyo yn yr astudiaeth hon, a gwerthfawrogwn eich cyfraniad. Os nad ydych am i mi gysylltu â myfyrwyr, oes modd i chi gysylltu â mi yn datgan hyn os gwelwch yn dda.

Os oes gennych unrhyw gwestiynau neu ymholiadau pellach am yr ymchwil, croeso i chi gysylltu â mi.

Byddwn yn ddiolchgar iawn petaech chi'n cysylltu â mi gyda chadarnhad o'ch cymorth.

Diolch yn fawr iawn am eich cydweithrediad,

Yr Eiddoch yn Gywir,

Adam Pierce (PierceAR1@cardiff.ac.uk)



I-3 Museum Place
SOCSI Graduate Office
Cardiff University
Cardiff
CF10 3BD

Dear _____,

My name is Adam Pierce, and I am a PhD student based at the School of Social Sciences at Cardiff University.

I am writing to you to ask for your permission and assistance in administering a survey as part of my PhD project. I am seeking to understand the relationship between the Welsh language and Higher Education Participation amongst undergraduate students. I am particularly interested in exploring contributing factors that have influenced Welsh speakers to study through the medium of Welsh, and also those that have chosen to study entirely through the medium of English.

I am hoping to recruit Welsh speaking undergraduates that are currently studying at Cardiff University and Bangor University. For the purpose of this study, a Welsh speaker/Welsh-speaking undergraduate student will be defined as an individual that has attended or received Welsh-medium or bilingual secondary education in Wales.

The survey will seek to explore students' linguistic and educational background as well as the language they currently use to study/learn at higher education. The questionnaire is a means to access potential participants for the face-to-face interviews, which will form the main component of my research.

As a member of staff at the university, I would very much appreciate firstly, your permission to recruit students from within your department, and secondly your assistance in circulating/distributing the survey to these students. I appreciate it is a busy time, so as to assist in the process I am happy to provide hard copies, and collect completed surveys at a convenient time.

I attach a Welsh version and an English version of the questionnaire with this e-mail.

There is also an online link to the survey:

Welsh Version: <https://cardiff.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/arolwg-yr-iaith-gymraeg-a-chyfranogiad-addysg-uwch>

English Version: <https://cardiff.onlinesurveys.ac.uk/survey-the-welsh-language-and-higher-education-participa>

I hope you will agree to assist in the study, and would really appreciate your involvement and assistance. If you do not wish me to contact students from your department, please get in touch.

If you have any further questions or queries about the way this research is being conducted, please do not hesitate to contact me.

I would appreciate if you could get back to me with confirmation of your assistance. Thank you very much for your co-operation,

Yours faithfully / Yr Eiddoch yn Gywir,

Adam Pierce (PierceARI@cardiff.ac.uk)

TAFLEN WYBODAETH CYFRANOGWYR

AROLWG: Y BERTHYNAS RHWNG YR IAITH GYMRAEG A
CHYFRANOGIAD ADDYSG UWCH.



Darllena'r wybodaeth ganlynol yn ofalus, a thicia'r blwch isod er mwyn cadarnhau dy ddealltwriaeth o'r wybodaeth cyn i ti fynd ati i gymryd rhan yn yr arolwg.

GWYBODAETH I GYFRANOGWYR:

Fy enw i yw Adam Pierce, ac rwy'n fyfyrwr PhD ym Mhrifysgol Caerdydd.

Rwy'n cynnal ymchwil i mewn i'r berthynas rhwng yr iaith Gymraeg a Chyfranogiad Addysg Uwch.

PWYSIG: Rwy'n ceisio recriwtio myfyrwyr israddedig sydd wedi mynychu ysgol uwchradd yng Nghymru ac sydd ar hyn o bryd yn astudio ar gyfer gradd israddedig ym Mhrifysgol Gaerdydd neu Brifysgol Bangor i gymryd rhan yn yr arolwg hwn.

Bydd yr holiadur yn ceisio archwilio dy gefndir ieithyddol ac addysgol, a'r iaith wyt ti'n ei ddefnyddio fel iaith cyfrwng dysgu/astudio yn y Brifysgol.

Bydd hefyd gyfle i ti gymryd rhan mewn cyfweiliad dilynol (*follow-up interview*) gyda fi nes ymlaen. Bwriad y cyfweiliad yw archwilio a thrafod dy brofiadau addysgol/academaidd, cymdeithasol a diwylliannol yn y Brifysgol. Mae fwy o fanylion i'w gael ar ddiwedd yr arolwg.

Noda'r canlynol ynghylch yr arolwg:

- Mae'n bosib cwblhau'r holiadur yn Gymraeg neu'n Saesneg
- Mae dy gyfranogiad yn hollol wirfoddol
- Bydd ymatebion yr holiaduron yn cael eu defnyddio ar bwrpas academaidd yn unig
- Caiff ymatebion/gwybodaeth o'r holiaduron eu cadw'n gyfrinachol ac yn anhysbys.

DATGANIAD:

Rwy'n cadarnhau fy mod wedi darllen y wybodaeth uchod, ac felly rwy'n rhoi fy nghaniatâd gwirfoddol i gymryd rhan yn yr astudiaeth hon.



PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

SURVEY: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE WELSH LANGUAGE AND HIGHER EDUCATION.



Please read the following information carefully and confirm your understanding of the information by ticking at the bottom of the page before you commence your participation in this survey.

INFORMATION FOR PARTICIPANTS:

My name is Adam Pierce, and I am PhD student at Cardiff University.

I am conducting research into the relationship between the Welsh language and Higher Education Participation.

IMPORTANT: I am looking to recruit undergraduate students that have attended a secondary school in Wales and are currently studying for an undergraduate degree programme at Cardiff or Bangor University to take part in this survey.

This questionnaire will seek to explore your linguistic and educational background, and the language you currently use to study/learn at university.

There will also be an opportunity for you to participate in a follow-up interview with myself at a later date. The interview will attempt to explore your academic, cultural and social experiences at university. Information about this can be found at the end of the survey.

Please note the following in regard to the study:

- You may complete the questionnaire in Welsh or in English
- Your participation is completely voluntary
- The information obtained will be used for academic purposes only
- The results of the survey will be kept confidential and anonymous

DECLARATION:

I confirm that I have read the information provided above and hereby give my voluntary consent to participate in this study.

TAFLEN WYBODAETH CYFRANOGWYR

AROLWG: Y BERTHYNAS RHWNG YR IAITH GYMRAEG A CHYFRANOGIAD ADDYSG UWCH.



Darllena'r wybodaeth ganlynol yn ofalus, a thicia'r blwch isod er mwyn cadarnhau dy ddealltwriaeth o'r wybodaeth cyn i ti fynd ati i gymryd rhan yn yr arolwg.

GWYBODAETH I GYFRANOGWYR:

Fy enw i yw Adam Pierce, ac rwy'n fyfyrwr PhD ym Mhrifysgol Caerdydd.

Rwy'n cynnal ymchwil i mewn i'r berthynas rhwng yr iaith Gymraeg a Chyfranogiad Addysg Uwch.

PWYSIG: Rwy'n ceisio recriwtio myfyrwyr israddedig sydd wedi mynychu ysgol uwchradd yng Nghymru ac sydd ar hyn o bryd yn astudio mewn brifysgol tu allan i Gymru.

Bydd yr holiadur yn ceisio archwilio dy gefndir ieithyddol ac addysgol.

Bydd hefyd gyfle i ti gymryd rhan mewn cyfweiliad dilynol (*follow-up interview*) gyda fi nes ymlaen. Bwriad y cyfweiliad yw archwilio a thrafod dy brofiadau addysgol/academaidd, cymdeithasol a diwylliannol yn y Brifysgol. Mae fwy o fanylion i'w gael ar ddiwedd yr arolwg.

Noda'r canlynol ynghylch yr arolwg:

- Mae'n bosib cwblhau'r holiadur yn Gymraeg neu'n Saesneg
- Mae dy gyfranogiad yn hollol wirfoddol
- Bydd ymatebion yr holiaduron yn cael eu defnyddio ar bwrpas academaidd yn unig
- Caiff ymatebion/gwybodaeth o'r holiaduron eu cadw'n gyfrinachol ac yn anhysbys.

DATGANIAD:

Rwy'n cadarnhau fy mod wedi darllen y wybodaeth uchod, ac felly rwy'n rhoi fy nghaniatâd gwirfoddol i gymryd rhan yn yr astudiaeth hon.



PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

SURVEY: THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE WELSH LANGUAGE AND HIGHER EDUCATION.



Please read the following information carefully and confirm your understanding of the information by ticking at the bottom of the page before you commence your participation in this survey.

INFORMATION FOR PARTICIPANTS:

My name is Adam Pierce, and I am PhD student at Cardiff University.

I am conducting research into the relationship between the Welsh language and Higher Education Participation.

IMPORTANT: I am looking to recruit undergraduate students that have attended a secondary school in Wales and are currently studying at a university outside of Wales.

This questionnaire will seek to explore your linguistic and educational background.

There will also be an opportunity for you to participate in a follow-up interview with myself at a later date. The interview will attempt to explore your academic, cultural and social experiences at university. Information about this can be found at the end of the survey.

Please note the following in regard to the study:

- You may complete the questionnaire in Welsh or in English
- Your participation is completely voluntary
- The information obtained will be used for academic purposes only
- The results of the survey will be kept confidential and anonymous

DECLARATION:

I confirm that I have read the information provided above and hereby give my voluntary consent to participate in this study.

Yr Iaith Gymraeg ac Addysg Uwch

Fy enw i yw Adam Pierce, ac rwy'n fyfyrwr PhD ym Mhrifysgol Caerdydd yn edrych ar y berthynas rhwng yr iaith Gymraeg ac Addysg Uwch.

Dwi'n chwilio am siaradwyr Cymraeg i gwblhau'r arolwg yma.

Alle di sbario 10munud o dy amser, plis?

Bydd yr holiadur yn ceisio archwilio dy gefndir ieithyddol ac addysgol, a'r iaith wyt ti'n ei ddefnyddio fel iaith cyfrwng dysgu/astudio yn y Brifysgol.

Mae dy gyfranogiad yn hollol wirfoddol.

Caiff ymatebion/gwybodaeth o'r holiaduron eu cadw'n gyfrinachol ac yn anhysbys.

Diolch,

Adam.

E-bost: PierceARI@cardiff.ac.uk



1. Wyt ti'n:

- Fachgen:
Ferch:

2. Faint oed wyt ti?

3. Noda sir dy gyfeiriad cartref (h.y. nid ble wy ti'n byw yn ystod y tymor academaidd)

4. Sut byddet ti'n disgrifio dy hunaniaeth genedlaethol?

Ticiwch bob blwch sy'n berthnasol:

- Cymro/Cymraes:
Sais/Saesnes:
Albanwr/Albanes:
Gwyddel/Gwyddeles o Ogledd Iwerddon:
Prydeiniwr/Prydeinwraig:
Arall:

5. Beth yw dy grwp ethnig?

- Gwyn:
Cymysg/ Grwpiau Aml-Ethnig:
Asiaidd/ Asiaidd Prydeinig:
Du/ Affricanaidd/ Caribiaidd/ DU Prydeinig:
Grŵp Ethnig Arall:

6. Ydi dy rieni wedi mynychu'r Brifysgol?

Ticiwch bob blwch sy'n berthnasol:

	Ie/Do	Na	n/a
Mam			
Dad			

7. Beth yw iaith y cartref?

- Cymraeg:
Saesneg:
Cymraeg a Saesneg:
Arall:

Os 'Arall', rhowch fanylion: _____

8. Beth wyt ti'n ystyried yw dy iaith gyntaf?

- Cymraeg:
Saesneg:
Cymraeg a Saesneg:
Arall:
Os 'Arall', rhowch fanylion: _____

9. Beth wyt ti'n ystyried yw dy ail iaith?

- Cymraeg:
Saesneg:
Cymraeg a Saesneg:
Arall:
Os 'Arall', rhowch fanylion: _____
n/a:

10. Pa ysgol uwchradd wenst ti fynychu?

11. P'run o'r cymwysterau TGAU Cymraeg iaith isod wnest ti astudio?

- Cymraeg iaith Gyntaf:
Cymraeg Ail iaith:
Arall:
Os 'Arall', plis nodwch: _____

12. Pa radd wnest ti ei gyflawni yn y cymhwyster hwn?

13. Noda dy gymwysterau fwyaf diweddar wnest ti astudio ar gyfer mynediad i'r brifysgol, y cyfrwng dysgu a ddefnyddiwyd, a lleoliad dysgu.

Pynciau	Cymwysterau (e.e. Lefel A)	Iaith Cyfrwng Dysgu	Ysgol neu Coleg Addysg Bellach?
(e.g. Hanes)	Lefel A	Cymraeg	Ysgol)

14. Pa iaith wyt ti'n ei ffafrio fel iaith cyfrwng dysgu?

- (preferred study language).
Cymraeg:
Saesneg:
Cymraeg-a-Saesneg:

15. Sut byddet ti'n asesu dy sgiliau iaith Gymraeg?

Ticiwch un blwch ar gyfer pob sgil:

Sgiliau iaith Cymraeg	Hyderus lawn	Hyderus	Eithaf Hyderus	Ddim yn hyderus o gwbl
Siarad				
Gwrando				
Darllen				
Ysgrifennu				

16. Sut byddet ti'n asesu dy sgiliau iaith Saesneg?

Ticiwch un blwch ar gyfer pob sgil:

Sgiliau iaith Cymraeg	Hyderus lawn	Hyderus	Eithaf Hyderus	Ddim yn hyderus o gwbl
Siarad				
Gwrando				
Darllen				
Ysgrifennu				

17. Beth ydi dy flwyddyn astudio?

18. Ym mha brifysgol wyt ti yn ei astudio?

19. Pa raglen radd israddedig wyt ti'n astudio?

(e.e. BSc Cymdeithaseg)

20. Wyt ti'n derbyn unrhyw addysg cyfrwng Cymraeg ar gwrs di?

Ydw:

Nac Ydw:

20a. Os 'Ydw', plis rhestra'r holl fodiwlau wyt ti'n eu hastudio ar hyn o bryd ble wyt ti'n derbyn unrhyw fath o addysg cyfrwng Cymraeg, a'r iaith a ddefnyddir ar gyfer gwahanol ddulliau o ddysgu:

Modiwlau	Darlithoedd	Cymryd nodiadau mewn darlithoedd	Seminarau	Aseiniadau/ Traethodau
<i>(e.e Dulliau Ymchwil</i>	<i>Saesneg</i>	<i>Cymraeg</i>	<i>Saesneg</i>	<i>Cymraeg</i>

21. Wyt ti'n ymwybodol o'r Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol a'u rôl yn datblygu/hyrwyddo addysg uwch cyfrwng Cymraeg?

Ydw:
 Nac Ydw:

21i. Os 'Ydw', wyt ti'n aelod o'r Coleg?

Ydw:
 Nac Ydw:

22. A oes gen ti diwtor personol Cymraeg?

Oes:
 Nac Oes:

23. Wyt ti'n aelod o gymdeithas Gymraeg y brifysgol? (e.e. Y GymGym, UMCB)?

Ydw:
 Nac Ydw:

*****Diwedd yr Arolwg*****

Oes gen ti ddi-ddordeb cymryd rhan mewn cyfweiliad dilynol (follow-up interview) yn trafod yr iaith Gymraeg, Addysg Uwch Cyfrwng Cymraeg a dy ddewisiadau / profiadau prifysgol?

Os felly, gadewch eich manylion cyswllt isod, a byddai mewn cysylltiad maes o law.

Enw:

E-bost:

Fel arall, gallwch gysylltu â mi ar: PierceARI@cardiff.ac.uk

Diolch am eich amser.

The Welsh Language and Higher Education

My name is Adam Pierce, and I am a PhD student at Cardiff University researching the relationship between the Welsh language and Higher Education.

I am looking for Welsh speaking students to complete the following survey.

Could you spare 10mins of your time please?

The questionnaire will seek to explore your linguistic and educational background, and the language you currently use to study/learn at university.

Your participation is completely voluntary.

The result of the survey will be kept confidential and anonymous.

Thank you,

Adam.

Email: PierceARI@cardiff.ac.uk



1. Are you:

Male

Female:

2. How old are you?

3. Please note the county of your home address (i.e. not where you live during term-time)

4. How would you describe your national identity?

Tick all that apply:

Welsh:

English:

Scottish:

Northern Irish:

British:

Other:

5. How would you describe your ethnicity?

White:

Mixed/Multiple Ethnic Groups:

Asian/Asian British:

Black/African/Caribbean/Black British:

Other Ethnic Group:

6. Has either of your parents attended university?

Please tick the appropriate boxes

	Yes	No	n/a
Mum			
Dad			

7. What is the language spoken at home?

Welsh:

English:

Welsh-and-English:

Other:

If 'Other', please specify: _____

8. What would you consider to be your first language?

Welsh:

English:

Welsh-and-English:

Other:

If 'Other', please specify: _____

9. What would you consider to be your second language?

Welsh:

English:

Welsh-and-English:

Other:

If 'Other', please specify: _____

n/a:

10. Which secondary school did you attend?

11. Which of the following Welsh Language GCSE did you study?

Welsh First Language:

Welsh Second Language:

Other:

If 'Other', please specify: _____

12. What grade did you achieve for this qualification?

13. State your most recent qualifications you undertook for entry into university, the language of instruction used, and the location of study.

Subjects	Qualifications (e.g. A/AS Levels)	Language/Medium of Instruction	School or FE College?
<i>(e.g. History)</i>	<i>A Level</i>	<i>Welsh</i>	<i>School)</i>

14. Which language would you regard as your preferred study language?

- Welsh:
English
Welsh-and-English:

15. How would you assess your Welsh language skills?

Please tick one box for each skill:

Welsh language skills	Very Confident	Confident	Fairly Confident	Not at all Confident
Speaking				
Listening				
Reading				
Writing				

16. How would you assess your English language skills?

Please tick one box for each skill:

Welsh language skills	Very Confident	Confident	Fairly Confident	Not at all Confident
Speaking				
Listening				
Reading				
Writing				

17. What is your year of study?

18. At which university are you studying?

19. Which undergraduate degree programme are you studying?

(e.g. BSc. Sociology)

20. Are you receiving any Welsh medium education on your degree course?

- Yes:
No:

20a. If 'Yes', please list all the modules that you are currently studying where you are receiving any form of Welsh medium education, and the language used across each form of learning:

Modules	Lectures	Note-taking in lectures	Seminars	Assignments/ Exams
(e.g. Research Methods	English	Welsh	English	English)

21. Are you aware of Y Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol and its role in developing Welsh medium higher education?

- Yes:
 No:

21i. If 'Yes', are you a member of Y Coleg?

- Yes:
 No:

22. Have you been assigned a Welsh speaking personal tutor?

- Yes:
 No:

23. Are you a member of the university's Welsh society? (Y GymGym, UMCB)?

- Yes:
 No:

*****End of Survey*****

Would you be interested in taking part in a follow-up interview discussing the Welsh language, Welsh Medium Higher Education, and your university choices and experiences?

If so, please leave your contact details below and I will be in touch shortly.

Name:

E-mail:

Alternatively you can contact me on: PierceAR1@cardiff.ac.uk

Thank you for your time.

Yr Iaith Gymraeg ac Addysg Uwch

Fy enw i yw Adam Pierce, ac rwy'n fyfyrwr PhD ym Mhrifysgol Caerdydd yn edrych ar y berthynas rhwng yr iaith Gymraeg ac Addysg Uwch.

Dwi'n chwilio am siaradwyr Cymraeg sy'n asutdio mewn prifysgolion tu allan i Gymru gwblhau'r arolwg yma.

Alle di sbario 10munud o dy amser, plis?

Bydd yr holiadur yn ceisio archwilio dy gefndir ieithyddol ac addysgol, a'r iaith wyt ti'n ei ddefnyddio fel iaith cyfrwng dysgu/astudio yn y Brifysgol.

Mae dy gyfranogiad yn hollol wirfoddol.

Caiff ymatebion/gwybodaeth o'r holiaduron eu cadw'n gyfrinachol ac yn anhysbys.

Diolch,

Adam.

E-bost: PierceARI@cardiff.ac.uk



1. Wyt ti'n:

Fachgen:

Ferch:

2. Faint oed wyt ti?

3. Noda sir dy gyfeiriad cartref (h.y. nid ble wy ti'n byw yn ystod y tymor academaidd)

4. Sut byddet ti'n disgrifio dy hunaniaeth genedlaethol?

Ticiwch bob blwch sy'n berthnasol:

Cymro/Cymraes:

Sais/Saesnes:

Albanwr/Albanes:

Gwyddel/Gwyddeles o Ogledd Iwerddon:

Prydeiniwr/Prydeinwraig:

Arall:

5. Beth yw dy grwp ethnig?

Gwyn:

Cymysg/ Grwpiau Aml-Ethnig:

Asiaidd/ Asiaidd Prydeinig:

Du/ Affricanaidd/ Caribiaidd/ DU Prydeinig:

Grŵp Ethnig Arall:

6. Ydi dy rieni wedi mynychu'r Brifysgol?

Ticiwch bob blwch sy'n berthnasol:

	Ie/Do	Na	n/a
Mam			
Dad			

7. Beth yw iaith y cartref?

Cymraeg:

Saesneg:

Cymraeg a Saesneg:

Arall:

Os 'Arall', rhowch fanylion: _____

8. Beth wyt ti'n ystyried yw dy iaith gyntaf?

Cymraeg:

Saesneg:

Cymraeg a Saesneg:

Arall:

Os 'Arall', rhowch fanylion: _____

9. Beth wyt ti'n ystyried yw dy ail iaith?

Cymraeg:

Saesneg:

Cymraeg a Saesneg:

Arall:

Os 'Arall', rhowch fanylion: _____

n/a:

10. Pa ysgol uwchradd wenst ti fynychu?

11. P'run o'r cymwysterau TGAU Cymraeg iaith isod wnest ti astudio?

Cymraeg iaith Gyntaf:

Cymraeg Ail iaith:

Arall:

Os 'Arall', plis nodwch: _____

12. Pa radd wnest ti ei gyflawni yn y cymhwyster hwn?

13. Noda dy gymwysterau fwyaf diweddar wnest ti astudio ar gyfer mynediad i'r brifysgol, y cyfrwng dysgu a ddefnyddiwyd, a lleoliad dysgu.

Pynciau	Cymwysterau (e.e. Lefel A)	Iaith Cyfrwng Dysgu	Ysgol neu Coleg Addysg Bellach?
(e.g. Hanes)	Lefel A	Cymraeg	Ysgol)

14. Pa iaith wyt ti'n ei ffafrio fel iaith cyfrwng dysgu?

(preferred study language).

Cymraeg:

Saesneg:

Cymraeg-a-Saesneg:

15. Sut byddet ti'n asesu dy sgiliau iaith Gymraeg?

Ticiwch un blwch ar gyfer pob sgil:

Sgiliau iaith Cymraeg	Hyderus lawn	Hyderus	Eithaf Hyderus	Ddim yn hyderus o gwbl
Siarad				
Gwrando				
Darllen				
Ysgrifennu				

16. Sut byddet ti'n asesu dy sgiliau iaith Saesneg?

Ticiwch un blwch ar gyfer pob sgil:

Sgiliau iaith Cymraeg	Hyderus lawn	Hyderus	Eithaf Hyderus	Ddim yn hyderus o gwbl
Siarad				
Gwrando				
Darllen				
Ysgrifennu				

17. Beth ydi dy flwyddyn astudio?

18. Ym mha brifysgol wyt ti yn ei astudio?

19. Pa raglen radd israddedig wyt ti'n astudio?

(e.e. BSc Cymdeithaseg)

20. Wyt ti'n ymwybodol o'r Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol a'u rôl yn datblygu/hyrwyddo addysg uwch cyfrwng Cymraeg?

Ydw:

Nac Ydw:

20i. Os 'Ydw', wyt ti'n aelod o'r Coleg?

Ydw:

Nac Ydw:

21. Wyt ti'n aelod o gymdeithas Gymraeg y brifysgol? (e.e. Y GymGym, UMCB)?

Ydw:

Nac Ydw:

*****Diwedd yr Arolwg*****

Oes gen ti ddiddordeb cymryd rhan mewn cyfweiliad dilynol (follow-up interview) yn trafod yr iaith Gymraeg, Addysg Uwch Cyfrwng Cymraeg a dy ddewisiadau / profiadau prifysgol?

Os felly, gadewch eich manylion cyswllt isod, a byddai mewn cysylltiad maes o law.

Enw:

E-bost:

Fel arall, gallwch gysylltu â mi ar: PierceARI@cardiff.ac.uk

Diolch am eich amser.

The Welsh Language and Higher Education

My name is Adam Pierce, and I am a PhD student at Cardiff University researching the relationship between the Welsh language and Higher Education.

I am looking for Welsh speaking students that are studying at universities outside of Wales to complete the following survey.

Could you spare 10mins of your time please?

The questionnaire will seek to explore your linguistic and educational background, and the language you currently use to study/learn at university.

Your participation is completely voluntary.

The result of the survey will be kept confidential and anonymous.

Thank you,

Adam.

Email: PierceARI@cardiff.ac.uk



1. Are you:

Male

Female:

2. How old are you?

3. Please note the county of your home address (i.e. not where you live during term-time)

4. How would you describe your national identity?

Tick all that apply:

Welsh:

English:

Scottish:

Northern Irish:

British:

Other:

5. How would you describe your ethnicity?

White:

Mixed/Multiple Ethnic Groups:

Asian/Asian British:

Black/African/Caribbean/Black British:

Other Ethnic Group:

6. Has either of your parents attended university?

Please tick the appropriate boxes

	Yes	No	n/a
Mum			
Dad			

7. What is the language spoken at home?

Welsh:

English:

Welsh-and-English:

Other:

If 'Other', please specify: _____

8. What would you consider to be your first language?

Welsh:

English:

Welsh-and-English:

Other:

If 'Other', please specify: _____

9. What would you consider to be your second language?

Welsh:

English:

Welsh-and-English:

Other:

If 'Other', please specify: _____

n/a:

10. Which secondary school did you attend?

11. Which of the following Welsh Language GCSE did you study?

Welsh First Language:

Welsh Second Language:

Other:

If 'Other', please specify: _____

12. What grade did you achieve for this qualification?

13. State your most recent qualifications you undertook for entry into university, the language of instruction used, and the location of study.

Subjects	Qualifications (e.g. A/AS Levels)	Language/Medium of Instruction	School or FE College?
<i>(e.g. History)</i>	<i>A Level</i>	<i>Welsh</i>	<i>School)</i>

14. Which language would you regard as your preferred study language?

- Welsh:
English
Welsh-and-English:

15. How would you assess your Welsh language skills?

Please tick one box for each skill:

Welsh language skills	Very Confident	Confident	Fairly Confident	Not at all Confident
Speaking				
Listening				
Reading				
Writing				

16. How would you assess your English language skills?

Please tick one box for each skill:

Welsh language skills	Very Confident	Confident	Fairly Confident	Not at all Confident
Speaking				
Listening				
Reading				
Writing				

17. What is your year of study?

18. At which university are you studying?

19. Which undergraduate degree programme are you studying?

(e.g. BSc. Sociology)

20. Are you aware of Y Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol and its role in developing Welsh medium higher education?

Yes:

No:

20i. If 'Yes', are you a member of Y Coleg?

Yes:

No:

21. Are you a member of the university's Welsh society? (Y GymGym, UMCB)?

Yes:

No:

*****End of Survey*****

Would you be interested in taking part in a follow-up interview discussing the Welsh language, Welsh Medium Higher Education, and your university choices and experiences?

If so, please leave your contact details below and I will be in touch shortly.

Name:

E-mail:

Alternatively you can contact me on: PierceAR1@cardiff.ac.uk

Thank you for your time.

TAFLEN WYBODAETH I GYFRANOGWYR

TEITL YMCHWIL:

Y BERTHYNAS RHWNG YR IAITH GYMRAEG A CHYFRANOGIAD ADDYSG UWCH



Cyflwyniad

Fy enw i yw Adam Pierce ac rwy'n fyfyrwr PhD ym Mhrifysgol Gaerdydd. Rwy'n chwilio am israddedigion Cymraeg eu hiaith i gymryd rhan yn fy astudiaeth sydd yn ceisio archwilio dewisiadau addysgol, cymdeithasol, diwylliannol ac ieithyddol myfyrwyr dwyieithog yn y brifysgol. Cyn gwneud unrhyw benderfyniadau i gymryd rhan ai pheidio, hoffwn i chi ddarllen y Daflen Wybodaeth hon yn ofalus er mwyn sicrhau eich bod yn deall pwrpas yr ymchwil.

A oes rhaid i mi gymryd rhan yn yr ymchwil?

Mae eich penderfyniad i gymryd rhan yn yr astudiaeth hon yn gwbl wirfoddol. Os ydych yn dewis i gymryd rhan, mae gennych yr hawl i dynnu yn ôl neu orffen y cyfweiliad ar unrhyw adeg.

Beth mae'r astudiaeth yn ei gynnwys?

Os byddwch yn penderfynu cymryd rhan, fe'ch gwahoddir i gyfarfod a mi er mwyn cynnal cyfweiliad wyneb yn wyneb am oddeutu awr. Bydd hyn yn 'sgwrs' anffurfiol er mwyn trafod eich dewisiadau prifysgol, a'ch profiadau o fod yn siaradwr Cymraeg yn y brifysgol.

A byddai fy nghyfraniad yn cael ei gadw'n gyfrinachol?

Bydd. Bydd unrhyw gyfraniad ganddo'ch chi yn cael cadw'n gyfrinachol ac yn anhysbys (anonymous) drwy gydol cyfnod fy PhD. Bydd yr ymchwil yn cydymffurfio a safonau moesegol yn unol â Deddf Diogelu Data 1998 (Data Protection Act), yn ogystal â Pholisi Moeseg Ymchwil Prifysgol Caerdydd.

Beth fyddai'n digwydd i ganlyniadau'r ymchwil?

Bydd canlyniadau'r astudiaeth hon yn cael ei storio mewn lleoliad diogel gyda mynediad cyfyngedig. Gaiff ei storio a'i ddiogelu gan gyfrinair ar system gyfrifiadurol y Brifysgol, a byddai ond ar gael i'r ymchwilydd.

Caiff recordiau'r cyfweiliadau eu trawsgrifio a wedyn eu dadansoddi ar gyfer dibenion academaidd yn unig. Bydd canlyniadau'r ymchwil yn llunio sail fy astudiaeth PhD.

Caiff y recordiau eu gadw'n gyfrinachol am oddeutu pum mlynedd wedi i mi gyflwyno'r PhD, ac yna yn cael eu dinistrio.

Efallai byddai canfyddiadau'r astudiaeth yn cael ei cyhoeddi, fodd bynnag, ni chewch eich enwi o gwbl mewn unrhyw gyhoeddiadau neu chyflwyniadau. Beth nesaf os rwyf eisiau cymryd rhan yn yr ymchwil?

Beth fyddai'n digwydd i mi os penderfynaf gymryd rhan?

Os ydych chi wedi penderfynu cymryd rhan yn yr astudiaeth, sicrhewch eich bod wedi darllen ac eich bod yn deall y Daflen Wybodaeth hon, ac yna llofnodwch y Ffurflenni Caniatâd priodol er mwyn cadarnhau eich cyfranogiad.

Pwy sydd yn cyllido'r ymchwil?

Caiff yr ymchwil ei gyllido gan ESRC (Economic and Social Research Council).

Pwy sydd wedi adolygu a chymeradwyo'r ymchwil hwn?

Adolygwyd yr astudiaeth hon gan Bwyllgor Moeseg Ymchwil yr Ysgol (SREC) ym Mhrifysgol Gaerdydd. Mae'r ymchwilydd wedi derbyn caniatâd a chymeradwyaeth moeseg i ymgymryd â'r ymchwil hwn. Gellir cysylltu â'r Ysgol drwy: resgov@cardiff.ac.uk

Cysylltu am fwy o wybodaeth

Os oes gennych unrhyw gwestiynau neu ymholiadau pellach am yr ymchwil, croeso i chi gysylltu â mi:

Adam Pierce
1-3 Museum Place
Ysgol Gwyddorau Cymdeithas
Prifysgol Caerdydd
CF10 3BD
E-bost: PierceARI@caerdydd.ac.uk

Ffôn: *****

Diolch yn fawr iawn am eich amser a'ch ystyriaeth.

Adam Pierce

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET TO INTERVIEW

RESEARCH TITLE:

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE WELSH LANGUAGE AND HIGHER EDUCATION PARTICIPATION



Introduction

My name is Adam Pierce and I am a PhD student at Cardiff University. I am looking to recruit current Welsh speaking undergraduates to participate in my study that aims to explore bilingual students' learning, social, cultural and linguistic choices and experiences at university. Before you make any decisions as to whether you would like to participate, please read this Information Sheet carefully in order to ensure that you are familiar with the purpose of the research, and what your participation will entail.

Do I have to take part in the study?

Your choice to participate in this study is entirely voluntary. If you do decide to participate, you have the right to withdraw and end the interview at any time.

What does the study involve?

If you decide to participate, you will be invited to participate in a face-to-face interview with myself for approximately one hour. This will be an informal 'chat' to talk about your university choices, and your experiences of being a Welsh speaker at university.

Will my taking part in the study be kept confidential?

Yes. Any information that is obtained as a result of your participation will be kept confidential at all times, and your identity will remain completely anonymous. The results of the research will abide by strict ethical standards in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998 as well as by Cardiff University's Research Ethics Policy.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

The data obtained from your participation will be stored in a secure location with restricted access, and in a password protected area on the University computer system that will only be accessible to the researcher.

The recordings of the interview will be transcribed and later analysed for academic purposes only. The information gathered from the study will be written up and will form the basis of my PhD project.

The interview recordings will be kept for approximately five years after the publication of the doctoral dissertation and thereafter will be destroyed.

The findings of the study may be published however you will not be identified in any publications or presentations.

What is the next step if I decide to participate?

If you are interested in taking part in the study, please make sure that you have both read and understood this Information Sheet, and thereafter please sign the appropriate Consent Forms in order to confirm your participation.

Who is funding the research?

This research is funded by the ESRC (Economic and Social Research Council).

Who has ethically reviewed the project?

This study has been reviewed by the School Research Ethics Committee (SREC) at Cardiff University, and the researcher has been granted permission and ethical approval to undertake this research. The School can be contacted through: resgov@cardiff.ac.uk

Contact for further information

If you would like any further information regarding the study, please feel free to contact me:

Adam Pierce

1-3 Museum Place

School of Social Sciences

Cardiff University

CF10 3BD

E-mail: PierceARI@cardiff.ac.uk

Contact Number: *****

Thank you very much for your time and consideration.

Adam Pierce.



FFURFLEN CYDSYNIO CYFWELIAD / INTERVIEW CONSENT FORM

Dylai'r ffurflen hon gael ei gwblhau cyn cynnal y cyfweiliad.
This form should be completed before conducting the interview.

Darllenwch y wybodaeth ganlynon yn ofalus, ac er mwyn cadarnhau eich dealltwriaeth o'r wybodaeth rhowch dic ym mhob un o'r blychau a llofnodwch ar ddiwedd y dudalen.

Please read the following information carefully and indicate your understanding of the information by ticking each of the boxes and signing at the bottom of the page.

- 1. *Rwyf yn cadarnhau fy mod wedi darllen a deall y Daflen Wybodaeth a ddarparwyd ynglŷn â diben yr ymchwil hwn, ac felly rwyf yn rhoi fy nghaniatâd i gymryd rhan yn yr astudiaeth.*
- 1. I confirm that I have read and understood the Information Sheet provided regarding the purpose of the research, and therefore I give my consent to participate in the study.
- 2. *Rwyf yn deall bod fy nghyfranogiad yn gwbl wirfoddol ac y mae gennyf hawl i wrthod ateb unrhyw gwestiynau a/neu orffen y cyfweiliad ar unrhyw adeg.*
- 2. I understand that my participation is completely voluntary and that I have the right to decline to answer any questions and/or end the interview at any time.
- 3. *Rwyf yn deall y bydd y wybodaeth a gesglir o ganlyniad i'n nghyfraniad yn cael ei gadw'n gyfrinachol a bydd fy hunaniaeth yn parhau i fod yn gwbl anhysbys.*
- 3. I understand that the information collected from my participation will be kept confidential and my identity shall remain anonymous at all times.
- 4. *Rwyf yn deall y bydd y wybodaeth a gesglir o ganlyniad i'n nghyfraniad yn cael ei ddefnyddio at ddibenion academaidd yn unig, ac yr wyf yn cydsynio iddo gael ei ddefnyddio yn y modd hwn.*
- 4. I understand that the information obtained by my participation will be used for academic purposes only, and I consent for it to be used in this manner.
- 5. *Rhoddaf ganiatâd i'r cyfweiliad gael ei recordio gan ddefnyddio offer recordio sain.*
- 5. I give permission for the interview to be recorded using audio recording equipment.

Enw/Name:

Llofnod/Signature:

Dyddiad/Date:

Appendix 17: Interview Schedule 1 – Cardiff and Bangor University students who are studying through the medium of Welsh – Welsh version

ATODLEN GYFWELD 1: MYFYRWYR PRIFYSGOL CAERDYDD A BANGOR SYDD YN ASTUDIO DRWY GYFRWNG Y GYMRAEG



Dyma'r Atodlen Gyfweld y byddaf yn ei ddefnyddio er mwyn cynnal a threfnu fy nghyfweliadau.

Bydd angen i mi sicrhau fy mod yn ymdrin â'r holl themâu isod, ond hefyd sicrhau fy mod i'n caniatáu'r sgwrs ddatblygu a llifo'n naturiol.

Dyma restr o ffactorau i mi ystyried cyn mynd ati i gychwyn pob cyfweliad:

- Sefydlu 'rapport' - cyfarch y cyfranogwyr a diolch iddynt am eu hamser a'u cyfraniad.
- Rhoi dewis i'r cyfranogwyr ar ba iaith y byddai'n well ganddynt gyfathrebu ynddo, a ba iaith hoffent nhw gynnal y cyfweliad.
- Pwrpas - ategu pwrpas yr ymchwil ac egluro sut bydd eu cyfraniad yn fuddiol i'r astudiaeth.
- Cydsynio – sicrhau fod y cyfranogwyr wedi darllen a llofnodi'r Ffurflen Cydsynio.
- Cynnig diod (te/coffi) i'r ymatebwyr.
- Tynnu'n ôl - sicrhau ac atgoffa'r ymatebwyr fod ganddynt yr hawl i stopio'r cyfweliad ar unrhyw adeg.
- Sicrhau fod y ddwy ddyfais recordio ar a'u bod yn agos i'r cyfranogwyr.
- Dechrau'r cyfweliad.

TESTYNAU CYFWELIAD

- GWYBODAETH CEFNDIROL
- Y SYSTEM ADDYSG – CEFNDIR A PROFIADAU YSGOL
- SGILIAU CYMRAEG A SAESNEG: HYDER A GALLU
- DEWISIADAU PRIFYSGOL
- ADDYSG UWCH CYFRWNG CYMRAEG
- Y COLEG CYMRAEG CENEDLAETHOL
- PEDAGOGI: DYSGU DRWY GYFRWNG Y SAESNEG YN Y BRIFYSGOL:
- DEWISIADAU PHROFIADAU CYMDEITHASOL A DIWYLLIANNOL YN Y PRIFYSGOL

DIWEDD Y CYFWELIAD

- Diolch i'r cyfranogwyr am eu hamser a'u cyfraniad.
- Arbed yr holl recordiau ar yr offer sain.

Appendix 18: Interview Schedule 1 – Cardiff and Bangor University students who are studying through the medium of Welsh – English version

**INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 1: STUDENTS STUDYING AT CARDIFF
AND BANGOR UNIVERSITY – STUDYING THROUGH THE
MEDIUM OF WELSH**



This will be the Interview Schedule that will guide my face-to-face interviews.

I will need to ensure that I cover all the following topics, yet also ensure that I allow the conversation to develop and flow naturally.

What follows is a list of factors that I should consider before commencing each interview:

- Establish a rapport – greet participants and thank them for their time and contribution.
- Ask which language they would prefer to communicate in, and to conduct the interview.
- Purpose – briefly go over the purpose of the study and explain how their contribution will be beneficial to the study.
- Consent – ensure participants have read and signed the Consent Form.
- Ask respondents if they would like a beverage etc.
- Withdraw – reassure respondents that they have the right to stop the interview at any given time.
- Ensure that both recording devices are on and are near the participant.
- Start the interview.

BROAD INTERVIEW TOPICS

- BACKGROUND INFORMATION
- EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND AND EXPERIENCE
- WELSH AND ENGLISH LANGUAGE CONFIDENCE AND COMPETENCE
- UNIVERSITY CHOICES
- WELSH MEDIUM HIGHER EDUCATION
- Y COLEG CYMRAEG CENEDLAETHOL
- PEDAGOGY: LEARNING THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF ENGLISH AT UNIVERSITY
- THE SOCIAL AND THE CULTURAL CHOICES AND EXPERIENCES OF UNIVERSITY

END OF INTERVIEW

- Thank participants for their time and contribution.
- Save all recordings on the audio equipment.

Appendix 19: Interview Schedule 2 – Cardiff and Bangor University students who are not studying through the medium of Welsh – Welsh version

**ATODLEN GYFWELD 2: MYFYRWYR PRIFYSGOL CAERDYDD A
BANGOR SYDD DDIM YN DERBYN ADDYSG UWCH CYFRWNG
CYMRAEG**



Dyma'r Atodlen Gyfweld y byddaf yn ei ddefnyddio er mwyn cynnal a threfnu fy nghyfweliadau.

Bydd angen i mi sicrhau fy mod yn ymdrin â'r holl themâu isod, ond hefyd sicrhau fy mod i'n caniatáu'r sgwrs ddatblygu a llifo'n naturiol.

Dyma restr o ffactorau i mi ystyried cyn mynd ati i gychwyn pob cyfweliad:

- Sefydlu 'rapport' - cyfarch y cyfranogwyr a diolch iddynt am eu hamser a'u cyfraniad.
- Rhoi dewis i'r cyfranogwyr ar ba iaith y byddai'n well ganddynt gyfathrebu ynddo, a ba iaith hoffent nhw gynnal y cyfweliad.
- Pwrpas - ategu pwrpas yr ymchwil ac egluro sut bydd eu cyfraniad yn fuddiol i'r astudiaeth.
- Cydsynio – sicrhau fod y cyfranogwyr wedi darllen a llofnodi'r Ffurflen Cydsynio.
- Cynnig diod (te/coffi) i'r ymatebwyr.
- Tynnu'n ôl - sicrhau ac atgoffa'r ymatebwyr fod ganddynt yr hawl i stopio'r cyfweliad ar unrhyw adeg.
- Sicrhau fod y ddwy ddyfais recordio ar a'u bod yn agos i'r cyfranogwyr.
- Dechrau'r cyfweliad.

TESTYNAU CYFWELIAD

- GWYBODAETH CEFNDIROL
- Y SYSTEM ADDYSG – CEFNDIR A PROFIADAU YSGOL
- SGILIAU CYMRAEG A SAESNEG: HYDER A GALLU
- DEWISIADAU PRIFYSGOL
- ADDYSG UWCH CYFRWNG CYMRAEG
- Y COLEG CYMRAEG CENEDLAETHOL
- PEDAGOGI: DYSGU DRWY GYFRWNG Y SAESNEG YN Y BRIFYSGOL:
- DEWISIADAU PHROFIADAU CYMDEITHASOL A DIWYLLIANNOL YN Y PRIFYSGOL

DIWEDD Y CYFWELIAD

- Diolch i'r cyfranogwyr am eu hamser a'u cyfraniad.
- Arbed yr holl recordiau ar yr offer sain.

Appendix 20: Interview Schedule 2 – Cardiff and Bangor University students who are not studying through the medium of Welsh – English version

**INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 2: STUDENTS STUDYING AT CARDIFF
AND BANGOR UNIVERSITY – NOT STUDYING THROUGH THE
MEDIUM OF WELSH**



This will be the Interview Schedule that will guide my face-to-face interviews.

I will need to ensure that I cover all the following topics, yet also ensure that I allow the conversation to develop and flow naturally.

What follows is a list of factors that I should consider before commencing each interview:

- Establish a rapport – greet participants and thank them for their time and contribution.
- Ask which language they would prefer to communicate in, and to conduct the interview.
- Purpose – briefly go over the purpose of the study and explain how their contribution will be beneficial to the study.
- Consent – ensure participants have read and signed the Consent Form.
- Ask respondents if they would like a beverage etc.
- Withdraw – reassure respondents that they have the right to stop the interview at any given time.
- Ensure that both recording devices are on and are near the participant.
- Start the interview.

BROAD INTERVIEW TOPICS

- BACKGROUND INFORMATION
- EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND AND EXPERIENCE
- WELSH AND ENGLISH LANGUAGE CONFIDENCE AND COMPETENCE
- UNIVERSITY CHOICES
- WELSH MEDIUM HIGHER EDUCATION
- Y COLEG CYMRAEG CENEDLAETHOL
- PEDAGOGY: LEARNING THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF ENGLISH AT UNIVERSITY
- THE SOCIAL AND THE CULTURAL CHOICES AND EXPERIENCES OF UNIVERSITY

END OF INTERVIEW

- Thank participants for their time and contribution.
- Save all recordings on the audio equipment.

**ATODLEN GYFWELD 3: MYFYRWYR SYDD YN ASTUDIO TU
ALLAN I GYMRU**



Dyma'r Atodlen Gyfweld y byddaf yn ei ddefnyddio er mwyn cynnal a threfnu fy nghyfweliadau.

Bydd angen i mi sicrhau fy mod yn ymdrin â'r holl themâu isod, ond hefyd sicrhau fy mod i'n caniatáu'r sgwrs ddatblygu a llifo'n naturiol.

Dyma restr o ffactorau i mi ystyried cyn mynd ati i gychwyn pob cyfweliad:

- Sefydlu 'rapport' - cyfarch y cyfranogwyr a diolch iddynt am eu hamser a'u cyfraniad.
- Rhoi dewis i'r cyfranogwyr ar ba iaith y byddai'n well ganddynt gyfathrebu ynddo, a ba iaith hoffent nhw gynnal y cyfweliad.
- Pwrpas - ategu pwrpas yr ymchwil ac egluro sut bydd eu cyfraniad yn fuddiol i'r astudiaeth.
- Cydsynio – sicrhau fod y cyfranogwyr wedi darllen a llofnodi'r Ffurflen Cydsynio.
- Cynnig diod (te/coffi) i'r ymatebwyr.
- Tynnu'n ôl - sicrhau ac atgoffa'r ymatebwyr fod ganddynt yr hawl i stopio'r cyfweliad ar unrhyw adeg.
- Sicrhau fod y ddwy ddyfais recordio ar a'u bod yn agos i'r cyfranogwyr.
- Dechrau'r cyfweliad.

TESTYNAU CYFWELIAD

- GWYBODAETH CEFNDIROL
- Y SYSTEM ADDYSG – CEFNDIR A PROFIADAU YSGOL
- SGILIAU CYMRAEG A SAESNEG: HYDER A GALLU
- DEWISIADAU PRIFYSGOL
- ADDYSG UWCH CYFRWNG CYMRAEG
- Y COLEG CYMRAEG CENEDLAETHOL
- PEDAGOGI: DYSGU DRWY GYFRWNG Y SAESNEG YN Y BRIFYSGOL:
- DEWISIADAU PHROFIADAU CYMDEITHASOL A DIWYLLIANNOL YN Y PRIFYSGOL

DIWEDD Y CYFWELIAD

- Diolch i'r cyfranogwyr am eu hamser a'u cyfraniad.
- Arbed yr holl recordiau ar yr offer sain.

**INTERVIEW SCHEDULE 3: STUDENTS STUDYING AT
UNIVERSITIES OUTSIDE OF WALES**



This will be the Interview Schedule that will guide my face-to-face interviews.

I will need to ensure that I cover all the following topics, yet also ensure that I allow the conversation to develop and flow naturally.

What follows is a list of factors that I should consider before commencing each interview:

- Establish a rapport – greet participants and thank them for their time and contribution.
- Ask which language they would prefer to communicate in, and to conduct the interview.
- Purpose – briefly go over the purpose of the study and explain how their contribution will be beneficial to the study.
- Consent – ensure participants have read and signed the Consent Form.
- Ask respondents if they would like a beverage etc.
- Withdraw – reassure respondents that they have the right to stop the interview at any given time.
- Ensure that both recording devices are on and are near the participant.
- Start the interview.

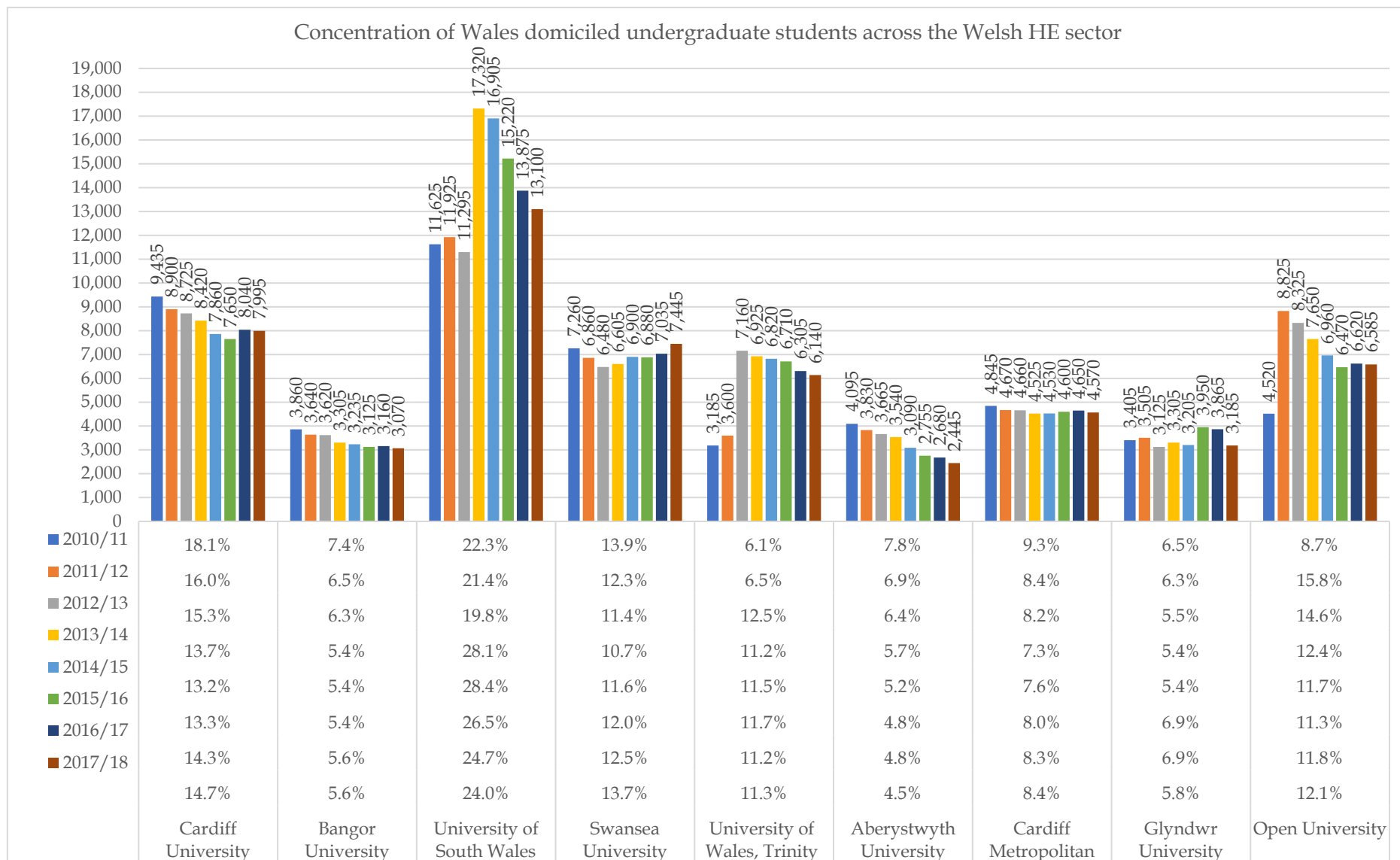
BROAD INTERVIEW TOPICS

- BACKGROUND INFORMATION
- EDUCATIONAL BACKGROUND AND EXPERIENCE
- WELSH AND ENGLISH LANGUAGE CONFIDENCE AND COMPETENCE
- UNIVERSITY CHOICES
- WELSH MEDIUM HIGHER EDUCATION
- Y COLEG CYMRAEG CENEDLAETHOL
- PEDAGOGY: LEARNING THROUGH THE MEDIUM OF ENGLISH AT UNIVERSITY
- THE SOCIAL AND THE CULTURAL CHOICES AND EXPERIENCES OF UNIVERSITY

END OF INTERVIEW

- Thank participants for their time and contribution.
- Save all recordings on the audio equipment.

Appendix 23: Concentration of the Wales domiciled undergraduate student population across the Welsh HE sector by individual institutions.



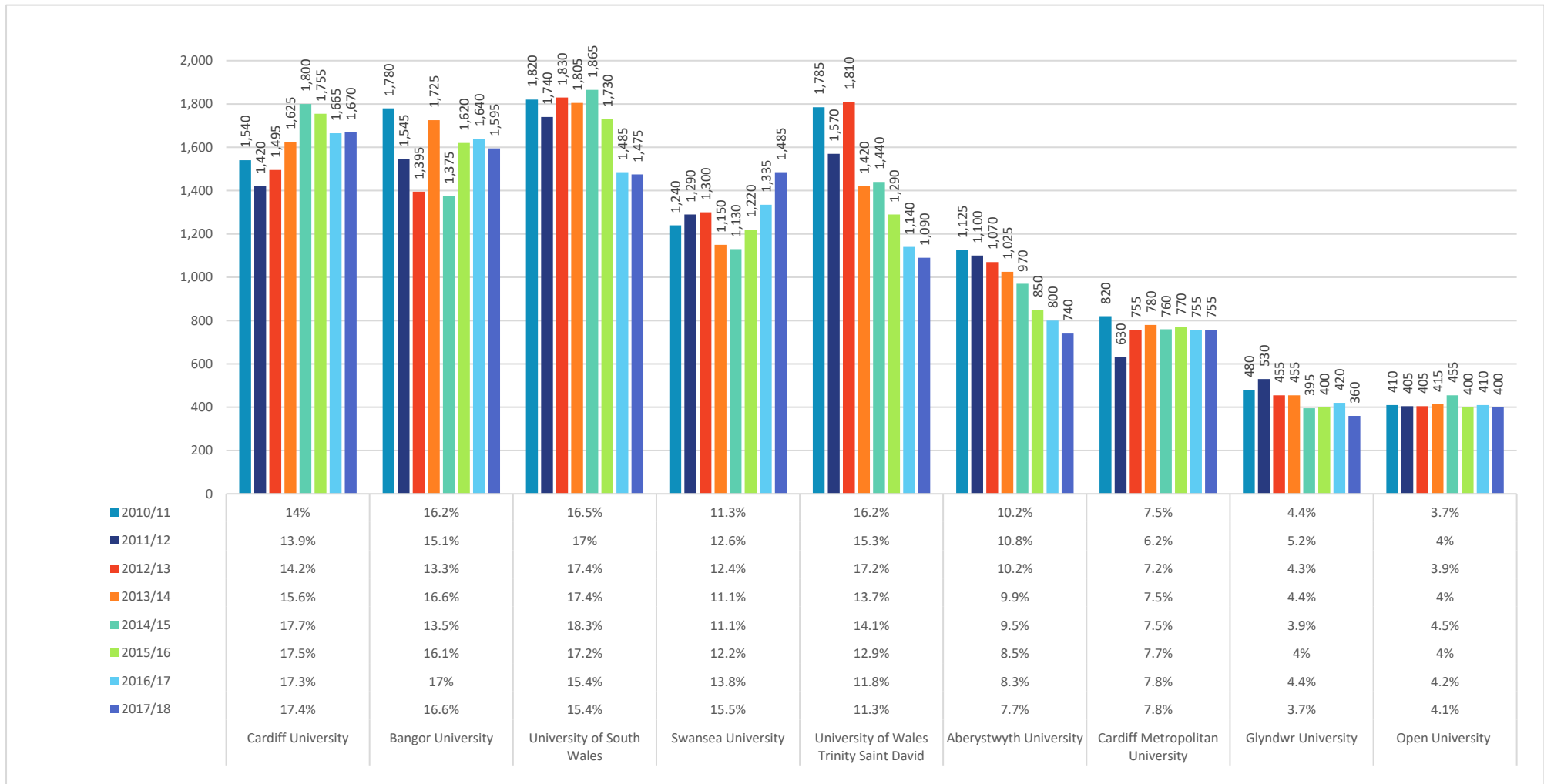
Appendix 24: Welsh language ability (numbers and percentage) amongst Wales domiciled university students across all degree types.

	Academic Year							
	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	2013/14	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17	2017/18
All Wales domiciled students	77,320	76,195	74,865	72,920	70,785	68,00	66,545	65,665
Fluent Welsh speaker	11,000 (14%)	10,230 (14%)	10,510 (14%)	10,395 (14%)	10,185 (14%)	10,030 (15%)	9,645 (14%)	9,570 (15%)
Welsh speaker not fluent	10,275 (13%)	9,825 (13%)	10,980 (15%)	10,235 (14%)	10,335 (15%)	10,330 (15%)	9,730 (15%)	9,820 (15%)
Not a Welsh speaker	47,725 (62%)	47,575 (62%)	46,565 (62%)	45,900 (63%)	44,695 (63%)	42,815 (63%)	42,740 (64%)	42,205 (64%)
Unknown	8,325 (11%)	8,565 (11%)	6,810 (9%)	6,390 (9%)	5,570 (8%)	4,825 (7%)	4,425 (7%)	4,075 (6%)

Appendix 25: Number of Wales domiciled undergraduate students who are defined as 'Welsh speaker not fluent' by individual HE institution.

	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	2013/14	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17	2017/18
Bangor University	590	525	385	225	640	655	490	565
Aberystwyth University	675	685	675	655	560	490	465	445
University of Wales Trinity Saint David	505	660	1,585	1,345	1,295	1,220	1,090	1,075
Swansea University	905	885	850	865	925	1,025	1,110	1,220
Cardiff University	1,150	1,090	1,105	1,090	1,025	1,035	1,050	1,180
University of South Wales	1,325	1,280	2,100	2,480	2,195	1,985	1,815	1,780
Cardiff Metropolitan University	430	470	520	575	620	635	635	630
Open University	625	640	620	705	695	695	720	660
Glyndwr University	875	915	730	700	715	990	840	590
Total 'Welsh speaker not fluent' Wales domiciled undergraduate student	8,790 (13%)	8,550 (13%)	9,325 (15%)	8,650 (14%)	8,670 (15%)	8,725 (15%)	8,215 (15%)	8,145 (15%)

Appendix 26: Number and percentage of the Wales domiciled fluent Welsh speaking student population as a whole by HE institution attended in Wales.

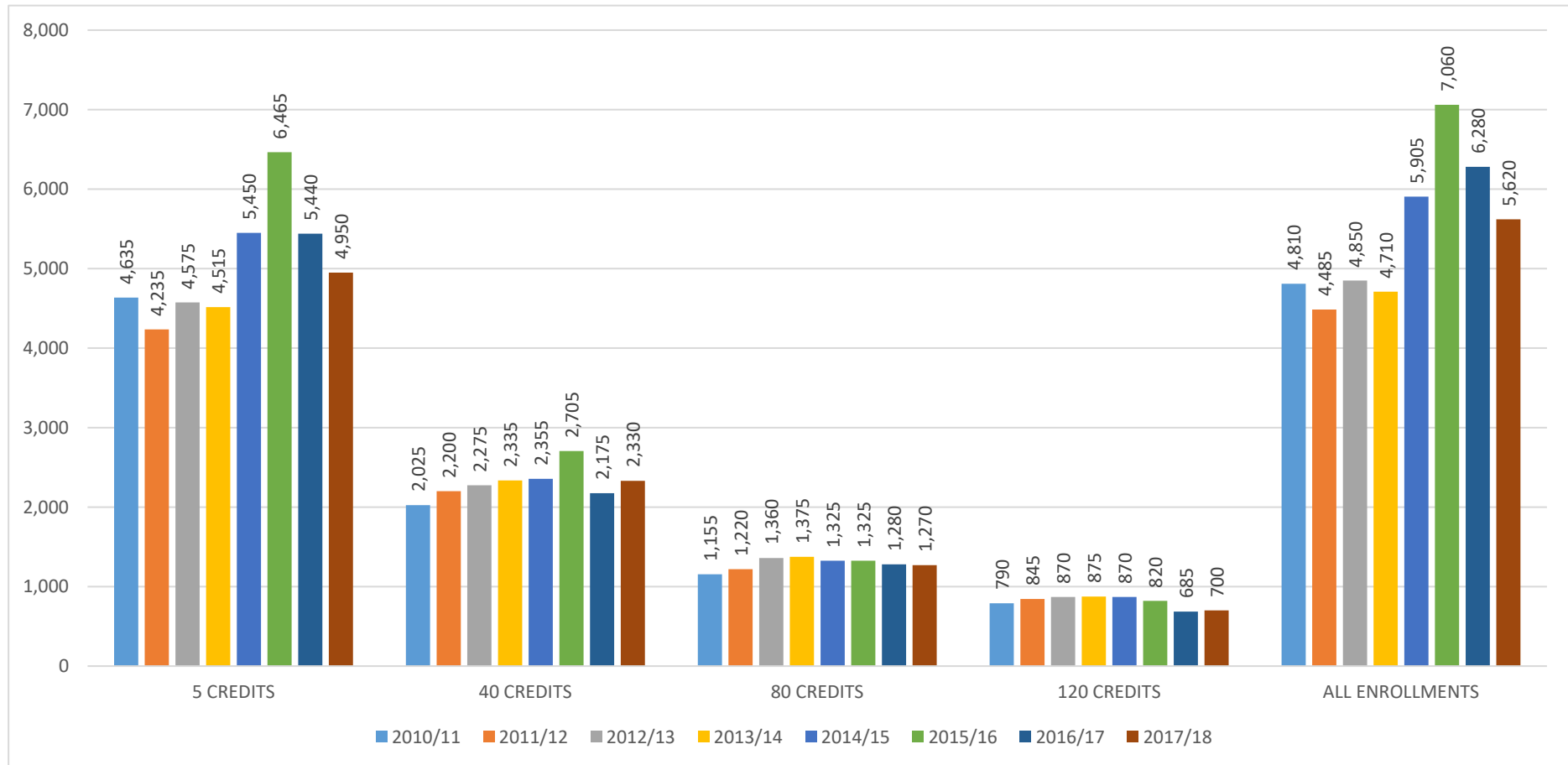


Appendix 27: Welsh medium higher education engagement by degree type amongst Wales domiciled students.

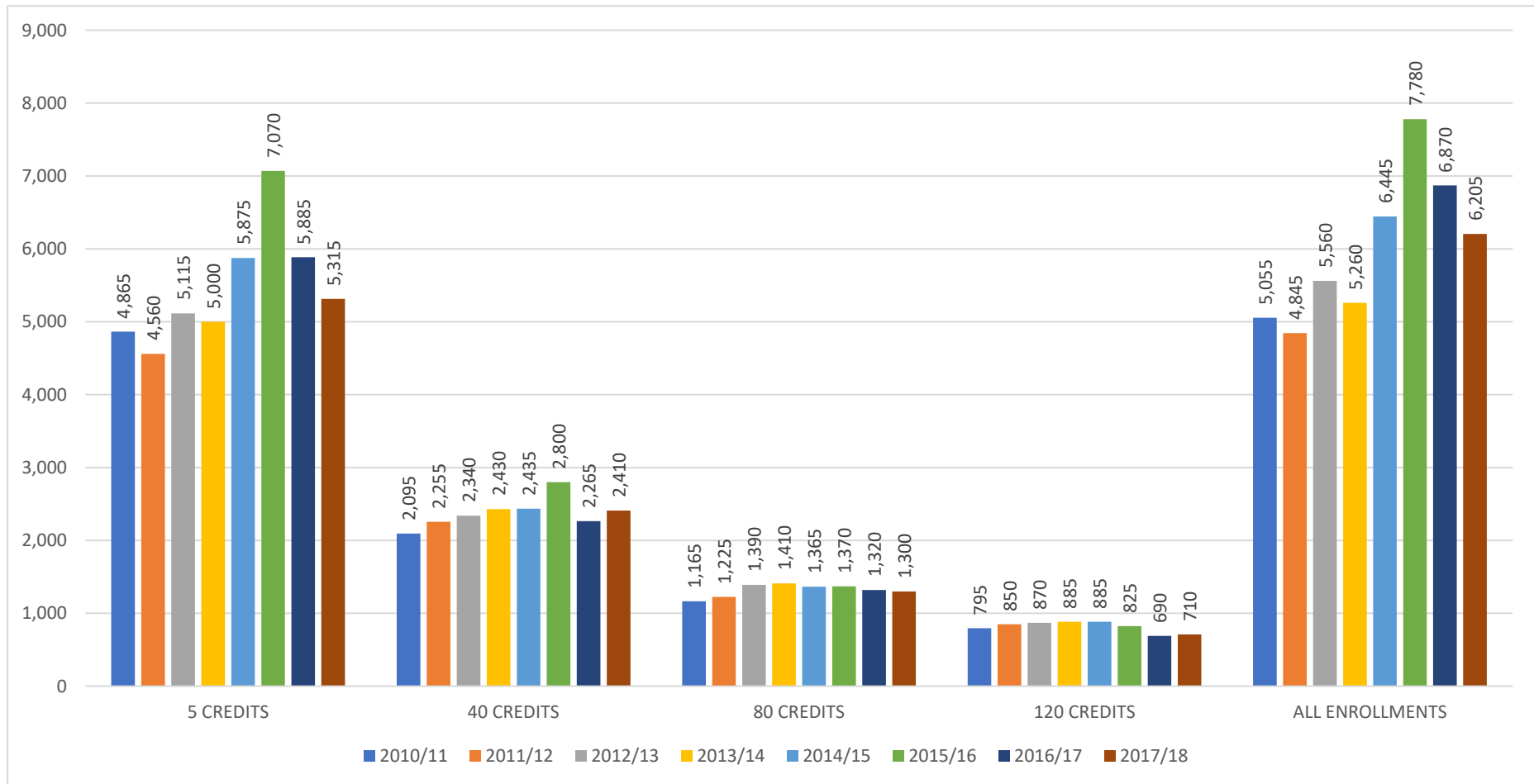
Welsh medium engagement by degree type	Academic Year							
	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	2013/14	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17	2017/18
First Degree	2,570 (6.1%)	2,575 (6.2%)	2,945 (7.2%)	3,285 (8.2%)	3,205 (8.1%)	4,075 (10.3%)	3,965 (9.9%)	4,020 (10.1%)
Other Undergraduate	1,735 (7.2%)	1,460 (6.2%)	1,315 (5.8%)	765 (3.5%)	1,340 (6.7%)	1,940 (10.8%)	850 (5.2%)	720 (4.9%)
Postgraduate Taught	460 (4.9%)	385 (4.2%)	550 (5.7%)	625 (6.4%)	1,300 (13.5%)	1,010 (11.2%)	1,420 (16.5%)	850 (9%)
Postgraduate Research	45 (2.3%)	60 (2.9%)	40 (2%)	35 (1.9%)	65 (3.9%)	35 (2.2%)	45 (2.5%)	30 (1.7%)
Total	4,810 (6.2%)	4,485 (5.9%)	4,850 (6.5%)	4,710 (6.5%)	5,910 (8.3%)	7,060 (10.4%)	6,280 (9.4%)	5,620 (8.5%)

The rise in the number of students studying a Postgraduate Taught degree with some elements of Welsh learning from 2013/14 to 2014/15, and again from 2015/16 to 2016/17 is accounted for by the increase in students enrolled on the Masters of Educational Practice at Cardiff University.

Appendix 28: Number of credits undertaken through the medium of Welsh amongst all Wales domiciled university students across all degree types.



Appendix 29: Number of credits undertaken through the medium of Welsh amongst all Wales domiciled and non-Wales domiciled university students across all degree types.



Appendix 30: Number of credits undertaken through the medium of Welsh amongst first-degree Wales domiciled students across individual HE institutions in Wales.

Credits undertaken amongst first degree Wales domiciled students by HE institution and academic year		Cardiff University	Bangor University	University of South Wales	Swansea University	University of Wales, Trinity Saint David	Aberystwyth University	Cardiff Metropolitan University	Glyndwr University	Open University	Total
2010/11	Total enrolled	145	1,035	165	140	505	390	65	70	55	2570
	5 credits	130	1,010	160	140	460	385	65	40	55	2445
	40 credits	120	635	55	95	235	220	30	*	*	1390
	80 credits	75	370	35	60	230	115	*	*	*	885
	120 credits	45	215	20	40	215	40	*	*	*	575
2011/12	Total enrolled	135	865	200	140	620	390	90	50	85	2575
	5 credits	135	815	200	135	580	380	90	20	65	2420
	40 credits	130	570	95	95	290	255	65	*	*	1500
	80 credits	75	395	40	60	270	135	10	*	*	985
	120 credits	35	245	15	50	240	50	*	*	*	635
2012/13	Total enrolled	150	855	235	150	890	380	105	110	75	2950
	5 credits	150	830	220	145	760	375	105	70	55	2710
	40 credits	130	590	115	85	445	255	90	*	*	1710
	80 credits	75	430	40	55	300	150	25	*	*	1075
	120 credits	45	245	15	50	260	80	*	*	*	695
2013/14	Total enrolled	215	930	215	285	975	400	145	55	70	3290
	5 credits	215	900	215	225	965	400	145	45	*	3110
	40 credits	155	615	100	80	445	295	120	*	*	1810
	80 credits	70	385	55	50	290	155	35	*	*	1040

	120 credits	55	245	35	45	220	75	5	*	*	680
2014/15	Total enrolled	170	955	220	315	895	400	160	5	85	3205
	5 credits	165	885	210	245	795	395	160	*	25	2880
	40 credits	135	615	120	95	330	300	135	*	*	1730
	80 credits	70	405	80	50	230	160	40	*	*	1035
	120 credits	50	255	30	40	205	75	5	*	*	660
2015/16	Total enrolled	210	975	180	255	1,855	340	195	10	65	4085
	5 credits	210	960	155	225	1,575	335	195	10	30	3695
	40 credits	140	655	105	95	585	275	150	*	*	2005
	80 credits	85	380	55	40	350	135	25	*	*	1070
	120 credits	50	270	25	40	205	70	*	*	*	660
2016/17	Total enrolled	240	955	155	260	1,730	330	205	35	55	3965
	5 credits	235	935	155	260	1,375	325	205	15	30	3535
	40 credits	115	675	105	90	305	260	155	*	*	1705
	80 credits	65	470	55	30	205	145	30	*	*	1000
	120 credits	50	200	40	25	105	55	*	*	*	475
2017/18	Total enrolled	325	1,090	115	280	1,625	305	205	10	65	4020
	5 credits	320	1,050	110	260	1,215	305	205	10	30	3505
	40 credits	140	815	90	150	280	240	170	*	*	1885
	80 credits	70	530	30	30	190	105	60	*	*	1015
	120 credits	50	190	25	20	175	40	*	*	*	500

Appendix 31: Number of Wales domiciled undergraduate students who are defined as 'Welsh speaker not fluent' and amount of credits studied through the medium of Welsh.

	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	2013/14	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17	2017/18
Wales domiciled Welsh speaker not fluent Undergraduate Students	8,790	8,550	9,325	8,650	8,670	8,725	8,215	8,145
Enrolments with some teaching through Welsh	660 (7.5%)	615 (7.2%)	585 (6.3%)	455 (5.3%)	710 (8.2%)	1,120 (12.8%)	750 (9.1%)	820 (10%)
At least 5 credits in Welsh	615 (6.9%)	550 (6.4%)	525 (5.6%)	415 (4.8%)	625 (7.2%)	1,005 (11.5%)	650 (7.9%)	710 (8.7%)
At least 40 credits in Welsh	260 (3%)	250 (2.9%)	185 (1.9%)	145 (1.7%)	220 (2.5%)	290 (3.3%)	210 (2.5%)	295 (3.6%)
At least 80 credits in Welsh	40 (0.4%)	65 (0.7%)	60 (0.6%)	40 (0.5%)	70 (0.8%)	90 (1%)	60 (0.7%)	75 (0.9%)
At least 120 credits in Welsh	20 (0.2%)	15 (0.1%)	25 (0.3%)	25 (0.3%)	30 (0.3%)	30 (0.3%)	35 (0.4%)	50 (0.6%)
Enrolments with no teaching in Welsh	8,130 (92.5%)	7,940 (92.8%)	8,740 (93.7%)	8,190 (94.7%)	7,960 (91.8%)	7,610 (87.2%)	7,460 (90.8%)	7,325 (90%)

Appendix 32: Number of Wales domiciled undergraduate students who are defined as 'not a Welsh speaker' and amount of credits studied through the medium of Welsh.

	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	2013/14	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17	2017/18
Wales domiciled not a Welsh speaker Undergraduate Students	40,510	40,140	38,800	38,440	37,335	35,870	35,800	34,640
Enrolments with some teaching through Welsh	625 (1.5%)	870 (2.2%)	895 (2.3%)	885 (2.3%)	1,030 (2.8%)	1,645 (4.6%)	1,335 (3.7%)	1,275 (3.7%)
At least 5 credits in Welsh	600 (1.4%)	829 (2%)	795 (2%)	835 (2.1%)	870 (2.3%)	1,305 (3.6%)	965 (2.6%)	865 (2.5%)
At least 40 credits in Welsh	175 (0.4%)	310 (0.7%)	290 (0.7%)	195 (0.5%)	130 (0.3%)	215 (0.6%)	75 (0.2%)	90 (0.2%)
At least 80 credits in Welsh	10 (0.02%)	60 (0.1%)	60 (0.2%)	25 (0.06%)	5 (0.01%)	20 (0.05%)	5 (0.01%)	*
At least 120 credits in Welsh	5 (0.01%)	45 (0.1%)	15 (0.03%)	5 (0.01%)	*	*	*	*
Enrolments with no teaching in Welsh	39,885 (98.5%)	39,275 (97.8%)	37,905 (97.6%)	37,555 (97.6%)	36,305 (97.2%)	34,225 (95.4%)	34,465 (96.3%)	33,360 (96.3%)

Appendix 33: Number of Wales domiciled undergraduate students whose Welsh language ability is 'unknown' and amount of credits studied through the medium of Welsh

	2010/11	2011/12	2012/13	2013/14	2014/15	2015/16	2016/17	2017/18
Wales domiciled unknown Welsh language ability Undergraduate Students	7,265	7,600	6,330	5,755	5,155	4,540	4,150	3,815
Enrolments with some teaching through Welsh	145 (1.9%)	160 (2.1%)	125 (1.9%)	90 (1.5%)	90 (1.7%)	480 (10.5%)	190 (4.5%)	150 (4%)
At least 5 credits in Welsh	140 (1.9%)	145 (1.9%)	120 (1.8%)	85 (1.4%)	70 (1.3%)	425 (9.3%)	175 (4.2%)	130 (3.4%)
At least 40 credits in Welsh	30 (0.4%)	40 (0.5%)	15 (0.2%)	25 (0.4%)	15 (0.2%)	175 (3.8%)	10 (0.2%)	10 0.2%
At least 80 credits in Welsh	*	5 (0.06%)	5 (0.07%)	5 (0.08%)	*	95 (2%)	10 (0.2%)	5 (1.3%)
At least 120 credits in Welsh	*	5 (0.06%)	*	*	*	5 (0.1%)	*	5 (1.3%)
Enrolments with no teaching in Welsh	7,120 (98.1%)	7,445 (97.9%)	6,205 (98.1%)	5,665 (98.5%)	5,065 (98.3%)	4,060 (89.5%)	3,965 (95.5%)	3,660 (96%)

Appendix 34: Breakdown of fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students and Welsh medium engagement by academic subject area at Cardiff University – Sciences and Applied Sciences

Sciences and Applied Sciences	2010/11		2011/12		2012/13		2013/14		2014/15		2015/16		2016/17		2017/18	
	With teaching through Welsh	All Fluent Welsh speaking enrolment	With teaching through Welsh	All Fluent Welsh speaking enrolment	With teaching through Welsh	All Fluent Welsh speaking enrolment	With teaching through Welsh	All Fluent Welsh speaking enrolment	With teaching through Welsh	All Fluent Welsh speaking enrolment	With teaching through Welsh	All Fluent Welsh speaking enrolment	With teaching through Welsh	All Fluent Welsh speaking enrolment	With teaching through Welsh	All Fluent Welsh speaking enrolment
Medicine & dentistry	*	165	*	160	*	165	25	135	*	135	30	115	50	125	60	130
Subjects allied to medicine	*	180	*	190	*	195	*	185	10	210	25	200	5	195	45	235
Biological sciences	5	70	*	80	5	85	*	90	*	90	*	85	*	90	5	90
Veterinary science	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Agriculture & related subjects	*	5	*	5	*	70	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Physical sciences	*	70	*	65	*	45	*	75	*	70	*	75	*	75	*	75
Mathematical sciences	*	95	*	75		30	15	40	5	35	15	35	20	40	25	40
Computer science	-	-	*	-	*	50	*	30	*	25	*	25	*	30	*	30
Engineering & technology	*	60	*	55	*	15	*	50	*	50	*	50	*	50	*	50
Architecture, building and planning	*	30	*	20	*	55	*	15	*	15	*	20	*	15	*	20
Total Sciences and Applied Sciences	5 (0.7%)	675	0 (0%)	650	5 (0.7%)	710	40 (6.4%)	620	15 (2.3%)	630	70 (11.5%)	605	75 (12%)	620	135 (20.1%)	670

Breakdown of fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students and Welsh medium engagement by academic subject area at Cardiff University – Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences

Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences	2010/11		2011/12		2012/13		2013/14		2014/15		2015/16		2016/17		2017/18	
	With teaching through Welsh	All Fluent Welsh speaking enrolment	With teaching through Welsh	All Fluent Welsh speaking enrolment	With teaching through Welsh	All Fluent Welsh speaking enrolment	With teaching through Welsh	All Fluent Welsh speaking enrolment	With teaching through Welsh	All Fluent Welsh speaking enrolment	With teaching through Welsh	All Fluent Welsh speaking enrolment	With teaching through Welsh	All Fluent Welsh speaking enrolment	With teaching through Welsh	All Fluent Welsh speaking enrolment
Social studies	5	70	*	60	*	55	*	60	*	70	5	80	20	110	30	120
Law	10	65	5	65	10	65	30	70	30	75	20	70	25	75	30	85
Business & administrative studies	*	55	*	45	*	35	*	35	*	40	*	40	*	45	*	50
Mass communications & documentation	*	15	*	20	*	20	*	15	5	20	10	25	20	40	25	40
Languages	60	265	60	245	65	255	65	245	55	235	50	215	40	220	40	210
Historical & philosophical studies	10	55	*	60	5	55	20	55	5	65	15	75	15	80	15	85
Creative arts & design	10	35	*	30	5	30	*	25	5	35	*	35	*	35	*	30
Education	60	75	55	65	20	25	5	10	35	45	30	45	30	50	65	70
Total Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences	155 (24.4%)	635	120 (20.3%)	590	105 (19.4%)	540	120 (23.3%)	515	135 (23%)	585	130 (22.2%)	585	150 (22.9%)	655	205 (29.7%)	690
All subjects combined	160 (12.2%)	1,310	120 (9.7%)	1,240	110 (8.8%)	1,250	160 (14.1%)	1,135	150 (12.3%)	1,215	200 (16.8%)	1,190	225 (17.6%)	1,275	340 (25%)	1,360

Appendix 35: Breakdown of fluent Welsh speaking undergraduate students and Welsh medium engagement by academic subject area at Bangor University – Sciences and Applied Sciences

Sciences and Applied Sciences	2010/11		2011/12		2012/13		2013/14		2014/15		2015/16		2016/17		2017/18	
	With teaching through Welsh	All Fluent Welsh speaking enrolment	With teaching through Welsh	All Fluent Welsh speaking enrolment	With teaching through Welsh	All Fluent Welsh speaking enrolment	With teaching through Welsh	All Fluent Welsh speaking enrolment	With teaching through Welsh	All Fluent Welsh speaking enrolment	With teaching through Welsh	All Fluent Welsh speaking enrolment	With teaching through Welsh	All Fluent Welsh speaking enrolment	With teaching through Welsh	All Fluent Welsh speaking enrolment
Medicine & dentistry	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Subjects allied to medicine	160	280	120	270	100	295	105	250	145	205	205	295	260	340	305	385
Biological sciences	40	160	30	135	50	130	65	165	80	125	100	180	75	160	85	150
Veterinary science	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Agriculture & related subjects	*	20	*	15	*	15	5	15	*	10	5	15	*	10	*	5
Physical sciences	20	40	15	40	15	30	20	40	25	35	20	30	10	30	15	30
Mathematical sciences	5	55	5	55	*	5	*	10	*	5	*	10	*	10	*	10
Computer science	-	-	-	-	*	25	15	50	10	25	*	30	10	35	10	35
Engineering & technology	20	30	10	25	15	20	10	15	10	15	10	25	25	35	25	30
Architecture, building and planning	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*
Total Sciences and Applied Sciences	245 (41.8%)	585	180 (33.3%)	540	180 (34.6%)	520	220 (40.3%)	545	270 (64.2%)	420	340 (58.1%)	585	380 (61.2%)	620	440 (68.2%)	645

Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences	2010/11		2011/12		2012/13		2013/14		2014/15		2015/16		2016/17		2017/18	
	With teaching through Welsh	All Fluent Welsh speaking enrolment	With teaching through Welsh	All Fluent Welsh speaking enrolment	With teaching through Welsh	All Fluent Welsh speaking enrolment	With teaching through Welsh	All Fluent Welsh speaking enrolment	With teaching through Welsh	All Fluent Welsh speaking enrolment	With teaching through Welsh	All Fluent Welsh speaking enrolment	With teaching through Welsh	All Fluent Welsh speaking enrolment	With teaching through Welsh	All Fluent Welsh speaking enrolment
Social studies	100	215	70	150	45	115	55	130	60	100	50	135	55	140	55	125
Law	35	65	30	55	5	15	25	55	30	40	40	55	40	60	25	50
Business & administrative studies	20	60	30	60	15	45	25	80	15	60	10	45	10	50	15	45
Mass communications & documentation	35	50	25	45	25	35	20	55	25	30	15	60	15	60	15	45
Languages	40	85	30	80	40	80	50	100	90	115	45	105	45	105	45	100
Historical & philosophical studies	50	65	20	50	30	40	35	60	50	50	30	55	35	60	25	55
Creative arts & design	40	65	35	60	35	65	55	80	40	60	40	50	30	40	35	45
Education	215	215	170	180	190	190	225	235	195	200	205	215	185	200	165	165
Total Arts, Humanities and Social Sciences	535 (65.2%)	820	410 (60.3%)	680	385 (65.8%)	585	490 (61.6%)	795	505 (77%)	655	435 (60.4%)	720	415 (58%)	715	380 (60.3%)	630
All subjects combined	780 (55.5%)	1405	590 (48.4%)	1220	565 (51.1%)	1105	710 (53%)	1340	775 (72.1%)	1075	775 (59.4%)	1305	795 (59.6%)	1335	820 (64.3%)	1275