

**A critical analysis of the role of community sport in encouraging the use of the Welsh
language among young people beyond the school gate**

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Table of Contents

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	I
ABSTRACT	II
PEER-REVIEWED PUBLICATIONS	III

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION.....	1
BACKGROUND	2
<i>The Regression of the Welsh Language during the Twentieth Century</i>	2
<i>Political Attempts to Reverse the Decline</i>	4
<i>Educational Initiatives</i>	9
<i>Sport as a Proposed Solution</i>	10
AIM AND OBJECTIVES	11
THESIS STRUCTURE.....	12

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

INTRODUCTION.....	14
CONCEPTS OF CAPITAL, HABITUS AND FIELD	14
<i>Social Capital</i>	16
<i>Cultural Capital</i>	20
YOUNG PEOPLE AND THE WELSH LANGUAGE	24
<i>Language Acquisition</i>	24
<i>Welsh in School</i>	26
<i>Welsh in the Home</i>	29
<i>Welsh in the Community</i>	31
<i>International Perspectives of Minority Cultures and Languages in Youth Sport</i>	34
SPORT POLICY	35
<i>Governance</i>	40
SPORT DEVELOPMENT.....	43
<i>Community Sport Clubs</i>	45
<i>Social Inclusion, Exclusion and Marginalisation</i>	48
<i>Youth Sport Development</i>	50
WELSH SPORT AND THE FUTURE GENERATION POLICY	56
SUMMARY	58

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

INTRODUCTION.....	61
QUALITATIVE RESEARCH	66
THE CASE STUDY DESIGN.....	67
PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION.....	70
INTERVIEWS AND FOCUS GROUPS.....	72
SAMPLING AND FIELDWORK LOCATIONS	74
<i>Phase 1: The School</i>	75
<i>Phase 2 and 3: The Community Sport Clubs</i>	77
<i>Phase 4 (I) and (II)</i>	79

DATA ANALYSIS	81
ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS.....	85
<i>Gaining Access and Voluntary Informed Consent</i>	86
<i>Anonymity, Confidentiality, and Trustworthiness</i>	88
<i>Data Storage</i>	89
<i>Altering Naturalistic Behaviours</i>	90

CHAPTER FOUR

LOCAL PERSPECTIVE

INTRODUCTION.....	92
YR YSGOL- THE SCHOOL	92
<i>A Proud Welsh Speaking Environment</i>	92
<i>Language Competency and Perceived Ability</i>	98
<i>The Use of English at Ysgol y Bont</i>	104
<i>Linguistic Habits</i>	109
Y GYMUEND- THE COMMUNITY	114
<i>The Locally Contextualised Language</i>	114
<i>Availability of Welsh Speakers</i>	115
<i>Marking Welsh Identity</i>	124
<i>Increasing Anglophone Ability and Confidence to Use Welsh</i>	128
<i>Community Sport and Promoting Welsh</i>	134
SUMMARY	141

CHAPTER FIVE

POLICY INFORMERS' PERSPECTIVE

INTRODUCTION.....	143
<i>A Recognition of the Welsh Language</i>	143
<i>Appreciating the Diversity of Wales</i>	147
<i>Partnerships and Resources</i>	150
<i>Normalising the Welsh Language</i>	156
<i>Welsh as a Living Language for the Future</i>	159
WIDER POLICY CONSIDERATIONS.....	162
<i>Communication and Information Dissemination</i>	162
<i>Welsh Government and the Welsh language</i>	165
<i>Welsh language, the European Union and Brexit</i>	168
<i>Amdani- 'go for it'</i>	171
SUMMARY	176

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION

INTRODUCTION.....	179
THE CHALLENGES	179
<i>Welsh is not a Community Sport Language</i>	179
<i>Heterogeneity of Welsh Speakers</i>	181
<i>Using Welsh and the Risk of Exclusion</i>	186
<i>Community Sport Resources</i>	190
<i>Brexit and Compliance</i>	191
<i>Information Dissemination, Resources and Communication</i>	192
THE OPPORTUNITIES	194

<i>Community Sport as a Space for Peer to Peer Learning</i>	194
<i>Incidental Welsh and Amdani</i>	196
<i>Continued Professional Development</i>	197
<i>The Role of Peer Group Mentoring</i>	198
<i>CONSIDERATIONS FOR FUTURE POLICY AND INTERVENTION DEVELOPMENT</i>	199
<i>UNDERSTANDING THE WELSH LANGUAGE SPORT SYSTEM</i>	201

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

INTRODUCTION.....	203
GENERAL CONCLUDING DISCUSSION.....	204
STRENGTHS AND LIMITATIONS OF THIS RESEARCH.....	208
FUTURE RESEARCH RECOMMENDATIONS	209
I GAU- TO CONCLUDE.....	211

LIST OF REFERENCES	213
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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A- INTERVIEW GUIDES.....	A-1
APPENDIX B- EXAMPLES OF INFORMATION SHEETS AND CONSENT FORMS	B-1

Table of Figures

Figure 1. <i>Community Sport Policy in Wales (adapted from Grix and Harris's, (2016) community sport policy in England model: 7).</i>	38
Figure 2. <i>Sport Policy Culture Model (adapted from Homma and Masumoto, 2013).</i>	39
Figure 3. <i>Illustration of the proportion of people (aged 3 and over) able to speak Welsh in the 2011 Census (SkateTier, 2014).</i>	62
Figure 4. <i>Percentage of people who are able to speak Welsh by local authority area (WG and WLC, 2015: 22)</i>	63
Figure 5. <i>An overview of the research design.</i>	65
Figure 6. <i>Examples of posters collected for sampling the community sport clubs.</i>	78
Figure 7. <i>An example of Nodes and Coding in NVivo.</i>	84
Figure 8. <i>Examples of posters encouraging the use of correct Welsh at the school.</i>	93
Figure 9. <i>Researcher's interpretation of a Welsh language Sport System.</i>	201

Table of Tables

Table 1. <i>Methods used within each of the research phases.</i>	70
Table 2. <i>Home languages reported by the case study school for the 2015/16 cohort.</i>	76
Table 3. <i>Examples of the main themes used within this research.</i>	82
Table 4. <i>Tentative Typology of Pupils' Attitudes to Welsh in the School Context (pupil).</i>	182
Table 5. <i>Tentative Typology of Pupils' Attitudes to Welsh in the Community Context (participant).</i>	182

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ABSTRACT

The Welsh language has been subject to much political attention in Wales. The Welsh Government's vision for reaching a million Welsh speakers by 2050, means numbers would need to double in just over 30 years. In addition to growth driven by formal education policy, the Welsh Language Commissioner believed that sport could play a key role in achieving this ambitious target. Sport could provide a context where children, many of whom would only use Welsh in school, could interact, play and socialise in Welsh. This research provides a critical analysis of whether sport in the community, e.g. local swimming and gymnastics clubs, can be a vehicle for promoting the use of Welsh among young people beyond the school gate. A case study approach was adopted in order to obtain the perspectives of young people and community sport providers. Qualitative research methods were used for data collection including a sustained period of participant observation, follow-up interviews and focus groups. The research also focused on gaining a broader understanding of the policy landscape regarding community sport and the Welsh language. Policy informer interviews were undertaken with individuals working at the local, regional and national levels. These interviews looked to understand the research question in a wider context and provide a critical analysis of the challenges and opportunities associated with the development of a minority language. Some of the key findings related to: the importance of the local language context of the case study area; the behaviours and attitudes of young people towards the language (both within and beyond the school gate); the availability of qualified Welsh speaking coaches and volunteers to promote the Welsh language; and the perceptions of significant others which can lead (intentionally and unintentionally) to the marginalisation of minority language speakers. There were also a number of wider policy challenges identified and these included: the impact of Brexit; partnership working; resources; and communication. A key conclusion was that community sport can offer opportunities for the development of the Welsh language and that linguistic capital is an important feature of community cohesion and identity. For this to be achieved, however, some challenges need to be overcome including tackling negative attitudes and behaviours of young people and community sport deliverers. Some opportunities were also identified which merit further exploration including partnership working, the development of educational resources, the need to raise awareness of Welsh in Further and Higher Education, and to promote speaking Welsh in professional and personal development.

Key Words: Welsh language, linguistic capital, minority languages, community sport, young people.

PEER-REVIEWED PUBLICATIONS

Evans, L., Bolton, N., Jones, C., & Iorwerth, H. (2019). 'Defnyddiwch y Gymraeg'1: Community sport as a vehicle for encouraging the use of the Welsh language. *Sport in Society: Community Sport and Social Inclusion: International Perspectives*, 22(6), 1115-1129.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Introduction

In the eyes of Welsh Ministers, the Welsh language is one of the treasures of Wales and is part of what defines its people and the nation (Welsh Government [WG], 2017a). In July 2017, the WG published their most recent Welsh language strategy *Cymraeg 2050: A million Welsh speakers*, setting out their ambition of increasing the number of people speaking and enjoying Welsh to a million in just over 30 years. A key plank of the 2017 strategy is to bridge a recognised gap between the status and use of Welsh in formal educational and informally in everyday settings. Sport was identified by the then Welsh Language Commissioner (Meri Huws) as an activity that might play a role in ‘bridging the gap’ in order to facilitate the use of Welsh in the community. However, an underlying issue is the lack of understanding of how Welsh is currently being used and how it might be developed innovatively. Selleck (2016) suggests that there is variance between the languages used at home and in school and that there is a need for the wider community to be problematised and questioned further. She states that more research is needed in order to improve understanding into the challenges and opportunities of using Welsh beyond formal education and homes (Selleck, 2016).

There is currently limited understanding of the application of minority languages within different contexts, and academics have called for more research to be undertaken (Nikolov and Djigunovic, 2006; Selleck, 2016). Although limited in number, some academics have evaluated the role of sport in other minority cultures and their languages (Dallaire 2003a, 2003b; Dallaire and Harvey, 2016; Erueti, 2016). There is little or no research into the use of the Welsh language in relation to sport in general, and the status of the language within community sport in particular. This research, funded by the Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol, seeks to address this problem (The Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol promotes opportunities for students to study through the medium of Welsh, in partnership with universities, by providing both undergraduate and post-graduate scholarships (Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol, 2018)).

This thesis will explore the extent to which community sport clubs can provide opportunities for Welsh medium pupils to engage in sport through the medium of Welsh.

Background

The purpose of this section is to outline the developments of the Welsh language over the past 120 years. An overview of the regression of Welsh during the twentieth century is presented at the outset of this chapter, followed by an overview of the political attempts to safeguard the minority language. This chapter concludes with a presentation of the aim and objectives of the research and an overview of the thesis structure.

The Regression of the Welsh Language during the Twentieth Century

The 1901 Census reported the highest percentage (49.9%) of Welsh speakers. Since 1901, there have, however, been dramatic regressions in the percentages of Welsh speakers, with numbers declining by 21% in the first half of the 1900s. This is considered to be linked to the increase of in-migration at the turn of the twentieth century, when approximately 100,000 people moved into industrial Wales from England which had a significant impact on the language of communities (Davies, 2014). The language was spoken by 49.9% of the population, most of which (30.2%) were monoglot Welsh, clustered mostly in the Welsh-speaking heartland, *Y Fro Cymraeg [the Welsh area]* (Aitchison and Carter, 2000; Jenkins and Williams, 2000). However, the 1911 Census confirmed that in proportional terms (43.5%), Welsh had become the minority language. Bilingualism was more prevalent than ever before, owing to the influx of Anglophone workers and their families to the industrial counties of Glamorgan and Monmouth (Jenkins and Williams, 2000). In South Wales, Welsh speakers realised that they were becoming a minority and that Welsh was disappearing from public life (Löffler, 2000).

Welsh speaking people were in the minority by the First World War and this was linked to propaganda and increased contact with the English language (Jenkins and Williams, 2000). The 1921 Census showed the true impact of the war, recording a decrease of over 10% in the population able to speak Welsh (Davies, 2014). Largely through the deaths of young men, a generation of Welsh speakers was lost to the First World War (estimated to be 35,000

(Davies, 2014)). Furthermore, the outmigration to find work and a better life had a significant impact on the numbers of Welsh speakers living in Wales (Davies, 2014).

In the 1920s, the Labour party had little concern about the declining fortunes of the Welsh language (Jenkins and Williams, 2000). The only political party to make extensive use of Welsh and advocating its wider use was Plaid Genedlaethol Cymru (the Welsh Nationalist Party), founded by Saunders Lewis in 1925 (Jenkins and Williams, 2000; Davies, 2014). Saunders Lewis became a towering figure intervening decisively at two critical junctures in 1936 and 1962 in the history of the Welsh language (Jenkins and Williams, 2000). His first intervention was the burning of a school in Penyberth during September 1936 (Jenkins and Williams, 2000). This event exposed the political bankruptcy of the Welsh lobby in Parliament, as well as underlining the subordinate status of the Welsh language (Jenkins and Williams, 2000). In 1938, a petition was organised in support of the repeal of the Act of Union 1536, 'language clause'. The Second World War intervened by the time the petition was presented to the House of Commons in 1941 and the result of the campaign was the *Welsh Courts Act* 1942, which fell short of the aim to use Welsh freely in court (Jenkins and Williams, 2000; Roddick, 2007). The *Welsh Courts Act* 1942 did, however, legislate that Welsh may be used in any court in Wales, particularly if an individual would be disadvantaged if required to use English (Aitchison and Carter, 2000; Davies, 2000; Roddick, 2007; Davies, 2014).

The Second World War brought near elimination of Welsh speakers and there is little doubt that the period after the Second World War marked an all-time low in the fortunes of the Welsh language (Aitchison and Carter, 2000). The 1951 Census recorded these impacts with a further decline in the number of Welsh speakers from 36% in 1931 to 28% in 1951. Alongside the loss of Welsh speakers there had been an increase in the status of English thus resulting in less exposure to the minority language (Aitchison and Carter, 2000; Jenkins and Williams, 2000). As well as this, the Welsh felt a reduced sense of competency in using the language that led to reductions in speaker numbers (Jenkins and Williams, 2000).

Saunders Lewis's second intervention was a result of his BBC [British Broadcasting Corporation] lecture in 1962 '*Tynged yr Iaith*' [the fate of the language] (Jenkins and Williams,

2000). Lewis declared that the 1961 Census figures would shock those who considered the Welsh language to be a defining characteristic of Wales. (Aitchison and Carter, 2000). Lewis urged listeners to make it impossible to conduct government business in Wales without using the Welsh language (Davies, 2014). Because of this lecture, a group of young Welsh patriots took part in a series of law-breaking campaigns and who later founded Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg (Davies, 2000; Davies, 2014). They also led a series of road protests and campaigns for bilingual road signs (Jones and Merriman, 2009). It is suggested that English language road signs were part of an incremental institutional creep of governmental control in Wales (Jones and Merriman, 2009). It was these protests, which led to the government commissioning the *Hughes-Parry report* in 1965, which then led to the enactment of the *Welsh Language Act* 1967.

Political Attempts to Reverse the Decline

Despite significant twentieth century events, which placed Wales's heritage language in jeopardy, the *Welsh Language Act* 1967 did very little to promote or protect Welsh and the rights of its speakers (Jenkins and Williams, 2000). Despite disappointments, the *Welsh Language Act* 1967 removed the need to demonstrate disadvantages from not being allowed to use the Welsh language in the courts (as initially stated by the 1942 Act). Equal status was given to the Welsh language, something that it had not achieved since before the *Act of Union* in 1536 and is of symbolic significance. Through the 1970s and 1980s, there was a growing demand for a new Welsh Language Act (Davies, 2014). This demand and desire of the people of Wales led the Conservative Government to publish the *Welsh Language Act* 1993 (Davies, 2014).

Although the *Welsh Language Act* 1967 did little to enhance the status of the minority language, the later *Welsh Language Act* 1993 officially recognised the language of Wales to have equal status in areas other than the administration of justice (Davies, 2000; Davies, 2014). Under the *Welsh Language Act* 1993, a number of public bodies had to prepare a Welsh language scheme (Davies, 2000). Its purpose was to demonstrate their commitment to the equality of the Welsh and English language when conducting business in Wales. Private companies and third sector organisations were not directly obliged to provide a bilingual

service under the Act, unless they were providing services in Wales on behalf of another public body who had prepared a scheme (Davies, 2000). However, the act failed to confer a right on an individual who has been adversely affected by a breach of the provisions of a language scheme to sue or recover damages (Davies, 2000). Most of all was the failure of the ‘purpose clause’, which was rejected by the Conservative Government, declaring Welsh to be an official language of Wales (Davies, 2000; Davies, 2014).

Further developments came with the launch of S4C (*Sianel 4 Cymraeg*) in 1982, and the establishment of the Welsh Language Board [WLB] in 1988, which played a significant role in raising the profile and status of the Welsh language in the public eye. To ensure that public bodies adhered to these requirements under the 1993 Act, the WLB was established as the national language planning body for Wales. The WLB, now known as the Welsh Language Service [WLS], were awarded £13m in their first year to promote and facilitate the use of the Welsh language (WLB, 2018).

*Iaith Pawb*¹, the then national action plan for a bilingual Wales (Welsh Assembly Government [WAG], 2003), planned that by 2003-04 the proportion of Welsh speakers would be stabilised, and the growth among young people sustained. Outlined in *Iaith Pawb* was the aim that by 2011, there would be more people speaking Welsh (a 5% target increase from 2001 figures), with the greatest advancements seen among young people. Other ambitious targets set were to arrest the decline in the number of communities where Welsh is spoken by over 70% of the population; increase the percentage of children receiving Welsh-medium pre-school education; and increase the range of services that can be delivered through the medium of Welsh (WAG, 2003). Survival of the language was seen to be dependent on individuals taking ownership of it (WAG, 2003). The use of ‘a truly bilingual Wales’ in the foreword of *Iaith Pawb* seems vague and with even a 5% increase towards the target, Wales would still remain far from being ‘truly bilingual’. Edwards (1994) suggested that although a country may be officially bilingual or multilingual, most of its citizens may have only single language competency.

¹ Translation: everyone’s language.

Iaith Pawb's overarching ideology may have been constrained by the citizens of Wales, and the restrictions of linguistic practices and preferences. As the national policy framework for the Welsh language, it was identified that political and strategic leadership was essential to ensure that all bodies and initiatives were working towards the equality of the Welsh language. It was also highlighted that developing research and analysis capacity to create evidence-based policy, was essential to the success of the action plan. Despite these developments, the ambitious targets set out in *Iaith Pawb* and the WAG had been criticised for failing to provide enough financial support for organisations and initiatives. It also failed in explaining how the government intended to reach its goals. At the time of completing this thesis (2019) the government has failed in some of its targets, including its flagship milestone of increasing the percentage of Welsh speakers by 5%.

As a result of the 2011 Census (Office for National Statistics [ONS], 2011), the WG² felt that it needed to respond to these figures thus organising 'Y Gynadledd Fawr'³ in 2013 and appointing task groups which led to the publication of *Moving Forward* in 2014 (Iorwerth, 2014). The *Moving Forward* publication mapped out the way that the WG would deliver its policies over the next three years (Iorwerth, 2014). The four key themes identified were: the need to strengthen links between the economy and the Welsh language; the need for better strategic planning for the Welsh language; development of the use of the Welsh language in the community; and to change linguistic behaviours. Although *Moving Forward* had secured £1.2million to be used to strengthen the Welsh language in the community, the extent to which there is a coherent understanding of the opportunities and challenges that may be met is not documented. Rather, large scale generalised quantitative research reports have been published providing little depth and understanding into the real-life experiences of those within community settings.

In 2011, the *Welsh Language (Wales) Measure* was published which resulted in the Welsh language receiving official status in Wales. Welsh language schemes were gradually phased out and were replaced with standards. These placed duties on specific organisations to respect

² The Welsh Government (WG) is the devolved government for Wales. Previously known as the Welsh Assembly Government (WAG). Both are referred to throughout this thesis and are referenced as either WAG or WG (depending on the context).

³ Translation: The big conference

the Welsh language. The first set of standards under the 2011 measure were introduced in November 2014, with proposals to introduce 134 standards over the following years. The standards were set to cover five areas including service delivery, policy making, operational, promotion, and record keeping, and were introduced to provide clarification to organisations on how they are expected to treat the Welsh language. In addition to this, the measure allowed the Welsh Language Commissioner's [WLC] role to emerge giving her [Meri Hughes- the then WLC] the opportunity to take any necessary steps that were appropriate to promote and facilitate the use of Welsh. The WLC and their team have a principal aim of promoting and facilitating the use of the Welsh language (WLC, 2015; Chriost, 2016). The aim is to do this by raising the awareness of the official status of the Welsh language in Wales and by imposing standards on organisations (WLC, 2015; Chriost, 2016). Similar to that promoted by the then WLB, the WLC's key principle is to ensure that the Welsh language is treated no less favourably than English.

Despite the important role of the WLC, this unit suffered budget cuts in 2014-15 at short notice, which led to internal re-structuring and voluntary redundancy schemes. Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg [*The Welsh Language Society*] (2015a) accused the WG of ignoring its own consultation in light of the budget cuts and stressed that there was a need to increase investment in the Welsh language. Furthermore, they believed that the serious underinvestment may affect its future (Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg, 2015a). The WLC's future existence has been questioned, with suggestions of a shift towards a Commission rather than a Commissioner, which has raised concerns for the future of the language (BBC, 2017). In 2012, the WG published their five-year strategy, *A Living Language: A Language for Living* (WG, 2012) which replaced the 2003 plan, *Iaith Pawb*. Much like its predecessor, it set out the WG's aspiration to see an increase in the number of people who both speak and use Welsh daily. The strategy, which was aligned with the *Welsh Medium Education Strategy* (WAG, 2010), outlined its measures under six key aims to promote language use and acquisition. These included the family, children and young people, the community, the workplace, Welsh-language services, and infrastructure. The most recent *Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015* (Future Generations Commissioner for Wales, 2015), focuses on the improvement of Wales's social, cultural, environmental and economic well-being through public bodies working to achieve seven goals. In its widest sense, all seven goals have connections to sport and Welsh language with the sixth goal '*a Wales of vibrant culture and Welsh language*' focusing

specifically on developing a society that promotes the Welsh language and encourages people to participate in the arts, sports and recreation.

The latest Welsh language strategy *Cymraeg [Welsh]2050: A million Welsh speakers* (WG, 2017a) has set an ambitious goal of a million people using and enjoying the Welsh language in just over 30 years. According to a WG (2016a) consultation on the draft strategy, it was noted that in order to reach the policy goal an additional 438,000 new Welsh speakers were needed (WG, 2016a). It was this challenge that provoked the thought that things needed to be done differently for the milestone become a reality (WG, 2016a). Stated within the published 2017 policy, three themes were identified: increasing the number of Welsh speakers; increasing the use of Welsh; and creating favourable conditions- infrastructure and context (WG, 2017a).

Related to the potential of reaching the goal, Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg (2015b) notes that there is a significant problem within the education strategies. They have not successfully sustained an increase in the number of children and young people who receive Welsh medium education. They suggest that if all primary education were to be delivered through the medium of Welsh from 2015, it would take 33 years to reach the target of a million Welsh speakers (Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg, 2015b). Along with the call for educational changes, Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg (2015b) also suggests that the community must play a role in securing Welsh as a community language. They suggest that youth activity clubs within the community should only receive WG funding if they provide their service solely through the medium of Welsh. They have also called upon all community clubs to have Welsh medium staff (Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg, 2015b). These raises concern due to the potential exclusion of those clubs that are looking to develop bilingual services, but not solely through the medium of Welsh in order to ensure that all young people are included. Considering the new WG target of a million Welsh speakers by 2050, the nation-wide decline of speakers is a concern. Since 1951, the decline has been incremental. The 2001 Census recorded the first increase in Welsh speakers (21%) over the history of the Census, although it was still significantly lower than previous Censuses. As of the 2011 Census (ONS, 2011), the number of Welsh speakers reported was 562,016 (19%), a 1.7% decline from 2001.

Educational Initiatives

Formalisation of three important national organisations: Urdd Gobaith Cymru (Urdd) in 1922; the Welsh Nationalist Party in 1925; and Undeb Athrawon Cymreig (UAC, *the Union of Welsh Teachers*) in 1926 was an important development in the vanguard of campaigns for higher priority for Welsh and Welsh-medium education. The Urdd was founded by Ifan ab Owen Edwards, a Welsh academic, writer and filmmaker. Its aim is to bring the Welsh language alive for young people in Wales, and to increase its use in communities through participation in play, arts and sports (Urdd, 2017). Following the *Education Reform Act* 1988, Welsh was made a compulsory subject at Key Stages [KS] 1, 2, 3 for pupils aged 5-14 from 1990, with it also becoming compulsory at KS4 (ages 14-16) from September 1999. In 2011 this was extended to all children aged 3-16 years old (Jones, 2016), and in 2015, *Donaldson's* (2015) report endorsed the policy that Welsh will remain as a compulsory subject. Because of the 2010 *Welsh Medium Education Strategy*, the Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol was formally established (WG, 2012). The main aims of the Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol are to ensure that Welsh speaking Higher Education (HE) students have more opportunities to study through the language (Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol, 2018). In doing so, they train and develop future Welsh medium lecturers, fund undergraduate and postgraduate scholarships, and support students through the medium of Welsh (Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol, 2018). The Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol aims to increase the number of students studying through the language, and to develop quality modules, courses and resources available through the medium of Welsh (Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol, 2018). The recent education strategy *Welsh-medium Education Strategy: Next Steps* published by the WG in March 2016(b), outlined three main objectives for developing Welsh-medium and Welsh language education. These objectives were to: (a) strengthen and prioritise the strategic planning process and embed processes for planning Welsh-medium provision; (b) improve workforce planning and support practitioners by ensuring a sufficient workforce for Welsh-medium education; and (c) ensure that young people have the confidence to use their Welsh language skills in all walks of life. It recognises that education and training alone cannot guarantee that speakers become fluent or choose to use the language in everyday life.

Recent data collected from Stats Wales (2018a) reports that 75,522 pupils (across Wales) attend Welsh medium schools, with 30,952 pupils attending dual stream, transitional or bilingual schools. In 2018 it was reported that 342,160 pupils attend English medium schools across Wales (Stats Wales, 2018a). Section 105 (7) of the *Education Act 2002* states that a Welsh speaking school is where more than half of certain subjects are taught wholly or partly in Welsh and include Religious Education and other foundation subjects. In Welsh medium schools, Welsh is encouraged to be spoken among pupils and teachers rather than English, despite pupil preferences and ability (Selleck, 2013). The nature of 21st century education implies that languages are often separated (Jones and Lewis, 2014).

Sport as a Proposed Solution

The WAG's (2003) ambition was to increase bilingualism and raise awareness of the Welsh language in the community. Evidence from the recent *Donaldson* (2015) review suggests that there is a need for support in various distinctive areas, one of which is the development of the Welsh language and culture. Lindsay, Kay, Banda and Jeanes (2017) recognise that sport has a long history in contributing to social development objectives. Sport has also been identified as a means of integrating minorities into a majority culture and to attain social capital (Allen, Drane, Byon and Mohn, 2010). However, it is often overlooked as a vehicle for developing cultural relationships (Jarvie, 2016). In Wales, although sport has been identified as a vehicle for developing the country's minority language, understanding how it is used and viewed among residents is needed. Dallaire and Harvey (2016) have noted that although sport has been viewed as a tool for promotion of national and minority identity, there are less frequent accounts of how it can be connected with language politics and collective expressions for community belonging.

Despite political and educational efforts, there remains a lack of understanding around the behaviours and attitudes of several key drivers and participants of community sport towards the use of the Welsh language within their activities. Although sport has been identified as a method of answering other crosscutting political agendas (Pitchford and Collins, 2010), its relationship and impact on the use of the Welsh language or minority languages is yet to be critically explored. Community sport was identified by the then WLC as a potential context in

which the Welsh language could be used and spoken. Consequently, the WLC launched the *Amdani* pack in 2018, with the explicit aim of promoting greater use of the Welsh language among sports organisations. By making Welsh an integral part of community sport, the *Amdani* initiative hopes to create more spaces for young people to use Welsh.

Aim and Objectives

The aim of this research is to explore how and whether community sport clubs can be vehicles for encouraging young people to use the Welsh language beyond the school gate. The research findings will provide important evidence that will help evaluate current, and shape future, policy initiatives. The following objectives will be explored in this thesis to fully understand whether community sport clubs can play a role in encouraging young people to use the Welsh language:

- I. To analyse the different relationships with, and the attitudes towards the Welsh language among young people in a non-traditional Welsh speaking area;
- II. To analyse the use of, the different relationships with, and attitudes towards the Welsh language among community sport organisations;
- III. To evaluate young peoples' views and attitudes about the opportunities and barriers to using and promoting the use of the Welsh language in community sport;
- IV. To evaluate community sport providers and policy informer views about the opportunities and barriers to using and promoting the Welsh language in community sport and beyond; and
- V. To evaluate the opportunities for, and barriers against, the role community sport can make in encouraging Welsh language use among young people.

Thesis Structure

This thesis is structured with a further six chapters following this Introduction. Chapter Two provides a critical review of the literature and focuses on three overarching themes: the Welsh language; young people; and sport development and policy. At the outset of the chapter the theoretical concept of capital (specifically social and cultural capital) and the impact that it has on minority language use is introduced. The different ways which young people acquire and use languages is then discussed. A review of current international perspectives of minority cultures and languages in youth sport is then presented, which touches specifically on Dallaire's work on the Francophone Games in Canada. The focus then turns to introducing sport policy, development and community sport. These sections focus on the sport policy process, sport development and community sport, community sport clubs, volunteering, social inclusion and exclusion, and youth sport development. To conclude the chapter, an overview of the current situation of sport and Welsh language in Wales is presented.

Chapter Three is a detailed account of the methods used in this research. At the outset of the chapter, an overview of the language demographics is provided, which sets the scene for the case study approach adopted for this research. An outline of the research phases is then presented, together with a rationale for the use of the qualitative research design. The discussion then moves onto the case study design and a detailed description of the methods adopted for the different research phases. Specifically, participant observations, interviews and focus groups were conducted, in order to collect the empirical data for this research. Details of the data collection procedure, sampling for each of the phases, and data analysis process are then outlined. The chapter concludes with an explanation of the ethical considerations and procedures that were adopted throughout the research.

Chapter Four addresses the empirical data collection work that was undertaken to understand the use of and the different relationships, attitudes and perceptions towards the use of the Welsh language among young people and community sport providers. The results derived from the school environment, presented in the first part of this chapter, focuses on the attitudes and behaviours of the young Welsh speakers attending a Welsh medium school situated within the

case study area, *Ysgol y Bont* (a pseudonym), and understanding the use of the Welsh language from within a natural Welsh speaking environment. The second part of Chapter Four addresses the results collected from seven community sport clubs. Results concerning the use of and the different relationships with Welsh among young people and community sport providers beyond school are presented in this part of the chapter. This chapter specifically focuses on the case study area and is informed by subsequent participant observations, interviews, and young person focus groups.

The next chapter, Chapter Five, is concerned with the perceptions of local, regional and national policy informers regarding the opportunities and challenges concerning the promotion of Welsh in community sport from a policy (and development) perspective. This chapter is not focused specifically on the case study area but has a national perspective. Several key considerations were identified which go beyond sport are presented within this chapter, however there are several issues which provide a true reflection upon the current condition of not only Welsh, but other worldwide minority languages.

A discussion of the key findings and a critical exploration of the empirical data collected and presented in the preceding two chapters is presented in Chapter Six. This chapter provides a discussion evaluating the challenges and opportunities, identified in Chapter Four and Five that face the promotion of the Welsh language in the future, and key policy and educational considerations. To conclude the discussion, considerations for future policy and intervention development are presented which includes sport policy.

Chapter Seven marks the final chapter of this thesis. Each of the five research objectives are revisited and key messages and policy recommendations are presented. In conclusion, the practical implications, strengths, limitations and areas for future research are presented.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to review the current literature associated with social and cultural capital, young people and sport policy, development and community sport. At the outset of this chapter, the theory of social and cultural capital is introduced. This chapter will discuss previous research into how society, family, school and individual attitudes are key influences on a bilingual child's linguistic attainment. Throughout this chapter, there are also considerations regarding the wider role sport and education has played in other minority contexts. The chapter will then go on to discuss matters related to sport policy, development and community sport, with the closing section of this chapter discussing the current situation in Wales, concerning sport and the Welsh language.

Concepts of Capital, Habitus and Field

Pierre Bourdieu, one of the most influential sociologists of the twentieth century, is famous for his work on capital, habitus and field (Atkinson, 2016). Bourdieu's work is positioned within the fields of sociology, anthropology, ethnography and linguistics (Webb, Danaher and Danaher, 2002). Bourdieu argues that an individual's social position is not only influenced by material capital such as wealth and property, but also by other less tangible forms of cultural, symbolic and social capital such as education, skills, status and economic resources (Hart, 2019). This expanded conception of capital has enabled researchers to view various non-material goods and relations as resources. Like material goods, these other forms of capital can also be passed from one generation to the next (Lareau and Weininger, 2003). Bourdieu (1997) argues that of the concepts of cultural, social, economic and symbolic capital help us better understand the complexities of social relations. The expanded concept of capital (social, cultural and symbolic) is closely related to, or makes sense in reference to two other central ideas, namely 'field' and 'habitus'.

A field is a structured system of social positions, which are either occupied by the individual or institutions (Jenkins, 2002). Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992: 72) opined that the concept of field is a 'configuration of relations' between individuals which are reflected by different forms

of capital. For Bourdieu, the field moulds behaviours which results in habits, beliefs and dispositions which form the habitus (Flynn, 2015). The language ‘field’ or the role of language in different fields in Wales has a fascinating history characterised by power struggles. Currently the Welsh language has a strong legal status, but remains a minority language (there was a period of time when education policy mandated the use of English and forbade the use of Welsh). Its value across a number of institutional settings is challenged and contested. The application and understanding of Bourdieu’s notion of field is useful in conceptualising factors which may support or impede individuals in achieving valued ways of living (Hart, 2019) such as living and working through the medium of Welsh. For some, a field will work in favour of their preferences, however others may find themselves marginalised (Hart, 2019). In Wales, both Welsh speakers and non-Welsh speakers lay claim to being marginalised because of their ability/desire or inability to speak Welsh. An individual’s identity, capabilities and aspirations develop through interactions in the field and are shaped by diverse norms, values, cultural and power relations such as educational policy and the dominant language (Hart, 2019). Hart (2019) argues that individuals may be expected to use a language which may not be their preferred primary language.

Bourdieu’s (1984) notion of habitus refers to the physical and social environment constituted by the individual and is the dispositions of early specialisation in the field. Bourdieu developed this concept to describe cultural and familial roots which constitutes the way an individual views the world. Bourdieu (1992: 53-54) refers to habitus as;

“a product of history produces individual and collective practices- more history- in accordance with the schemes generated by history. It ensures the active presence of past experiences which, deposited in each organism in the form of schemes of perception, thought and action, tend to guarantee the ‘correctness’ of practices and their consistency over time, more reliably than all formal rules and explicit norms. This system of dispositions- a present past that tends to perpetuate itself into the future by reactivation in similarity structured practices”

For Bourdieu, habitus is typically formed by domestic influencers (e.g. family), which is then developed through individual experiences and class conditions (Goldthorpe, 2007). Bourdieu's conceptualisation of habitus is also considered to be related to his use of the word 'hexis', a Greek word which is not dissimilar to the Latin 'habitus' (Jenkins, 2002). Hexis is used within Bourdieu's work as a term which describes the manner or style that a person presents themselves [i.e. how they stand, gait and gesture] (Jenkins, 2002). Bourdieu states that the practical taxonomies of the habitus are imprinted through early childhood socialisation and the learning processes (Jenkins, 2002). Bourdieu's theoretical framework is relevant for understanding and analysing the behaviours, characteristics and cultural practices of social groups or classes (Iisahunter, Smith and Emerald, 2015). Bourdieu remarked that an individual's position in social relations is influenced by their ability and understanding to conform to the preferences of the field. *Group habitus* is possible and is evident among individuals who have a long account of shared experiences, and therefore inclusion within the collective habitus is accepting the common code (Iisahunter, Smith and Emerald, 2015).

Social Capital

The concept of social capital is used to understand the effects and consequences of human connectivity, socialisation and relations to individuals and the social structure (Tzanakis, 2013). Social capital can emphasise either conflict or consensus in social relations depending on whether scholars draw upon the cooperation (Putnam and Coleman's work as an example) or competition schools of thought (Bourdieu's work as an example (Bonanno, 2018; Gelderblom, 2018)).

Social capital refers to the norms and networks that enable people to act collectively (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000), and has been identified as a key driver of sport policy (Coalter, 2010; Adams, 2012). Its importance in a youth sport context is highlighted by Green (2010), who suggests that with the right types of social and cultural capital, young people are more likely to access and succeed in sport. The main theorist of social capital is Bourdieu (1977, 1991, 1997), and his work has been further developed by Coleman (1988, 1990, 1994), and Putnam (2000) who differ in their uses of the term and thus it is relevant to consider their respective interpretations.

Social capital is considered to be one of the capital resources related to obtaining and maintaining power (Ihlen, 2005). Bourdieu (1986: 248-249) defines social capital as:

“the aggregate of the actual potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance or recognition... to membership in a group--which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a “credential” which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word”

When analysing this definition, two key features of social capital must be understood. First is the size of an individual’s network. Bourdieu relates this to the size and volume of past and present networks which are acquired by the individual (Bourdieu, 1986). Profit, although not always economically related, is the main reason for individuals to maintain and engage with their networks (Tzanakis, 2013). The second key point relates to the volume of capital within other parts of this network (Ihlen, 2005). As appreciated by Ihlen (2005), individuals in the field compete for profits and capital, which are unequally shared, therefore indicating that some capital is specific or worthless to specific fields. Social capital, according to Bourdieu, is considered to be one of several resources related to obtaining and maintaining power.

Unlike Bourdieu, Coleman’s view of social capital is not only seen as stock held by powerful elites but is valued for all communities (which includes the powerless and marginalised). Coleman (1994) suggests that there is a relationship between social capital and the development of human capital. Social capital is viewed in the eyes of Coleman (1994) as the set of resources, both from family and within community organisations, which are valuable for a young person’s social or cognitive development. With the nature and characteristics of community voluntary organisations in mind, Coleman’s (1994) version of social capital links to this appropriately. This is mainly due to the opportunities within community voluntary organisations to develop human capital through enhancing aspects, such as transferable social skills, relations and organisation skills (Coleman, 1994; Coalter, 2013).

Daniels, Bell and Horrocks (2018) found that the development of social capital was demonstrated through volunteer and coach mentoring programmes as it is beneficial in creating safer and stronger communities. Coleman's theory of family capital suggests that the family is a dynamic entity which transforms various forms of physical, social and human capital (Li, 2007). Physical capital according to Coleman (1988: 6), is created by changes in materials to form tools that facilitate production and is wholly tangible. Human capital is less tangible and is embodied in a person's skills, knowledge and capabilities to act in certain social structures. Coleman's conception of social capital focuses on explaining how cooperation for the common good is possible. This aligns with the cooperation school of thought and refers to the impact of social norms and the choices of people towards a more cooperative, rather than competitive, direction (Gelderblom, 2018).

Putnam regards social capital as a public good with little emphasis on instrumentalism or individual choice (Coalter, 2008). Putnam's (2000) conceptualisation of social capital has been widely used to analyse sport-for-development programmes which is linked to using language effectively and persuasively, often referred to as policy rhetoric⁴ (Coalter, 2013; Adams, Harris and Lindsey, 2017). However, its theoretical position is undermined by limited qualitative insights (Crabbe, 2008) and some consider literature such as *Bowling Alone* (Putnam, 2000) to have little conceptual depth (Maloney, Smith and Stocker, 2000; Adams, 2011a). Putnam (2000) suggests that social capital contributes to bringing communities together and appeals to policy makers as the focus is on the role of voluntary organisations and collective outcomes. It is suggested that the nature of sport helps to enhance and reproduce social capital, and that the sense of ownership of sport clubs can contribute to social capital within the community (Jarvie, 2006). Putnam (2000) identifies two types of social capital: *bonding and bridging*. Bonding refers to networks based on strong ties between people who are alike and relates to the trust-based ties of familiarity and closeness (within groups). Bonding occurs among homogenous populations (Leonard, 2004) and are associated with close, dense networks within families and neighbourhoods. Putnam's second type of social capital is called bridging. Bridging social capital describes relationships between groups –beyond one's family and or close community - and is therefore characterised by weaker social ties (Putnam, 2000). Leonard (2004) suggests that for individuals to become successful and build social capital they

⁴Rhetoric is the skill in using language effectively and persuasively.

must ‘bridge’ or forge ties with others in the wider society. Bridging social capital offers access to new ideas and perspectives because of the links across groups, for example acquaintances in other communities or neighbourhoods.

Putnam’s notion of social capital is embedded with concepts such as trust, community, and networks, social inclusion and exclusion (Leonard, 2004). These types of social capital in a sporting context would enable young people to develop greater sporting capital, due to the enhancement of social networks which provide access to sport related technical skills and knowledge (Coalter, 2007). Green (2010) suggests that the value of social capital lies in the way which it provides opportunities. Furthermore, family and friends play a significant role in the development of a young person’s sporting capital, and their sporting habitus (Green, 2014). Gelderblom (2018) identifies Putnam’s work as the most prominent representative of what he calls the cooperation school of social capital. Putnam’s work has been criticised for ignoring power relations as well as the effects of broader social structures and the negative aspects of social networks (Gelderblom, 2018). For example, actions and resources that are mobilised for the good of an individual or a group may be detrimental for another, this is referred to as the dark side of social capital (Numerato and Balioni, 2011).

It is clear from this review of the three main theorists, Bourdieu, Putnam, and Coleman, that social capital means different things to different social theorists (Tzanakis, 2013). Despite similarities in their conceptualisations of social capital, the theorists differ in their underlying ideologies (Tzanakis, 2013). Namely, Putnam and Coleman theorise social capital within the cooperation school of thought, and thus have been subject to criticism of their use of trust within social relationships as well as ignoring power relations (Gelderblom, 2018). This is something which Bourdieu’s work appreciates through the lens of the competition school of thought. Bourdieu views capital as an individual asset used to distinguish oneself from others, which is different to Putnam’s view of social capital. Putnam views it as a collective asset that can be used to bring communities together and has a knock-on effect for engagement with other aspects of culture.

Cultural Capital

Bourdieu uses the term cultural capital to refer to the knowledge, credentials, intellectual skills, education, and modes of thought that are characteristic of the different social classes and groups (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977; Bourdieu, 1984; 1986; 1991). Bourdieu's (1986) linguistic capital is one form of cultural capital. Linguistic capital is defined by capability and suggests that the ability to use a language affects whether it is recognised as an acceptable medium of communication (Fang, 2011). It is a form of capital that is acquired over time, effected by the surrounding environment, and influences one's habitus and power. Fang (2011: 253) emphasises that language is a type of capital that is 'deeply embedded in complex social, cultural, economic, and political contexts and is driven by an array of competing demands'. Language is not only seen as a communication tool, but as an instrument of power whereby linguistic capital implies wealth and authority (Bourdieu, 1991). Fundamentally, language is a social feature which is both socially constructed and embedded in human action (Susen, 2013). The existence of languages is dependent on the collective production of linguistic utterances and the processes of human interaction which is socially embedded in contexts (Susen, 2013). Linguistic capital is an important consideration for the development and understanding the use of minority languages, as in a social context it turns into capital and a source of power (Aliakbari and Khosravian, 2014). However, a group's dominant dialect defines the linguistic habitus and prevents other languages from gaining legitimacy (Bourdieu, 1991). Bourdieu emphasises the community-based nature of language, which has led to the idea that a linguistic community is fabricated through social relations (Susen, 2013).

Hornberger and Vaish (2008) found that there are tensions in translating multilingual language policy into classroom linguistic practice. They found that this was due to the demand for English practices to allow equitable access to a globalising economy (Hornberger and Vaish, 2008). Similarly, Fang (2011) found that the dominant language of education systems and groups prevents other languages from gaining legitimacy. Linguistic capital is considered to be directly associated with linguistic competency, therefore ability to use a dominant language which is recognised as standard, suggests an increase in capital (Fang, 2011). Those with insufficient competencies are therefore side-lined, or excluded, due to social stratification and mobility (Bourdieu, 1991). The unequal division of power, which is produced and maintained

according to the languages different groups speak, is subject to ‘linguicism’- a linguistically argued racism (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1998: 16).

The inequalities of linguistic competence are revealed on a daily basis and the linguistic market is shaped by conforming to the norms of the dominant language, as well as those who hold legitimate linguistic competence (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Linguistic competence is not only a technical ability, but also a statutory appreciation that not all linguistic remarks are equally acceptable (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Those seeking to defend a threatened linguistic capital must consider saving the value of a competence through saving the linguistic market (Bourdieu, 1991). The linguistic market is concerned with certain lingual capabilities having higher currency than others, therefore affecting linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991). Linguistic Market is substantial in social situations and is a notion of rules that regulate the value of lingual utterances, as well as the accumulation and re-production of linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991). The education system provides a platform for different languages to be cultured, however without the social value of linguistic competence within the market, a language’s linguistic capital would cease to survive (Bourdieu, 1991).

Fang (2011) suggests that language policies ought to be understood in the light of the complexity of linguistic capital. The decisions of policy makers significantly impact on linguistic capital due to top-down decisions to privilege English over other languages (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 2000). The 1536 *Act of Union* is an example of how linguistic capital in Wales has been politically influenced, due to the notions and beliefs that the inability to speak Welsh was a mark of reverence and status, thus providing a constant reminder that Welsh was divorced from any form of political power (Jones, 1990; Mühleisen, 2007; Roddick, 2007; Lewis, 2008; Davies, 2014). The impact of the 1536 *Act of Union* was still evident in the nineteenth century, as it is thought that there were very little Welsh speakers in the upper-class families of Wales (Davies, 2014). In the 1847 Blue Books of the *Report into the State of Education in Wales* (The National Library of Wales, 2018), it was identified that the social classes were isolated with lower classes speaking Welsh and the upper classes whom did not (Roberts, 1998). This was because English was perceived as useful and profitable, and Welsh was seen more widely as a language for religious matters, thus impacting the extent to which the Welsh language was used operationally (Davies, 2014).

Bourdieu and Boltanski (1975) suggested that a socially recognised language is one which is recognised as legitimate. Susen (2013: 2010) summarises Bourdieu's views on the legitimacy of languages and suggests three social processes which are to be achieved if a language is to be normalised. These are: (i) 'standardization', whereby there is a binary differentiation between correct and incorrect forms of language use; (ii) 'officialization', which involves the binary separation between national and regional language forms; and (iii) 'institutionalization', through manifesting binary divisions between pragmatic and peripheral forms of language use. According to Bourdieu (1982), a legitimate language is essentially a representation of the social world. Susen (2013) argues that a language is legitimate in so far as it is embedded within the context. Furthermore, Susen (2013) explains that different contexts are associated with different languages, and languages with contexts, and echoes Bourdieu's view that for a language to gain legitimacy, it must be spoken competently by the majority.

Linguistic habitus is produced and reproduced by members of a particular linguistic community [i.e. people using the same linguistic system of speech] (Susen, 2013). Linguistic habitus includes the attitudes, thoughts and behaviours of an individual. One's linguistic habitus is the sum total of past experiences, views, attitudes, behaviours and thoughts (Bourdieu, 1992). In a Welsh medium school (field) the linguistic ethos is strongly Welsh. Formal and informal mechanisms (e.g. school rules and cultural events) create and recreate the Welsh habitus. Most pupils' experiences of other social fields (e.g. homes, sport and in the community) is characterised or dominated by the English language. The experiences of many pupils in Wales therefore involves a change in language as they navigate different fields. Some may be more comfortable where English dominates, others (usually, but not exclusively, in certain geographical areas) are more comfortable where Welsh dominates. Language proficiency is important cultural capital (d'Almeida, 2016). For some (nascent speakers), there may be a resistance, reluctance or refusal to speak Welsh in schools (Selleck, 2013). The field is significant because it governs individual decisions and actions contributing to the largely unconscious process of habitus formation (Flynn, 2015). In Bourdieuan terms, this is referred to as *doxa* [unquestioned beliefs] (Bourdieu, 1977a). Bourdieu (1977b) asserts that cultural capital can be a resource associated with an individual's educational success. Cultural capital may have an impact on many factors associated with the interest and motivation of pupils in learning a language (d'Almeida, 2016). Furthermore, owing to a learners' diverse background in ability, inequality is produced and reproduced in the classroom (McCollum, 1999).

The Bordieuan interpretation of language is that it is seen as a power broker, and in particular within the field of teaching (Bourdieu, 1991; Flynn, 2015). When thinking about power relations, language competency is considered to expose potential classroom inequalities (Flynn, 2015). Flynn's (2015) research highlights the inequalities in the educational system using a Bordieuan analysis. By applying Bourdieu's definition of habitus, Flynn (2015) found that the needs of non-native English speakers within the English education system were being potentially ignored. Furthermore, that fluency in English acted as a source of capital in the classroom, which was perceived to give children access to better educational outcomes (Flynn, 2015). A teacher's linguistic habitus, capital and expectations will therefore shape their teaching practice (Maton, 2012). According to McCollum (1999), students possess different class-based knowledge. As a result, children of the dominant class who display social and linguistic competence required by the school curriculum excel, graduate and obtain better jobs (McCollum, 1999). Bourdieu (1991) observes language as a form of symbolic capital and argues that teachers use particular types of language, depending on which are recognised as more powerful than others. In England, Flynn (2015) associates this with teachers using a perceived superiority standard of English as the valued mode of communication. Loos (2000) also reported that teachers have been found to devalue modes of expressions [i.e. slang or gibberish] to impose recognition of legitimate language use within education. Language teaching is considered to become more involved with attempts to control what counts as a legitimate language, and therefore who are counted as legitimate speakers (Heller, 2010). This further emphasises Bourdieu's (1991) recognition that the education system plays a decisive role in the construction, legitimisation and imposition of official languages.

The increase in globalisation has further established English as the lingua franca world-wide (Loos, 2000). English offers linguistic capital, as it allows individuals to acquire economic and symbolic capital, and therefore impacts on their language choice (Loos, 2000). The global 'triumph' of the English language is considered by Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (2000) to be at the expense of other local languages and cultures. Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (2000) appreciates that native English speakers are often at an advantage, and those who are 'victims of linguistic injustice' are ready to dispute against the inequity. Survival of a language is dependent on two critical interchanges. Firstly, is the impact which linguistic habitus has on language use, and secondly the linguistic relation to power in the field.

Young People and the Welsh Language

The 2011 Census (ONS, 2011) surveyed 199,120 young people (aged 15-19) on their ability to speak Welsh. Across Wales, 25.7% (n=51,124) of young people reported that they were able to speak, read and write in Welsh. According to the Census (ONS, 2011), a large proportion of the population of the Isle of Anglesey, Gwynedd, Carmarthenshire and Ceredigion reported being able to speak, read and write Welsh. The lowest numbers of Welsh speakers compared to non-Welsh speakers were mainly recorded in the South, South East, Mid East and in the North East parts of the country. The importance of children and young people are highlighted in the 1991 Census figures, with the increase in school-aged speakers being warmly welcomed as an encouraging development by the WG (2014a). Despite this development, there are growing concerns among policy makers that the language learnt by young people in school is not being used with friends and family in the community (Hodges, 2009; Thomas and Roberts, 2011; WG, 2014a). Research suggests that the language choices made by pupils are locally contextualised and the ideologies of language inheritance within the community make individual choices problematic (Selleck, 2013). The relevance of linguistic capital is a key consideration here due to local language context (different fields) and socially constructed dispositions, which ultimately influence language use (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). In order to understand how linguistic capital is formed and developed it is important to consider how languages are acquired.

Language Acquisition

Montrul (2016) states that language acquisition is not only the growth of language but also the growth of a speaker's grammatical and communicative system. A bilingual first language is acquired through two or more languages being part of the linguistic and social environment of a child (De Houwer, 2009). Young children can develop two grammatical systems simultaneously, however older children and adults are able to acquire a second language after the development and setting of the core linguistic foundations (Montrul, 2016). Bialystok (2001) suggests that those who are bilingual are able to function equally and move effortlessly between two languages.

Children and young people acquire a second language in many ways (Montrul, 2016). Some live in bilingual or minority language homes, whereas others acquire their second language at school (Bialystok, 2001). To understand the development of bilingual children in Wales, it is crucial to explore what it means to be bilingual and bi literate (Reyes, Orellana, Kenner, and Moll, 2012). Research by Grosjean (1998) highlights the difficulties in achieving balanced bilingualism, resulting in many people having a predominant or preferred language. An individual's language preference is heavily dependent on the educational, social or linguistic context (Hornberger, 2003). Nikolov and Djigunovic (2006) suggest that early exposure is seen as a key to success in language education, however, it is also perceived as a threat facing development and identity. Competence to acquire a language is affected by age in two ways (Nikolov and Djigunovic, 2006). The first is that, biologically, as one ages the procedural memory for language decreases, this process begins after the age of five (Nikolov and Djigunovic, 2006). Secondly, cognitively one relies on conscious declarative memory, which is increased from about the age of seven (Nikolov and Djigunovic, 2006). The importance of early language acquisition in ensuring that foundations for learning later in life, and for developing favourable attitudes towards languages and language learning, is stressed by the Commission of the European Communities (2003).

There are two types of bilinguals; simultaneous and sequential. Simultaneous bilinguals acquire two languages from infancy, whereas sequential bilinguals develop proficiency in one language, which becomes their first language, before acquiring a second language (Reyes, 2002). Sequential bilinguals primarily acquire their second language through social contexts such as nurseries or primary schools rather than a home environment (Hornberger, 2003). Families' cultural and linguistic backgrounds play an important role in determining the language their children acquire, however Romaine (2002) suggests that bringing a minority language into a home is extremely difficult. Teachers in a school context are empowered to develop their student's linguistic skills through different tasks, which could be altered and adapted to challenge the learner. The importance of researching into how young learners use the language is emphasised by Nikolov and Djigunovic (2006). They suggest that insight into how they and their teachers use languages, interact, scaffold development, and how they contribute to classroom processes is necessary. However, teaching a minority language as a subject at school does not lead to long-term minority language maintenance (Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson, 2000).

Society, family, school and individual attitudes are key influences on a bilingual child's ultimate linguistic attainment, achievement and performance (Gathercole and Thomas, 2005; Gathercole, Laporte and Thomas, 2005; Paradis, 2010; Rhys and Thomas, 2013). More specifically, it has been suggested that within communities where one language holds majority status over another, for example English holding majority status in non-traditional Welsh speaking areas, acquisition of the more dominant language is more likely than of the minority (Gathercole and Thomas, 2005). In light of this, Bourdieu's (1991) suggestion that a group's dominant dialect defines the linguistic habitus is a significant challenge to consider facing the Welsh language in gaining legitimacy and status over English in some areas of Wales.

Welsh in School

Educational institutions play an imperative role in sustaining and developing linguistics of a minority language for both first and second language speakers (Hodges, 2009; Thomas, Lewis and Apolloni, 2012). Montrul (2016) suggests that the development of literacy skills during the school-age period significantly contributes to language maintenance, and adulthood linguistic competence. Data collected in the 2018 School Census (WG, 2018), provided some valuable insights into the number of pupils who are at Welsh medium schools. Of the 467,112 pupils educated in Wales during 2018, only 106,474 pupils were educated through the medium of Welsh (WG, 2018), 3,131 more pupils than in 2014 (at the outset of this PhD). In July 2014, it was reported that 444 primaries, two middle and 52 secondary schools were classified as Welsh medium (WG, 2014b). In 2018, despite more pupils being educated through the medium of Welsh, there are 40 fewer primary schools (pan Wales), an additional six middle schools, and 5 fewer secondary schools. Gwynedd reported to have the most (n=98) and Blaenau Gwent reported the fewest (n=1) Welsh medium schools (WG, 2018).

Children attending separate bilingual (Welsh medium) schools in Wales are considered to be given more opportunities to practice and develop their spoken Welsh skills, than those attending flexible bilingual schools (Creese and Blackledge, 2011). However, this can affect the pupils chosen language preference outside of the school environment (Creese and Blackledge, 2011). Creese and Blackledge (2011) proposed that if children feel controlled or forced to speak a specific language, they are more likely to rebel, thus, affecting their chosen

preferred language. Across four Welsh counties, Thomas, Apolloni and Lewis's (2014) research reflected high-perceived percentages for opportunities to use Welsh in the classroom, thus suggesting that there are not enough opportunities to use English at school. Earlier research conducted by Thomas and Roberts (2011), within Welsh medium schools in Bangor, found that the teacher-child/child-teacher interaction in class was Welsh. However, a worrying trend emerged from peer to peer classroom interactions, with some children from non-Welsh-speaking homes reporting their interaction as being through the medium of English (Thomas and Roberts, 2011). Thomas and Roberts (2011) concluded that although Welsh is spoken in school on a day-to-day basis, it does not necessary guarantee uptake of the language in social contexts.

Flexible bilingualism is concerned with encouraging the use of two languages (Blackledge and Creese, 2010; Selleck, 2013). Selleck (2013: 26) describes this as practising the 'fluid motions' between languages. The encouragement of flexible bilingualism is thought to benefit individuals by preparing them for multilingual situations (Jones and Lewis, 2014). By adopting such an approach, bilingualism does not become contextualised but instead individuals gain confidence in using the languages in different contexts (Jones and Lewis, 2014). Selleck (2013) also found that at an English medium school in Wales, pupils were given a choice to be bilingual (flexible bilingualism), and by offering flexibility to students it increased their confidence. However, adopting this approach was hindered by the lack of opportunities, which are available at the English medium school, in order to improve Welsh speaking abilities (Selleck, 2013). According to Selleck's (2013: 29) participants, this approach has led to the 'Wenglish' style, which is described as 'the hetroglossic use of both Welsh and English'.

In a context of a minority language classroom or school (e.g. Welsh language classroom) with a majority language lying beyond it (e.g. English language), the promotion of flexible language arrangements is considered to be a challenge (Jones and Lewis, 2014). This difficulty arises due to the caution that Welsh medium teachers take to preserve and safeguard the use of the minority language within the classroom (Jones and Lewis, 2014). According to Lemke (2002: 85), the separate approach is adopted to keep languages 'pure and separate'. Selleck (2013) found that pupils of a Welsh medium school identified this as the approach adopted by their school. Pupils that used the English language at school were 'told off' and teachers would

stress that they could go to an English school if they did not want to buy into the school's approach (Selleck, 2013). Selleck (2013), Lemke (2002) and Jones and Lewis (2014) found that Welsh medium school teachers fight to safeguard the Welsh language as a school and classroom language.

Welsh schools are not the only medium institutions that adopt such an approach. In Basque-medium schools, traditionally there is a strict separation policy so to protect and develop proficiency in the language (Cenoz and Gorter, 2017). Intermixing Basque with Spanish is a concern among speakers because of issues with quality and disappearance (Cenoz and Gorter, 2017). Translanguaging is a key concern within ideologies based on purism, as it is seen as a threat to the minority language (Cenoz and Gorter, 2017). The term refers to the shuttling between languages and was developed in bilingual schools in Wales (Lewis, Jones and Baker, 2012). The fear is that by promoting translanguaging that minority languages will disappear to the majority language. It is for this reason that many minority language schools have adopted a strict language separation approach.

A child's confidence in their ability to speak Welsh is an important consideration relevant to linguistic capital (Thomas and Roberts, 2011). Bourdieu (1991: 55) states that 'speakers lacking the legitimate confidence are *de facto* excluded from the social domain in which this competence is required or are condemned to silence'. How a child perceives their ability to speak Welsh could be affected by the perceived pressure to fulfil the perfect image of a Welsh speaker (Hodges, 2009). Thomas and Roberts (2011) found that 90% of children from Welsh speaking homes felt that they spoke Welsh better than they spoke English compared to 50% of children from English speaking homes. Those children from mixed language homes were undecided as to which language they felt that they could speak better (Thomas and Roberts, 2011). According to Aliakbari and Khosravian (2014) teachers should be aware of the linguistic abilities of their pupils, as some may not have the ability to argue or voice their opinions due to lack of linguistic ability.

Thomas, Apolloni *et al.* (2014) and Laugharne (2007) suggest that perceived language competency is crucial in determining the extent to which Welsh is used beyond the classroom, as well as a key component of linguistic capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Thomas,

Apolloni *et al.* (2014) found that many young children and people had more favourable views towards English than Welsh, due to their higher rated English abilities, compared with their perceived Welsh ability. This emphasises the inequality of the linguistic market (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) in Wales, and the impact which competence has on the behaviours, attitudes and uses of the minority language. Laugharne's (2007) study of university students' use and attitudes towards the Welsh language suggested that language competence was a major influence. Those who had more positive views of the Welsh language perceived themselves to be competent in speaking Welsh, and vice versa. Likewise, Thomas and Roberts (2011) identified that children are influenced not only by home language, but also by the availability of confident Welsh speakers. They found that when there was a majority of Welsh first language peers, there was an encouragement to use more of it among learners, thus indicating that they were increasing social and linguistic capital. Thomas, Williams, Jones, Davies and Binks (2014) stressed that exposure to a language is necessary for one to acquire it, and that bilingual acquisition is complex under minority language structures. They found that Welsh educated young people from English speaking homes fail to 'catch up' by the age of 11, which resulted in these children progressing slower than their peers from Welsh speaking homes (Thomas, Williams *et al.*, 2014).

Welsh in the Home

Morris (2010) believes the linguistic environment at home influences language use in the wider community. Within minority language areas, policy planners have identified that intra-generational transmission at home would maintain generations of speakers (Jones and Morris, 2007). The importance of the family in terms of language transfer and planning has been consistency identified in WG policies and strategies, as well as academic research (WAG, 2003; Hodges, 2009; WG, 2012; WG, 2013; WG, 2014b; WG, 2017a). In 2014, the WG noted that increasing the use of Welsh within families was one of their key priorities for safeguarding the future of the language (WG, 2014a). It is also important when considering linguistic capital, especially when concerning the needs of young people whose home language is different from the one spoken at school (Grayson, 2008). Among conclusions of the WG (2013), it was identified that there should be considerations towards the different support needs which families require where Welsh is not the main language in the home. The WG (2013) recognised

these family needs and in response, have created interventions to support language transition and the use.

One of the main WG initiatives which focuses on encouraging the use of Welsh within the home is the TWF (Talk Welsh to Families) project (WG, 2014a), established in 2001. Its overall aim was to increase the transfer of the Welsh language within the family. TWF provides information, advice and support to families to introduce bilingualism and Welsh into the home from a young age and is delivered by twenty field officers working throughout Wales (WG, 2013). Woodcock (2011) identified that the TWF project and community practitioners in Wales have succeeded in developing effective ways of informing, encouraging and supporting parents to introduce Welsh, as well as English to their children. Something which Woodcock (2011) neglected in her report was the challenges which practitioners faced, however the report does summarise the aims of the TWF project and identified some areas of good practice. Woodcock (2011) stressed the importance of introducing languages from birth. Particularly, the child and parent interaction through the medium of Welsh up to the age of two is crucial in early language socialisation of young children (Jones and Morris, 2007). Jones and Morris (2007) identified the primary factors that effect a child's Welsh language socialisation as: interactive practices with Welsh speaking parent; involvement of Welsh speaking grandparents; language background and language values; and language practices of parents and their extended families. Further initiatives set out by the WG which focuses on supporting parents/carers to introduce Welsh to their children and to increase their confidence to use the language are Growing with Welsh and Mae dy Gymraeg di'n Grêt [you'r Welsh is great] (WG, 2014a).

Romaine (2002) suggests that despite government initiatives, bringing minority languages into homes is difficult, particularly in families where only one parent speaks it. Hodges (2009) found that language courtesy was a challenge for the use of the Welsh language within the homes of the young people who took part in her study. The isolation of non-Welsh speakers emerged as the main reason for this courtesy. Despite encouragement to speak Welsh, minority language speakers in the family would continue to speak English (the majority language of the home). Hodges (2009) also found that one family, where both parents were non-Welsh speakers, found it unacceptable for the Welsh language to be spoken in their presence. This

tension raises concerns regarding the extent of this barrier that faces young people from homes where neither parent has Welsh speaking abilities, which was reported to be 25% of families (WG and WLC, 2015). It also raises concerns about the impact of dominant languages and the ability for minority languages to be accepted as social means of communication (Fang, 2011).

Welsh in the Community

The nature of neighbourhoods and communities are complex, and constantly changing (WG, 2013). Social life and movements are seen to have a substantial impact on the characteristics of Welsh communities (WG, 2013). The WG (2013) found that maintaining the Welsh language within their community activities is a challenge facing local societies, as well as reaching out to include individuals who may not understand Welsh. Redknap (2013) suggested that in some communities and contexts, using Welsh is not necessarily a result of designated Welsh language initiatives. Additionally, evidencing the support for Welsh language activities could be an indicator of a decline in its vitality as a spontaneous language (Redknap, 2013).

Löffler's (1997) research into the vibrancy of Welsh-medium networks in the areas of Fishguard and Aberaeron provides some relevant conclusions toward the viability of the Welsh language at a community level. Like that suggested by the WG (2013), Löffler (1997) suggested that the contributions of organisations are considered to have a key role in encouraging Welsh to be spoken at social events. The WLC pledged to provide financial support for projects (up to £400,000) to businesses using the Welsh language (Prys, Hodges, Mann and Collis, 2014). Additionally, there were investments of over two million pounds to open centres and learning spaces that promoted the use of the Welsh language, and to strengthen the Welsh language in the community (Prys *et al.*, 2014).

The WG (2013) identified that traditional organisations and movements such as the Urdd, Merched y Wawr, Mudiad Meithrin and the Eisteddfod play an important role promoting Welsh in the community. Merched y Wawr gives women of all ages the chance to socialise and meet in Wales through local club, as well as promotes the Welsh language and the rights of women (Cymraeg, 2015). Mudiad Meithrin specialises in Welsh early years and is a

voluntary organisation which is the main provider for Welsh-medium early years care and education (Mudiad Meithrin, 2019). The Eisteddfod is traditionally a competition-based festival which celebrates the culture and language in Wales (Eisteddfod, 2019). A substantial amount of funding has been allocated to these organisations over the past twenty years (WG, 2013). These organisations are the drivers for the voluntary endeavours that support Welsh language activities (WG, 2013; Prys *et al.*, 2014). Research concerning other minority languages has found that willingness to use a minority language depends on broad cultural contexts, namely attitudes, emotions, prestige, and whether it is considered a natural means of communication (Dolowy-Rybińska, 2016). It is suggested that by creating minority language communities, young people connect with it as an important basis of identity (Dolowy-Rybińska, 2016) and for creating symbolic capital (Fang, 2011). Therefore, traditional Welsh organisations, such as the Urdd, Merched y Wawr, Mudiad Meithrin and Eisteddfodau, increase the use of the Welsh language due to its symbolic capital within these contexts. Following a technology fund offered by the WG, the Urdd developed an App whereby children and young people are able to locate Welsh-medium events and activities in their local communities (WG, 2014a).

Since 2012 there has been an increase in the activities which the Menterau Iaith provide, which includes the annual Tafwyl in Cardiff (WG, 2014a). The Tafwyl festival has successfully engaged children, young people and adults with culture, arts, music, history, sport and the Welsh language (WG, 2014a). The Menterau Iaith (also referred to as Menter or Menter Iaith in this thesis) across Wales play an important role of promoting the language in Welsh communities (WG, 2014a). Post evaluation research undertaken suggests that those who attended the event felt that they were prouder of the language post event (WG, 2014a).

It is debatable as to how often the Welsh language is socially used within the community (Hodges, 2009; Thomas and Roberts, 2011; Thomas, Apolloni *et al.*, 2014). Hodges's (2009) participants stated that their use of Welsh outside school decreased through from year seven to year eleven and then increased when entering sixth form, which was suggested to be a result of their heightened awareness and increased ownership of the Welsh language. The participants of Hodges's (2009) study also stressed that English is the status language in the community and Welsh is based firmly in the educational sphere. In contrast to this, Thomas

and Roberts (2011) found that over half of the children from Welsh-speaking homes participating in their research reported to use Welsh in all social contexts. However, one in three children from mixed or English-speaking homes reported to use Welsh in the same contexts (Thomas and Roberts, 2011). Thomas and Roberts (2011) also reported that children were likely to use Welsh when dealing with clubs and sporting activities, if they lived and participated in areas with over 70% of the population able to speak Welsh. This is due to the higher numbers of Welsh speaking staff and children available within these areas (Thomas and Roberts, 2011), therefore Welsh might be considered to hold a much higher legitimacy and acceptance level within these communities. Hodges (2009) and Thomas and Roberts (2011) found uncertainties around how much Welsh is being used in community settings, especially within non-traditional Welsh speaking areas. Reflecting upon this, in areas that record much lower percentages of Welsh speakers, legitimacy and acceptance of the minority language may be a key challenge for community providers, due to the limited numbers of speakers and dominance of English (Hodges, 2009; Thomas and Roberts, 2011).

Both Thomas, Apolloni *et al.* (2014) and Hodges (2009) found that self-perceptions of speaker dominance and language ability effects an individual or group's decision of their language preference. It is important to consider that Welsh speakers are not always in a situation where they are able to sustain a conversation in the minority language, due to the availability of confident and able speakers (Thomas, Apolloni *et al.*, 2014). Löffler (1997) suggested that hearing Welsh socially would influence its acceptance as a natural medium of communication in the view of speakers, as well as fostering positive attitudes towards the confidence of learners. McPake, McLeod, O'Hanlon, Fassetta, and Wilson (2017) suggest that educational provision alone cannot successfully revitalise a language which is endangered, therefore, community settings might provide an avenue for increasing language use. According to Safel, Harvey, Lévesque and Donnelly (2007) language is a key element of community membership. Despite this, there is limited academic research into the application of minority languages within different contexts (Nikolov and Djigunovic, 2006), especially concerning community sport.

During the course of undertaking this PhD, there had been some developments in increasing the use of Welsh within Sport. A publicly funded resource, aimed at increasing the use of

Welsh within sport is *Amdani*, had been developed by the WLC's office to help the promotion of incidental Welsh within sports clubs (WLC, 2018). During the outset of this PhD (2014/15), *Amdani* was in its planning stages and was predominantly concerned with developing flip cards, which noted basic sporting terminology in both Welsh and English for coaches to use. These flip cards are specifically targeted at club coaches who undertake a current coaching qualification and who are coaching in a community sport context. This resource provides a platform for coaches to learn basic Welsh if they wish to do so off their own back and provides an insight into how Welsh could be included when in a supportive environment. More recently, during March 2018, the WLC's office went on to launch an online module, which is connected with Sport Wales's club solution initiative (Sport Wales, 2018a).

International Perspectives of Minority Cultures and Languages in Youth Sport

Sport has been previously identified as a means of integrating minorities into a majority culture and to attain social capital (Allen *et al.*, 2010). International experiences of bridging sport and minority language and cultures provide important understandings of the way in which it has been used in different contexts. Dallaire and Harvey (2016) have noted that although sport has been viewed as a tool for promotion of national and minority identity, there are less frequent accounts of how it can be bound with language politics and collective expressions for community belonging. Dallaire (2003b) identifies that the effect of sport on the production of minority languages is context dependent. For small states and nations, such as Wales, sport provides an avenue for recognition and self-esteem (Johnes, 2005; Holden, 2011). Along with the National Eisteddfod, the Welsh language and national pride, sport has contributed to the notion of a single Welsh identity (Holden, 2011). As such, the links between sport and nationalism have been a curious area for academics of sport policy (Holden, 2011).

Dallaire's work on Francophone identities in Canada is an important insight into how youth sport events have been used to safeguard and celebrate the French language and culture. French and English are Canada's two official languages. The French language in Canada remains 'vulnerable' since the creation of the federal state in 1867 (Dallaire and Harvey, 2016: 162). Dallaire (2003b) found that sport played a role in the production and re-production of francophone identity and provided a place for young French speakers to have fun through the

language. The Jeux de la Francophonie Canadienne event is successful in recruiting participants and promoting French language use (Dallaire and Harvey, 2016). However, Dallaire and Harvey (2016) report that human and financial resources limit the presence of French fluency at the games. Although the preference of organisers and participants is for the games to be officiated in French, the limited availability of accredited French-speaking referees in the host provinces limits the ability to do so. In Wales, similar events have been developed through the Urdd, namely Gemau Cymru, which also promotes use of the Welsh language through a sporting event. Dallaire (2003b) found that the contribution of sport to the promotion of minority identities is related to the level of sporting expertise and resources within the community.

For the WG's target of a million Welsh speakers to be reached and maintained, the insight into the applied linguistic practice of the heritage language within the country is important for understanding situational influencers, to inform future policies, strategies and interventions. Hassan (2016), who suggests that strategies that are concerned with the multi-faceted nature of cross-community sport is often elucidated, highlights the importance of understanding this. Sport plays a key role in community cohesion and identity (Holden, 2011), however its implications are that it is shaped and affected by external factors, such as other organisational goals and political influences (Kay, 2009). Furthermore, Lindsey (2008) identified that challenges related to sustainable sports development also include weak infrastructure of voluntary sport clubs as well as limited availability of volunteers. Bairner, Kelly and Lee (2016) state that the relationship between sport and policy has been rather overlooked by those who engage with the study of politics. Lindsey (2008) states that understanding whether and how sports development programmes can contribute to sustainable change is critical to developing and improving policy and practice.

Sport Policy

Thomas Dye (1972) offers the most simple and short definition of policy. He states that it is 'anything a government chooses to do or not to do' (Dye, 1972: 2). The government (national and local) is the primary agent of formal policy making and Dye believes that it has the choice

of whether to take action in relation to specific problems. Dye's definition, however, lacks clarity in terms of how governments arrive at their decisions or how they are implemented. Cairney (2012) states that the policy process is messy and complex but can be traditionally studied and managed in two ways. The first is to view it as a cycle and break it into a series of stages, including "agenda setting, formulation, legitimisation, implementation and evaluation" (Cairney, 2012: 4). The second is to consider policy making as ideal, in which the policy maker has the ability to produce, research and introduce their policy perspectives. These are considered by Cairney (2012) as ways to organise policy study but importantly recognising that the reality of policy implementation is far more difficult in practice.

Public policy for sport at the local level has been driven by local authority sport development/recreation departments since the early 1980s (King, 2009). According to Van Meter and Van Horn (1975), perceptions of implementers are influenced by three 'elements', 'their cognition of policy, the direction (acceptance, neutrality, rejection), and the intensity of their response to it (May, Harris and Collins, 2012). The six variables which are noted as conducive towards the policy outcome are, the initial policy objectives and allocation of resources, inter-organisational communications, the characteristic of implementing agencies, current economic and political conditions and disposition of implementing agents (Van Meter and Van Horn, 1975; May *et al.*, 2012).

Sport is considered to be a complex and multi-layered social phenomenon which has been criticised for being 'fragmented and lacking cohesion in policy' (Bell, 2009: 69). National UK sport policy reflects a top-down process (Kay, 1996; May, Harris and Collins, 2012) which is characterised by government intervention, beliefs, administrative contexts and experiences (Houlihan, 2000). The government can directly influence sport through legislation, policy guidelines, powers, taxation, or policies, as sport is recognised to have the potential to contribute to a number of social outcomes (Bell, 2009). Government-led agendas frame sport policy which is typically delivered from government to the end user (Grix and Philpotts, 2011). However, criticisms have been made of top down policy as it ignores the potential for service deliverers to influence policy decisions for the greater needs of their community, sport or society (Garrett, 2004; Grix and Philpotts, 2011; May *et al.*, 2012). Additionally, Brownson, Chriqui and Stamatakis (2009) identified that a top-down policy process would not only ignore

service providers but also researchers and academics who are able to provide the evidence-based understanding, to influence policy.

Grix and Harris (2016) found that the top-down policy process led to a narrow coalition, which are made up primarily of government departments and National Governing Bodies [NGBs]. Authority of these organisations across policy sub-systems were also considered a challenge (Grix and Harris, 2016). The hierarchical nature of sport policy has resulted in a centralised approach rather than allowing power to be shifted to the local level (Grix and Harris, 2016). These criticisms are considered by many (Lipsky, 1980; Hjern and Porter, 1981; Hjern and Hull, 1982; May *et al.*, 2012) to have led to the identification of bottom-up approaches whereby policy formulation is undertaken in consultation with service deliverers. This is emphasised further by Bolton, Martin, Grace and Harris (2018), who suggest that the generation of rigorous evidence to inform policies remains neglected in sport policy and research.

Houlihan (2016) suggests that the sport policy process should be seen as a continuum. At one end is a clear profile of issues that are of interest to public and policy-makers, which is institutionalised in policy history (Houlihan, 2016). At the other end of the spectrum is the subsectors within sport, which have struggled for recognition, however, contain influential social actors, interest groups or public agency. Figure 1 demonstrates an illustration of the sport policy process in Wales (adapted from Grix and Harris, 2016).

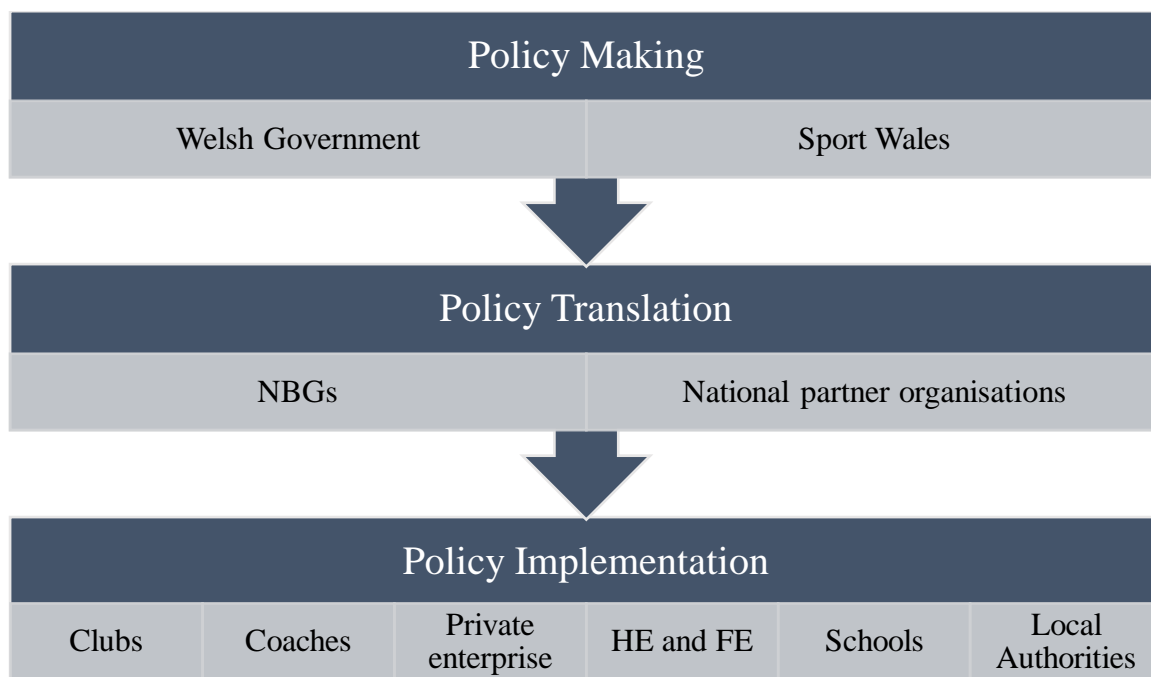


Figure 1. *Community Sport Policy in Wales (adapted from Grix and Harris's, (2016) community sport policy in England model: 7).*

Hjern (1982) suggested that effective policy implementation depends on the interaction of several organisations, most importantly those at the front-line (May *et al.*, 2012). Lindsey *et al.* (2017) and Nicholls, Giles and Sethna (2011) advocate the importance of understanding the perspectives of grassroots and community sport practices. The bottom-up approach reflects a process whereby front-line deliverers are involved in policy planning. Assumptions of the success and failure of this approach concerns the commitment, willingness and ability of grass roots organisations, and community implementers (Bolton, Fleming and Elias, 2008; May *et al.*, 2012). In their study of community sport development, Bolton *et al.* (2008) found that local communities were more likely to see effective outcomes of policy if they are included in decisions from the outset. Practitioners saw the significance of community development within their projects, along with the importance of empowering individuals, and it was suggested that communities should develop the opportunities so that they become sustainable (Bolton *et al.*, 2008). Mackintosh (2011) also found that for national and regional policy to be implemented successfully, effective communication and sustainable relationships should be developed. Recommendations from Mackintosh's (2011) study suggests a need for experiences and insights to be shared to inform policy and practice. Homma and Masumoto (2013) propose a

conceptual diagram that illustrates sport policy as an essential trait, which bridges the social system, people and organisation's behaviours and attitudes. Figure 2 illustrates their model.

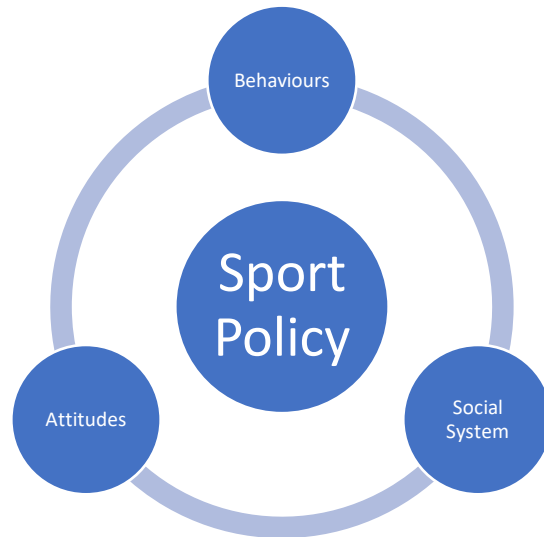


Figure 2. *Sport Policy Culture Model (adapted from Homma and Masumoto, 2013).*

The factors associated with the culture of an organisation or group of people, should be considered during the development of sport policies according to Homma and Masumoto (2013). This emphasises the importance of addressing top-down and bottom up processes simultaneously, and the importance of including key community members in the decision processes. From a young person's perspective, Bruening, Dover and Clark (2009) suggests that young people become more engaged and benefit from being included as decision makers, thus emphasising the importance of collaborative policy planning. A young person's involvement in decision-making is considered to improve services, or to make the necessary demands for services to improve and address community needs (Sapin, 2013). By allowing young people to voice their options and to make innovative decisions for community sport, as suggested by Sapin (2013), there would be a likelihood that young people would be active agents in the design and delivery of attractive and engaging sporting communities (Rainer, Griffiths, Cropley and Jarvis, 2015). Further, there is an increase in the interest of involving children and young people within research, which is recognised by the children's rights and the reconceptualization that children are active agents rather than objects of research (Kirk, 2007).

Governance

Governance can be defined in many ways, however there are considered to be close links with public policy implementation (Le Galès, 2011). Rhodes (1997) refers to governance as self-organising, inter-organisational networks, which is characterised by interdependence, exchange of resources and self-sufficiency. The governance debate is considered to be one of the most influential recent changes in British politics and policy in the public administration and political science fields (Grix, 2010). It refers to the change from government to governance in the UK which has led to the erosion of central power, thus decreasing the state's ability to determine and deliver policy from Westminster (Bevir and Rhodes, 2006). The shift to network governance in the UK reflects the then New Labour's modernisation programme with the aim of making public services more efficient and effective in delivering high quality standards (Sanderson, 2002; Grix and Phillpots, 2011). Power diffusion evolved into a side-ways delivery, rather than top-down, which allowed governance to run through a series of networks where a wide variety of interests are represented (Grix, 2010; Grix and Phillpots, 2011).

Unlike the 'Westminster-model' which represents central control over policy design and outcomes, the emergence of network governance led to public and private agents interacting to create a move towards a more co-operative policy making process (Bevir and Rhodes, 2006; Grix, 2010). Bevir and Rhodes (2006) suggests that a decentred approach to governance will entail a more bottom-up governance process. Supporters of this approach argue that it produces a more realistic mode of operation for service deliverers, since their decisions and routines of coping with policy delivery essentially become the policy delivered (Lipsky, 1980; May *et al.*, 2012). Grix (2010) contended that there is a paradox between surface observation and that there is a shift from an interventionist 'government' to an autonomous governance through networks and partnerships. However, a dependence on network and partnership governance has attracted criticism (Börzel, 1998; Branz, 1997; Rhodes, 1996; van Bortel and Mullins, 2009) in that it has led to a hollowing out of the democratic role that government has held and a shift towards public managerialism. This in turn has led to further criticisms in terms of the erosion of democratic institutions and the lack of public accountability for decisions.

Grix (2010) suggests that the governance narrative is becoming the new orthodoxy in political science and is presented as a key approach in understanding development in policy. Governance was a word hardly used amongst sport organisations until the early 1990s, as this marked the time where funding organisations were concerned about the use of public funds, resulting in them paying greater attention to governance aspects of organisations (Palmer, 2011). Good governance is widely used among many sport organisations and if adopted should lead to efficient, effective and ethical sport management (Palmer, 2011). Although UK Sport is the agency responsible for high-performance sport, it also focuses on governance improvements among NGBs (Hoye, Nicholson and Houlihan, 2010). A *Charter for Sports Governance* and a *Code for Sports Governance* in the UK were published in 2016 by UK Sport and Sport England with a call for UK sport bodies and organisations that wish to receive public funding from 2017, to adhere to key principles and standards (UK Sport and Sport England, 2016a, 2016b). There is a clear message of expectations for exceptional leadership, organisations working transparently, and integrity within the charter (UK Sport and Sport England, 2016a, 2016b). In Wales, the sport and recreation sector in Wales developed the *Governance and Leadership Framework for Wales* (Sport Wales and Sport and Recreation Sector in Wales, 2015), which is a modified version of the Sport and Recreation Alliance's *Voluntary Code of Good Governance* (2011).

Despite guidance and compliance calls, the move towards good governance is met with barriers, especially among voluntary sport organisations [VSO] (Palmer, 2011). Some of these barriers include; traditional and outdated governance and management practices; resistance to change; tensions between paid and voluntary staff; an inability to control and manage risks; unclear definitions of roles; high expectations from stakeholders; and lack of knowledge or understanding of governance and management roles and responsibly (Palmer, 2011: 35). A VSO's effectiveness is considered to be best improved by applying governance principles which best fits the culture, power and political systems of the organisation (Palmer, 2011). With the ever-changing and complex sport development environment (Houlihan, 2011), the management of change within organisations is a constant factor affecting the management of VSOs (Robinson, 2011a). It is suggested that organisations need to build and develop a governance structure which suits the organisation's development stage, and the lifecycle is considered to be characterised by a change in emphasis from operational actions to governing as the organisation reaches maturity (Mowbray, 2012). Not only this, but an organisation is

also expected to manage change based upon external sources, such as policy, advances in policy interventions, social and economic climates, which may impact on the everyday activities of the organisation (McGraw, Taylor and Lock, 2012).

Le Galès (2011) suggests that policy interventions are central to understanding and conceptualising the changing forms of governance. It is also suggested that a focus on governance dimensions within public policy can further demonstrate and interpret changing forms of governance (Lascoumes and Le Galès, 2007; Le Galès, 2011). Policy interventions are suggested to be defined as ‘neutral means to policy ends’ (Tak, Sam and Jackson, 2018: 34). As suggested by Lascoumes and Le Galès (2007) and Tak *et al.* (2018), policy interventions are politically constructed, and their implementation produces political outcomes. Nevertheless, the notion of governance respects that policy making is not a linear process as interventions create unintended consequences, implementation gaps and ‘policy mess’ (Rhodes, 1997: 4).

Organisational change is considered to be inevitable and ever-present as a result of changing external circumstances or internal adaptation and innovation (McGraw *et al.*, 2012). A changing environment is one of the continual factors which effects the management of VSOs, and with regards to clubs, it is suggested that they have dealt with increasing demands associated with legislation (Robinson, 2011a). In order for change to be successful, it is crucial that the organisation’s culture is developed with those within it feeling fully informed of the decision-making process, so decisions are not surprising (Robinson, 2011a; McGraw *et al.*, 2012). For the creation of a supporting culture whereby the beliefs, values and norms of a group of people is shared, good leadership is required (Robinson, 2011a; Northouse, 2012). Resistance to change is commonly reported by organisations which are presented with the need to change, and some of the reasons which resistance occurs is due to differences, competence, ripple effects, workloads, resentment and real threats (Robinson, 2011a). With regard to VSOs, in order for them to operate effectively, there must be an understanding of the internal and external environment which affect the organisation, and which may lead to change (Robinson, 2011b). Some of which include stakeholders (e.g. members, parents, schools, NBG, sponsors, volunteers, board members, public), government, and political, economic, social, technological, legal and environmental factors (Robinson, 2011b). The DCMS (2000) stated

that there was a need for a more systematic and structured development of sports clubs, and this led to the development of Clubmark. Clubmark is built around a core criterion which sets out the acceptable minimum operating standards which a club should follow in order to drive up their quality (Robinson, 2011c; Hoye, Smith, Nicholson, Stewart and Westerbeek, 2012).

The global financial crisis resulted in funding to sport decreasing due to governments restraining to spend, due to increasing costs in services and thinning resources (Roberts, 2017). Historically, central government has played a key part in the UK sporting landscape, influencing policy, funding, delivery, and target settings (Trimble, Buraimo, Godfrey, Grecic and Minten, 2010). This was particularly evident through the election of David Cameron's Coalition government in 2010, which marked the era of spending cuts and austerity. These provoked questions over whether advances secured for sport in the New Labour era were sustainable (Jefferys, 2012). Nevertheless, Cameron believed that hosting the Olympics would secure a range of beliefs on the impact of sport, embracing trade, regeneration and national well-being (Jefferys, 2012). Cameron protected sport funding for medals at the 2012 Olympics, therefore protecting budgets until 2016. Power diffusion evolved into a side-ways delivery rather than top-down, which directed governance to run through a series of networks where a wide variety of interests are represented (Grix, 2010; Grix and Philpotts, 2011). Bevir and Rhodes (2006) suggests that a decentred approach to governance would entail a bottom-up governance process. This approach is now becoming the key method to governance and policy, yet it is questioned on its ability to acquit to the paradox of British public policy (Grix and Philpotts, 2011).

Sport Development

For the purpose of this research, sport development is defined as the processes, practices and policies, which lead to opportunities for the development of participation, culture and promoting wider benefits of sport (Collins, 1995; Bolton *et al.*, 2008; Mackintosh, 2011). Sport development dictates that someone or something is developed (Hylton and Totten, 2013). Community sport encompasses a network of individuals who are invested (financially or voluntary) in community sport organisations (Doherty and Misener, 2008). Community sport development is a form of practice, which expresses philosophy and spirit (Hylton and Totten,

2013). Community is considered to imply a notion of identity and a sense of belonging and is self-determined by its members (Hylton and Totten, 2013). Community sport development is not solely concerned with the development of sport, but how sport may contribute to the development of a community. Community sport organisations are often linked to the idea of facilitating a wide range of social and political benefits (Long and Sanderson, 2003; Hoye, Nicholson and Brown, 2015).

Policy makers have considered sport to be a ‘social glue’ which brings communities together (Hoye *et al.*, 2015), and this is evidenced in the white paper on sport by the European Union’s Commission, where sport is argued to be a social institution with a wider range of social benefits (Commission on the European Communities, 2007). In the white paper, it states that sport generates important values such as team spirit, solidarity, tolerance and fair play, but also promotes young people’s engagement and involvement in society, which in turn promotes active citizenship (Commission on the European Communities, 2007). Due to the belief of sport’s wider role in promoting social development, there is a growing body of international research within the sport-for-development sector (Coalter and Taylor, 2010; Schulenkorf, Sherry and Rowe, 2016; Jones, Edwards, Bocarro, Bunds and Smith, 2017). Despite claims that sport-for-development is a ‘new field’ (Kay, 2009: 1177), Coalter (2013) argues that it is certainly not new. A key rationale for Coalter’s (2013:18) argument is that public support and funding has ‘always been based on some vague and ill-defined notion of development’.

Social capital is a benefit of social networks, social trust and reciprocity, which is produced through groups working together (Doherty and Misener, 2008). Adams, Harris and Lindsey (2017) found that peer to peer relationships characterised by trust are vital in enabling social capital. Key roles within community sport, such as coaches, volunteers, local facility providers, are fundamental to delivering community sport successfully (Doherty and Misener, 2008). Perks (2007) found that youth sport participation has a positive association with future adult community involvement due to early fostering of social capital. Perks (2007) also emphasised that regardless of when the youth experience took place, involvement lasts well into adulthood due to the positive contribution to organised youth sport. However, there are difficulties related to building social capital through sport, namely due to differences in types of sport and sport club cultures (Okayasu, Kawahara and Nogawa, 2010).

Community Sport Clubs

VSOs are the independent face of community sport development scaling from small and local to large national and international organisations (Hylton and Totten, 2013). A Community Sport Club [CSC] is defined by Spaaij, Magee, Farquharson, Gorman, Jeanes, Lusher and Storr (2016) as a local voluntary organisation whose main purpose is to provide opportunities to participate in sport. Small voluntary run sports clubs are a crucial part of the UK sport infrastructure and are traditionally independent and developed in parallel with commercial sport and community sport opportunities provided by central government (Nichols, 2013). Challenges that the voluntary sector faces include attracting, managing and retaining volunteers; attracting and retaining members; reacting to pressures of policy priorities and legislation (Hoye *et al.*, 2012; Kim and Bang, 2012; Nichols, 2013). It is suggested that there has been an increase in worldwide government interest in voluntary organised, not for profit, and membership-based sports clubs (Skille, 2008; Green, 2009; Coalter, 2010; Kang, Kim and Wang, 2015; Fahlén, 2017).

VSOs have distinctive characteristics, such as dependency on voluntary labour force, and they do not seek to profit from selling their goods or services (Wilson and Butler, 1986; Chelladurai, 1999; Green and Jones, 2005; Robinson, 2011a). VSOs may, however, set up profit-seeking subsidiary trading companies with the purpose of funding the organisation (Wilson and Butler, 1986; Robinson, 2011a). The success of VSOs is reliant on the coordinated efforts of individuals and often rely on volunteer labour when providing services (Gray and James, 2011; Kim and Bang, 2012). Within a youth sport setting, it is important to recruit and select qualified volunteers, however the extent to which this is possible is questionable due to recruitment and retention challenges (Kim and Bang, 2012). This becomes an even greater challenge due to the increase in participation within youth sport (Kim and Bang, 2012), therefore organisations must capitalise on the social benefits for volunteer involvement (Chelladurai, 1999). Stable volunteer engagement is crucial within voluntary sports organisations and clubs due to the informal organisation of tasks and loss of knowledge when people leave (Schlesinger and Nagel, 2018).

Sport and voluntary organisations are widely used for implementation of government-initiative policies and programmes, due to the identification of the importance of voluntary organisations as a resource for solving social problems (Skille, 2009; Collins, 2010; Adams, 2011b; May *et al.*, 2012; Nichols, Padmore, Taylor and Barrett, 2012). People are the main resource of any organisation therefore managing expectations and feelings through involving the workforce who are affected by organisational or sector changes is important (Mullins, 2010; Robinson, 2011c). There is limited research into local level sports organisational change (Borgers, Pilgaard, Vanreusel and Scheerder, 2018). This is considered to be worrying as local level sport organisations and providers are considered to be the key drivers of sports participation within the community (Borgers *et al.*, 2018), and contribute to the fulfilment of policy objectives and targets.

According to Chelladurai (1999) people volunteer for a number of reasons, some are utilitarian reasons (enhancement of human capital, knowledge, skills), affective reasons (friendship, status), and normative reasons (the need to do something good). With regards to voluntary sports clubs, it is suggested that bonding social capital (Putnam, 2000) is evident due to aspects of mutual self-help and like-minded individuals coming together to produce and consume a common sport interest (Coalter, 2013). The nature of sport helps to produce and reproduce social capital and that the sense of ownership of sport clubs can contribute to social capital within the community (Jarvie, 2006). Due to the heavy emphasis on volunteering to provide sporting activities and opportunities to participate, the policy debate regarding sports development has been dominated by the democratic strain of social capital (Adams, 2011a). Despite these links, Coalter, Allison and Taylor (2000) suggest that sport cannot address social issues on its own and stresses the importance of education and personal development programs. Previous research has examined participation in sport among young people in Wales (Bell, 2004). Bell's (2004) work found that if voluntary coaches were given sufficient opportunity and support over long periods, they can be encouraged to remain within youth sport, and some would consider coaching as an alternative career. Furthermore, she found that the recognition of the pressures facing coaches working in challenging environments should be considered when developing and emphasising professional development (Bell, 2004).

The WLC understands that volunteering is at the heart of the third sector, and volunteer contributions enable organisations to provide services throughout Wales (Prys *et al.*, 2014). Research conducted by the WLC's team found that comprehensive bilingual provision is more likely to be offered within traditionally Welsh speaking communities (Prys *et al.*, 2014). However, little has been done to attempt to increase and understand community bilingual provision within non-traditional Welsh speaking areas specifically. Relevant to awareness of minority language speakers and the dominance of the English language, Prys *et al.* (2014) found that volunteers are not always aware of the language of the service users, therefore opportunities to satisfy needs of Welsh speaking users were sometimes lost. Some organisations were seen to be proactive in targeting Welsh speaking volunteers, however it has been found that for organisations the challenge was attracting Welsh speakers (Prys *et al.*, 2014). Prys *et al.* (2014) found that there was little awareness that Welsh is a specific skill relevant to volunteering.

In their study of Japanese community sport clubs, Okayasu *et al.* (2010) found that the type and location of sport club affects the ability to bridge social capital and inclusivity. They found that comprehensive community sport clubs (designed to provide various sports and programmes that include cultural activities to the neighbourhood) gave a greater ability to bridge social capital, compared with the more traditional clubs (defined as a small sport and physical activity group for community residents). Community clubs were also found to have a greater ability to foster inclusivity, trust, network and reciprocity (Okayasu *et al.*, 2010). Policy orientated groups have continued to support the notion that sport participation positively contributes to community life (Perks, 2007). Lindsey and Chapman (2017) suggest that community-based volunteering and participation in sport enables the engagement of marginalised groups and allows for shared identities and social ties to be developed. Mata and Pendakur (2011) presented the five dimensions of social capital: institutional trust; organisational membership; linguistic homogeneity of networks; individual trust, and belonging, as critical elements for understanding social capital. Without these five dimensions, social capital is abridged according to Mata and Pendakur (2011), which for native or foreign minority language speakers could be of particular concern if the dominant language is one which they lack capability or confidence. This is relevant, therefore, to the notions of social inclusion and exclusion, due to linguistic capital lying at the heart of social relations (Fang, 2011).

Lareau and Horvat (1999) state that to understand the character of social inclusion and exclusion, one needs to look at the context in which the capital is situated, the efforts by individuals to activate their capital, the skill with which individuals activate their capital, and the institutional response to the activation. These factors working together, can produce moments of reproduction or moments of contestation, challenge and social change (Lareau and Horvat, 1999). Much of the recent research around inclusion and exclusion in sport focuses on disabilities (Spencer-Cavaliere, Thai and Kingsley, 2017), refugees and immigrants (Block and Gibbs, 2017; Dukic, McDonald and Spaaij, 2017; Nakamura and Donnelly, 2017), disadvantaged young people (Haudenhuyse, Theeboom and Skille, 2014; Nols, Haudenhuyse and Theeboom, 2017; Schaillée, Theeboom and Van Cauwenberg, 2017), and poverty (Collins and Haudenhuyse, 2015; Haudenhuyse 2018).

Social inclusion is more than just improving access to economic resources (United Nations, 2016). The United Nations (2016: 17) defines social inclusion as “the process of improving the terms of participation in society, particularly for people who are disadvantaged, through enhancing opportunities, access to resources, voice and respect for rights”. Donnelly and Coakley (2002: 2) define social inclusion as the ‘social process through which skills, talents, and capabilities of children are development and enhanced so that all are given the opportunity to fully participate in the social and economic mainstream’. According to Coakley (2002: 25) the following cultural and structural characteristics should be found in recreation programmes to contribute to positive participant development: a) physically safe, b) personally valued, c) socially connected, d) morally and economically supported, e) personally and politically empowered, and f) hopeful about the future. Related to the cultural characteristics identified by Coakley (2002), for positive social inclusion, linguistic capital and capability is central to understanding whether programmes are contributing to positive participant development. This is due to language within a social context turning into capital and power (Aliakbari and Khosravian, 2014).

Sport participation has the potential to contribute to the process of inclusion through bringing individuals from a variety of social and economic backgrounds together, offering a sense of

belonging, providing opportunities to value capabilities and competencies, and to increase community capital (Bailey, 2005). Social inclusion became a key policy concern due to the belief that sport, and recreation activity could contribute to neighbourhood renewal (Collins, 2014; King, 2009). When Blair's New Labour government came into power in 1997 there were notable shifts towards emphasising the wider benefits of sport (Houlihan and White, 2002). Their manifesto for the 1997 election outlined the government's belief that sport should enhance the nation's sense of community, identity and pride. Blair also saw the opportunities for political and social capital that could be gained and saw sport as an under-utilised asset and was placed more centrally on the social policy and inclusion agenda (DCMS, 1999; Coalter, 2007; Houlihan and Green, 2009; Jeffreys, 2012). The Commission on the European Communities (2007) states that sport can facilitate integration into society and promotes a shared sense of belonging and participation, therefore is an important tool that is under-utilised.

Perks (2007) argues that sport can, and does, lead to inequalities and social divisions. Social exclusion is a contested and vague concept, which lacks definition (Haudenhuyse, 2017). Broadly, it encompasses the inability to participate in activities, which are available to many people in society, and being denied resources, rights, services and goods (Levitas, Pantazis, Fahmy, Gordon, Lloyd and Patsios, 2007). According to the WHO (2020) and Levitas *et al.* (2007) social exclusion consists of dynamic, multi-dimensional processes driven by unequal power relationships. Specifically, these interact across four main dimensions- economic, social, political and cultural – all of which are experienced at different levels (i.e. individual, group, community, country, global) (WHO, 2020). Haudenhuyse (2017: 86) states that the concept of social exclusion “focuses on the power dynamics and the ways in which our institutions and policies generate exclusionary practices leading to the marginalisation and discrimination of groups in society”. In particular, the discrimination of groups in society, based on their linguistic preferences and cultural capital, is relevant here. Language is part of a national and personal identity and not merely a neutral medium of communication (Loos, 2000). If a national language were to be no longer recognised, its speakers would be impacted through a loss of both symbolic and linguistic capital (Loos, 2000).

Social exclusion, according to Spaaij, Magee and Jeanes (2014: 22) should be viewed as a continuum and is experienced as degrees rather than an ‘all or nothing’. An example of a

possible minor or preliminary exclusion, as provided by Spaaij *et al.* (2014) is if individuals or groups experience temporary disruptions but remain able to participate in societal domains. However, some may experience a tension called ‘exclusive inclusion’, whereby people with similar experiences come together, such as the example provided by Spaaij *et al.* (2014) concerning people with mental illnesses. In a Welsh language context, an example of this might be that some community sport activities arranged by the Urdd, would yield an exclusive inclusion tension due to it being solely for the minority language speakers. Community sport activities offered by the Urdd are exclusive to those who are able and confident to use the Welsh language. Those who are not confident in speaking Welsh, and therefore would be unable to fully participate, are excluded from the community sport service provided by the Urdd.

Sport participation is also likely to reinforce social stratification and exclusion which is in part linked to the nature of club membership, which can create an environment that feels hostile to ‘outsiders’ (Putnam, 2000; Tonts, 2005; Perks, 2007). Sam and Berry (2006) state that societies are culturally plural, noting that they consist of multiple cultures, languages, and identities. Berry’s (2011) paper, which explored integration and multiculturalism, clearly presented how dominant group power can impact on minority or non-dominant groups. Berry (2011) states that segregation occurs when separation is forced by the dominant group. Marginalisation, according to Berry (2011), is when the dominant group enforces this. Positive attitudes, and identification with acceptance of the values of different groups, is suggested by Berry (2011) to equate to integration.

Youth Sport Development

Young people have been identified as a key target group for the wider benefits connected with sport participation and physical activity (King and Church, 2015). The assumption that ‘sport contributes to development’ (Coakley, 2011: 306) is grounded in a belief that sport fundamentally contributes to positive changes among individuals and groups and this can extend to personal development more generally.

The family is the primary unit of support for the early experiences of children in sport (Kirk, 2005), and are also key actors in *bridging* social capital (Green, 2010). Côté and Hay (2002) examined the role that parents have in a child's youth development process. They found that parent support and encouragement provided the catalyst for entry and continuation in sport. Furthermore, they identified that parental support was directly related to a child's enjoyment and enthusiasm. Parental and family support comes in the form of modelling participation, encouragement, supporting and facilitation (Green, 2016). Power and Woolger (1994) also identified this and demonstrated that a parent's willingness and enthusiasm to attend practices also influences a child's commitment to sport (Monsaas, 1985; Sloboda and Howe, 1991). Wheeler and Green (2012) also found in their study of middle-class parents that they invested early in participation opportunities for their children in order to equip them with beneficial social and cultural capital. Wheeler and Green (2019) found that middle-class parents valued organised activities as an important avenue for social interaction.

Organised youth sport requires time, money and organisational skills, usually derived from parents of participants (Coakley and Pike, 2009). The National Survey for Wales 2018/19 (Sport Wales, 2019), showed that those who are living in houses of material deprivation were less likely to have participated in a sporting activity in the previous four weeks (47%) compared to those who are not (61%). This finding signifies that deprivation and socio-economic status in Wales impacts sport participation. The School Sport Survey further highlights these differences. The proxy measure for socio-economic status of school children in Wales is the eligibility for free school meals (FSM). Schools taking part in the School Sport Survey are placed into FSM quartiles, quartile 1 have low percentages of eligible FSM pupils- therefore considered least deprived, up to quartile 4 which have high percentages- therefore considered most deprived. School Sport Survey (Sport Wales, 2018b) data demonstrates that although there has been an increase in participation of pupils in all quartiles over the past 7 years, the differences between percentages of pupils who participate in extracurricular sport or community sport at least three times per week differs by 12% between FSM quartile 1 (55%) and 4 (42%). Therefore, this indicates that in Wales those from lower socio-economic status homes are less likely to participate than pupils from higher socio-economic backgrounds.

Parental actions and attitudes may influence a child's sampling and specialisation of a sport, through experiences of values and expectations of success (Fraser-Thomas, Côté and Deakin, 2008; Buning, Coble and Kerwin, 2015). Buning *et al.*'s (2015) study into progressive involvements of youth in niche sport, also found that parental influence played a key role in determining the level or progression of a child through the development model. Parents and family play a significant role, not only in influencing and in contributing to a young person's experience in sport, but also as previously identified, on their language choice and behaviours. In addition, the behaviours and actions of coaches influenced the social development of a young person (Fraser-Thomas *et al.*, 2008; Schaillee *et al.*, 2017). Specifically, from their study into the perceived positive youth development of disadvantaged girls, Schaillee *et al.* (2017) found that mastery-orientated coach climates are a strong predictor for positive youth development. Schaillee, Theeboom and Van Cauwenberg (2015) also found that group composition and individual characteristics influence experience and positive youth development in sport.

Physical Education (PE) is an opportunity for all young people to participate in physical activity (Kohl and Cook, 2013). Green (2014) argues that without PE, some young people would not take part in any sport or physical activity at all. In Wales, primary pupils access on average 99 minutes of PE per week, and secondary pupils 95 minutes of PE per week (Sport Wales, 2018b). PE is considered to lead young people to learning about the relationship between physical activity and health, allowing them to make informed decisions later in life (Flintoff, 2013). Bailey (2005) asserted that the outcomes of PE and sport could be understood through the following child development domains: physical, lifestyle, affective, social, and cognitive. It is widely assumed that Physical Education and School Sport (PESS) contributes widely to physical benefits, even though there has been a shift in focus from health-related participation to performance related participation (Bailey, Armour, Kirk, Jess, Pickup, Sandford and BERA Physical Education and Sport Pedagogy Special Interest Group, 2009; Kohl and Cook, 2013), and that through PESS young people can establish and acquire the basic movements needed to take part in physical activities throughout their life. Thus, researchers have endorsed the view that educational approaches are effective in promoting long-term physical activity behaviours (Fairclough, Stratton and Baldwin, 2002; Trost, 2006; Bailey *et al.*, 2009). However, Bernstein, Phillips and Silverman (2011) found that pupils in middle school experience PE differently, depending on their skill level and the activity in question. It highlights potential imbalances in the development of the so-called benefits of PE.

The social benefits of engagement with PESS is linked to developing young people's abilities to positively interact with others, which not only results in positive gains for themselves, but also for the schools and community (Bailey *et al.*, 2009). As reported in the 2018 School Sport Survey, 80% of pupils in Wales are confident in trying new activities with more boys being confident (84%) than girls (76%). The potential that PE and sport may have towards the development of children is significantly impactful, especially towards social inclusion and development of social capital according to Bailey (2005). Couturier, Chepko and Coughlin (2005) found that pupils may choose not to participate in PE due to barriers to participation (such as showering, changing and carrying PE clothes in school). By understanding the place of school sport in young people's lives, it provides a wider and deeper appreciation that sport and physical activity can make to a young person both inside and outside school (Flintoff, 2013). Research suggests that the classroom ethos and atmosphere, as well as the teacher's role is crucial for developing positive young people's experiences of PE (Flintoff, 2013). Bernstein *et al.* (2011) highlights that teachers need to be aware of how the structure of competitive activities in PE impact on student experience.

Despite the links which have been found between physical activity and health, there are further benefits associated with youth sport, which play an important role in the development of young people (World Health Organisation [WHO], 2004; De Pero, Amici, Benvenuti, Minganti, Capranica and Pesce, 2009; Hixson, 2014). Through leisure activities, young people are given the opportunity to develop their own sense of identity through social interactions and that leisure activities equip a young person with skills, which can be transferred and applied to other areas of life (Saggers, Palmers, Royce, Wilson and Charlton, 2004). These processes contribute to developing capital (Zotzmann, 2013). The leisure time of young people is varied and is spent in many ways, whether it be formal organisation (adult-controlled sports) or informal self-directed (player-controlled) activities/sports (Furlong and Cartmel, 2007; Coakley and Pike, 2009). According to the 2018 School Sport Survey, 48% of pupils (years 3-11) in Wales took part in organised sport activity outside the curriculum on three or more occasions per week (compared to 40% in 2013 and 48% in 2015). Coakley and Pike (2009) found that player-controlled sports were primarily associated with action centred or alternative sports, such as extreme sports, skateboarding or BMX. Due to the growth of youth independence, lifestyle or player-controlled sport is becoming more popular according to Green (2016). Coakley and Pike (2009) also suggested that adult-controlled sports are rule

centred, whereby there is an emphasis on learning and following rules while playing sport. Although contrasting, both types of youth sports have implications on what children learn, and how they integrate sport into their lives (Baker and Côté, 2006).

Specifically, with regards to the development of young people through sport, the traditional sport development continuum, implies that people progress from being recreation participations, to elite performers if they wish to do so and if they have the talent and resources (Houlihan, 2000; Kirk and Gorely, 2000; Hylton and Bramham, 2008; Hylton, 2013). Other models, such as the house of sport (Cooke, 1996) demonstrate the non-linear participation pathway and presents how those involved with sport progress and digress, and thus is argued to better reflect the pathways through sport. There are two pathways that are identified in these concepts; a) progression through foundation, participation, performance and elite levels, and b) exit from the system (MacPhail, Lyons, Quinn, Hughes and Keane, 2010). Sport development is articulated as these models or frameworks to build pathways between elite sport performance and mass sport participation (Hylton and Bramham, 2008). Sport is considered to have a positive effect on the development of an individual, community or society (Coakley, 2011). However, these positive effects were not based on the need for social justice, but in terms of socialisation and experiences (Coakley, 2002, 2011). The development of opportunities is often defined in terms of extending opportunities for the ‘privileged youth’ or compensating for what was missing in the lives of the ‘disadvantaged youth’ (Coakley, 2002, 2011). In contrast, Côté and Hay (2002) proposed the model of (young) people’s socialisation into sport. This development model for sport participation (DMSP) implies a progression from a ‘sampling phase (6-12years)’ to ‘specialising years (13-15 years)’ and then to the ‘investment/recreation phase (16+ years)’ and acknowledges that young people can choose to move to recreation basis or to drop out (Côté and Hay, 2002).

According to Côté and Hancock (2014) youth sport involvement can lead to three outcomes: performance, participation, and personal development. These three outcomes are considered to be central to youth sport systems that are aimed at providing a quality experience for participants (Côté and Hancock, 2014). Models that focus on participation are underpinned by fundamentals thereby encouraging multi-skill and multi-sport experiences from a young age (MacPhail *et al.*, 2010). Unlike participation-orientated models, are the performance-

orientated models such as Long-Term Athlete Development (LTAD) that provide specific sport pathways that athletes/players progress through (MacPhail *et al.*, 2010). Kristiansen and Houlihan (2015) suggest that attempting to identify potential talent at younger ages is a consequence of competition for young talent among sports and the dominance of talent theories and models (such as the LTAD model). Côté and Hancock (2014) suggest that many see youth sport as the initial step in talent development programmes and are aimed at developing elite athletes. Mindful of this, the challenge for policy makers and youth sport administrators is to meet the multiple needs of young people, and which serve the three outcomes of youth sport (Côté and Hancock, 2014).

Essentially, it is important that young people have positive rather than negative experiences of sport to support long-term participation (Côté and Hancock, 2014). Sport participation is important for the creation of identity, habitus and social capital (Bourdieu, 1978). Sport can bring about a shared sense of belonging (Bourdieu, 1978) however those who have lower social capital are less likely to participate in sport as an adult (Swain, 2002). There is evidence that shows some young people are increasingly less physically active and more engaged in sedentary activities (Berger, O'Reilly, Parent, Sequin and Hernandez, 2008). This change in lifestyle may therefore have a significant impact on sport participation levels and on their future health and wellbeing. Young people have little control over the context in which they choose to play sport (Coakley and Pike, 2009). There are many factors that influence their choices, some of which include: the social and cultural contexts which they live, parents and peers, and their socio-economic background (Coakley and Pike, 2009; Quarmby and Dagkas, 2012).

Language could also be a cultural influence on the choices for participation in community and sport. Although the Urdd offer a number of opportunities for sporting engagement through the medium of Welsh, they are constrained by financial impediments and availability of Welsh speakers. Despite the 2018 School Sport Survey reporting that Fluent Welsh speakers are more likely to participate three or more times per week (56.8%) compared with young people who do not speak Welsh (38.3%), the survey does not tell us anything about the relationship between the Welsh language and sport's provision. Furthermore, it fails to appreciate whether young people and their families value Welsh over sport, or sport over Welsh. This raises the question

of whether they are focusing on participation through the medium of Welsh or performance through the medium of English.

Welsh Sport and the Future Generation Policy

Ambitious targets were set out in the 20-year WAG strategy, *Climbing Higher*, which was to get at least 90% of secondary school aged children to participate in sport and physical activity for 60 minutes, five times a week (WAG, 2005). To help meet targets set in *Climbing Higher* (2005), the Free-Swimming Initiative was introduced across local authorities in Wales and provided free swimming to young people under the age of 16, and to older people over the age of 60. Additionally, the 5x60 initiative was rolled out across schools in Wales to help create an environment for children to take part in extra-curricular sport and physical activity (Sport Wales, 2017). With several barriers and challenges facing children actively engaging in physical activity, schools are considered important providers of a physical, social and normative environment to positively influence physical activity behaviours (Rainer *et al.*, 2015). The 5x60 initiative addressed the shortfall in opportunities for extra-curricular sport in secondary schools, as Dragon Sport was launched in the new millennium as a programme for 7-11-year olds (Sport Council for Wales [SCW], 2009). Through the WAG's *Climbing Higher* strategy (2005) it was proposed that secondary school children should achieve 60 minutes of physical activity a day, five times a week. The aim of the initiative was to increase the number of children who take part in extra-curricular sport and physical activity on a regular basis (SCW, 2009). Rainer *et al.* (2015) who found that financial implications were identified as a key challenge for the 5x60 initiative and restricted the ability of local officers to offer innovative activities that are appealing to young people. Although the programme can be an advocate of empowering the young people to voice their opinions, Rainer *et al.* (2015) found that often officers would not follow up these wishes and it was suggested that this was due to the constant push to hit targets. This emphasises Tak *et al.*'s (2018: 34) suggestion that policy instruments/interventions are a 'neutral means to policy ends'.

Health policy was, and still is particularly important to the WG (Bolton and Martin, 2012). *Climbing Higher* highlights some key benefits to encouraging targets and mass participation that include health, economy, the environment, lifelong learning, creating an inclusive Wales, and setting Wales on a world stage (WAG, 2005). Responding to the challenges posed by the

WAG, the then Sport Council for Wales launched a framework for sport and physical activity in 2005. This framework served as a repositioning tool for the sport council to be seen as a developing agency that sought to achieve outcomes in line with government policy, rather than predominantly being seen as a funding distributor. It could be suggested that these tensions emerged due to the increasing expectations of sport, and as a result of the Welsh 'Free-Swimming Initiative', the framework was used to highlight areas which funding could be used elsewhere to make a difference (Bolton and Martin, 2012).

The WAG's strategic plan, *Creating an Active Wales* (2009) is central to the 'One Wales' ambition for a healthy future for all Welsh People. Two targets were set which focused on the population doing 'one day more' of physical activity (WAG, 2009). For adults, the target was to shift the average point of activity from 2.4 to 3.4 days per week, and for children from 3.9 to 4.9 days per week by 2020 (WAG, 2009). *A Vision for Sport in Wales* (Sport Wales, 2010) serves as the current Sport Wales strategy document for sport in Wales. It came due to both the WAG's *Creating an Active Wales* (2009) and a shift in culture and change in strategic direction (Sport Wales, 2010). Aspirations set by Sport Wales (2010: 9) is to create a nation of champions and to pursue that 'Every Child Is Hooked on Sport for Life'. Alongside their Vision for sport, Sport Wales published strategies for the community, school and elite environments. Their aspiration to get 'Every Child Hooked on Sport for Life' reflects those targets set by WAG for increasing participation levels by 2020 (WAG, 2009). Sport Wales suggests that children are hooked on sport for life if they take part in physical activity three times per week (Sport Wales, 2010). According to the most recent School Sport Survey (Sport Wales, 2018b), 48% of young people are 'hooked' on sport and participating at least three times per week. To date, although Wales has focused on physical activity within several national and organisational policies, there is no evidence that this has led to an increase in physical activity over the past 10 years (Stratton, Cox, Mannello, Mattingley, Robert, Sage, Taylor, Williams and Tyler, 2016). Stratton *et al.* (2016) assessed the state of the nation concerning sedentary and physical activity behaviour, focusing on tracking trends, informing policy, services and professional practice. However, they did not consider how the Welsh language and opportunities available to its speakers might influence the physical activity behaviours of young people.

The most recent *Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015* (Future Generations Commissioner for Wales, 2015), focuses on the improvement of Wales's social, cultural,

environmental and economic well-being through public bodies. As the legislation is concerned directly with public bodies, it may be questionable whether these goals are also considered and worked towards by voluntary community sports clubs, whereby 72.5% of young people in Wales reportedly participate in sport (Sport Wales, 2018b). It could be argued, however, that the legislation could indirectly impact on the activities of voluntary community sport clubs through facilities, funding and local authority engagement. However, there is no guarantee that all voluntary sport clubs would work towards the acts, despite playing an important role in the wellbeing of the community.

Summary

This review has identified a number of challenges about promoting minority languages in practice. First, linguistic capital significantly influences whether minority languages are able to gain legitimacy over the dominant language. Despite linguistic capital being a threat to bilingual countries, few studies have focused upon the issue (Aliakbari and Khosravian, 2014). The impact of linguistic capital on minority language use within the contexts of community sport clubs has yet to be explored. In order to advance knowledge into linguistic capital within the wider social context, namely community sport, there is a need for research into the experiences of minority language speakers. This research will advance an understanding of the impact of linguistic capital by critically analysing the different relationships with, and the attitudes towards the Welsh language among young people and community sport providers in a non-traditional Welsh speaking area.

The second issue to emerge relates to an understanding of how the Welsh language is used among young people from non-traditional Welsh speaking areas, from both within their naturalistic Welsh speaking environment (school) and their non-naturalistic Welsh speaking environment (community sports clubs). There are relatively few studies that have researched into the use of the Welsh language among young people (Laugharne, 2007; Hodges, 2009; Selleck, 2013; Thomas, Apolloni *et al.*, 2014) across the whole of Wales. There are even fewer conducted in non-traditional Welsh speaking areas (Hodges, 2009; Thomas, Apolloni *et al.*, 2014). Language ability and external factors are significant here to understand how language

is used, valued and translated from educational settings. Young people face many influences when concerning both language use and sport participation (i.e. peer culture, family relationships, how leisure time is spent, youth sport experiences, motivations to participate, and physical education and school sport experiences). It is important to understand how these factors influence young people on their attitudes, not only towards participating in sport, but also towards their use of the Welsh language. This study will build on current research into the use of the Welsh language and will advance in the knowledge of this from within a non-traditional Welsh speaking context.

A third key consideration to emerge from the literature review is that there is limited understanding of how community sports clubs perceive and use the Welsh language as part of their day-to-day delivery. In order to inform future policy on sport and Welsh language, it is vital that the delivery of sport in the community and the use of the Welsh language is identified and critically evaluated. It is therefore vital that research is conducted with this in mind, and those perceptions of service deliverers are completely understood in order to promote successful and collaborative policy planning and practice. Not only are their perceptions important to consider, but their stories on current practices, concerns and motivations in order to fully understand how sport and physical activity is delivered on the grass root level. It is also important to understand this from a young person's perspective as previous research has found that the behaviours and actions of significant others (i.e. family, peers, coaches), have an important influence on the social development of young people (Schaillée *et al.*, 2015; Schaillée *et al.*, 2017). Sport policy is considered to reflect a top-down process (Kay, 1996; May *et al.*, 2012) and it is criticised for ignoring the influence which service providers might have on policy decisions (Garett, 2004; Grix and Philpotts, 2011; May *et al.*, 2012). Although the perceptions of service providers are important to consider in the development of policy, it is also essential to understand the perspectives of key policy influencers. There is currently a limited understanding into the impact of political challenges and influencers upon minority languages and community sport development. This research will contribute to advancement in understanding the influence community sport providers have on language use, and the perceptions of key policy influencers in the development of language and sport policy. Furthermore, young people's voices are often overlooked in sport research, and in terms of exploring the role that language might play, there is a paucity of research and thus there is a need to address this gap.

As we have seen, the Welsh Government have set out ambitious targets for the Welsh language – aiming to reach a million speakers by 2050. In order to reach this target more people need to learn Welsh. This requires increasing the number Welsh medium schools, particularly in non-traditional Welsh speaking areas. In central south Wales and south east Wales there has been considerable expansion in Welsh medium primary and secondary education over the last 12 years (Stats Wales, 2020). In these non-traditional Welsh speaking areas, an additional 17 Welsh medium schools opened between 2008 (n=55) and 2019 (n=72). Moreover, young people who are being educated through the medium of Welsh need to fully embrace, use and identify as Welsh speakers. Welsh must be more than a school language. The Welsh Language Commissioner has proposed that sport in general and community sport in particular can play a crucial role in ‘normalising’ the use of Welsh among young people for who Welsh is largely a ‘school language’ only. This study seeks to understand the challenges and opportunities associated with using sport as a (one of many) mechanism to translate ‘ability’ to speak Welsh into everyday ‘use’ of Welsh.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

This chapter outlines the methodological foundations adopted for the studies undertaken as part of this research. We needed to understand how Welsh is used among young Welsh speakers. If Welsh is not being used beyond the school gate, then this is a particular challenge and concern in areas that are non-traditional Welsh speaking. As the language demographics in Wales are diverse, with more Welsh being spoken among residents of the North and West, compared with the South and East, this research specifically focuses upon an area considered ‘non-traditional’ Welsh speaking. These areas are characterised by reporting low numbers of Welsh speakers (less than 25% of residents), and therefore a minority. Figure 8 and 9 illustrates the proportion of Welsh speakers across the whole of Wales.

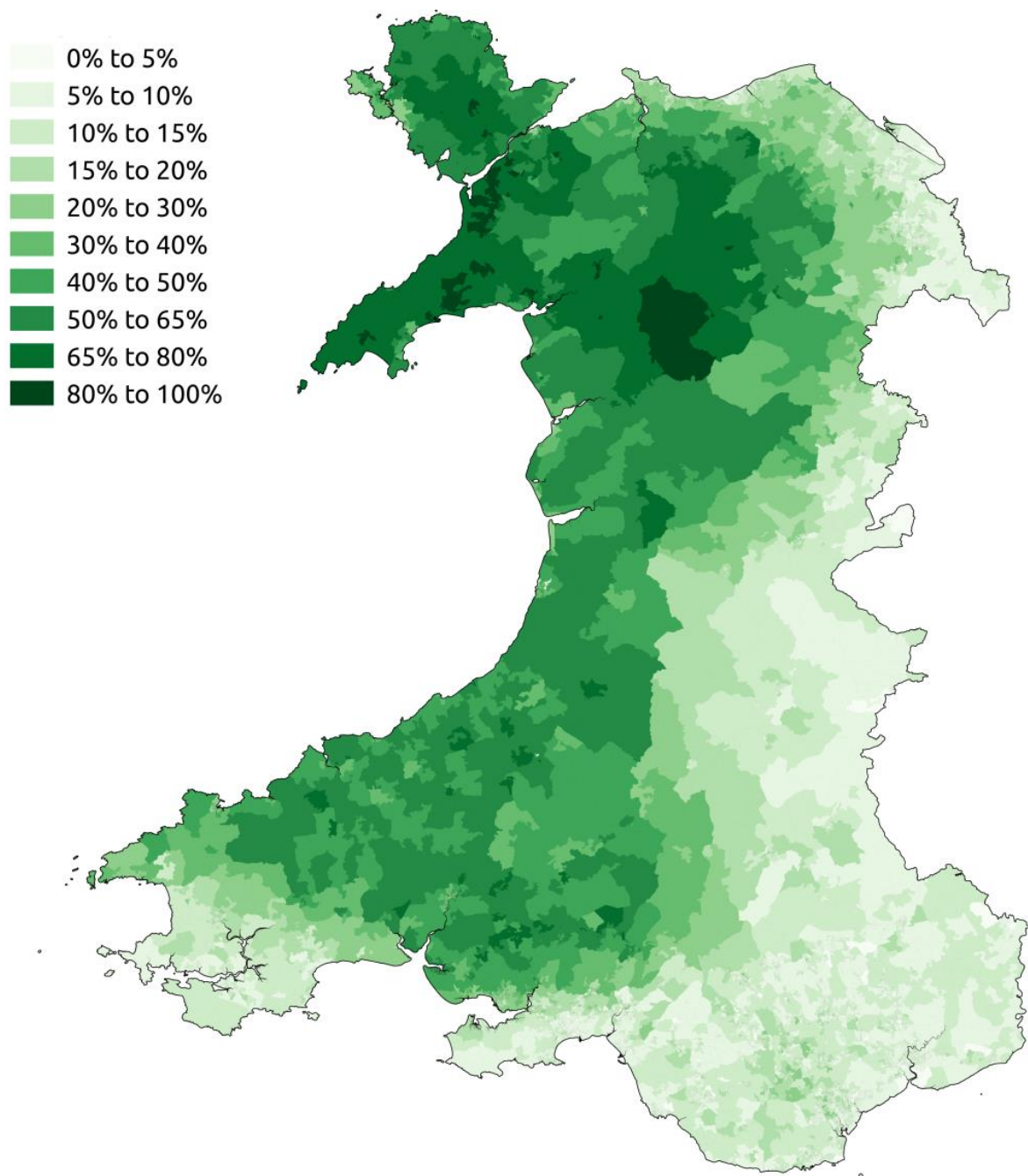


Figure 3. *Illustration of the proportion of people (aged 3 and over) able to speak Welsh in the 2011 Census (SkateTier, 2014)*

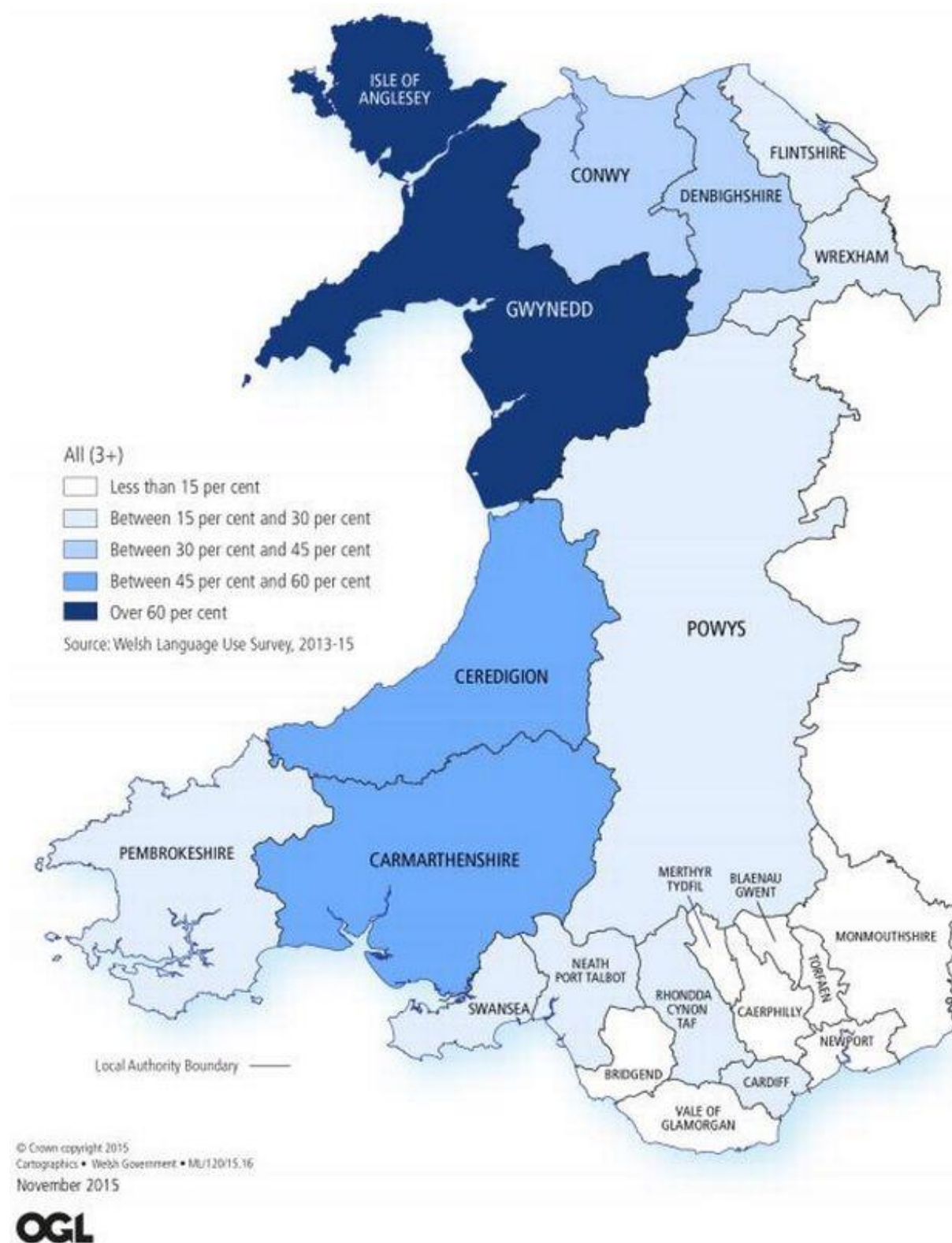


Figure 4. *Percentage of people who are able to speak Welsh by local authority area (WG and WLC, 2015: 22)*

To understand how Welsh is used among young people, and whether community sport can be a vehicle for promoting more of it to be spoken, a case study of a non-traditional Welsh speaking area, was deemed as an appropriate starting point. This focused on the experiences of young people in two environments: their school and their community. Within these two environments the complex multi-faceted nature of a minority language in practice, and the experiences of young Welsh in a naturalistic (school) and a typical non-Welsh speaking environment (community) were captured. Figure 6 illustrates the research design over three phases. Phase 1 was concerned with understanding the experiences of young people within a school environment. It also helped identify the research locations for phase 2 and phase 3, which are concerned with the community environment. This information was then used to inform both parts of phase 4. The first part of phase 4 was follow-up focus groups and interviews with purposefully selected young Welsh speakers. The second part included interviews which were conducted with key stakeholders of the project, referred to from here as policy informers. The purpose of these interviews was to understand their perceptions of the strategic, practical and political challenges and opportunities for using sport as a vehicle for promoting Welsh. The names, places and organisations that appear are pseudonyms so to uphold anonymity. A Welsh speaker is defined for this thesis as an individual who can hold a conversation through the medium of Welsh, whether it be fluently or through occasionally drawing also on the use of ‘Wenglish’⁵.

⁵ Wenglish is a term used for the hybrid use of both Welsh and English.

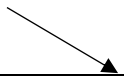

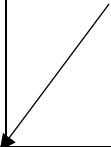
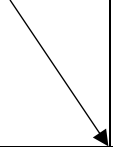
Summary of Research Design			
Perspectives	Young Person's perspective School Environment	Young Person's and the Community sport provider perspective Community Club Environment	Policy Informer Perspectives
Phase 1 <i>October 2015- June 2016</i>	Participant Observations Up to 4 times per week 		
Phase 2 <i>May 2016- November 2016</i>		Participant Observations At least once every fortnight per club 	
Phase 3 <i>September 2016- November 2016</i>		Interviews Young People n= 14 Community Sport providers n= 11  	
Phase 4 <i>May 2017- May 2018</i>	Interviews n= 6 Focus Groups n=4 (16 participants)		Interviews n=11

Figure 5. *An overview of the research design.*

Qualitative Research

Qualitative researchers collect in-depth, holistic, contextually sensitive information and understandings of a phenomenon (Patton, 2015). As emphasised by Lincoln and Guba (1985), the difference between quantitative and qualitative research is the approach to understanding. Qualitative approaches create an account or description of a phenomenon without collecting numerical data (Gilbert, 2016). Unlike the quantitative approach in asking *why* to make correlations between variables and to test hypotheses, qualitative research attempts to gain deeper understanding of a phenomenon by asking *how* and *why* (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Silverman, 2013; Bryman, 2016). Qualitative researchers are engaged, subjectively acknowledging, value laden, and reflexive (Patton, 2015). Patton (2015) suggests that there are seven enquiries which qualitative research contributes towards: illuminating meaning; studying how things work; capturing stories to understand people's perspectives and experiences; elucidating how systems function and their consequences for people's lives; understanding context- how and why it matters; identifying unanticipated consequence; and making case comparisons to discover important patterns and themes across cases.

Miles and Huberman (1994) describes qualitative research as understanding the ways which people act, and reasons for actions through intense contact with a real-life setting or field. They state that the role of the researcher is to gain a holistic or integrated overview of a study by researching into participant perceptions and identifying emerging themes from the data collected (Miles and Huberman, 1994). Due to the fundamental understanding of another culture or perception (Silverman, 2013), a qualitative research approach was required and deemed most appropriate for this research. Qualitative research designs are naturalistic due to the research taking place in real-world settings, and with the researcher not attempting to affect, control, or manipulate what is naturally occurring (Patton, 2015). Within naturalistic inquiry research designs, observations and interviews with people are undertaken in the real-world settings (Patton, 2015). Conducting research on a participant's natural environment is essential to understand complex human interactions (Owen, 2008). It is suggested that by entering a phenomenon/natural environment, researchers can come to feel, sense, and understand the experiences associated with the case, and it is the active involvement with the data that shapes the analysis (Charmaz, 2004).

Qualitative researchers seek to understand the meanings that people construct, and it is essential that they understand the contexts in which they act, and the influences in which the context has on beliefs, actions, and thoughts (Sparkes and Smith, 2014). Qualitative researchers seek to understand how actions, meanings, and events are shaped by the circumstances in which they occur (Sparkes and Smith, 2014). Research suggests that there is a need to understand the meanings in which people attach to social behaviour, which involves using techniques such as participant observation, interviewing, transcribing texts and so on, to produce thick descriptions and interpretations (Geertz, 1973; Denzin, 1986; Marsh and Furlong, 2002; Howell, 2013). Qualitative research is a practice of social inquiry, which focuses on the way in which people interpret and make sense of experiences in the world (Sparkes and Smith, 2014). As such, this research is formed by the interpretivist paradigm, which has shaped the research design of a qualitative case study. The interpretivist paradigm is rooted in an understanding that knowledge relating to the human and social sciences, is based on their interpretation of it (Hammersley, 2013). Interpretivists are concerned with gaining a deeper understanding of the phenomenon and the complexity in its unique context (Creswell, 2007). Hammersley (2013) argue that while approaching research as an interpretivist, researchers should understand the ways of understanding and experiencing the world through different contexts and cultures.

The Case Study Design

A case study is described as a ‘detailed examination of a single case’ and is usually associated with a specific location, such as a community or an organisation (Flyvbjerg, 2004: 420). As defined by Yin (2003: 13) a case study is ‘an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident’. Stake (1995) considers case study research to be concentrated on the complexity and nature of a case in question and are used to gain a holistic understanding of a particular group, organisation, sport team or individual, and to understand issues that face them (Gratton and Jones, 2004). A case study design was deemed most appropriate due to its focus on a detailed and intensive analysis on a single or specific case (Stake, 2000; Flyvbjerg, 2004; Gilbert, 2016). A ‘case’ does not need to be single person or

organisation but can be concerned with whatever may be the ‘bounded system’ of interest (Stake, 2000)

Adopting a case study approach allows researchers to unravel complex sets of relationships and factors and to investigate several social entities and situations in detail (Easton, 2010; Gilbert, 2016). What happens within the boundaries of the case are deemed important and usually determines what the study is about, and this design has been found to be a successful way of adding experience and improving understanding (Stake, 2000). It is considered that selecting a case and research setting often plays a significant role in shaping research problems, and the setting sometimes comes first whereby an opportunity arises to investigate interesting situations or groups (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). It is suggested that human studies should be capitalised in understanding experience through personal involvement (Stake, 2000), thus emphasising the importance of spending long periods studying the case for this research. Much research within the discipline of sport development and management adopt case study research designs (Bell, 2004; Bolton *et al.*, 2008; Bruening *et al.*, 2009; Bryant *et al.*, 2015; Banda, 2017; Jones *et al.*, 2017). Despite criticisms of case study research (Gomm, Hammersley and Foster, 2000; Hammersley and Gomm, 2000; Stake, 2000; Flyvbjerg, 2004; Bryman, 2012; Gilbert, 2016), such as generalisation (Denscombe, 2010), some complement it as a method of rich analysis (Jones *et al.*, 2017).

The aim and objectives of this research played a significant role in identifying the need for a ‘case approach’ and the research process that followed. Consequently, the case decided for this research was a non-traditional Welsh speaking area, identified on the basis that there are low percentages of Welsh speakers living in such areas, and even less percentages using Welsh, particularly young people once they find themselves beyond the school gate. The case study area chosen for this research was typical of a non-traditional Welsh speaking region, illustrated in futures. Although findings cannot be generalised, it is assumed that other areas which report low percentages per population of Welsh speakers in Wales share similar characteristics. With those Welsh speakers living in traditional Welsh speaking areas, it is accepted that Welsh is used in the community and beyond the school gates. The regional variation in Wales is significant in this respect. For example, in some areas of Gwynedd (North West Wales) where over 60% of residents report to be able to speak Welsh (according to the ONS 2011 Census) a

child has greater opportunities to converse in Welsh throughout their day. They might speak it with their parents, in the local shop, on the bus, at school, and in the community. In contrast, in some areas of South Wales, reporting fewer than 25% of residents able to speak Welsh, a child is likely to use Welsh only when communicating with the teacher. Thus, the setting of a non-traditional Welsh speaking area was deemed most appropriate to not only understand the social phenomenon, but also to bridge the gap in knowledge and to provide research-informed policy recommendations for the future.

The area in which this research is located is within a non-traditional Welsh speaking area of South East Wales. The 2011 Census (ONS, 2011) recorded less than 15% of the case study area's residents aged three or over as fluent Welsh speakers. Less than half of these fluent Welsh speakers reported to use Welsh daily. This raises questions about the amount of Welsh used in the community due to the low Welsh speaking numbers that live in the area. A Welsh medium school (pseudonym: *Ysgol y Bont*) served as the starting point for building the case study. *Ysgol y Bont* is a medium sized Welsh comprehensive school which has less than 1000 pupils. The deep inquiry (through the use of a case study research design) ensured that an area which was characteristic of a non-traditional Welsh speaking area, was fully explored. Unlike other research conducted in a school and community sport environment (e.g. Bell, 2004), this research focuses on a single case study. The decision to focus on one school and seven community sport clubs within this area was to offer rich and nuanced insights. This would enable conclusions to be drawn from both the specific context but also then used to develop a more holistic understanding of the complex social interactions associated with using Welsh within community sport.

In order to understand the different aspects of the 'case', different research methods were adopted. Gratton and Jones (2004) suggests that the case is often examined by using a variety of methods over extensive periods. Table 1 states the specific method used for each of the research phases and provides a brief reason for its use.

Table 1. *Methods used within each of the research phases.*

Phase	Method	Reason
One	Participant observation	To study the young Welsh speakers' actions and accounts in everyday contexts in depth within a typical Welsh speaking environment.
Two	Participant observation	To study the young Welsh speakers', non-Welsh speakers and community sport providers' actions and accounts in everyday contexts in depth within a non-Welsh speaking environment.
Three (i)	Interviews	To gain descriptive and rich information to understand observations made in more detail from a young Welsh speakers' perspective.
Three (ii)	Interviews	To gain descriptive and rich information to understand observations made in more detail and to understand the challenges and opportunities of using the Welsh language within a community sport environment from a community sport providers' perspective.
Four (i)	Focus Groups and interviews	To gain descriptive and rich information and to understand the challenges and opportunities of using the Welsh language within a community sport environment from a young Welsh speakers' perspective well as to follow up relevant observations and provide opportunities for those young people whom did not participate in the community interviews to take part. Interviews were conducted to follow up with young people who were observed to have particular characteristics which emerged from the participant observations.
Four (ii)	Interviews	To gain descriptive and rich information from local, regional and national policy informers to understand the political challenges and opportunities of using the Welsh language within a community sport environment.

Participant Observation

Participant observation is concerned with establishing a place in a natural setting and spending long periods systematically viewing people's actions and recording behaviours with the intent of generating data through observing, listening to people, reading documents of the organisation under study, and asking questions (Sands, 2002; Delamont, 2004; Gobo, 2008; Gray, 2009; Emerson, Fretz and Shaw, 2011; Bryman, 2016). It is concerned with establishing direct relationships with social actors by the researcher basing themselves in the subjects'

natural environment (Gobo, 2008). To gain a deeper understanding of people's lives, it was important that close relationships were built during the research phases whilst maintaining a professional distance (Gray, 2009). An overt outsider approach (McCurdy and Uldam, 2014) to fieldwork was adopted and my researcher status was disclosed as soon as possible. Participant observation relates to qualitative research as the data collected is descriptive, subjective, informal and flexible. During the participant observation period, I would observe, hold short informal discussions and make notes relevant to the focus of the research. I was not a teacher at the school, or a coach in the community sport settings, however, when asked or appropriate, I would help with tidying up after classes or sessions. The extensive research process, utilising numerous methods of data collection in various settings allowed for several layers of perspectives, and voices to be heard. These voices ranged from young people's to national policy informers'. The decision and choice to undertake the extensive data collection reflected the exploratory nature of this research. Specifically, there was a need to understand language use in different contexts and to discover the subjective meanings which people attached to the Welsh language within these contexts.

Most of a researcher's time is spent thinking about the fieldwork, writing field notes, writing thoughts, and systematically testing initial insights into the setting (Delamont, 2004). Field notes are described as a form of representation of events and persons involved as written accounts and are considered a symbol of ethnographic research, due to the weaknesses in human memory (Sands, 2002; Emerson *et al.*, 2011; Bryman, 2016). Three different methods of writing the field notes were used within this research, which included jotting notes and full field notes (Fielding, 2016). Jotting notes were utilised within this research whilst observing in the field and were then elaborated in further detail once the day had ended. This was an appropriate approach to take whilst observing as it was less obtrusive, especially when the pupils were out playing during break times and when young people were participating in their community sport activities.

Elaborated notes were written when a significant event had occurred in order to ensure that full records were made at the time, or as close to the time, of the significant event as possible. Emerson *et al.* (2011) suggests that these notes are written as soon after witnessing relevant events as possible, and typically involves the researcher sitting down to type these notes. For

this research, full detailed notes would not be written in the company of pupils and teachers, and I would wait until the end of the lesson to sit on my laptop and write full detailed accounts of what had been observed or heard. The timing of writing these notes was critical, to continue the image of being approachable and not to disturb the class or draw too much attention to myself. Further, the flexibility of using both approaches allowed me to capture many significant accounts without losing or forgetting their details.

Validity of this data was ensured through the accounts recorded and reflected accurately representing the social phenomenon (Hammersley, 1990). Documenting the observations as accurately and as truthful as possible was important to ensure that events were reported and explained, and the field note writing strategies adopted during the observational periods assisted this. Furthermore, when required, further clarification of events was sought from key social actors involved to ensure that the participant observation notes accurately reflected the event. Additionally, the reliability of the research process was sound given that the researcher undertook all data collection in different contexts and referenced understanding with relevant stakeholders (Hammersley, 1992).

Interviews and Focus Groups

Interviewing is the most widely employed method in qualitative research (Silverman, 1997; Bryman, 2016). Interviewing is a method used to collect detailed responses and is concerned with the meanings that people assign to a phenomenon, and to gain an authentic insight into people's experiences (Silverman, 1993; Gray, 2009). It is difficult for research to provide a 'mirror reflection' of the real social world, or the phenomenon being researched (Silverman, 1997). However, interviewing allows the researcher to have access to the meaning people attribute to the experiences that they have had in the social world, or related to the phenomenon (Silverman, 1997). Interviews helped to gather rich, detailed data directly from participants in the social world under study, and the establishment of respect helped with this process (Heyl, 2008). The trust and relationships built, particularly during the participant observation period, were key for there to be a genuine exchange of views and openness in the interview, so that the

interviewees were able to explore purposefully the meanings that they placed on events in their words (Silverman, 2000; Heyl, 2008).

Focus groups, otherwise known as group interviews, is considered to be a highly effective qualitative data collection technique (Patton, 2002; Tonkiss, 2004; Barbour, 2007). Often, focus groups are used as an exploratory method alongside other qualitative methods (Barbour, 2007). Research focus group are to interview a small group of people on a specific topic area to gain their perspectives and experiences (Patton, 2015). It is recognised that focus groups succeed at providing insights into process rather than outcome (Barbour, 2007). The interactive nature of focus groups is considered a key feature as it is concerned with the formation and negotiation of accounts within a group context (Tonkiss, 2004). Focus groups can complement observational methods as it allows for the researcher to explore information, issues, experiences or attitudes which are not observable whilst 'in the field' (Tonkiss, 2004).

The terms focus group discussions, group interviews and focus group interviews are generally used interchangeably (Barbour, 2007). Kitzinger and Barbour (1999: 4-5) state that "any group discussion may be called a focus group as long as the researcher is actively encouraging of, and attentive to, the group interaction". Barbour (2007) suggests that in a focus group the researcher should actively encourage the participants to talk among each other, rather than talking only back to the researcher. For this to work effectively, it was important to create groups with common interests, as suggested by Barbour (2007). The group compositions were centred around community sport interests and age. I recruited and planned for between four and six participants to partake in each focus group session. However, due to return rate issues in relation to parental consent and assent forms, one focus group session had three participants, while the others had four and over.

The principal research instrument adopted was the use of semi-structured interview guides due to the clear focus of investigation whilst allowing for a flexible approach (Bryman, 2016). See interview guides used for this research in Appendix A. Its flexible approach allowed me to probe views and opinions, and when desired, for participants to elaborate on their answers (Gray, 2009). By using a semi-structured interview guide, it also allowed for cross-case

comparability due to there being multiple-cases and organisations involved with the research (Bryman, 2016). To ensure that the interview guides developed for this research were valid, each was individually piloted with individuals who were not part of the main study, however fit similar characteristics (Silverman, 2001). No questions were amended as a result of conducting the pilot focus group. An advantage of undertaking the pilot focus group allowed for me to trial the discussion topics and potential directions of conversation, and to also rehearse conducting a focus group with young people.

Focus groups were managed through facilitating the discussion, therefore a less structured guide was used whereby participants could explore their thinking whilst remaining focused on the topic (Smithson, 2008). Further detail relating to the organisation of the focus groups are presented below in the Phase 4 (I) and (II) section. A semi-structured interview guide was used during one to one interviews. The focus group sessions were largely unstructured, but informed by key findings from the one to one interviews and participant observation period. An audio voice recorder was used to record all interviews and focus groups which were then carefully transcribed verbatim (by the researcher) (Silverman, 2011) as soon as possible post recording⁶. To increase the likelihood of a good quality recording, two devices were used. During focus groups and interviews both recording devices were situated near the participant(s).

Sampling and Fieldwork Locations

Purposive sampling was the method of sampling used to select participants to take part in the interviews (Tonkiss, 2004; Bryman, 2016). Purposive sampling is a non-probability form of sampling whereby the researcher does not seek to recruit participants on a random basis, instead they recruit participants based on the research question (Bryman, 2016). Participants were recruited if they met a certain criterion relevant for the research design of the particular phase (Patton, 1990; Palys, 2008; Sparkes and Smith, 2014). It is suggested that qualitative researchers often require flexible research designs, and thus can use an emergent or evolving inquiry plan (Sparks and Smith, 2014). Patton (2015) suggests that due to the open-ended

⁶ Due to transcriptions being verbatim, Welsh and English extracts are exact to how participants spoke. Therefore, grammar and word choices match that said by participants.

naturalistic nature of qualitative research, the researcher must sometimes build their sample during fieldworks, and this might develop whilst following specific leads and emerging directions. The following sections will now address each of the phases in turn according to both design and methods. Within each section, an overview is provided of how each study was conducted and pursued. Following this will be a discussion of the data analysis procedure and a discussion of the ethical considerations.

Phase 1: The School

Ysgol y Bont (a pseudonym), is a Welsh medium secondary school situated within the case study area. As such, *Ysgol y Bont* represented a Welsh speaking environment for pupils, yet it is situated in a non-traditional Welsh speaking area of Wales. *Ysgol y Bont* was the locality for the first study from October 2015 - June 2016. The Welsh medium school, *Ysgol y Bont*, was chosen because most of the pupils attending the school fit the demographic that the government is trying to target (i.e. pupils who have had a Welsh medium education, but do not use it other than in the school setting). Figures three and four (above) illustrate such areas which are considered (for the purpose of this research) as ‘non-traditional Welsh speaking’ and report less than 15% of its population able to speak and use Welsh. Documents presented by the school demonstrates that it accommodates under 1000 pupils, most of whom had previously attended a Welsh medium primary school within the case study area. Overall, only 15% of pupils reported to have grown up speaking Welsh at home, with year 8 pupils reporting the highest percentage (23.5%). A home language is defined as the primary language used within the home. Table 2 demonstrates the percentages of pupils’ home languages who attend the school.

Table 2. *Home languages reported by the case study school for the 2015/16 cohort.*

Home Language			
Year	English	Welsh	Other
7	81.5%	18.5%	
8	76.5%	23.5%	
9	86%	14%	
10	87%	11%	2%
11	91%	9%	
12	90%	10%	
13	89%	11%	

As demonstrated within the table, the dominant home language reported among pupils in all years is English. This indicates that the majority of pupils, which attend *Ysgol y Bont*, may only have the opportunity to speak Welsh at school. It also suggests that the majority of pupils may not have Welsh speaking parents or may only have one Welsh speaking parent.

Gaining access to the field is considered the most difficult stage of observational research (Parker, 1996; Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Gobo, 2008). Rather than the researcher only being an inconvenience for a small amount of time, whilst conducting interviews or surveys, ethnographic research requires much more time and a greater amount of co-operation from the participants (Gobo, 2008). Once access had been gained into the school, time and energy was spent gaining trust and this was maintained throughout the research, as well as drawing upon inter and intra-personal relationships (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007; Gobo, 2008). After contacting a personal contact at the school (the school's receptionist), I was directed to the head teacher who met with me to discuss and then negotiated and agreed that the research could be undertaken at the school. The necessary paper work was completed with the school safeguarding officer, health and safety forms were filled, and my DBS was checked. At this point, the head teacher was happy for further negotiations to take place directly with the head of the PE department, and therefore all further correspondence was made with that particular

member of staff (further details on ethical consideration is discussed in the final section of this chapter). The research began with a familiarisation period to develop an understanding of the school culture and build relationships with the young people and school workers. During the familiarisation period, during the assembly of each year group an information presentation was presented to all staff and pupils which included information on the research.

Phase 2 and 3: The Community Sport Clubs

The community sport club sample were identified through collating posters from pupils which were designed during a classroom activity. During the school observation period, I conducted classroom activities (undertaken alongside a qualified teacher), similar to that adopted by Leyshon (2011) and Bryant *et al.* (2015), in order to explore the young people's community interests. Pupils created illustrations of their community interests through designing posters and noting locations of activities on a map of the case study area, which were then collated. A total of 393 posters were collected which led to 36 community clubs being identified as potential locations for the second phase of research. Of the 36 community clubs identified and invited to participate in the research, only seven clubs replied to the email. The seven clubs covered five sports (swimming, hockey, lifesaving, gymnastics and athletics) thus this was considered appropriate for phases 2 and 3. Although small in number, more time was spent with the seven clubs, which ultimately increased the trust and relationships build with participants. This may not have been possible if a larger number of clubs had been involved. Furthermore, the seven clubs differed in characteristics and ethos both concerning the Welsh language and community sport development thereby offering a diverse range of experience. Figure 7 illustrates examples of posters collected from pupils.



Figure 6. *Examples of posters collected for sampling the community sport clubs.*

Each of the seven clubs were visited as a minimum, fortnightly over a duration of six months (sometimes clubs were visited on several occasions during same the week) between May 2016 - November 2016. Following four months of participant observation, field-based interviews were conducted during the final two months. The days and times of training sessions were noted as well as recording the participants who were pupils attending the Welsh medium school visited in phase 1. The first few visits to each club were used as an opportunity to inform all participants and coaches, however this was also undertaken throughout the participant observation period if deemed necessary.

Towards the end of the participant observation period, interviews were conducted with purposively sampled individuals (which included club officers, coaches and young Welsh speakers who were also *Ysgol y Bont* pupils). Three semi-structured interview guides were designed based upon observations and conversations which were had during the community club observation period and these were piloted prior the main interview study. Five pilot interviews (n=1 club official, n=1 coach, n=3 young people) were conducted at a sport club located outside the case study area. Reflecting on the pilot interviews, it was recognised that

being reflexive and flexible throughout each interview depending on the participant was important. It also provided an insight into how to conduct effective field-based interviews. For example, it was best to undertake the club officials that a more formal sit-down interview would be most appropriate, whereas with the coaches and young people interviews would be best conducted either before or after the training session.

For this field-based interview study, twenty *Ysgol y Bont* pupils and twenty club officers/coaches were invited to take part. The young Welsh speakers were purposively sampled for this phase based on their Welsh speaking characteristics and active participation within their community sport club. Having built a rapport with the young people and parents during the observational periods, explaining the process of the interviews, answering questions, gaining consent and gaining assent were relatively straightforward. Of the 40 participants invited to participate, 25 agreed to take part, 14 of which were young people and 11 were coaches and club officials. It was clear that the rapport building with both the parents and young person were critical for the return of consent and assent forms. Of the 25 interviews conducted in the community sport setting, ten were conducted through the medium of Welsh (young people, n=8; club officials/coaches, n=2). To ensure that participants felt comfortable they were given the option to be interviewed through the medium of Welsh or English. The interviews conducted in the community sport settings varied in timings, the club officer interviews lasted between 30-60 minutes, coaches between 15-30 minutes and young people were up to 15 minutes.

Phase 4 (I) and (II)

It was decided that to enhance the case study, a deeper understanding of whether community sport could promote the Welsh language was explored through conducting further interviews and focus groups. Phase 4 included both undertaking young person focus groups and follow up interviews (Phase 4 I) as well as interviews with key Welsh language and sport policy informers (Phase 4 II).

Phase 4 (I) entailed re-visiting the young people at the school site and conducting focus groups with some of the young people observed and/or interviewed during research phases 2 and 3. Additionally, purposefully sampled interviews were conducted with young people to enhance understandings of the tentative typologies, which were identified. The focus groups were useful in informing the developments of ideas and leads, which were initially found during the previous observational and interview phases. This was taken into consideration when deciding on focus group participants. Focus group participants were selected based on their age, gender and sporting interests and there were between three and six participants in each. Although it is suggested that an ideal number of participants within each focus group should be between six and ten, Cronin (2016) suggests that smaller groups of three or four participants may be useful.

Prior to the four focus groups conducted at the school site, a pilot focus group was conducted with first year university students (n=3) who had grown up in non-traditional Welsh speaking areas. The phase 4 (I) focus group participants included young people who participated in either phase 1, 2 or all three phases. For phase 4 (I), 25 young people were invited to take part (and were sent home with information and consent sheets), and only 16 of these returned signed consent and assent forms, were able to take part in the study, and those who did not return signed forms did not participate. The 16 participants were organised into four focus groups depending on age and community sport interests (n=3, n=4, n=5, n=4). For example, one focus group consisted of three year 9 pupils who were observed at aquatic community sports clubs. As identified by Smithson (2008) lower numbers participating in focus groups allow for participants to play an active part in the discussion. The focus groups also gave the opportunity for those young people who did not return the parental consent and their assent forms for the phase 3 study to participate.

Additionally, six young people were selected to participate in an interview to gain further insights into the tentative typology which was identified. The young Welsh speakers were purposively sampled for this phase based on their Welsh speaking characteristics (champion, ambivalent, challenger- for further detail see Table 3 and 4 located in Chapter Six). Rapport was built with the young people, and a non-authority role was established with them whilst observing at school and in the community sport clubs. Children were not taken out of their curricular activity to be interviewed, and instead timings of school-based focus groups and

interviews were conducted during break times or during registration as agreed by the head teacher, PE department and admin team. Interviews were informal, and during the interview I remained interested and attentive to what they had to say.

Phase 4 (II) included visiting eleven policy informers, three of which are classified as local informers (LOF1, LOF2, LOF3), four of which are regional informers (RO1, ROF2, ROF3, ROF4), and four national informers (NOPF1, NOPF2, NOPF3, NOPF4). The organisations that participants had been recruited from ranged from a local council to the National Assembly. Participants were invited to take part in a face-to-face interview between October 2017 and July 2018. One pilot interview was conducted to discuss and trial the generic questions which formed the body of the semi-structured interview guide, which did not change. Desk-based research around the participant's organisation was undertaken prior to the interview to understand some of the current commitments of the organisation towards the Welsh language and community sport. The interviews with policy informers lasted between 45 minutes to one hour and 20 minutes. As anticipated those participants who were national opinion formers had much to say and so their interviews were close to an hour or more.

Data Analysis

A challenge for qualitative research is the volume of data that the researcher has collected from field notes and interviews (Bryman, 2016) which are typically diverse, complex and nuanced (Holloway and Todres, 2003). Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest that thematic analysis should be a foundational method for qualitative analysis because its flexibility is seen as a benefit which could provide rich and detailed accounts of data. Thematic analysis is a method for identifying, analysing and reporting themes, otherwise referred to as patterns, within data. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), a theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question.

The process of thematic analysis was relatively straightforward given the researcher had collected all data and transcribed all interviews. Initial codes were then created from the data.

Codes are used to identify a feature of the data which the researcher finds interesting, and thus it is about organising the data into meaningful groups (Tuckett, 2005). Codes were then organised into themes, whereby the researcher determined what codes should come together to create an overarching theme (Braun and Clarke, 2006). The main themes were identified deductively, which were driven by the theoretical and analytic interest in the work (Braun and Clarke, 2006). However, notable sub-themes were identified inductively and were not linked to any preconceptions prior to the data collection, but instead were emergent through the data collection (Patton, 1990). An example of such a theme is the marginalisation of young people for speaking Welsh (discussed in chapter 4). Table 3 presents examples of the themes which derived deductively within this research.

Table 3. *Examples of the main themes used within this research.*

Chapter 4		Chapter 5
School	Community	Policy Informers
Opportunities to use Welsh	Opportunities to use Welsh	Partnerships
Challenges to use Welsh	Challenges to use Welsh	Policy Process
Teacher Actions	Coach Actions	Community Sport Challenges
Field and Habitus	Field and Habitus	Community Sport Opportunities
Competence and Confidence	Competence and Confidence	Voice of the Young People
Peer/Friend Influence	Peer/Friend Influence	Role of Education
Language Culture	Language Culture	Language Initiatives

Coding or indexing is the starting point for most researchers who are handling qualitative data and consists of developing codes which are derived from what the data represents, how it is categorised, what does it suggest, and what the researcher sees and hears (Lofland and Lofland, 1995). Coding is a method of analysis in which the researcher aims to review a set of field notes or interview transcripts and disseminate them meaningfully by differentiating and combining data, which has been retrieved (Miles and Huberman, 1994). A code is considered to be of symbolic meaning to descriptive information collected during a study, and is the

analysis (Miles, Huberman and Saldaña, 2014). Miles *et al.* (2014) believe that coding is the deep reflection, analysis and interpretation of the data's meaning.

To manage the data collected, NVivo (version 10 and 11) was the software used to store and manually thematically code the data collected throughout this research. NVivo is a computer programme for qualitative data analysis which allows a researcher to import and code data (Bandara, 2006; Sotiriadou, Brouwers and Le, 2014). NVivo has been the most used software package among qualitative management and business studies (Sotiriadou *et al.*, 2014). It is effective when used in research, which is researcher-driven, and for manual handling data for interpretation (Sotiriadou *et al.*, 2014). Miles *et al.* (2014) suggests that manually analysing data through using paper, sticky notes and index cards are old school, and that computer programmes are effective for management and data organisation. The benefit of using NVivo, rather than coding by hand was to collate the data in one place. Due to the volume of data that were collected from a number of different phases within this research, NVivo played a key role in data management.

The data collected in NVivo is arranged around documents and nodes, which are its two main working frameworks (Bandara, 2006) which was managed by the researcher. All interview recordings and field notes were imported into the *Internals* folder and grouped under the folders field notes and interviews. The node framework in NVivo allows the researcher to mark aspects of the data and then to sort these into codes (Bryman, 2016). Data analysis this way is principally subjective and allows the researcher to engage more meaningfully in the analysis process (Sotiriadou *et al.*, 2014). The software takes over the physical task of writing marginal coders, making photocopies of transcripts or field notes, and cutting and pasting chunks of text, although the researcher must still interpret, code, and then retrieve the data (Bryman, 2016). An example of how the nodes and coding were used within this research is illustrated in Figure 11.

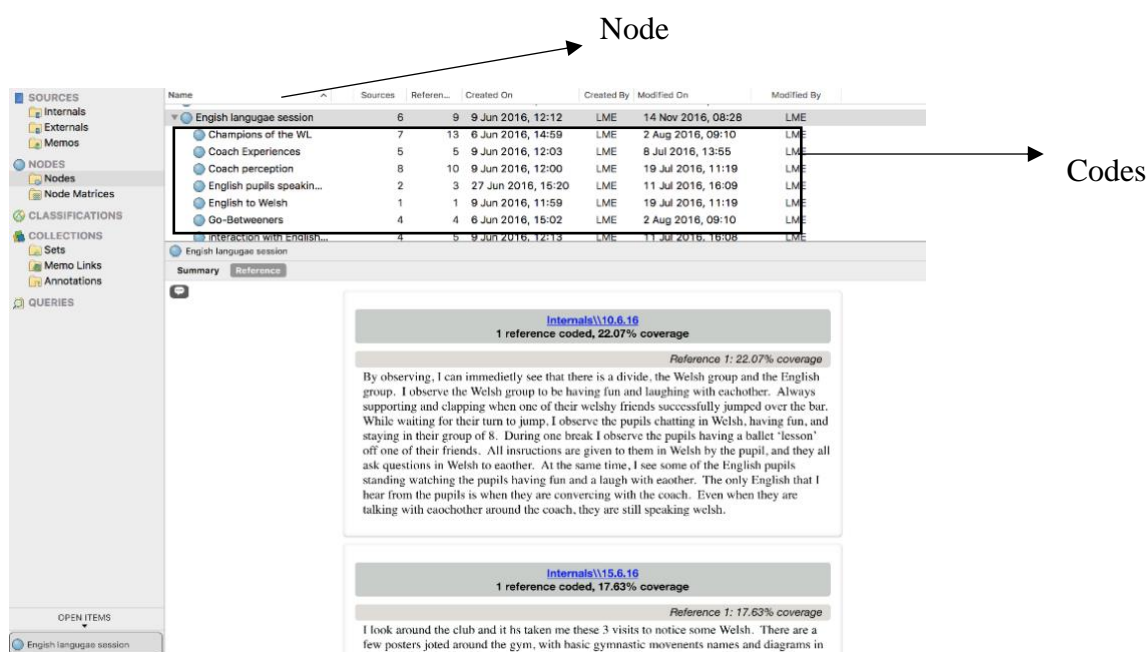


Figure 7. An example of Nodes and Coding in NVivo.

The data was organised electronically through NVivo, rather than the usual approach to thematic analysis of working through data with a highlighter (Macnaghten and Myers, 2004). Naturally, there were large volumes of data collected throughout this research, therefore the coding of data served as a data condensation task which allowed for the retrieval of the most meaningful data (Miles *et al.*, 2014). Whilst NVivo was used, it should be noted that more sophisticated data analytical methods using the software were not possible due to the data being bilingual. Examples of the more sophisticated data analytical methods which are available in NVivo, but were not used included text searches and word frequency queries. Descriptive coding was used in this research whereby the codes which were assigned represented the data in a word or short phrase (Miles *et al.*, 2014). Using descriptive coding is considered to be helpful for studies which a wide variety of data forms (Miles *et al.*, 2014), such as this research.

Despite the popularity of thematic analysis (Bryman, 2016), some have cautioned its use arguing that researchers who claim to have used are usually vague about how their themes were identified or how they emerged from the data (Bazeley, 2013). Qualitative data are considerably more open to interpretation and debate (Gratton and Jones, 2004). The researcher driven approach has been suggested to be bias, and that it requires checks of reliability and

validity (Cretchley, Rooney and Gallois, 2010). Data were organised by grouping similar material together by using the coding system in NVivo. Due to the data being bilingual, it was difficult to use NVivo's search tools, such as those to retrieve all paragraphs containing a key word (Seale, 2004). However, the validity of the data was managed through the researcher grouping answers related to similar themes derived from key words within the data and then systematically coded (Seale, 2004). By doing so, prominent themes could emerge inductively from the data, which was 'counted' by NVivo (Seale, 2004), and were then used as key themes in the results and discussion sections. This is referred to *diachronic reliability* whereby there is a stability in the observations over time (Kirk and Miller, 1986). For key stakeholder interviews, transcripts were also returned to participants to check whether they felt that their views and experiences had been correctly received.

Ethical Considerations

This research was subject to rigorous ethical procedures set out by the University in order to ensure that the research would be conducted in an ethical and socially accepted way. It involved three separate ethics forms being submitted to the University's ethics committee, with one amendment for duration (Ethics codes: 17-4-03R; 15-11-02R; 16-10-01R; 16-5-01R).

As suggested by Wright and O'Flynn (2012), researchers want to address a knowledge which they think is important, however, a researcher may encounter ethical dilemmas whilst undertaking fieldwork (Ryen, 2004). Qualitative research poses ethical issues and challenges which Eide and Kahn (2008) consider as unique in human studies. Unlike a positivist inquiry, whereby objectivity, measurement, predictability and replicability are expected outcomes, qualitative research is much different (Eide and Kahn, 2008). Erikson (1967) suggests that the responsibility of conducting ethical research within society is what distinguishes researchers from journalists and spies. Kvale (1996) suggests that ethics is not restricted to fieldwork alone but should be referred to throughout the stages of the research process. A discussion concerning specific ethical considerations identified for the purpose of this research will now be presented.

Gaining Access and Voluntary Informed Consent

Prior to any research activity, voluntary informed consent (VIC) was negotiated with gatekeepers, participants and/or guardians. VIC is a commitment to an individual autonomy, which insists that research subjects have the right to be informed about the nature and consequences of research projects in which they are involved in (Ryen, 2004; Kirk, 2007; Christians, 2008; Gobo, 2008). Additionally, research participants are made aware of their right to withdraw from the study at any given time (Ryen, 2004). Under the Economic and Social Research Council's Framework for Research Ethics (2015) it is noted that research staff and subjects must be informed fully of the purpose, method and intended possible uses of the research, and what risks there may be if they were to be involved.

For overt observations, such as those used in this research, access is often accomplished through negotiations with a gatekeeper (Fielding, 2016). The protocol for gaining access and consent to conduct this research were as follows. For the school study observational period VIC was given by gatekeeper as loco-parentis by the head teacher, head of the PE department and school safeguarding officer. It was important to realise that the school was a place whereby pupils are unfamiliar with research being undertaken. Therefore, during each year group assembly, pupils and staff members were informed of the purpose of the school visits to avoid deception through an assembly presentation and an opportunity for questions. During the assembly discussion, a full explanation of the aim and objectives of the research to all who will be involved thoroughly before commencing the research. Staff and pupils were continuously informed of the aim and objectives of the research throughout the participant observation period (please see Appendix B for examples of information sheets and consent forms used within this research).

For the community sport club observational period, VIC was provided by a gatekeeper and given as loco-parentis by the main club officer and also club coaches. Informative discussions regarding the purpose of the research project and on my role as a researcher also took place at the community club sessions, whereby the coach would gather all participants and coaches and allowed me to provide them with key information. Best practice was that all participants were

informed about the research in a comprehensive and accurate way (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). Due to the longitudinal nature of this study, rapport was actively built with participants, to minimize reactivity (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995). Informing was actively managed throughout the observational period by constantly reminding those in the research site of my position as a researcher as well as the aim and objectives of the research (Mahon, Glendinning, Clarke and Craig, 1996). During research phases one and two, participants were asked whether they still wished to be involved in the research (Mahon *et al.*, 1996).

Within ethnographic research, it is difficult, if not impossible to specify detailed contents and objectives in a protocol (Silverman, 2013). The ongoing field relations between researcher and those being studied is considered to involve complex, and continued interactions which cannot be reduced to an informed consent form (Penslar, 1993). Eide and Kahn (2008) suggests that this is an important consideration for qualitative researchers to build rapport with participant through continued social engagement. Throughout the continued engagement, rapport was built and when it came to the interview studies with the young people and community sport providers, participants were more inclined to be open and share their stories and experiences. The continued social engagement throughout the phases aided the identification and recognition of the ways in which the young people communicated (Thomas and O’Kane, 1998). This helped in facilitating their participation accordingly both through personal communications and engagement throughout the observational period, and whilst participating in individual interviews or focus group.

Prior to the negotiation of VIC for the interview study, participant information sheets were shared and discussed with the school, clubs, parents and participants. Each of the participants were given an information sheet stating the aim and objectives of the research and the interview process and the opportunity to look over the interview guide. This way, participants felt comfortable with what would be asked, and that they were fully informed on what they were participating in, therefore decreasing deception. Formal information given was in writing, and an information sheets were provided, which included all of the information possible in order to make sure that participants were able to make an informed decision on their involvement. Additionally, due to the longitudinal nature of the study, participants were reminded and informed throughout the field work period of the research purpose and my role as a researcher.

Not only did the information sheets or discussions had with participants include as much information as possible, it was also carefully constructed and fully described in order for participants to understand fully what they would be participating within (Silverman, 2013).

Whilst negotiating VIC for the interviews and focus groups (research Phases 3 and 4 (I) and (II)), all participants were fully informed of the purpose of the interview and the process of recording, analysing and reporting. For those participants over the age of 18, VIC were negotiated before conducting the interview. However, when negotiating VIC for the young person interviews, parental consent was required in addition to the assent of the young person (Kirk, 2007). To negotiate parental consent, all participants, which were selected for the interview study, were sent home from their training session or from school, with a bilingual information sheet and a consent form, for which the parent or guardian could sign with the child and provide their consent and assent for the interview to take place.

Anonymity, Confidentiality, and Trustworthiness

Privacy and confidentiality are part of the code of ethics, which safeguards to protect the identity of those involved within a research project as well as the research locations (Christians, 2008). Researchers are obligated to protect the identity of participants, the places in which are researched, and the location of the research (Ryen, 2004). As a researcher who is maintaining field relations, it is important that this information does not contaminate the relations or betray the trust of their informants (Gobo, 2008). It is also important not to betray the trust of gatekeepers, guarantors, intermediaries, or participants whose consent and participation has resulted in the success of the research (Gobo, 2008). Confidentiality is particularly evident when the research report is being written, as there is a fine line between what the researcher would like to say and what they must say so not to disclose confidential information (Gobo, 2008).

Anonymity of the participants is usually guaranteed using pseudonyms and altering the places so that a participant cannot be identified (Gobo, 2008). In collecting and processing data, procedures were put in place to protect participants. As this research is concerned with

qualitative research, pseudonyms were assigned. Specific settings were not identified, as to not disclose the case study settings and to attempt to anonymise the organisations and settings involved. Researchers who adopt ethnographic methods seek to protect the settings, participants, and anonymity by removing identifiable information at the earliest possible opportunity. However, despite putting procedures into place such as applying pseudonyms and refusing to disclose location sites, participants and informants may remain identifiable to themselves (Murphy and Dingwall, 2007; Gobo, 2008). Within this research, ensuring that those who were being observed may not be identified by anyone but themselves or close significant others along with providing the opportunity for participants to discuss during the data collection period was important.

Whilst conducting focus groups, this was a little more challenging as narratives that emerged were also heard by other participants in the room. To minimise risk of acquiring and reporting guilty knowledge, it was agreed with the school that for the duration of the focus group that a teacher or school official would be present outside of the room with the door open. This way, if guilty knowledge arose, rather than the researcher being responsible for the reporting, it would have been the responsibility of the school official (Beresford, 1997). This was outlined in the participant information sheets and thus confidentially could not be guaranteed due to this duty to pass on information if a child was deemed 'at risk' (Beresford, 1997).

Data Storage

Under the Data Protection Act (2018), the collection of individual data complied with the right recommended principles, which made sure that personal data were: lawfully, fairly and transparently processed; specified, explicit, and legitimate; adequate, relevant and not excessive; accurate and up to date; not kept for longer than is necessary; processed in line with rights; secure; and not transferred to other countries without adequate protection. All data collected were stored on a password protected laptop in a password protected folder. The information sheets and consent/assent forms collected were stored in a locked cabinet in a secure office at the University. In order to comply with the first principle of the Data Protection Act (2018), participants were fully informed of how the data collected will be used and that

VIC was being collected. Participants were given an information sheet outlining how the data collected would be used and how the data will be stored, which is in line with the second principle. Under the third principle, information collected about participants were minimal but sufficient for the purpose of the project. Data concerning personal participant information will be kept for five years and then securely deleted when no longer needed. Under the General Data Protection Regulation [GDPR], individuals have the right to be informed and to withdraw. These rights were highlighted to participants both in the information sheet provided and also reminded at the beginning of the data collection periods.

Altering Naturalistic Behaviours

One key ethical consideration throughout the observational fieldwork periods was whether being present as a researcher would alter the naturalistic behaviours and attitudes of the social actors. Whilst researching in the field, the Hawthorne effect was considered due to the potential impact of behaviours of the social actors (Wickstrom and Bendix 2000; Chiesa and Hobbs 2008). The Hawthorne effect is concerned with the consequences of the awareness of being studied and how this may impact on behaviour (Parsons, 1974; Wickstrom and Bendix, 2000; Gale, 2004; Chiesa and Hobbs, 2008). It originated from research undertaken at Western Electric telephone manufacturing factory in Hawthorne (USA) between 1924-33 when a selected group of workers were supervised intensely, which resulted in an increase in productivity because they were being observed. Reviews on the Hawthorne effect has found that there are more significant effects in the health sciences compared to studies with school children (Cook, 1967).

The position and rapport that was built during Phases 1 and 2 (the observational studies) had allowed for the young people and coaches to become more and more familiar with my role as a researcher. This position, which had been acquired at the school particularly allowed the pupils to feel as though they could act completely naturally in my presence, whereas it was observed that they would be likely to change their behaviours when in the presence of school staff members. This was a confirmation that the observations were a reflection of the pupils'

naturalistic behaviours, and that my presence within the school did not alter that behaviour. An account where this was confirmed was taken around a month into the observational period:

While waiting outside the dance studio while the girls are having a briefing. As I wait two boys walk past from year 11 and one says, 'I don't know what we're doing'. As they come around the corner, they see me, but continue to discuss in English. They are not wearing PE kit and when I observed them a few minutes ago they tried to turn their school uniform into PE kit by rolling up their trousers in the corridor outside the gymnasium.

[Field notes, 11/12/16]

Whilst observing at the school, pupils acted naturally around me, and my presence as a researcher seemed not to alter their behaviours. Whilst waiting around in the corridors with the pupils, they would often continue speaking English, if they were doing so even in my presence. This served as an endorsement that pupils perceived me as a researcher and not part of the school establishment. Like that discussed by Van Maanen (1988), as the young people had become accustomed to my presence almost every day during the school study, I was able to maintain a role which did not disturb their daily routines. Upon reflection of the fieldwork period, it was clear that through maintaining rapport with the social actors, announcing the purpose of the study prior and throughout the research periods, and triangulation of methods used (Holden, 2001), the potential impact of the Hawthorne effect was lessened.

Trust refers to the relationship between the researcher and the participant and is the traditional magic key to building good field relations (Ryen, 2004). Concerning the experiences of the young people, trust was built through a mutual understanding of being a Welsh speaking young person living in a non-traditional Welsh speaking area. Participants may have felt that my schooling history had been similar to their current experiences which had resulted in feeling that I was empathetic and understanding of their perspectives towards the Welsh language in school and in the community. The high degree of trust in which had been built with the young people resulted in being able to ask and investigate specific discussions to better my understanding of how the participants viewed their social world (Mitchells, 1993; Ryen, 2004).

CHAPTER FOUR

LOCAL PERSPECTIVE

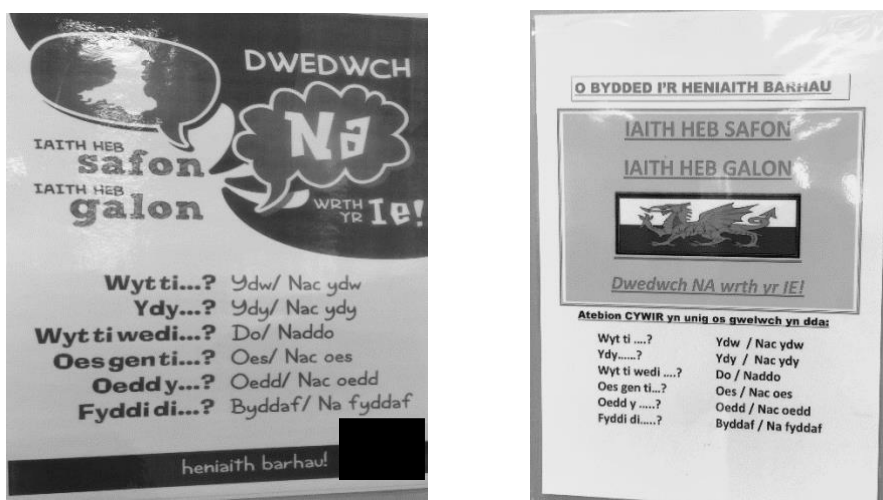
Introduction

As outlined in the Literature Review, sport has been identified as a potential vehicle for promoting the use of Welsh beyond the school gate. Currently there is limited understanding and insights into the challenges and opportunities that may face the development of Welsh in community sport. A more prominent gap in knowledge is the understanding of language use among young people living in non-traditional Welsh speaking areas both within their naturalistic (school for many) and unfamiliar Welsh speaking settings (community sport clubs for all). This chapter begins by reporting on research undertaken at the school, *Ysgol y Bont*, and focuses on how Welsh is used by pupils. In order to understand the context and get to know pupils attending a Welsh medium school situated in an English dominant area, several months were spent in *Ysgol y Bont*. The second section focuses on the community sport club environment, and how Welsh is viewed, perceived and used beyond the formal school setting. The primary data sources for this section are from the participant observations and subsequent interviews and focus groups undertaken with pupils and community sport providers.

Yr Ysgol- The School

A Proud Welsh Speaking Environment

It was evident that pupils and staff at *Ysgol y Bont* were proud of the Welsh culture and keeping the Welsh language ‘alive’. The school took pride in promoting Welsh being spoken, albeit the pupils exhibited a variety of abilities in speaking, reading and writing. *Ysgol y Bont* is a monolingual school whereby Welsh is the sole language. English is not permitted to be spoken, suggesting that in the school environment Welsh is the dominant language. Welsh medium schools adopting a separated language approach (Selleck, 2013), such as *Ysgol y Bont*, expect pupils to speak only Welsh throughout the day. Posters covered the school corridors and classes that evidenced the school’s drive to promote Welsh to be spoken accurately (Figure 12).



Key to the use of correct Welsh- some examples

Iaith heb safon, iaith heb galon- A language without standard is a language without a heart

Dwedwch Na wrth yr Ie! - Say No to the Yeah

O Bydded i'r heniaeth barhau- May the old language continue

Atebion CYWIR yn unig os gwelwch yn dda- only CORRECT answers please

Figure 8. Examples of posters encouraging the use of correct Welsh at the school.

Welsh is the official classroom language at *Ysgol y Bont*, except during English lessons. Most pupils at *Ysgol y Bont* abided by the separated language approach, however, there were some who challenged it. Staff at the school did not encourage flexible bilingualism and would come down hard on pupils who spoke English. The phrase '*mae hawl gennych chi fynd i ysgol Saesneg os chi mhoen* [you are free to go to the English school if you like]' would often be heard at *Ysgol y Bont* when teachers confronted pupils who they had heard speaking English. Pupils often needed reminding to speak Welsh and some tried avoiding it.

The first lesson of the day is with year 10. I begin observing the girls, this group I have seen a few times over my period of observations, so I head over to the boys. As I enter the barn, they are all ready to play five a side football, and as I go to sit down the

teacher is splitting them into groups. The boys aren't very talkative to begin with, but once they all start playing, they all start to have fun. Occasionally the teacher will say 'wnewch yn siŵr mae Cymraeg dwi'n clywed [make sure that it's Welsh that I am hearing]', he must have good hearing because I couldn't hear any English being spoken among the boys.

[Field notes, 8/1/16]⁷

Throughout the observations, pupils did not always adhere to the school rule of speaking Welsh. Some pupils would regularly disobey the official school language by speaking English and would speak English out aloud, challenge school rules, answer back to teachers, refuse to speak Welsh, and cause distraction to other pupils even within the classroom. I came across this behaviour on many occasions including during PE lessons. In one case, a pupil had been disciplined for speaking English and teachers were required to monitor her behaviour over the course of two weeks.

I sit with the teacher at the front of the dance studio waiting for the year 10 girls. As they come through the door, the teacher starts sending those without kit out to find some, and she then goes and chats about fixtures with some of the other more engaged pupils. A female year 10 pupil walks in and up to the teacher. She hands her taflen monitro [monitoring form] to the teacher and walks away back to her group of friends, some of which had been sent out to find kit. The teacher takes a close look at the form and shows me what has been said by another teacher in the comment box. It stated that she had spoken English to a teacher. It also noted that the teacher had asked her numerous times to speak Welsh, but the pupil had refused.

[Field notes, 11/12/15]

Another instance is indicative of a common observation made whilst walking the corridors.

⁷ Extracts taken from field notes and interview transcripts will be used throughout the remainder of the thesis as evidence. Participant observation field notes are labelled 'Field notes, date'.

After listening into a sixth form registration class, which was conducted in Welsh, I make my way to the PE department. I walk past pupils coming out of an assembly, most of whom are speaking Welsh and then I notice one group of pupils speaking English. I have come to know that group of girls speaking English as pupils who regularly disregard school rules and challenge teachers. The group leader, Ffion, is shouting and swearing in English along the corridor. Almost immediately, I hear the voice of one of the teachers screaming for Welsh to be spoken. Those pupils speaking English hurry away before the teacher has time to find them. Teachers would sometimes ask pupils who it was that spoke English, however, on this occasion the teacher had a good idea that it was Ffion and her friends speaking English.

[Field notes, 13/1/16]

From a pupils' perspective several challenges arose which are significant to the use of the Welsh language within this typically 'naturalistic' Welsh-speaking setting. Some of the challenges for pupils related to the school environment, school policies and systems, and teacher manners.

Throughout the observational period at *Ysgol y Bont* I observed teachers issuing 'punishments - *cosb*' for speaking English, including detention. For many pupils, they understood the school rule to speak Welsh, and most abided in order not to be given a *cosb*.

*Nerys- 'We use it [Welsh] casually, and in the lessons, it is a bit of everything because obviously we get detention if we don't speak Welsh, so it is forced upon us.'*⁸

[Year 9 pupil, recorded interview 7/11/16]

⁸ Although Nerys is a Welsh speaker, she decided to undertake her interview in English rather than Welsh. Confidence and competence will be discussed later in the chapter and thesis. The decision by bilingual participants to use English rather than Welsh during interviews is further evidence of the impact that confidence and competence has on the use of Welsh.

Megan- 'Dwi'n deall pam bod yr athrawon yn cosbi ni... Dwi'n meddwl weithiau mae'n galli fod bach yn llym pan dy ni yn siarad Saesneg, ond ar yr un pryd da ni yn neud arholiadau ni yn y Gymraeg a dyna'r ffordd fwyaf effeithiol mha nhw yn gallu neud i ni siarad Cymraeg ar ein gorau ac ar ein galli gore ni'

[I understand why teachers punish us... I think sometimes it is a bit harsh when we do speak English, but at the same time, we do our exams in Welsh and that is the most efficient way that they are able to make us speak Welsh to the best of our abilities]

[Year 8 pupil, recorded interview 17/11/16]⁹

The separated language strategy adopted by the school was reflected by pupils as an unclear approach as to whether the school were promoting or enforcing Welsh to be used. This is related to a wider perception that Welsh is often policed.

Greta- 'Mae nhw yn ddim really yn hybu e [siarad Cymraeg], mha nhw yn just gweiddi yn lle fel trio annog, mae nhw just yn fel gweiddi os ydych chi'n siarad Saesneg yn lle bod fel yn dweud sut gallwch chi gwella.'

[They don't really encourage it [speaking Welsh], they just shout at us instead of trying to encourage, they just shout if you are speaking English instead of saying how you can improve]

[Focus Group 5, 11/05/17]

Ysgol y Bont clearly advocate a proud Welsh speaking environment and I had observed on most occasion pupils adhering to speaking Welsh during school hours. However, teachers face a difficult task of encouraging the use of the language among the pupil population, which as a majority naturally, or more confidently, speak English. By forcing Welsh to be 'pure and separate', especially within a non-traditional Welsh speaking area, pupils would contextualise the language and associate it with being a 'school language' (Jones and Lewis, 2014). The

⁹ If data were collected in Welsh, extracts are presented bilingually. It should be noted that due to transcriptions being verbatim, Welsh and English extracts are exact to how participants spoke. Therefore, grammar and word choices match that said by participants.

perception that Welsh is a 'school language' has potentially negative consequences on the aptitude for pupils to embrace it as a community language. This was expressed on a number of occasions by Welsh pupils and is indicative of a common perception.

Tegan- 'Na dim really [yn siarad Cymraeg tu fas yr ysgol] oherwydd dwi'n neud e trwy'r wythnos... Fi just mhoen siarad Saesneg am unwaith oherwydd fi ddim yn siarad Saesneg lot gyda fy ffrindiau oherwydd Cymraeg yw iaith yr ysgol. Felly mae'n siawns i newid e tipyn bach.'

[No not really [speak Welsh outside school] because I do it throughout the week... I just want to speak English for once because I don't speak English a lot with my friends because Welsh is the school language. Therefore, it is a chance to change it up]

[Year 7 pupil, recorded interview 16/11/16]

A year 7 pupil and I are talking about how her mum tries to speak Welsh with her. She tells me that she says to her mum that Welsh is for school.

[Field notes, 21/6/16]

Nerys- 'The thing is... I speak Welsh all of the time at school... I just can't put my head around socialising in Welsh, I think of it as something that I have to do in school because the thing is we get forced upon it and so I don't really find it as fun as it could be and so I like to socialise in English when I am outside of school because we are not allowed to in school so it is like a little bit of a break.'

[Year 9 pupil, recorded interview 7/11/16]

Kadi- 'Mae pobl yn yr ysgol mhoen siarad Saesneg tu fas yr ysgol a just gadael Cymraeg fel yr iaith ysgol.'

[People in the school want to speak English outside school and just to leave Welsh as the school language]

[Focus Group 4, 10/05/17]

The education system clearly plays a key role in developing young Welsh speakers. However, the social value of being able to speak Welsh is questioned among the future generation of speakers. By separating Welsh and English, *Ysgol y Bont* is establishing the linguistic capital, or *power* of the minority language within the school setting, therefore legitimising the language. Despite this, one's habitus is an important consideration for evaluating the legitimacy of Welsh within the school environment, due to the differences in ability, attitudes, dispositions, which are influenced by the social background. Therefore, posing significant threats to the survival of the language.

Language Competency and Perceived Ability

Confidence levels varied considerably between pupils and previous research suggests that this may be a result of being bilingual (Hoff, 2006; Grosjean, 2010). Those who had low perceived language competencies at *Ysgol y Bont* demonstrated some bilingualism restrictions and low confidence and saw English as the dominant language. Due to low perceived competencies in speaking the minority language, these pupils would conform to their dominant social group language, which more often than not would be English, and made little attempt to use Welsh. These pupils were often side-lined owing to their language choice and due to holding little linguistic competencies in speaking Welsh. I observed that other pupils would be unlikely to be involved with these pupils due to risk of being caught disobeying school rules or conforming to their behaviours.

I sit down with two challenger pupils who are not participating in their PE lesson. We chat, and they provide me with some insightful information into what it is really like to be a challenger at the school. I understood their views and developed some empathy towards those pupils with low perceived language competency. They asked about how my research was progressing and then one pupil went on to tell me about how she speaks English all the time outside and inside school. I ask her why and she goes on to tell me that she used to be friends with a group of pupils from [Mynydd Wen], referred

to as many pupils as the 'swat' school and the ones who were 'posh and spoke Welsh a lot of the time'. She said that she left that group of friends because they became 'annoying' and that they would speak Welsh fast and she couldn't understand what they were saying.

[Field notes, 20/11/15]

The differences in linguistic competencies were clear whilst observing, but also pupils reflected on their feelings, if they perceived themselves to be 'less-able' to speak Welsh within an immersed environment. This suggests the general perception among pupils at the school was that those who had higher Welsh linguistic capabilities, would have 'higher currency' and linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991). Jacob, a year 13 pupil, reflected on a common feeling of a bilingual pupil.

Jacob- 'Yn yr ysgol... oedd pawb yn siarad Cymraeg yn rhugl a oedd dim Wenglish yn y gwersi a pethau... a mi oedd hynni'n bach yn intimidating... ac mi oeddwn i trwy'r amser yn trio rhoi explanation i rhywbeth ac oeddwn i yn teimlo bach yn fel intimidated os nad oeddwn i yn siarad Cymraeg... o ni yn trio explainio rhywbeth ond oedd rhaid i ni ddefnyddio Cymraeg yn lle defnyddio'r gair Saesneg.'

[In school... everyone spoke Welsh fluently and there was no Wenglish in the lessons and things... and that was a little intimidating... and I would always try to give an explanation to something, and I felt a little intimidated if I wasn't speaking Welsh... I would try and explain something, but I would have to use Welsh instead of using the English word]

[Year 13 pupil, recorded interview 10/11/16]

The challenges of being bilingual (for some) was also shared by Tom, a year 10 GCSE PE student, who discussed his experience of dealing with specific terminology.

Whilst discussing with Tom, a year 10 pupil who lacks confidence to speak Welsh, we spoke about his GCSE choices, PE being one of them, and he expressed how he found the terms used in the subject difficult. Although Tom lacks confidence speaking Welsh, he is a pupil which is seen in high regards among the PE department due to his commitment to sport. I would often see him spending time with other pupils whom were observed to lack in confidence in speaking Welsh.

[Field notes, 16/12/15]

Perceived language competency is crucial in determining the use of Welsh and a pupil's confidence in specific Welsh terminology (Laugharne, 2007; Thomas, Apolloni *et al.*, 2014). There were clear associations between those pupils who were most confident in speaking and using Welsh, and their use of it at school. Pupils with high-perceived language competency were observed to speak Welsh consistently through the school day, with the occasional use of English. They were also mindful that not all pupils would be as confident in speaking Welsh as unlike them, Welsh would not be their home or first language.

Cai- 'Os dweud bod i yn siarad Cymraeg gyda ffrindiau fi ac mha nhw yn troi i'r Saesneg, maen anodd iawn i droi e nol i'r Gymraeg o'r Saesneg achos I nhw, well i ran fwyaf o ffrindiau fi diw e ddim yn iaith gyntaf nhw felly mae'n eithaf anodd i droi e nol i'r Gymraeg.'

[If say I have been speaking Welsh with my friends and they turn to speaking English, it is very difficult to then turn it back to Welsh from English because to them, well for the majority of them it is their first language, so it is quite hard to turn it back to Welsh]

[Year 9 pupil, recorded interview 5/6/17]

Clearly, English was seen as the key language tool among many pupils at *Ysgol y Bont*, despite Welsh being the official school language. Cai's reflection above emphasises that a group's dominant dialect defines the linguistic habitus, therefore his attempts to bring the conversation back into the medium of Welsh is challenged due to the greater legitimacy of English, held among his peers. It emphasises that inequalities in linguistic competencies (Bourdieu and

Wacquant, 1992), particularly in a minority language context, influences the conformity to the dominant language, or perhaps more accurately, the language habits of a group. The mastery of a language therefore impacts upon whether it is seen as a legitimate or accepted medium of communication. Considering this, if Welsh is not grasped by all, this may have implications upon the perception of its social value beyond school.

On the contrary, Megan shared a different experience that suggests that Welsh holds high linguistic capital, and that those from non-Welsh speaking homes are unable to master the language as quickly as those from Welsh speaking homes.

Megan- 'Mae pawb gyda barn ei hun, ond yn bersonol, i ddod o deulu Saesneg mae yn anodd mynd i ysgol Cymraeg pryd chi o gwmpas ffrindiau gorau lle mae rhywun yn ei theulu nhw yn siarad Cymraeg. Mi oedd hynny yn really anodd i fi oherwydd o ni ddim yn deall gair oeddent yn dweud pryd nes i ddechrau... pan o ni yn ifanc... oherwydd ni ddes i o deulu Gymraeg... mi oedd pobl yn edrych arna i fel un o'r plant oedd ddim mor glyfar ar blant sydd yn siarad Cymraeg adre, ond nawr fi mewn set un Gymraeg a fi yn cael yr un lefelau a phobl sydd yn cael rhieni sydd yn siarad Cymraeg, so really does dim byd yn atal pobl rhag llwyddo jyst oherwydd dydyn nhw ddim yn dod o deulu sydd yn siarad Cymraeg.'

[Everybody has their own opinions, but personally coming from an English family it is difficult to go to a Welsh school where you are around best friends where someone in their family speaks Welsh. That was really hard for me at the beginning because I did not really understand a word that they were saying when I started... when I was young... because I didn't come from a Welsh speaking home... people looked at me and thought that I was one of the children who wasn't as clever as the children who spoke Welsh at home, but now I am in set one for Welsh and I reach the same levels as those people who have Welsh speaking parents, so there really isn't anything which is stopping people from succeeding just because they do not come from a Welsh speaking family.]

[Year 8 pupil, recorded interview 17/11/16]

Megan's experience is indicative of a wider stimulus where Welsh holds high linguistic legitimacy among 'close' friends. It was important for Megan to develop competencies in her Welsh speaking abilities to fit in with the dominant dialect of her peers and of the school. Unlike Cai's experience, Megan's peers saw Welsh as a legitimate language therefore holding high linguistic capital. This is linked to collective identity theory, which as identified by Jones (2017) is when individuals strive to maintain membership of a group which presents a positive identity, which in this case is speaking Welsh at school, and not speaking English.

Perceptions of pupils towards the use of 'Wenglish' were also an indication of how they perceived the Welsh language in terms of power and legitimacy. On the one hand, pupils who had lower competencies in speaking Welsh saw 'Wenglish' as a tool to continue the flow of a conversation. The flexibility of 'Wenglish' was observed to increase the confidence in holding conversations, especially among pupils with lower perceived language competencies. 'Wenglish' allowed conversations to flow from start to finish between pupils and teachers. Most pupils would regularly use 'Wenglish' rather than try and uphold a conversation fully in Welsh, through borrowing words from the English language similar to that found by Thomas *et al.* (2012). To some extent, this emphasises the power that English holds over Welsh, and that bilingual speakers revert to the dominant language. On the contrary, young people who saw the Welsh language as dominant, reflected critically about the use of 'Wenglish' and the impact that it may have on the quality and how Welsh is used.

Llinos- 'Fi'n meddwl bod hynny [siarad Wenglish] yn cael dylanwad ar weddill fel eich Cymraeg, fel efo fi, fi gorfod defnyddio rhai geiriau Saesneg yn yr ysgol... ac dwi ddim yn meddwl ac weithiau dy chi ddim yn gallu meddwl am y geiriau cywir i ddefnyddio ond hefyd mha fe yn cael dylanwad eithaf drwg ar yr iaith.'

[I think that [speaking Wenglish] influences the rest of your Welsh, like with me, I must use some English words in school and in the language and I do not think and sometimes you can't think of the correct word to use, but also that has a pretty bad effect on the language.]

Bethan- ‘Oherwydd dwi’n weithiau neud e [siarad Wenglish] ac wedyn fel ni’n cael stŵr yn yr ysgol ac felly mae’n well just i ddechrau’n fresh gyda pobl Saesneg so bod nhw yn siarad yr iaith Gymraeg yn well.’

[Because sometimes I do it [speak Wenglish] and then we are told off in school, so it is just better to start fresh with English people so that they speak Welsh better.]

[Focus Group 3, 9/05/17]

Despite these critical impressions of ‘Wenglish’, and the strong desire to keep the language ‘pure’, using English was observed to aid pupils with low Welsh speaking competencies in expressing their thoughts and views. During one observation, a teacher helped to increase a pupil’s confidence by using English to explain the task, and immediately the pupil spoke Welsh more confidently and therefore able to express herself clearer.

Whilst chatting with the teacher about what her plans were for the lesson, a year 8 pupil opens the door and asks to speak with her. The pupil spoke with little confidence and used English words to substitute those words which she didn’t know in Welsh. The teacher stated the Welsh word after to the pupil spoke the English word, however the pupil’s lack of confidence in holding a conversation in Welsh resulted in the teacher allowing for the pupil to explain in English. After talking in English, the pupil started to bring some Welsh words into the conversation and spoke with more confidence to the teacher.

[Field notes, 11/12/15]

The interaction and empathy of the teacher here implies that it is important that teachers are aware of the linguistic capabilities of their pupils, as acknowledged by Aliakbari and Khosravian (2014).

Safeguarding attitudes of teachers towards the use of the majority language affected the use of Welsh at school. A common observation was that language use was situational in the presence of teachers, particular among those pupils who challenged school rules. Whilst around teachers, or if pupils were observed to be in hearing range of a teacher, they would often adopt language avoidance tactics so not to be caught speaking English. For example, when teachers were present, pupils would switch from speaking English (amongst peers) to Welsh. They would then switch back to speaking English when the teacher had left. This was observed when I walked through the corridors, and whilst sitting in the school café. It was occasionally seen also during lessons, but pupils would be conscious of whether a teacher could hear.

Jacob- 'Os oedd athro o gwmpas, ac oeddech chi yn gwybod bod athro o gwmpas... [chwerthin]...yeah byddwch chi yn siarad Cymraeg... ond os oedd athro yn mynd rownd y cornel a chi'n clywed nhw yn mynd trwy'r drws, fel chi yn gwybod wedyn bod chi'n saf, so felly byddech chi yn troi nôl i'r Saesneg, sydd yn eithaf weird i fod yn onest, oherwydd gallwch chi gario ymlaen y conversation yn y Gymraeg ond chi'n troi yn ôl i'r Saesneg.'

[If there is a teacher around, and if you knew there was a teacher around... [laughing]... Yeah you would speak Welsh... but if the teacher went around the corner and you heard them going through the door, you know that you are safe, so you would switch back to English, which is a little weird to be honest, because you could carry the conversation on in Welsh, but you go back to English.]

[Year 13 pupil, recorded interview 10/11/16]

This was a common example of an observation of avoidance to use the language.

Five boys are sitting in the front row of the classroom and are speaking English. The pupils are all taking part in small group discussions on the topic set by the teacher. I listen as the boys switched to speaking English during their group discussion. At this

point, the teacher hasn't realised that they are speaking English. The group discussions went on, and the boys continued to discuss in English. One of the boys is looking over at the teacher occasionally to check where she is. When the teacher eventually looks over at the boys and begins to walk towards them, one of the boys realises and starts speaking Welsh. As a group they then switched to discussing in Welsh.

[Field notes, 27/11/16]

Pupils also increased the volume which Welsh was being spoken to cover the use of English. On occasions, when sitting at the back of the classroom, I would hear English being spoken among pupils. Pupils were hesitant to use English in the classroom, due to the higher risk of being caught, compared to the café and out on the *cae chwarae* [school field], due to room size and population. However, it was a common observation especially when there were high levels of noise in the classroom.

While sitting at the back of the class I notice that the volume of the discussions around the class has increased. When I listen more carefully, I hear English being spoken among a group of girls sitting at the back of the class. They started speaking English quietly, but as the group discussions developed, and the classroom volume increased, so did their English discussion... As the discussions start to die down, so does the volume which they are speaking English.

[Field notes, 27/11/15]

Often teachers would not be able to hear English being spoken among pupils, however when they did, you would often hear them saying '*Saesneg [English]*' or '*newch yn siwr nid Saeseng dwi'n clywed [make sure that it is not English that I am hearing]*'. Some teachers are aware of these language tactics. A staff perception, which was shared one day in the staff room, was that it would often be easier to 'catch pupils out' when pupils were known to regularly disobey school rules, rather than when they were being sneaky. Some pupils disobeyed school rules more often than others, and it usually reflected on their general behaviours and attitudes towards the Welsh language. Additionally, teachers felt that pupils were '*usually good at*

speaking Welsh around corridors and teachers’ but were unsure about what actually ‘happens far away from teachers’ [Field notes, 18/12/15]. This indicates and further supports the results which emphasise that some pupils were impacted on by the presence of teachers, and their language use were different around them [the teachers] than me [as the researcher].

A reluctance to use Welsh was observed among some pupils after a disagreement with a teacher. Reflections on observations suggests that speaking English was a stubborn decision taken by pupils against teachers. An observed account of this was during a ‘free’ 6th form lesson in the café ‘far away’ from teachers.

I watch as a year 12 pupil walks in and sits down on the couch in the café. I have just heard one of the teachers shouting at him in the corridor outside the café. It wasn’t too hard to hear as all of the sixth formers in the café went quiet to listen into what was being said. I watch him as he deliberately disregards another pupil who was asking a question, in Welsh. He finally answers her when she asks him the question in English.

[Field notes, 27/11/15]

Teachers understood this behaviour often derived from being frustrated, personal communications with teachers suggested that ‘*Maent yn debygol o siarad Saesneg pryd mha nhw’n frustrated [They are more likely to speak English when they are frustrated]*’ [Field notes, 18/12/15]. This further acknowledges that those young people with lower perceived competencies in speaking Welsh would revert to speaking English, due to having a more developed linguistic ability. However, most pupils [regardless of age] were observed to put effort into speaking Welsh immediately after being confronted by a teacher.

While walking through the main corridor towards the PE department, I hear some 6th formers speaking English. Not long after, I hear a teacher shouting ‘Cymraeg [Welsh]’ at them. Not long after this, I wait with some of the same 6th formers in the corridor for the lesson to begin, they are all speaking Welsh with each other. The pupil who had been caught speaking English in the main corridor was present in this group, and his

*fellow pupils are teasing and asking him why he is speaking Welsh (as he is usually speaking English). He replies 'Cer I G**** (Swearing) Miss wedi jyst dweud Cymraeg wrthyf i [F*** off, Miss just said 'Welsh' to me.]'*

[Field notes, 25/11/15]

The unfamiliarity of this pupil speaking Welsh (among his peers) confirmed that when confronted by a teacher, some pupils would be likely to speak Welsh for the immediate period thereafter. It also implies that for some peer groups at *Ysgol y Bont*, Welsh remained second-rate to English. This particular observation was made on a number of different occasions, another of which was during the same day but whilst sitting having lunch in the school café. During lunchtime a year 10 pupil had been called back by a teacher into the corridor for speaking English on her way into the café. She walked back through the café doors and immediately spoke Welsh after this confrontation, despite her peers speaking English to her while they sat eating lunch *[Field notes, 25/11/15]*.

The effect that confrontation had on the language choice of a pupil would vary. For example, the 6th former in question within the field note extract of the 25/11/15 spoke Welsh for the period he was around the PE department, and then later that day I observed him and his friends speaking English in the school café. As for the year 10 pupil, she spoke Welsh for the time she was in the café and around teachers, but the next day, whilst I walked through the corridors and towards the café, I heard her speaking English. The observed behaviours and attitudes of some pupils imply that there are issues around the use of Welsh, and that for school staff there are several challenges facing preferment of the minority language. Perhaps these young people chose to speak English as they possessed higher linguistic competencies, compared to speaking Welsh, rather than being reluctant to following school rules. Also, maintaining an individual brand (Jones, 2017) in order to maintain identity within a group, may have influenced whether pupils spoke Welsh or not.

Pupils often reflected that the more teachers would insist on them using Welsh, the less they would be motivated to use it. This is similar to that found by Creese and Blackledge (2011) who proposed that if children feel controlled or forced to speak a specific language, they are

more likely to rebel. Whilst informally speaking with pupils at *Ysgol y Bont* this concern came to my attention on many occasions, especially among the older ages.

While sitting with a year 11 pupil who was not participating in the PE lesson due to injury, she asks me about my research and beings to tell me about her views on what would help motivate more pupils to use Welsh... She tells me that in her opinion more pupils will want to speak Welsh if they are not told to, otherwise they will rebel against it.

[Field notes, 18/11/15]

Whilst discussing UCAS decisions with some sixth form pupils, it was clear that some had an interest in pursuing their university choices partly through the medium of Welsh. They talked mainly about the financial benefits for this decision. It was clear that pupils had different feelings about their future with the Welsh language. One 6th former, who had been observed to be an advocator of the Welsh language reflected that she would speak more Welsh at university than she would in school because she wanted to and because it would not be compulsory.

[Field notes, 30/11/15]

These accounts suggest that some pupils are motivated to use and enjoy using the Welsh language if teachers adopt a flexible approach. A common concern, discussed with teachers and some pupils, related to the adoption of a flexible and relaxed approach, would be that English may dominate as the language used outside of the classroom. This was indicative of a wider concern for safeguarding the language within the school gate, but also indicates that despite Welsh being seen as an important and legitimate language at school, the unease of an English dominant context could become a reality.

On the contrary, good relationships and pupil-teacher rapport was reflected among many pupils' attitudes towards using Welsh. *Lauren*, a year 10 pupil, who was waiting for a meeting

with her head of year (for misbehaving), spoke with me about her views on the Welsh language. Her views are alike to other pupils at the school.

I walk past Lauren, who I have come to know as a pupil who regularly disobeys school rules. We start speaking about her views on the Welsh language. She is able to speak Welsh, it isn't all perfect, but she is able to communicate clearly with me on this occasion. She reflects on her language use telling me that she doesn't speak Welsh and she isn't interested in speaking Welsh. She felt that the school had made her feel this way due to making Welsh compulsory and that they punish if English is spoken. She then reflects on her attitude towards the Welsh language when speaking with teachers. She tells me that her form teacher is 'the worst' for punishing, however she speaks Welsh with her head of year because she thought she was 'funny'.

[Field notes, 11/12/15]

The data imply that when pupils have a positive relationship with a teacher, they are more likely to abide by the school rules and enjoy speaking Welsh. Pupils recognised the importance of school in promoting the language, therefore positive and motivating pupil-teacher relationships should be considered imperative as one way of safeguarding Welsh. What is apparent from the results presented thus far, is the clear connection between language use, competencies and linguistic capital and how each are entwined in the complexities of the behaviours and attitudes among young Welsh speakers.

Linguistic Habits

Habit is a critical consideration for changing language behaviours, and one that may not be a quick fix. Considering peer influence on behaviours and attitudes, habit significantly affected a group's chosen language, especially if it conversed socially in a certain language over the other. For many pupils, their peers influenced language choice. Peers play a prominent role in the development of young people's lives (Molloy, Gest and Rulison, 2011) and it was clear that they effected the social acceptance of the Welsh language at *Ysgol y Bont*. Pupils often

spoke about their language choice considering who they were speaking to, and this would often relate to a group or an individual's dominant language.

I sit with a pupil who isn't taking part in PE. This pupil has been observed to speak both languages at school... she reflected that she would never speak Welsh with a certain group of friends [who challenged school rules] ... She also reflected that she would always speak Welsh with her friends which come from Welsh speaking homes.

[Field notes, 14/12/15].

Whilst discussing with a year 10 pupil during a drama production rehearsal, she reflected that her language use depended on who was involved in the discussion at the time. She spoke about how she would use Welsh with her group of friends from two primary schools which was described by pupils as 'Welshy' and she would speak English with her group of friends from a primary school which many pupils would challenge school rules had attended.

[Field notes, 18/12/15].

The field note extracts are symbolic of a common peer influence related to language competencies. Attitudes and behaviours of peers, as well as self-confidence, significantly influenced whether Welsh (or English) would be spoken. Pupils from Welsh speaking homes, and their close friends, were among those who championed and advocated the use of the minority language in school. These pupils had high linguistic capital at school and were among those who expressed strong desires to retain Welsh as the more dominant language. They were also considered as possessing the legitimate styles and capabilities among other pupils and staff at the school.

Family and home language were raised as important influencers on language habits, and thus may influence whether the minority language is used meaningfully.

Emlyn- 'Mae dad yn siarad Cymraeg, ond dy ni ddim yn siarad Cymraeg gyda fe. Fi byth wedi so mi fydd o bach yn weird i ddechrau nawr.'

[Dad speaks Welsh, but we don't speak Welsh with him... I have never so it would be a bit weird to start now.]

[Year 10 pupil, recorded interview 10/6/17]

Pupils from Welsh speaking only homes, reflected that they would be more likely to use and speak Welsh naturally due to the habit of doing so. Llinos, a passionate Welsh speaker and champion of the Welsh language at school reflected on this.

Llinos- 'Fel arfer dwi'n siarad Cymraeg gyda pawb fel hyd yn oed tu fas yr ysgol achos fi'n siarad e adre... felly dwi'n fwy tebygol o siarad Cymraeg gyda pawb.'

[Usually I speak Welsh with everyone, even outside school because I speak it at home... so I am more likely to speak Welsh with everyone.]

[Year 9 pupil, recorded interview 4/6/17]

During the school observational period, a sixth former and I discussed her community coaching commitments, and some of her experiences which further evidences the impact of habit on language use.

I am sitting in the sixth form library with Carys, she tells me about how she went with the school to meet the primary school kids (on an open day) and that she had realised that some of the kids were in her coaching class at her local sailing club. She went on to tell me how the next day when she went to the club to coach, those primary school kids which she had met on the open day started to speak Welsh to her because they knew that she could speak Welsh. She reflected on the difficulties, which she found when speaking Welsh with them as she was so used to speaking English with them before and during the coaching class. She told me that she had to speak English with them in the end.

[Field notes, 14/12/15].

Despite the varying abilities to speak Welsh, and knowledge of other minority language speakers, habit is a key behaviour of pupils at *Ysgol y Bont*. Habit was influenced by a number of key factors, such as linguistic competency, a group's dominant language, and situation. This evidences further that there is no guarantee that young people will uptake the language in social contexts and/or among certain pupils (Thomas and Roberts, 2011), and that habit is a significant challenge.

Judgment and peer pressure were considered a key behaviour influencer when using the Welsh language among particular pupils at the school. Pupils shared the feeling that they were conscious of being judged by other pupils who didn't champion the minority language, because they *didn't want certain pupils giving them a look as if to say 'why are you speaking Welsh'* *[Field notes, 13/01/16]*. The issue of judgement for speaking Welsh was a reflected perception of peer influence, particularly by those pupils who did not abide by the school rules. As such, this implied that they felt like they had to speak English and act differently in the company of some peers, so not to be 'judged'. This was also reflected with regards to effort in PE.

Whilst playing a basketball tournament, one group, the yellow team, really aren't trying against the group of keen sports pupils, who are all naturally talented and all able to dribble the ball and shoot as previously observed during drill time, but it is obvious that they just aren't trying. The game finishes and the teacher call the green team up to play the yellow group. I watch as the pupils in the yellow bibs play the group of pupils in the green bibs. This time, the yellow team have upped their game, and are scoring goal after goal against the green team. The green team on the other hand look like they are trying to avoid any confrontation and are not trying hard. During the game, the teacher comes up to me and says 'mha o'n funny oherwydd pan mae grŵp gwyrdd yn chwarae'r gang (tim melyn) yna, mae'r grŵp gwyrdd yn mynd yn really shy. Dydyn nhw ddim am i'r gang gweld pa mor dda ydyn nhw a dim eisiau nhw beirniadu nhw am drio [It's funny, because when the green team plays that 'gang' (yellow team), the green team goes shy. They don't want the gang to see how good they are, and they

don't want to be judged for trying]'. The next game commences against the green group and the red group (a group of pupils who are neutrals in PE) and whilst watching I notice a few of the girls who lack confidence in PE playing on the red team. They pass the ball to the green team rather than their team and instantly react by speaking English. Two girls in the green group, who were shy playing against the gang have now come out of their shell and are playing well and have changed their enthusiasm towards playing since the yellow team stepped off the court. Whilst watching the game a yellow team member asks me again what the time is. She then goes back to where they are all standing together, away from the rest of the group all in a line with either their arms crossed or in their pockets, speaking English. The teacher realises and they are then all split up between the other teams. As soon as the group is split up, they are influencing others in the teams, speaking English with them and being judgmental at the ones who are trying their best in participating in PE by laughing and chatting behind their backs.

[Field notes, 6/1/16]

It was observed that some young people were reluctant to demonstrate their capabilities of speaking Welsh among those who may have lower capabilities. Complex social reasons such as judgement, as observed at *Ysgol y Bont*, were a key threat to Welsh being fully embraced at all times throughout the school day. This again emphasises the impact of collective identity (Jones, 2017), and as reflected in the above field note, some pupils were downplaying their physical ability so not to be seen negatively among other peers.

Despite *Ysgol y Bont*'s location being within an area dominated by the English language, some pupils fought to safeguard it alongside their teachers and held it in high regard in relation to linguistic and cultural capital. A key challenge which was raised towards the outset of this chapter was the attitude that Welsh is a school language. For the majority of *Ysgol y Bont* pupils (85%), school is the only place that Welsh is used or spoken. Teachers, school staff and some pupils are attempting to protect Welsh within the school gate, as it holds high linguistic capital for them within and beyond this environment. Beyond the school gate the challenges are expected to be greater and importantly beyond the control of the school and its teachers. It is the community context that attention now turns.

Y Gymuend- The Community

The Locally Contextualised Language

In areas of Wales which record low percentages of Welsh speakers, English dominates as the local language. Language inheritance within the community is considered to be locally contextualised (Selleck, 2013), which is a reflection of this case study area as English is the language spoken by the majority of residents. During discussion with young people and community club members the locally contextualised language, English, was indicative of the shared view that Welsh would not be spoken or seen as a source of ‘power’.

Sian- ‘Tu fas yr ysgol mha pawb arall yn siarad Saesneg, so byddech chi’n edrych yn odd!’

[Outside school everyone else speaks English, so you would look odd!]

[Year 7 pupil, recorded interview 6/7/17]

Whilst undertaking my fieldwork, participants expressed their feelings about the use of Welsh as well as their view on the language itself. Their views were symbolic of the general, but also contested, view that Welsh held little legitimacy within their community sport club activities, and as such it held little linguistic capital among most (but not all) members.

Cai- ‘Mha rhai o ffrindiau fi yn [rhoi ymdrech i fewn i siarad Cymraeg] ond mae yna cwpl o ffrindiau arall sydd yn gollwng y Gymraeg yn gyfan gwbl ar ôl gadael yr ysgol... unwaith mha nhw allan o gatiau ysgol mae nhw yn troi i’r Saesneg yn syth... mae nhw yn meddwl o dwi ddim yn edrych yn cwl iawn yn siarad Cymraeg, sydd yn poeni fi really.’

[A lot of my friends do [put effort into speaking Welsh] but there are a few of my friends who completely drop Welsh as soon as they leave school... as soon as they are beyond

the school gates, they turn to English straight away... they think oh I don't look very cool if I speak Welsh, which worries me really.]

[Year 9 pupil, recorded interview 19/11/16]

During a conversation with one coach, they described Welsh as ‘*a dying language*’ and that there ‘*is no point in it*’ [Field notes, 27/7/16]. Whilst discussing with young people and community sport providers it became clear that Welsh was not seen as a ‘typical’ community sport language. It was not normalised beyond the school gate due to the widely shared perception that ‘*no one uses it*’ [Field notes, 27/7/16]. This perception is due to a number of key issues which included, availability of Welsh speakers, language ability and confidence, and the influences of community sport providers.

Availability of Welsh Speakers

During my observations, it became clear that young Welsh speakers had limited opportunities to use the minority language. This was mainly due to the limited availability of Welsh speakers, and also due to the dominant dialect of a group, which more often than not, was English. The young Welsh speakers shared this impediment on many occasions.

Jacob- ‘Nad yw pawb yn siarad Cymraeg yn enwedig yn (enw'r ardal astudiaeth achos). Urm, mae percentage eithaf low yn siarad Cymraeg yn (enw'r ardal astudiaeth achos) ac mae hynny'n neud e bach yn anodd cael pawb i siarad Cymraeg yn y clwb.’

[Not everyone speaks Welsh, especially in (name of case study area). Urm, the percentage is quite low in speaking Welsh in (name of case study area) and that makes it a little bit difficult to get everyone to speak Welsh in the clubs.]

[Year 13 pupil, recorded interview 10/11/16]

Jestin- ‘It is kinda hard and not everyone speaks Welsh.’

[Year 7 pupil, recorded interview 10/11/16]

And this view was also shared by a parent coach of a young Welsh speaker.

Matthew- 'In this club, I just think they are slightly limited because you have such a wide audience and therefore people don't like to exclude therefore, they revert to a language where everyone is included, and we don't have enough Welsh speakers, certainly within our club, that would justify trying to force that. You almost have to increase the number of Welsh speakers to make it more viable that's it... and the Welsh Gov policy they want to get 50% of Wales speaking Welsh by 2050... huge undertaking... but it is physically doable if you invest money at the very bottom with things like child care and education and you have got to grow it. Once they hit an age where Welsh is their second language, I think they are less inclined to use it... especially as children. As adults they can go back to it and re-visit their roots, their heritage but as teenagers everyone just wants to feel included as children and they just want to be a part [of things] ... I think that trying to force the language on a group and a child would probably feel excluded ...[however]... in France ... everyone is speaking in French [and you] are expected to absorb and assimilate... but it is because [the] English language [is] dominant [here] I think there is a slightly different concept and therefore they don't view it in the same light.'

[Parent Volunteer, recorded interview 31/10/16]

Participants suggested that it was difficult to use Welsh during community sport activities. Low numbers of Welsh speakers inhibit the language to be used meaningfully for several reasons, most of which related to feeling 'included'. Language courtesy (Hodges, 2009) was a relevant theme and influenced the way in which Welsh would be used within community sport clubs. Out of courtesy, Welsh speakers would turn to speaking English to ensure that Anglophones were included in the conversation.

Emyr- 'Dwi'n siarad Saesneg achos does dim pob un o ffrindiau fi yn siarad Cymraeg... felly bydd e fel yn fach yn anghwrtais os ni yn siarad â ddim yn dod a nhw i mewn i'r drafodaeth... dwi yn weithiau siarad yn Gymraeg, weithiau yn Saesneg ... dwi'n hoffi fel dod a phobl i mewn os dwi'n gallu [i'r drafodaeth], mae'n neis dod a phawb mewn.'

[I speak English because not all of my friends speak Welsh... therefore it will be a little rude if I was speaking and couldn't bring them into the conversation...I sometimes speak Welsh, sometimes English... I like bringing people into [the conversation] if I can, it is nice to bring everyone in.]

[Year 8 pupil, recorded interview 5/7/17]

It is important to note that only some young people attending the clubs were pupils at *Ysgol y Bont*. Others attended English medium schools, however, all would have been exposed to Welsh during their primary and secondary school careers. Young Welsh speakers were sensitive to the possible exclusion of their Anglophone friends if they did wish to speak Welsh and reported that this influenced their decision to conform to the dominant and local language.

Kadi- 'Mae gen i ffrindiau sy'n siarad Saesneg a dydyn nhw ddim yn hoffi e pan ddwi'n siarad Cymraeg oherwydd ma' nhw'n meddwl fy mod i yn siarad tu nol i'w cefn nhw... Mae hynni'n upsetio fi tipyn oherwydd mae'n neud fi mas fel person sy ddim yn meddwl am ei ffrindiau. Mae'n neud i fi teimlo fel fi methu defnyddio'r Gymraeg o gwmpas nhw oherwydd fyddent yn offended. A dwi really dim mhoen bod fy ffrindiau ddim yn mwynhau fy nghwmni.'

[I have friends who speak English and they don't like it when I speak Welsh because they think that I am speaking behind their backs... That upsets me quite a bit because it makes me out to be a person who does not think about their friends. It makes me feel like I can't use Welsh around them because they will be offended. I really don't want my friends to not enjoy my company.]

[Year 7 pupil, recorded interview 10/11/16]

Belonging and individual trust are key components of social capital (Mata and Pendakur, 2011), therefore for some this may outweigh the wish to speak Welsh among Anglophone peers. Relationships are characterised by interpersonal trust and enabling social capital outcomes (Adams *et al.*, 2017), therefore this may influence whether young people choose to use the minority language. In these situations, the dominant dialect would inhibit the Welsh language from gaining legitimacy, therefore young Welsh speakers must conform by speaking

English. Some young Welsh critically discussed their views on this, which is symbolic of the shared perception of why Welsh is not used.

Sara- 'Fi'n chwarae [chwaraeon] a mha lot fawr o fy ffrindiau yn chwarae gyda fi, so ni fel arfer yn naturiol yn siarad Cymraeg oherwydd rydym yn siarad Cymraeg yn yr ysgol a mae rhai pobl mae nhw ddim really yn hoffi bod ni yn siarad Cymraeg oherwydd mae nhw ddim yn deall...'

[I play [sport]with a lot of my friends, so we naturally speak Welsh because we speak Welsh in the school, but there are some people they really don't like that we speak Welsh because they can't understand...]

Teithi- 'Fi'n cytuno gyda Sara, mae nifer o bobl yn gweld e fel bach yn gyfrwys ac yn amharchus oherwydd mae nhw just yn meddwl eich bod chi yn siarad amdany'n nhw.'

[I agree with Sara, there are a number of people who see it as a bit cunning and disrespectful because they just think that you are speaking about them.]

[Focus Group 2, 8/05/17]

The observations, perceptions and experiences collected over a sustained period of time suggest some parents and community sport providers did not subscribe to the value of promoting Welsh through sport - at least not in comparison with other values.

While at my first community study observation session, I was approached by a volunteer parent coach who asked about my research. While we were discussing my research, he told me that his son wasn't at the club to learn Welsh though, he was there to train.

[Field notes, 26/5/16]

Within this case study, the Welsh language is not seen as a community language among many young people and community sport providers, and thus many clubs saw little or no place for the use of Welsh during sessions.

Rina- 'I think that it would be good [young people bringing the language into the community] however with the coaches not able to speak it, it wouldn't be intimidating, but they might be like why are they doing this, why are they bringing it in because I think that they have been running this gym since the 1960s so it has been going on a while and to bring something in without them really knowing what to do they would just panic a little and they wouldn't know how to handle it.'

[Coach, recorded interview 26/10/16]

One club participating in the study openly admitted that none of the club's activities is conducted through the medium of Welsh. Observations conducted at the club supported this.

I see two posters on the wall demonstrating key skills, one in English, the other in Welsh. The coach is an English speaker, and so refers to the English poster, but I notice that there are participants who are pupils at Ysgol y Bont. Later in the session, while chatting to the head coach at the club, she says 'you won't hear Welsh being spoken at the club by anyone, we have told them that they aren't to speak Welsh here because we can't understand them'. She then says in a jokingly way 'we want to know if they are speaking about us behind our backs'.

[Field notes, 2/6/16]

On some occasions in my observations, even though coaches or young people were aware of an available Welsh speaker, English would continue to be used.

As I observe the junior session, one coach, a volunteer, who is a Welsh speaker (schooled through the medium of Welsh until she was 11 years old), chats to the girls in her lane in English. There are 3 Welsh school pupils in her lane...While standing next to the coach in question we start chatting, she tells me about the 'Welsh group' which are those pupils who attend Ysgol y Bont. She says that they speak both Welsh and English and speak a mixture of both during the sessions to each other.... I hear the

two Welsh speakers speaking English with each other in the lane. I was observing them using both Welsh and English in this session, switching between the languages while in conversation. ... I ask whether the pupils are aware that she speaks Welsh, she said 'no, not that I am aware of'. Despite the coach knowing which pupils speak Welsh, she still remained to provide individual feedback to them in English. In this particular lane, there were 5 swimmers, 3 of which were Welsh medium pupils.

[Field notes, 6/6/16]

Despite this coach knowing about my research and that I spoke Welsh, she would not use Welsh with me either when engaging in one to one conversation. Perhaps this was influenced by habit, as we had been introduced through the medium of English and continued to speak it, or due to the dominant language of the club. Language habit is a fundamental behaviour, which impacts on whether Welsh is or isn't used in community sport clubs. Evidently, a group or community sport club's dominant language dialect influenced whether Welsh or English was used. English was the principal language of the community sport clubs which were visited during this research and is therefore embedded within their social contexts. Considering that capital lies at the heart of social relations (Fang, 2011), for some young people being socially accepted, means that they must conform to the dominant dialect. Despite this, I had observed a group of nine young Welsh speakers from *Ysgol y Bont* speaking Welsh together on some occasions whilst attending their community athletic club.

I stand next to the coach whilst he sends nine Welsh speakers off on a few laps warm up. While they run, the coach reflected on his views on the use of Welsh at the club. He told me that the group of girls spoke Welsh most of the time, but they did occasionally switch to English.... The girls come back from their warm up and they are all speaking Welsh to each other. They all come together with the coach (an English speaker) and start chatting with him in English. They have stuck together as a group rather than mingle with the other participants (who are non-Welsh speakers). Four of the pupils are wearing Ysgol y Bont hoodies.

[Field notes, 10/06/16]

In my observations, it became clear that some Welsh speakers would naturally use the minority language beyond the school gate, regardless of the dominant language of the club. This was indicative of the background of these young people, as many of those who were observed to use the language whilst attending their community sport club were from Welsh speaking families, or close friends of theirs. Despite the minority language being secondary to English in these social contexts, the dominant language of the group in question influenced the linguistic habits against the grain hence Welsh being spoken. Participants raised the influence that Welsh speaking families had, on whether the language would be used in community sport club settings.

Betsi- 'Because in this club there is a Welsh speaking family, so it allows me to communicate better with the parents as well and children.'

[Year 9 pupil, recorded interview 16/11/16]

Emily- 'O fewn [y clwb] mae yna lawer o deuluoedd sydd yn siarad Cymraeg, ac felly fel pryd bynnag gallwn ni, rydym yn siarad Cymraeg gyda rhieni nhw i fel i fod yn gwrtais oherwydd dyna beth mae sydd gwell gyda nhw, yn lle siarad yn Saesneg.'

[Within [the club] there are a lot of families who speak Welsh, and so whenever we can, we speak Welsh with their parents so that we are polite because that is what they prefer, instead of speaking English.]

[Focus group 5, 11/05/17]

Parent volunteers were a key part of organising, administrating and coaching at many of the community sport clubs participating in this research. Related to the recruitment of volunteers and coaches within the community sport clubs, club officers would often reflect on the challenging reality of recruiting coaches regardless of whether they are Welsh speaking or not. Prys *et al.* (2014) convincingly stressed that there is little awareness that Welsh is a specific skill relevant to volunteering. Findings from this research reinforce Prys *et al.*'s (2014) statements. One club officer admitted that *'yr hyfforddwyr sydd yn gallu siarad Cymraeg... hap a ddamwain mha fe really os mae rhywun yn gallu siarad Cymraeg'* [the coaches that can

speak Welsh... usually by accident it happens if someone can speak Welsh] [Volunteer Club Officer, recorded interview 1/11/16]. Clubs would not be proactive in targeting Welsh speakers, mainly due to the difficulties that they already face in recruiting volunteers, but also due to the limited availability of Welsh speakers.

Sammy- 'I think that the biggest thing is that a lot can't speak it so if you wanted a conversation to everyone at the same time that's about the only thing. If you can't speak it, you can't use it.'

[Volunteer Coach, recorded interview 10/11/16]

Recruitment of volunteers in sport organisations is considered a key challenge by Østerlund (2013), and findings from this research reinforce this, as well as highlighting that it is also a challenge facing the use of Welsh at community sport clubs. As discussed among participants, the presence of Welsh speaking families (which were a minority) encouraged the use of Welsh due to it being viewed as the legitimate language. A coach's apathy or ambivalence, or their enthusiasm and passion towards the language also played a significant role in a club's 'language ethos' and consequently in whether young Welsh speakers felt excluded or included. Gould and Carson (2011) and Schailleé *et al.* (2017) reported that a coach's actions and behaviours influence the social and personal development of a young person. The data collected for this research implies that the picture is complex and consequently, the coach or significant other's actions and behaviours affected whether young Welsh speakers felt excluded or included if they wished to use the minority language.

Llinos- 'O ni mewn clwb [chwaraeon] gyda fy nghyfnither ac o ni yn siarad Cymraeg gyda'n gilydd a mha da ni rhai o gyfnither yn iau hefyd o ysgolion iau... ni gyd yna yn siarad Cymraeg gyda'n gilydd ac wedyn oedd yr arweinydd ddim yn hoffi bod ni yn gallu siarad Cymraeg achos oedd o ddim yn gallu deall beth oedden ni'n dweud, felly fe nath o ofyn i ni ddim siarad Cymraeg rhagor. Ond mi oedd hynni'n anodd i'r rhai iau oherwydd iaith gyntaf nhw yw Cymraeg... felly o ni dal yn siarad Cymraeg gyda'r rhai iau felly nathe nhw hala ni i'r cornel, felly o ni fethu siarad yr iaith.'

[I was in [sports]club with my cousin and we were speaking Welsh with each other, and we also have other cousins who are younger and go to primary schools... we were all speaking Welsh with each other, and then one of the leaders didn't like that we could all speak Welsh, because he couldn't understand what we were saying so he asked us not to speak anymore Welsh. But that was hard for the younger ones because Welsh is their first language... so we continued to speak Welsh with the younger ones, so they sent us to the corner, so we couldn't speak the language.]

[Year 9 pupil, recorded interview 4/6/17]

These extracts reflect a common trope where Welsh language is concerned and identify a difficulty in terms of social inclusion. Article 30 of the Children's Rights in Wales (Children's Commissioner for Wales, 2018), states that children have the right to practise their language and celebrate their culture. Results suggest that there is no evidence of the denial of these rights, but there was some evidence of a 'Welsh not welcome' ethos, and reveals linguisticism (Skutnabb-Kangas, 1998) occurring within some community sport clubs. Such norms are a genuine threat to inclusion and represent a risk of exclusion (Levitas *et al.*, 2007). The research revealed that the embedded social and cultural contexts and that bilingual young people chose to speak English rather than Welsh, as a way of blending in with their friendship group, and ultimately influenced language capital (Fang, 2011). Using Welsh in an Anglophone context can create tension. On the one hand the minority users feel like unwelcome 'outsiders' and may be asked to desist or face more subtle forms of exclusion. On the other hand, there is sometimes suspicion and paranoia among non-Welsh speakers that they are being excluded, perhaps intentionally so, from a conversation.

These insights confirm that a group's dominant dialect considerably affects whether Welsh is used within community sport clubs. Similar to that found by Mata and Pendakur (2011), Welsh mother tongue speakers, who held high Welsh linguistic capital would be more likely to use or influence the use of the minority language beyond the school gate. Those young Welsh speakers who were socially involved with Anglophone groups within their community sport clubs, were more likely to conform to the dominant language, due to the inability for Welsh to gain linguistic legitimacy. The data also imply and confirm previous findings by Laugharne (2007) and Thomas, Apolloni *et al.* (2014) that language use is determined by linguistic

competency, with those possessing higher levels and therefore higher Welsh linguistic capital, being most likely to use the minority language beyond the school gate.

Marking Welsh Identity

Despite the challenges faced by young people to use Welsh in sports clubs, there were a minority of young Welsh who were passionate about the language, wanted to raise awareness of it and promote its use. Social identities are important for many different reasons, according to Green and Jones (2005). They suggest that social identities provide an individual with a sense of belongingness or membership to a social group, of which they may enhance feelings of self-worth and self-esteem (Green and Jones, 2005). Some young Welsh speakers were prepared to confront exclusionary attitudes and practices. They were confident in voicing opinions and promoting a Welsh-speaking culture.

Llinos- 'Mae'n neud i fi eitha fel trist a chrac... bod pobl yn trio dod mewn a ddim gadael i ni siarad yr iaith rhagor... O ni wedi dweud wrth (y plant iau) bod nhw yn cael siarad pa bynnag iaith mha nhw mhoen ac felly i ddim gwranddo ar bobl sydd yn dweud arall wrthyn nhw a dyle nhw fel ddim gadael i bobl fel yna cael dylanwad arnyn nhw, dyle nhw cael siarad yr iaith mha nhw yn fwy cyfforddus gyda... o ni eisiau neud pobl yn ymwybodol bod yna iaith yn y wlad a bod iaith y wlad yw hi a dyle fel y bobl yn y clwb ddim really dweud wrthym ni pa iaith dyle ni siarad â dyle ni ddim.'

[It makes me feel quite sad and angry... that people try to come in and stop us from using the language... I said to the younger children, that they could speak whatever language they wanted to and so not to listen to people who try and say otherwise to them, and that they should not let people like that influence them, they should speak the language that they are most comfortable with... I wanted to make sure that people were aware that there is a language in the country and that it is the country's language and people like those in the club should not really tell us what language we should or shouldn't be using.]

[Year 9 pupil, recorded interview 4/6/17]

This comment is characteristic of a ‘pro Welsh’ and championing attitude, like that identified in the school study. To some extent, it represents a political and cultural commitment to the language and may or may not reflect personal or family political affiliations with the plight of the Welsh language. This stance is often, but not exclusively tied to factors such as ability and confidence to speak Welsh which in turn is often but not exclusively tied to ‘*iaith yr aelwyd*’ (the language of the hearth). This was evident from discussions with Welsh speaking parents.

While I watch the participants running, I overhear a mother speaking with her son and his friends. They are all speaking Welsh with each other... We chat about the club sessions and she says that the young children group use a lot of Welsh during their session as the majority of the participants are Welsh speakers. She says that her husband is a Welsh learner and the other coach speaks Welsh who take the session. I then ask whether they speak Welsh all the time during the sessions and she replies ‘ie, dyna yw’r unig fordd’ [yes, that is the only way].

[Field notes, 7/07/16]

Similarly, some of those who demonstrated pro-Welsh attitudes at school and higher levels of Welsh linguistic capital were observed to carry this into the community, by continuing to speak Welsh despite being in an English session.

By observing, I can immediately see that there is a divide, the Welsh group and the English group. I observe the Welsh group to be having fun and laughing with each other. Always supporting and clapping when one of their Welsh friends successfully jumped over the bar. While waiting for their turn to jump, I observe the pupils chatting in Welsh, having fun and staying in their group of 8. During the break I observe the pupils having a ballet ‘lesson’ off one of their friends. All instructions are given to them in Welsh by the pupil, and they all ask questions in Welsh to each other. At the same time, I see some of the English pupils standing, watching the pupils having fun and laughing with each other. The only English that I hear from the pupils is when

they are conversing with the coach. Even when they are talking with each other around the coach, they are still speaking Welsh.

[Field notes, 10/06/16]

Further, young Welsh speakers saw themselves as key promoters for the minority language.

Sara- 'Well fi'n defnyddio'r Gymraeg tu fas i'r ysgol lot anyway ond fi'n meddwl trwy neud hynna ni'n hybu y pobl sydd ddim yn siarad ac sydd yn dysgu'r iaith i helpu nhw... just codi ymwybyddiaeth dros yr iaith a trio cael gymaint o pobl ag sy'n bosib i siarad yr iaith hefyd... Ond nid dim ond dysgu'r iaith ond neud e'n hwylus hefyd. Dwi'n meddwl mai hynnu yn rhan bwysig iawn.'

[Well I use Welsh outside school a lot anyway but I think by doing that we are encouraging the people who don't speak it and that we are learning the language to help them... just promoting awareness of the language and trying to get as many people as possible to speak the language too... but not just learning the language, but making it fun too. I think that is a very important part.]

[Focus Group 2, 8/05/17]

The young people saw that using Welsh outside school was important to re-vitalise the language. Using the language during community sport was a key reinforcement that Welsh is spoken, and that it should be accepted as a community language.

Llinos- 'Ddyle ni hybu'r iaith yn fwy yn y clybiau a fel annog pobl i siarad Cymraeg yn fwy aml.'

[We should promote the language more in the clubs and encourage people to speak Welsh more often.]

Glenda- 'Well, oherwydd ni yw fel y dyfodol mae'n golygu ar y funud ni yw dyfodol yr iaith, os nad ydyn ni ddim yn mynd allan a siarad yr iaith nawr, mewn flynyddoedd i

ddod bydd neb yn siarad yr iaith. So fi'n meddwl bod e yn bwysig bod ni yn mynd allan a siarad yr iaith Gymraeg, fel bod yr iaith yn parhau yn y dyfodol.'

[Well, because we are the like future, it means that at the moment we are the future of the language, if we do not go out and speak the language now, in years to come no one will speak the language. So, I think that it is important that we go on and speak the Welsh language, so that the language can survive in the future.]

[Focus Group 3, 9/05/17]

If young people become more confident in speaking and using the language socially, it could influence the acceptance of Welsh as a natural medium of communication (Löffler, 1997). Further, by doing so it could help to introduce learners to new Welsh words and expressions, as stated by Teithi.

Teithi- 'Fi'n meddwl just y balchder o allu siarad Cymraeg ac wedyn meddwl, dyna iaith chi ac mae yna rywbeth special amodoch chi a bod chi yn gallu cynrychioli'r wlad wrth neud hynny a dangos bod chi yn Gymru falch. Ac wrth neud chwaraeon a neud hynna a pan mae pobl yn clywed chi yn siarad Cymraeg mha nhw yn meddwl just wow a gallu clywed pobl yn meddwl bod e mor amazing bod chi yn gallu siarad iaith wahanol.'

[I think it is the pride of being able to speak Welsh and then think, that is your language and that is something special about you and that you can represent your country by doing that and that you are proud to be Welsh. And by doing sport and doing that and when people hear you speak Welsh, they think wow and being able to hear that people think that it is so amazing that you can speak a different language.]

[Year 8 pupil, recorded interview 17/11/16]

Not only was this the perception among pro-Welsh young people, but also among those who were more 'anti-Welsh'. During an interview, Morgan stated that young people play a role in 'cadw yr iaith yn alive, yn fyw' [keeping the language alive] [Year 9 pupil, recorded interview 10/6/17]. The future of the Welsh language is referred to within WG policy as being

interconnected with its use among young people (WAG, 2003). As identified by the young people themselves, they also perceive the future of the language to be in their hands. There are issues facing the promotion of the Welsh language within community sport related to attitudes and behaviours of young people and community sport providers. A key issue that contributes to specific negative attitudes and behaviours is the limited availability of Welsh speakers. And this links directly to sport development and raises challenges in terms of the recruitment and retention of volunteers and coaches.

Increasing Anglophone Ability and Confidence to Use Welsh

Key findings which emerged from the community sport study convincingly demonstrates that a young person's enthusiasm to speak the language in the sport club were evidently weaker than at school. This is largely linked to the dominance of the local language context (which is English) and due to the limited number of Welsh speakers in the community sport context. Despite this, young Welsh speakers shared that they would often support their Anglophone friends who would be studying Welsh as a compulsory subject and thus have Welsh homework. Results from this research suggest that young Welsh speakers enjoy increasing the confidence of learners and its success was suggested to be due to a mutual understanding between friends. Community sport provides these young people the space to build this. Some young Welsh speakers who, although reticent about using Welsh themselves outside school, were interested in supporting and fostering positive attitudes and confidence among others.

Emily- 'Whenever they needed help, they would come to us and we would translate it for them, so if they needed help, they could always come to us and we would help... It made me feel really quite proud of myself because obviously you are able to do stuff that they weren't, and it makes you feel a lot better.'

[Year 10 pupil, recorded interview 16/11/16]

Relating back to Löffler's (1997) suggestion that hearing Welsh socially would impact on the confidence of learners, this participant's story reflects that social Welsh is being used and is

fostering positive attitudes and confidence among learners. By helping their Anglophone friends, experiences gathered in this research suggest they are both increasing Anglophone ability and their own confidence in using the minority language.

Nerys- 'With Anna, she bought her Welsh GCSE essay in and I helped her with that and gave her help with that during land training on a Thursday... I helped her get an A... I don't really speak Welsh during the club because there is no one really who can speak it fluently... Obviously she was really happy, and I was just like wow I can help anyone now from an English school.'*

[Year 9 pupil, recorded interview 7/11/16]

Many pupils pursued a role in helping others with their Welsh and took pride in their ability to do so. It is positive to hear that young people are using the Welsh language to develop the confidence and linguistic competency of their friends. Some Anglophone youths enjoyed learning Welsh through their Welsh-speaking friends and aspired to use more of the language.

Kimberly- 'I used to help my friend with her Welsh because she wanted to learn phrases that she could use in everyday life and she would like speak to me in Welsh so that was nice and she was really making an effort, not in classes or stuff but when coming to training and she would always add to her vocabulary. She wasn't very good, and she would try hard, but you couldn't have a conversation with her, so it really motivated me to tell her more so that she could use it more often.'

[Year 12 pupil, recorded interview, 16/11/16]

Increasing the confidence of learners is something that the young Welsh speakers in this research enjoyed. Young Welsh speakers suggested that a key priority for promoting the use of the minority language successfully should be to make the learning of it engaging. Further, the experiences suggested that young Welsh were able to promote the language well due to their empathy and camaraderie towards their Anglophone friends.

Emily- 'Fi'n meddwl byddent yn dysgu mwy o fel ni yn helpu nhw yn y clybiau yn lle yr athrawon oherwydd mae nhw fel gyda mwy o fel diddordeb, ac rydym yn gwybod sut mha nhw yn teimlo, oherwydd rydym ni yn gwybod nhw fel person, ni'n gallu fel cydymdeimlo gyda nhw... Fi just yn meddwl bod rhaid i ni fel ceisio siarad Cymraeg, nid fel o safon isel, ond fel torri fe lawr i nhw yn fwy fel bod nhw yn deall y pethau fwyaf sylfaenol yn lle trio dysgu nhw pethau mwy cymhleth.'

[I think they will learn more from us helping them [English medium pupils] in the clubs instead of the teachers because they have more interest, and we know how they feel, because we know them as a person, we can sympathise with them... I think that we need to try speaking Welsh, not in a low standard, but try and break it down to them so that they understand the fundamental things rather than trying to teach them things which are more complex.]

[Focus group 5, 11/05/17]

The possession of Welsh linguistic capital among these young people could be empowering, especially if seeking for social status and recognition (Bourdieu, 1991). Although there is a growing concern among policy makers that the Welsh language is not being transferred into the community to be used with friends and family (Hodges, 2009; Thomas and Roberts, 2011), these participants' stories provide a different view on how the language is used in a community sport club context. They may not be using the language fluently within conversations, but what is occurring is that these young Welsh speakers are using the opportunity to teach and encourage Anglophone friends to speak and use the language. This has yet to be discussed in the literature, and so provides a unique viewpoint of how the language is currently being used among young people beyond the school gate. Lindsey and Chapman (2017) suggests that community-based participation enables the engagement of marginalised youths and allows for the development of shared identities and social ties. In the context of this research, community sport clubs provide the opportunities for young Welsh speakers to share their linguistic identity with their Anglophone friends.

Despite this, the perception of Anglophones towards of the Welsh language is noteworthy in understanding the reason why Welsh may not be or may never be the dominant language of community sport clubs.

Bea- 'I had to learn Welsh at school, and at the time I didn't really enjoy it but looking back now I didn't realise the value of being able to speak Welsh would have had further along in my career, so I think that if we were able to advise on that earlier on and show opportunities to them... then it might help them to appreciate it a little more and to carry it through their life.'

[Club officer, recorded interview 3/11/16].

The experiences of Anglophones who have been exposed to Welsh as a 'second language' are important as their experiences of learning the language at school may influence their attitudes towards the minority language. Although this was not discussed with young Anglophones themselves, the young Welsh speakers reflected on their understanding from the perspectives of their friends.

Teithi- 'Mae nifer o pobl yn ysgolion Saesneg yn casáu angen cael gwersi Cymraeg, a fi'n meddwl ni ddyle ni fod yn gorfodi fe arno nhw.'

[A number of people in English schools hate that they have to have Welsh lessons, and I think that we should not be forcing it on them.]

Emyr- 'Dwi'n cytuno... y peth yw, pan mha na rhywun yn neud i chi neud rhywbeth chi ddim mhoen, mae hynni yn rhoi chi of tipyn bach... fi'n meddwl bod e yn well i ni fel... cael hwyl yn siarad Cymraeg... mha hynni'n mynd i hysbysebu'r iaith mewn golau well.'

[I agree... the thing is, when there is someone that makes you do something that you don't want to, that puts you off a little... I think that it would be better if we... had fun speaking Welsh... that is going to market the language in a better light.]

Sara- 'Well... mae pobl yn ystyried dysgu'r iaith Gymraeg yn rhywbeth boring... oherwydd obviously mae'r athrawon yn dysgu chi... Ond, dwi'n meddwl os allwch chi blethu dysgu'r iaith ac fel neud chwaraeon neu neud rhywbeth fydddech chi'n neud tu allan i'r ysgol, fi'n meddwl bydd hynny yn neud e bach yn fwy hwyl.'

[Well... people consider learning the Welsh language as something boring... because obviously the teachers are teaching you... But I think that if you can tie in learning the language with something like doing sport or something that you would do outside school, I think that would make it more fun.]

[Focus Group 2, 8/05/17]

All schools in Wales, whether Welsh-medium, bilingual, or English-medium, play an important role in developing and engaging young people with the Welsh language. This was discussed among participants, and the prominence of schools were seen as critical in developing Welsh linguistic capital.

Cai- 'Mae'r iaith Gymraeg yn eithaf pwysig ac maen pwysig bod ni yn cadw o'n fyw felly maen pwysig iawn... Dwi'n meddwl bod yr iaith Gymraeg yn dechrau gwella yn y blynyddoedd diwethaf gan fod yna fwy o ysgolion Cymraeg yn cael eu creu i blant, felly mae yna genhedlaeth arall o blant yn dechrau siarad Cymraeg a gobeithio bydd yr holl genhedlaeth yna yn mynd ymlaen i siarad Cymraeg trwy'r amser... dwi'n meddwl dylai'r athrawon dysgu nhw am bwysigrwydd yr iaith a bod nhw yn lwcus bod nhw yn gallu siarad yr iaith a gwneud y mwyaf ohono.'

[The Welsh language is quite important, and it is important that we keep it living, therefore it is very important... I think that the Welsh language is starting to improve in previous years because there are more Welsh schools being created for children, therefore there is another generation of children starting to speak Welsh, and hopefully that whole generation will go on to speak Welsh all of the time... There does, I think teachers need to teach them about the importance of the language and that they are lucky that they are able to speak the language and make the most out of it.]

[Year 9 pupil, recorded interview 19/11/16]

A club official also raised the importance of all schools taking ownership, and how this influences the attitudes towards the language beyond the school gates.

Alwin- 'Yn y pen draw bydd e yn help mawr i gwaith nhw yn enwedig os ydynt yn gwneud gwaith mewn pob pwnc heblaw am Saesneg trwy'r Gymraeg. Y mwyaf o Gymraeg mha nhw yn siarad y gore fydd e yw gwaith ysgol a canlyniadau nhw. A fi'n siŵr os fyddwch chi'n mynd o gwmpas lot o ysgolion uwchradd, dwi'n meddwl mha fe ddim just ti fas arfer ysgol ond yn ti fas y stafell dosbarth diw'r Cymraeg ddim yn cael ei siarad yn aml. Pan mae gloch yna mynd a mae pawb yn gadael y dosbarth mha nhw'n newid i Saesneg ac hyd yn oed gyda timau chwaraeon fin siŵr bod â'n esiamplau da o pobl sydd yn parhau i siarad Cymraeg yn y gemau ar cyfleoedd chwaraeon ond dwi'n siŵr bod yna lot o Saesneg yn cael ei siarad hefyd. Mha fe'n rhywbeth mae ysgolion yn gorfod cymryd cyfrifoldeb ohono gan bod e yn digwydd ar ei safle nhw hefyd, dim o profiad fi, mae'n digwydd tu fas y stafell dosbarth ar ei safle nhw, felly mae fe yn rhywbeth dyle fod nhw yn ceisio gwella.'

[In the long run it would be a big help to their work especially if they do all of the work in all of their subjects, except for English, through the medium of Welsh. The more Welsh that they speak, the better it would be for their school work and their results. I am sure that if you were to go around a lot of the Welsh secondary schools, I think that it is not just outside school, but inside of the classrooms that Welsh isn't often spoken. When the bell goes, and everyone leaves the classroom they change to English and even with sports teams I am sure that there are best practice examples of when people have continued to speak Welsh in game and sport opportunities, but I am sure that there is a lot of English being spoken too. It is something that schools must take responsibility over because it happens on their sites too, not from my own experiences, it happens outside the classroom on their sites, therefore it is something that they should try and improve].

[Club Official, recorded interview 4/11/16]

The perceived 'value' of Welsh is a significant implication on whether it is perceived to have legitimacy within community sport clubs. The role of the school in increasing competencies among young people to speak and use languages is vital if Welsh is to be seen as a living language and one relevant to community sport. Without the development of sufficient competencies, the Welsh language may be dismissed as a community sport language where the majority of speakers are Anglophone. The importance of increasing the competencies of young people using Welsh, is a fundamental element of the minority language legitimacy and being seen as a natural medium of communication beyond the school gate. Community sport offers the space for which young Welsh speakers are able to increase Welsh linguistic capital not only among themselves, but also among their Anglophone peers. Perceived value of the importance of using Welsh is something that challenges the minority language from gaining any legitimacy in some community sport clubs. With this in mind, Welsh language, education and sport policies should consider the complexity of the perceived linguistic capital among young people and community sport providers.

Community Sport and Promoting Welsh

For some clubs, a few officers felt that they should be doing their part to increase the use of Welsh language in the interest of their participants and the promotion of the club.

Bea- 'It is something that we should be able to do, we are a club based in Wales, not in the biggest Welsh speaking area but we are in Wales and we should be able to offer it as needed and yeah I don't think that there are any barriers which would face us trying to implement it because it would almost be a trial and error on the basis that we run it on and see what happens. I think parents, especially parents of children who are in Welsh speaking schools would really like it.'

Researcher- 'What do you think about how the English-speaking young people parents feel about this?'

Bea- 'I think that just as long as it doesn't take over the whole aim of the session which would be to be athletics, I don't think they would have many problems with it. The children that we have in our club are under 16 and they would have to do Welsh at school so if anything, it would be helping them on the bits that they do need.'

[Club officer, recorded interview 3/11/16].

Although this research did not focus on gathering the perceptions of young people attending English medium schools, Bea offers a key point. Reality is, however, that Welsh is not always seen as a priority among English medium-schooled young people, it does not hold high linguistic capital in their eyes. Despite this, two non-Welsh speaking coaches felt that promoting the language would help sponsor club activities. Using it would help to promote the club in their eyes.

Rina- 'I reckon in a few years, I mean Welsh is popular now, but with schools taking it so seriously and to promote it in our gym club...it would be a good way to promote the club.'

[Coach, recorded interview 26/10/16]

Matthew- 'I think it is a language that people do want to speak... from a commercial aspect it can help, because if you have a club which encourages that then that might be an incentive for them to come and join the club... it is another avenue for people and if that would promote the club and bring more swimmers to the club then that would be a good thing. So, I think there is always an opportunity for it, it's just then how you would go around doing it... apart from what you see around already which is the bilingual communication... you would need people in the club that were fluent at speaking the language. So yeah, I think that there is potential for it and a potential benefit for it and there is funding out there and anything that is related to Welsh language can attract a level of funding. It is a good commercial aspect and there is benefit for it and then when it is happening it is actually promoting that language anyway... from a selfish point it could help the club, but it could also help those who speak the language.'

[Parent Coach, recorded interview 31/10/16]

Realising that Welsh could be beneficial would increase the likelihood for its incorporation into sessions and for more young people to be encouraged to use it. A young Welsh speaker also expressed their views on how clubs might go about encouraging the use of the minority language.

Jacob- 'Gall fod fwy o clybiau. A gall clybiau wneud fwy o ymdrech i introducio Cymraeg ac fel cael y plant i siarad Cymraeg os mha nhw'n gwybod sut i siarad Cymraeg neud fwy o effort i siarad Cymraeg gyda'r rhai sydd yn siarad Cymraeg ac i ddysgu y rhai sy ddim yn siarad Cymraeg i siarad Cymraeg o fewn awyrgylch chwaraeon gall hynni fod yn eithaf hawdd.'

[More clubs could. And clubs could make more of an effort to introduce Welsh and have like the children to speak Welsh if they are able to speak Welsh and to make more of an effort to speak Welsh with the ones that do speak Welsh and to teach those who can't speak Welsh how to speak Welsh within a sporting environment, that could be quite easy.]

Researcher- 'Sut all hynna weithio yn dy farn di?'

[How could that work in your opinion?]

Jacob- 'Wrth siarad am y technical aspects yn chwaraeon falle dod mewn a term Cymraeg a Saesneg.'

[By speaking about the technical aspects in sport and maybe by bringing in the Welsh and English terms.]

[Year 13 pupil, recorded interview 2/11/16]

Jacob alludes to a concept similar to *Amdani*, an intervention that was introduced by the WLC and explained in the introduction. By introducing technical Welsh terms, it would not only allow for young people to associate words between the two languages but would also raise awareness of its use. This approach was observed on only one occasion whilst visiting one of the community sport clubs participating in this research.

The young children are running around a circle playing a game of shark and fish, there is one male and one female coach taking the session. The male, speaking English, while the female spoke a mixture of Welsh and English. She shouted commands in Welsh to the kids and switches to English when speaking with the male. I hear the female coach shouting 'reit rownd, reit rownd', while the male coach spoke the same command 'All the way around' in English as the children run around in a circle.

[Field work, 27/07/16]

Observations referred to within this chapter suggest that a minority of clubs are adopting a bilingual approach to coaching, however critical challenges previously presented in this chapter would impede this approach in other clubs. Observations of the club in question above implies that Welsh and English could be used concurrently. This way not only is there an increased awareness of the language being used within community sport, but it is also about appreciating that not all young Welsh speakers attending the club are confident in understanding and using English. It would also assist in the promotion of the language and an opportunity for cultivating Welsh and English linguistic abilities, which is an important factor in developing linguistic capital.

Although a small number of clubs taking part in this research did not see Welsh as an important part of the organisation of their community sport club (as earlier results presented in this chapter revealed), others explored potential opportunities to promote the use of the minority language through incentives and Continued Professional Development (CPD) opportunities. During an interview, one club official discussed her experience and the importance of promoting the value in using and exercising the minority language.

Bea- 'We often have primary schools come up here to do activities so we could look at using some of our Welsh speaking athletes to help run those sessions, it then links in with the primary schools which do Welsh they could see the value in being able to speak Welsh in the different opportunities... maybe bringing in more people who are able to speak Welsh more fluently and who are able to speak welsh to those athletes that we have that do speak Welsh I think that if our coaches were willing to speak Welsh, it would be really good to do a role reversal with the athletes, they could help the coaches and then they would see more value in their ability to speak Welsh then and again that would then be a bit more of a CPD opportunity for the coach as well, and it would be good environment to create... I'm guessing if they didn't have too much Welsh experience it would be quite basic but allowing our older athlete who have been with us for a while now would really enjoy the opportunity to help coach the coach almost and that almost creates a bond between the coach athlete environment and they trust the coach they feel comfortable around them and that is what we need within the club environment... I just think that it is just a really nice skill to have for the coaches and the children, it puts them in a position where they are confident in the things that they go onto.'

[Club Official, recorded interview 1/11/16]

A key factor in volunteer retention (Phillips, Little and Goodine, 2002), is that a volunteer sees worth in giving their time to the organisation. By providing CPD opportunities relating to the Welsh language, community sport clubs will be contributing to increasing the linguistic capabilities and confidence of their coaches and volunteers and emphasising their cultural and linguistic capital through educational and technical qualifications (Bourdieu, 1991). Further, Lindsey and Chapman (2017) identify that offering specific training to volunteers can enhance employment opportunities. However, some volunteers and especially those who might be older may not see this type of CPD as a priority.

Sammy- 'I am not a Welsh speaker... At my age I'm not going to go and learn it ether.'

[Volunteer Coach, recorded interview 10/11/16]

The Urdd is considered to be one of the key drivers for the voluntary endeavours that support Welsh language activities (WG, 2013; Prys *et al.*, 2014). In the eyes of some young people and coaches, more support should be given by the Urdd to community sport clubs when encouraging Welsh to be spoken at their clubs. Although this is an opportunity, the scope and pressure may be beyond the capacity of the Urdd. Nonetheless, for some participants, organisations such as the Urdd were seen to have a potential role within community sport clubs to help promote the Welsh language. However, in the eyes of some of the participants of this research, they perceived that these organisations should take more of a responsibility in promoting and supporting the use of Welsh within wider community sport organisations.

Jemma- 'I would like to see the Urdd get a little bit more involved and obviously our Welsh speaking coach, teachers in the local primary school and perhaps myself, even though I have limited Welsh, I can understand and speak a little, so yeah I think there is scope for it to be extended.'

[Club Officer, recorded interview, 2/11/16]

Teithi- 'Fi'n meddwl gall yr Urdd cymryd mwy o ran mewn clybiau i annog pobl i siarad Cymraeg ac hefyd pobl Cymraeg i siarad Cymraeg pan maen nhw yn y clwb, ond mae lot o pobl yn siarad Saesneg.'

[I think that the Urdd could take more of a role in clubs to encourage people to speak Welsh and as well for Welsh people to speak Welsh when they are in the club, but a lot of people speak English.]

[Year 8 pupil, recorded interview, 10/11/16]

Although the Urdd provide opportunities to participate in sport through the medium of Welsh, young Welsh speakers participating in this research felt that there were limited opportunities for them to do so at their age.

Teithi- 'Gyda phob parch i'r Urdd dwi'n meddwl mha nhw jyst yn neud pethau ar gyfer plant sydd yn iau na ni.'

[With respect to the Urdd, I think that they just do things for the children who are younger than us, rather than us.]

Sara- 'Yeah'.

Teithi- 'a mae pobl felly yn colli diddordeb erbyn i nhw cyrraedd yr ysgolion uwchradd really.'

[and then people lose interest once they reach secondary school.]

[Focus Group 2, 8/05/17]

Betsi- 'Fi'n credu mai'r Urdd yn neud mwy o pethau fel ar gyfer plant ifanc nag mha nhw ar gyfer plant hyn.'

[I think the Urdd do more things for young children than they do for older children.]

[Focus group 5, 11/05/17]

The development of young people through sport (Cooke, 1996; Houlihan, 2000; Kirk and Gorely, 2000; Hylton, 2013), suggests that if they wish to participate in sporting opportunities solely through the Welsh language, there are limited opportunities to progress through the participation and performance pathways. This can inhibit young Welsh speakers to develop Welsh linguistic capital through sport or may prevent them from reaching the participation or performance level they desire to do so if participation through the medium of Welsh is essential.

Summary

This chapter has drawn on research from all four phases of data collection and pays particular attention to the school and community sport club environment. The key themes which have emerged in the research will be discussed in further detail in chapter 6. In the school environment, teachers significantly safeguarded the Welsh language and were in a position of authority to influence its use. Some students disregarded the school rule and spoke English, whenever they felt it was safe to do so and generally this was done when being out of ear shot of a teacher. Pupils were also influenced by their peer group and so their behaviours changed depending on who they were with and whether this meant supporting or rejecting the use of Welsh. Other pupils were prepared to champion the language and promote its use even when not in the presence of a teacher. Typically, but not exclusively, these pupils were in the habit of speaking Welsh and were from families where Welsh was spoken everyday - at home, at school and in the community.

In the community sport environment, the opportunity to speak Welsh was far more limited. Moreover, coaches and to a lesser extent peers, exercised considerable influence in these environments and largely controlled language use among the young Welsh speakers. Welsh speakers shared their experiences of how coaching staff controlled the environment and ensured English was generally spoken over Welsh. In some instances, Welsh was not permitted, and there were some cases where this had led to the marginalisation and exclusion of young Welsh speaking participants from the session.

Data presented in this chapter revealed also that young people are conscious of alienating those who cannot speak Welsh. On a positive note, young people reflected on their use of Welsh to develop language abilities and their preparedness to support their Anglophone peers. Typically, those who lacked confidence were less likely to use Welsh, whereas those who had high perceived competencies would use Welsh, but not always. Many of the young people reported that they did not know whether a coach could speak Welsh, and thus out of courtesy would speak English.

Some challenges were also identified by community sport clubs themselves, one of which related to volunteers supporting the delivery of community sport. Issues regarding the recruitment and retention of volunteers were reported and thus it was viewed by some that introducing Welsh would be perceived as placing a further burden on community sport clubs. Community sport providers reflected that it was difficult to recruit volunteers and that they couldn't 'cherry-pick' only those who were bilingual.

Taken overall, this chapter has revealed a complex and detailed landscape of how and where Welsh is spoken in a non-traditional area of Wales. The safeguarding of the language by teachers at school meant many pupils viewed it as a 'language for school'. In the community most young people spoke English over Welsh thereby creating and supporting an English-speaking habit. This paradoxically was recognised by the young people themselves, as being difficult to change and they recognised the perpetuation of Welsh being subordinate to English rather than both languages being treated equally. The key findings reflect the importance of the environment, how it is influenced by teachers in school and coaches/ volunteers in the community, the role of peers and the importance of habit and language confidence which varies considerably among the young people themselves.

CHAPTER FIVE

POLICY INFORMERS' PERSPECTIVE

Introduction

This chapter presents the interview findings with policy informers conducted in the fourth phase of research. It focuses on the perception of policy informers and considers whether community sport could play a role in promoting the minority language. Rather than pseudonyms in this chapter, policy informers have been assigned codes that are related to whether they are local, regional or national policy informers. The codes are: LOF for local formulators; ROF for regional formulators; and NOPF for national opinion and policy formers. The relevance of collecting the perceptions of the local, regional and national policy informers were to bridge the gap in understanding and knowledge across the sport policy process. Having gained an in-depth understanding of the challenges and opportunities at a community sport level, it was deemed important to also understand these from the perspectives of policy formers both vertically and horizontally. The following sections addresses the challenges and opportunities in the eyes of policy informers towards whether a million Welsh speakers can be reached. The structure of the chapter includes sections that address a number of the key messages which derived from the policy informer interviews (Phase 4 II of this research).

A Recognition of the Welsh Language

For the Welsh language to be accepted and developed as a ‘day to day’ means of communication, policy informers suggested that it should be considered an essential part of professional development at all levels of an organisation’s workforce. They stated that it should not only be considered by employees offering paid positions, but also for those offering volunteering opportunities and positions. If competency is developed and organisations embrace the development of Welsh as a skill for all, it is more likely that people will have the competencies and confidence to use the language. It would also assist the normalisation of the minority language and increase its presence in the workplace and community. Additionally, promoting the Welsh language as a workplace skill was also suggested to increase the perception among young people of the usefulness and importance of the language beyond education.

NOPF 1- 'Fasa' i yn dwli i glywed bod yr addysg cyn 16 yn rhoi yr hyder na iddyn nhw, a rhoi y buzz na iddyn nhw bod beth bynnag maen nhw mhoen neud mewn bywyd, mae'r Gymraeg yn rhan ohono fe... Mae gwaith yn mynd i fod yn bwysig yna, cyflogaeth yn mynd i fod yn bwysig bwysig, a dyna dwi'n credu i fi yw'r her mawr, bod ni yn troi y Gymraeg yn iaith bob dydd yn y gweithle ac bod pobl ifanc wedyn yn gallu gweld y sense o pam bod nhw wedi dysgu'r Gymraeg. Maen nhw yn gweld e fel rhan o'r pecyn o ran sgiliau. Efallai bod ni ddim wedi bod yn gwneud hynni yn arbennig o dda oherwydd dwi'n gweld pobl ifanc yn mynd trwy'r system addysg cyfrwng Gymraeg ac ar ôl 5 mlynedd yn dweud, oh I've forgotten it. A ti'n meddwl o mha hynni mor drist... Hwnna yw'r sialens yw i troi y pobl sydd yn astudio yn ddefnyddwyr y Gymraeg.'

[I would love to hear that the education system before 16 gives them the confidence, and gives them that buzz that whatever they want to do in life, the Welsh language is a part of it... Work is going to be important there, employability is going to be very very important, and that is what I think for me is the biggest challenge, that we turn Welsh into an everyday language in the workplace and that young people can have a sense of why they are learning the language. So that they see it as part of the package in terms of skills. Maybe we have not been doing that very well because I see young people going through the Welsh medium education system and after 5 years they say, oh I've forgotten it. And you think that is so sad... That is the challenge to turn people who are studying into Welsh users.]

[Recorded interview, 6/4/18]

The role of further education is emphasised by NOPF 1 to play an important role in developing future competent and confident workers and Welsh speakers. Policy informers suggested that education, especially HE and FE, plays a key role in the development of suitably qualified and confident Welsh speakers.

NOPF 1- 'Mae rhaid i ni sicrhau bod y system addysg yn creu siaradwyr hyderus sydd yn deall bod nhw yn rhan o wlad dwyieithog, nid just bod nhw gorfod astudio'r Gymraeg oherwydd maen nhw gorfod astudio'r Gymraeg. Dwi'n teimlo bod angen i'r system addysg creu ethos dwyieithog hyderus. Dwi wedi sôn am gyflogwyr, mae'n

bwysig bwysig wedyn bod cyflogwyr yn eu gweld fel sgil, ac mae yna ddarn arall o'r jicsaaw yna sydd yn y canol sef colegau addysg bellach a phrifysgolion. Nhw sydd yn creu pobl proffesiynol, nhw sydd yn creu gweithwyr ar diwedd y dydd, a dwi'n credu bod colegau addysg bellach mor mor bwysig, mae gymaint ohonom ni ddim yn mynd i prifysgol ond yn mynd i neud cwrs galwedigaethol, mae rhaid i ni sicrhau bod nhw yn parhau y Gymraeg fel sgil wrth iddynt ddysgu i fod yn blymwr yn drydanwr, beth bynnag mha nhw yn dysgu yn y coleg.'

[We need to ensure that the education system creates confident speakers who understand that they are part of a bilingual country, not just that they have to study Welsh because they just have to study Welsh. I feel that the education system needs to create a confident bilingual ethos. I have spoken about employees, it is important then that employers see this as a skill, and that is another part of the jigsaw which is in the middle which is further education colleges and universities. They are the ones who create the professional people, they are the ones creating workers at the end of the day, and I think that further education colleges are so so important, there are so many of us who do not go to university but go and do a vocational course, we have to ensure that they continue with Welsh as a skill as they learn to be a plumber and electrician, whatever they learn in college.]

[Recorded interview, 6/4/18]

With the drive and emphasis on employability within FE and HE, it is in the best interests of institutions to take on the opportunity to enhance the employability of their students. There were many policy informers who believed that the work placement opportunities for students allow them to gain valuable experience on the ground.

ROF 2- 'I ni wedi cael rhai ar placement yn barod y rhai sydd ar y cwrs ieuenctid... mi oedd yn grêt, mi oedd yn plethu i fewn i popeth oeddem ni yn trio neud ac mi oedd yn dda iddo gweld yr ochr practical o beth oedd yn astudio a dyna beth sydd angen ar myfyrwyr yn fwy nag un rhywbeth. Pan mha nhw yn astudio rhywbeth, mae angen arnynt nhw gweld, looking at the principles is one thing, how those principles can be put into action is a very different matter. Os wyt ti'n mynd mas ac yn gweld y gwaith

rydych chi'n siarad amdano yn seminar neu darlith maen cael gymaint o wahaniaeth ac mi wyt ti'n deall e gymaint yn fwy ti'n cael dealltwriaeth lot fwy eang, ti hefyd yn cael dealltwriaeth o'r problemau sydd mas fynna, ti'n gwybod, mha edrych ar practicalities yn agor dy lygad o meddwl, oh ok hang on mha hynni'n lincio gyda rhywbeth arall neithon ni yn modiwl arall ac mha hynni'n neud sense.'

[We have already had some on placement which are on the youth module... it was great, it was linking everything in that they were trying to do, and it was good for them to see the practical side of what they are studying and that is what students need more than anything. When they are studying something, they need to see, looking at principles is one thing, how those principles can be put into action is a very different matter. If you go out and see the work that you are talking about in a seminar or lecture it is going to make such a difference and you are going to understand it so much more and a lot broader understanding of the problems which are out there ... it is looking at the practicalities that opens your eyes up and think, oh ok, hang on that links with something that we did in the other module and that makes sense.]

[Recorded interview, 25/10/17]

The transition from FE and HE can be challenging (Fallows and Steven, 2000), and thus there is increasing emphasis on students making links between their studies and skills required in their future work. HE therefore serves as an ideal opportunity to provide the future workforce with the knowledge, confidence and understanding of how to operate professionally within society, and in Wales offers explicit opportunities to work in Welsh.

Participants suggested that promoting the Welsh language as a workplace skill would increase the perception of the usefulness and importance of the language beyond education. Like that reported in the previous chapter, policy informers also felt that Welsh should be recognised as a CPD opportunity.

NOPF 4- 'I am a huge believer that I will appoint on people not just competencies. So, if you take that approach, there are certain roles that I think you would expect an

essential knowledge of the Welsh language, so if you have interaction with organisations that are first language Welsh... I am probably of the camp that it is a desirable skill, but essential in certain settings. What I am a real supporter of, is that if you are living in Wales, working in Wales I think there is an expectation that people have a positive approach to the Welsh language whether that means they go through a formal learning of Welsh. I think everybody should have, particularly in the public sector, everyone should have the basics of the Welsh language... what should be essential is an appreciation of the Welsh language and Welsh culture and a commitment to develop basic skills in Welsh.'

[Recorded interview, 23/5/18]

Appreciating the Diversity of Wales

Perceptions shared by policy influencers suggested that there is differentiation across Wales about how Welsh should be spoken. In contrast to the findings of the community sport study where English held legitimacy and power over Welsh, policy influencers identified that linguistic capital in some parts of Wales was related to a legitimate or 'pure Welsh' attitude.

NOPF 4 – 'My perception rightly or wrongly is that there is still quite a hierarchy, I have a great example for you, that in north Wales... we are in a restaurant (pub) and there was somebody who was quite loud at the bar and was speaking Welsh, and spoke Welsh to me and I maybe said hello in Welsh, and then I said I'm from [England] and I don't speak Welsh, I am sorry, but I was with some colleagues and one of them is from South Wales, Welsh speakers, so I said yeah sorry I don't speak Welsh but my friend down there, called them over, and he got really aggressive telling me that that is not real Welsh speaker, that is south Wales, that's this that's that and he engaged with me coming from [England] through the medium of English more than he would engage with my friend who I put forward because he spoke Welsh... I think we have to get beyond all that who speaks Welsh in this way that way, just it is just a language and I think the Welsh should be really proud of it... but there is still this hierarchy behind it, I sense. Elitism maybe.'

[Recorded interview, 23/5/18]

The linguistic market is relevant here. As reflected by NOPF 1, certain regional uses of the Welsh language are seen as having a higher ‘currency’ than others (Bourdieu, 1991), therefore despite being able to fluently speak Welsh they may not be speaking the ‘pure Welsh’ as perceived by some. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) suggest that there are inequalities in linguistic competencies, however, not all linguistic remarks are equally acceptable. In this respect, some Welsh speakers who believe that ‘pure Welsh’ holds higher currency over attempting to safeguard the language by legitimising the way that it is spoken as illustrated in Figure 12. This is similar to that found within the school environment during phase one where teachers and some pupils fought to safeguard the language by keeping it ‘pure and separate’, and also being critical of the use of ‘Wenglish’. The perception and experience shared above is commonly presumed, however is often overemphasised. However, it provides an interesting comparison of linguistic capital between the North and South of Wales.

The regional variation is a critical consideration here, as evidenced earlier in this thesis (Figures 8 and 9) that there are dramatic differences between the numbers of Welsh speakers within each authority in Wales. Local and regional policy informers called for government organisations to appreciate the diversity of areas within Wales.

ROF 1- ‘I think from a policy perspective... you are going to find variance in those areas based on population, needs assessments what the most important, and which population groups and which issues, so there is a question I suppose that a very narrow vision and programme for Wales may work in some areas and may not work in another. I think it is a more holistic approach that is making things more meaningful for people based on where they live and how they live their lives and recognising that you may have to modify activity offers and work in different ways to engage people, that kind of approach would work and allow enough flexibility at a local level.’

[Recorded interview, 14/2/18]

As identified in the community study, there are several challenges facing the promotion of the minority language during community sport activities. It is vital that policy makers understand the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and threats that may face them across Wales in their endeavour to reach a million speakers. Appreciation of the diversity of Wales was considered important when developing interventions and projects, as a 'one size fits all' approach within their policies or strategies may not be appropriate.

Policy influencers identified that appreciating the diversity of Wales was also important to do so from a resource outlook.

ROF 4- 'I think we need a workforce that have Welsh language skills so that we interact and encourage those young people who are Welsh language first and want to use Welsh language skills and allow them within a [sport] setting to do so. And that's challenging, I would say for any sport and I know it's challenging for us... Communities where Welsh language is used extensively, it's going to be, not saying it's going to be easier, that's not the right word, its more embedded in society and in use of the sport. And I know if we go to Welsh language first areas such as North West Wales, I know that it will be used primarily first. But in other parts of Wales where English language is more predominant I don't think we have the workforce, the numbers, the time to make sure that we are providing the right provision there, so I think that a key task is getting a workforce with Welsh language skills with the right time and the right capabilities to be able to move forward... it takes time to find the workforce to help us to deliver at those events. So, I think that is something that we can improve on.'

[Recorded interview, 12/2/18]

One of the findings in the previous chapter related to challenges facing the recruitment of volunteers within community sport clubs and this further supports previous research (Hoye *et al.*, 2012; Kim and Bang, 2012; Nichols, 2013). This research further emphasises that finding and developing a skilled workforce is a critical challenge facing Welsh medium provision in community sport. It was also appreciated that it would not be a quick fix, and that patience would be needed in order to ensure that this is done effectively.

ROF 4- 'I think in the short term, it is a lack of skilled workforce with the right Welsh language skills... I think that is a time thing, that is going to change people are coming through Welsh medium education and we are going to have more volunteers with strong Welsh language skills... [in our team] there was 11 of us and there were 2 members of staff who were I would say [were] confident in [using] Welsh... and would be able to do courses and practices in the medium of Welsh... so when we were doing activities outside of their region, it would be a matter of having [move them] into different regions or having to source someone locally from our wider workforce to deliver that activity, and I can recognise that that could not be necessarily ideal.'

[Recorded interview, 12/2/18]

A Welsh speaking workforce was identified as an important asset for developing Welsh language opportunities in and beyond sport. It was often stressed that for an organisation to drive the use of the Welsh language and to promote its use, a workforce that had the confidence, skills and ability to do so was paramount.

Partnerships and Resources

Unsurprisingly many of the key stakeholders within this study spoke about the importance of their partnership with the Urdd. For both local authorities [LA] and national governing bodies [NGB], the Urdd plays a key role in the development of Welsh medium community sport provision, which varies from leading sessions to big tournaments.

NOPF 2- 'I think probably one that sticks out in my mind is our partnership with the Urdd. Obviously, you know the Urdd is a very far reaching organisation in terms of where it touches. I think that it is really important that we partnered with an organisation which knew what it was doing in terms of promoting the Welsh language. Because we can't just assume that although we were the experts in sport and the clubs knew what their sporting offer was, and the governing bodies and the LAs, we can't

assume just because we know sport that we know how best to integrate sport and the Welsh language.'

[Recorded interview, 12/3/18]

As identified in the school and community study, policy informers identified that habit and competency were a challenge facing promotion of the minority language. Due to the Urdd's expertise in promoting and facilitating the Welsh language, it is unsurprising that it played a key role in the development of opportunities within community sport among NGBs and LAs. The Urdd was described as the 'market leader' for development of innovative projects and programs that concern the Welsh language.

ROF 4- 'I see them [the Urdd] as the market leader, so we are looking at how we can commission ourselves better, so spending less money on ourselves and more on like staff delivering and trying to commission our clubs our leagues our areas and other partners such as the Urdd to work on our behalf.'

[Recorded interview, 12/2/18]

A concern that was raised among local and regional policy informers was the duplication of provision and competition for funding. Uncertainty around the roles and responsibilities of organisations like the Urdd, raised frustrations among some.

ROF 1- 'In many instances the Urdd are promoted ... [given] ... the funded opportunities, so they are mainly delivering on that plan, but we jointly made the plan, and then things that they would want to do would also be within the Urdd's plan. Because one of the things we have to show is that there isn't double investment is that they are funding something for the Urdd as a national partner which is also then funded at a local level, so it is making sure that from a policy perspective that these things talk to each other and they don't duplicate.'

[Recorded interview, 14/2/18]

As suggested by Palmer (2011), blurred understandings of specific roles and responsibilities associated may inhibit organisations from good governance and leadership, and in the case of this research, with development and delivery of Welsh language initiatives. This then impacts on whether the organisation is able to meet some of the key good governance principles, as outlined in the *Governance and Leadership Framework for Wales* (Sport Wales and Sport and Recreation Sector in Wales, 2015), due to potentially not being ‘fit for purpose’ or providing inclusive pathway opportunities.

Policy informers identified that although the Urdd are a key resource for promoting the use of the Welsh language, they should also be seen as a key partner with resources and responsibilities divided accordingly.

LOF 1- ‘I ni yn bersonol yn ein adran ni beth mha nhw yn tueddol o neud yw bod Sport Wales os mha rywbeth yn ymwneud gyda’r Cymraeg, nawn nhw rhoi e i’r Urdd ac mi fydd nhw yn sortio fe allan... mha angen ehangu e yn fwy na’r Urdd, diw e ddim yn deg i roi’r faich i’r Urdd oherwydd mae angen iddo fe fod yn whole sector approach ac mae’r Urdd yn cario ymlaen gyda’r pethau dda mha nhw’n neud ac wedyn yn cael eu cefnogi gyda pethau gallwn ni neud.’

[Personally to us, in our department what they tend to do is that Sport Wales, if it is something to do with the Welsh language, they will give it to the Urdd, and they will sort it out... they need to expand it further than the Urdd, it is not fair to give the burden to the Urdd because it needs to be a whole sector approach, so that the Urdd can carry on with the good things that they are doing and that we can support that with things that we can do.]

[Recorded interview, 7/11/17]

The importance of partnerships with the Urdd was discussed among policy informers. Considering that effective policy implementation depends on the interaction of several front-line organisations (Hjern, 1982; May *et al.*, 2012), building partnerships should be encouraged to promote the Welsh language successfully. As discussed with a LOF 1, they had no specific

responsibility over developing the use of the Welsh language and therefore leant on the services of the Urdd to promote and develop language opportunities.

LOF 1- 'Efo fy swydd i does dim byd penodol fel rhan o'r swydd i hyrwyddo'r iaith Gymraeg. Mae prif pwrpas swydd i yw cael fwy o plant yn neud [gweithgareddau] gorfforol ar draws yr ysgol ac yn gymunedol, felly does dim byd yn specific yn y swydd... Beth maen nhw yn tueddol o neud i ni neud yw i weithio gyda menter, yr Urdd ac organisations tebyg fel na i sort of hyrwyddo'r gwaith da mha nhw yn neud, ac os mha nhw eisiau cael sesiynau trwy'r Cymraeg fyddwn yn mynd trwy'r Urdd a Menter.'
[With my job there is nothing specific as part of the job to promote the Welsh language. The main purpose of my job is to get more children doing physical [activities] across the school and in the community, therefore there is nothing specifically in the job... What usually happens is that they work with organisations like Menter, the Urdd, and other similar organisations to sort of promote the good work that they are doing, and if they want to have sessions through the medium of Welsh, they will go through the Urdd and Menter.]

[Recorded interview, 7/11/17]

ROF 1- 'I think things have progressed over time... originally it may have been this is how the Urdd has a model or an approach to work in wherever the Urdd lands on the landscape and I think we have managed to understand better how we are stronger together.'

[Recorded interview, 14/2/18]

Ensuring that there is adequate workforce available who can speak Welsh is a challenge facing many who offer sport provision. It is questionable as to whether some LAs and NGBs that offer and support community sport provision, can independently deliver Welsh medium opportunities especially within non-traditional Welsh speaking areas. This was where the Urdd were considered helpful in providing the resources for delivering opportunities through the medium of Welsh, however there are some key challenges to consider. The challenge of

scoping demand and ensuring that there is enough market for Welsh medium provision was identified by the policy informers in this study.

ROF 3- 'I suppose the Urdd has been helpful, I know that they are asking us regularly for Welsh language courses, but we only have one Welsh language speaking tutor... we did try and do a Welsh language level 1 a few years ago, all of the presentations, assessment criteria all of the resources and then actually the people who came on the course, although they could speak Welsh and they could deliver, they were not confident or competent enough to do the coursework in Welsh. So, it ended up being, the Welsh tutor delivering and assessing the written work in English, but then they just used Welsh on poolside, which is really the important bit, but obviously I think we had gone too far down one road, and ever since then we have not had the suppose the demand for it.'

[Recorded interview, 25/10/17]

ROF 1- 'We ... have a model of work on the ground that meets local need and ties in with more strongly with our other approaches... Seeing these things as a market. Some of these things have high demand other things I don't think we have managed to develop the full demand you would want to run full pathways in everything, but that has to be the objective.'

[Recorded interview, 14/2/18]

Demand is a key consideration facing the future of the Welsh language within community sport. Ratten (2017) suggests that sport policies are driven by market demand, therefore considering this, if there is no demand for the Welsh language it would present a threat to the longevity and success of not only the government's aspiration for a million Welsh speakers, but also the language itself. Although the opportunities may be given, the Welsh language still may not be a user's first choice. Policy informers suggested that it is important to develop innovative interventions that suits community needs.

NOPF 4- '[We need to] ... partner... [with]... those organisations that do have a legitimate voice in their communities that they represent. So an example being, you know we would work through a local organisation in Grangetown that has really strong links with the Somali community, we would not have that same legitimacy as a national public body, we might have empathy, but do we have legitimacy, well actually in that local community, the local youth group or the local sporting organisations or the local community centre, they have that legitimacy with the community, so I can see a far greater mosaic of organisations partners, partnerships which will be meeting local needs rather than quite a small group of traditional partners.'

[Recorded interview, 23/5/18]

Identifying individuals with legitimacy, or as ROF 1 offered, 'connectivity', within communities is an important for ensuring that their needs are met. In a Welsh language context, understanding the needs of communities, whether that is pro-Welsh or not, is a vital practice which should be implemented when designing interventions.

The views collected in this study suggests that there is a need for further clarity with regards to funding allocations towards Welsh language activities. What needs to be considered here is that community sport providers are supported, and that they share best practice examples, which are then recognised by national organisations. However, policy informers identified that there was a threat of competing for funding allocations which would impact on collaboration between organisations.

ROF 2- 'Mha mudiadau yn hytrach na ddweud dewch i ni siarad gyda'n gilydd i gweld beth da ni'n gwneud a gweld fel allwn ni symud hwn ymlaen, mha nhw yn gweld e fel cystadleuaeth. A mha nhw'n dweud, ok well nawn ni ddim dweud wrth yr [sefydliad] bod hynna'n digwydd achos da ni eisiau'r ystadegau achos pan mae'n dod i trio am pot o arian nesa, fydd ystadegau ni'n edrych yn well.'

[Some organisations, rather than saying let us come together and talk to see what we are doing and how we can move this forward, they see it as a competition. And because

they say, ok we won't say anything to [organisation] that that is happening because we want the statistics because when we go and try for the next pot of money those statistics will make us look better.]

[Recorded interview, 25/10/17]

Concerning building partnerships on the ground, this may serve as a more effective method for promoting the development of the Welsh language and may provide the opportunity for local stakeholders to influence policy decisions. A minimum expectation of good governance in Wales, under the seventh principle, is that organisations develop an understanding of the key relationships and partnerships with strategic and commercial bodies (Sport Wales and Sport and Recreation Sector in Wales, 2015). Clearly as identified from this research, understanding around the roles, responsibilities and strategic partners are not implicit.

Normalising the Welsh Language

Normalisation of the language is a crucial element of overcoming the perceptions of communities towards Welsh. A common perception articulated frequently during the data collection was that Welsh is a 'school language'.

NOPF 4- 'I have worked with people who have come through Welsh medium education being frightened of being caught speaking English in the school corridor, and then as soon as they are outside of the school gates will only speak English, and I think, and this is a personal view, I think one of the challenges is around sport and the Welsh language, I think there is a nervousness that the Welsh language has to be spoken in a very formal way. So, I know a lot of people just from my network who will speak Welsh in a conversational fun way, but in any formal setting they won't have the confidence to do it. And I think that applies to sport. And I think it should be encouraged, we should be encouraging people to use Welsh through sport. But doing it in a way that doesn't isolate people or make people feel pressured to speak Welsh or to speak English.'

[Recorded interview, 23/5/18]

Policy informers suggested that by encouraging flexible bilingualism in the community that the contextualisation towards the school might adapt over time.

LOF 1- 'Beth dwi yn poeni yw ydy bod lot o plant yn tueddol y weld y Gymraeg wedi cysylltu gyda'r ysgol a ddim yn rhywbeth ella cŵl a rhywbeth da nhw yn neud tu fas yr ysgol. Felly dwi'n meddwl mai angen iddyn nhw (ysgolion) normaleiddio'r Gymraeg fel bod e ddim just yn peth ysgol a rhywbeth ysgol ac mha nhw'n associatio fe gyda'r ysgol ond fel rhywbeth maen nhw yn defnyddio yn y gymuned hefyd a dwi'n meddwl os allwn nhw neud Chwaraeon yn y gymuned trwy'r Gymraeg mi fydd hynni'n help mawr.'

[What worries me is that a lot of children see the Welsh is connected with the school and is not something which is considered to be cool and something good for them to do outside school. Therefore, I think that they (schools) need to normalise Welsh so that is not just seen as a school thing and they are associating it with school, but as something that they use in the community, and I think if they can do community sport through the medium of Welsh that can be a big help.]

[Recorded interview, 7/11/17]

Although community sport is suggested here as a means of promoting the use of the language, there are several challenges, and these were identified in the preceding chapter. Nonetheless the policy informers suggested that sport was relevant and could help nations access their identity and to be passionate about their culture, history and language.

ROF 4- 'Sport in modern society is one of the few ways nations can really assert their identity and be passionate about their culture and history and what they are all about. When you play [sport] against England or any of the other nations, it's about celebrating Welshness and representing Wales, and it is about playing the game. And that's why I think that sport has such a key role and we can come back to Welsh language to you know we represent the country, we do represent the nation be it

football, rugby or whatever sport it is, you might not like [sport] but you would be passionate about a sport in some respects you know with the constitutions of Welsh culture and language.'

[Recorded interview, 12/2/18]

This is an important consideration, and one that may be vital in the promotion and normalisation of the language through sport. Elite sport has recently played a role in engaging and promoting the Welsh language globally. The #Diolch campaign ran by the Football Association Wales (FAW) at the 2016 UEFA European championships played a significant part in re-creating the awareness around the Welsh language globally and within Wales itself.

NOPF 2- 'I think the players embraced it very keenly, and I think that the fans did, you know it was interesting out in France, because I was at all of the games, and just chatting to friends of mine who were not Welsh speakers who were kind of saying that they were feeling very proud that people knew that Wales had two languages and had heard people speaking Welsh, and people knew the anthem and knew some songs like Calon Lân¹⁰ that were sung in the grounds. You know I think it was kind of a re-awakening amongst people who just hadn't probably thought about Welsh before in the context of sport so, yeah all positive really.'

[Recorded interview, 12/3/18]

At the 2014 Glasgow Commonwealth Games, Welsh athletes were encouraged to use Welsh words whilst posting on social media and supporting and the importance of sporting role models were identified as an effective way of promoting the language being used naturally.

¹⁰ Calon Lân is a Welsh hymn by John Hughes. It is loosely translated into 'A Pure Heart' (Cymdeithas Madog, 2000)

NOPF 4- 'Something which I think is very beneficial is getting high profile role models involved you know, sport has a wealth of role models, and I think the more that we can have you know celebrities endorsing it, publicising it.'

[Recorded interview, 23/5/18]

Seeing the language as something which is fun and enjoyable may be an important advancement in the 'normalisation' of the language, and something which would engage future generations to use Welsh more confidently.

Welsh as a Living Language for the Future

If Welsh speakers understand that they do not have to speak the language immaculately, and that it can be used informally, more may be encouraged to speak it. Understanding that Welsh does not have to be spoken in a certain way may alter the perceptions of linguistic capital, by the minority language being embedded within social contexts. Although Welsh is seen formally in some settings (namely due to political and educational initiatives), mistakes should not be perceived as a negative- as they may be in school- but instead should be seen as an attempt to learn and develop the minority language. This should be recognised and celebrated. If all can embrace the Welsh language, sport in general provides an ideal space for Welsh to be promoted. In addition, being prepared to make mistakes were also seen as an important step in moving away from the cultural beliefs (such as the poster examples taken from *Ysgol y Bont* in Figure 12) of how the language should be spoken.

NOPF 2- 'It is really important to not worry about making mistakes in Welsh, for all of us, you know. Some people wait to be perfect in Welsh until they will speak it or do an interview in it, but the reality is that none of us are perfect... we have to accept that it has to be spoken pretty badly at times to allow people to have the confidence to improve you know and if we are not prepared to do that, we may as well wave good bye to the language because if you are just waiting for people who are completely fluent and perfect Welsh speakers, the language will die out before other people get to that stage.'

[Recorded interview, 12/3/18]

Policy informers taking part in this study emphasised the importance of young people and the impact in which they could have on developing and promoting the Welsh language. The young people themselves identified this as a key priority for the future of the language in the preceding studies. They are currently engaging at times innovatively with the language during their community sport activities (as evidenced in Chapter Four).

LOF 1- 'Y pobl ifanc, nhw sydd yn a nhw fydd y dyfodol so mae'n bwysig bod nhw yn cario ymlaen i neud hynna ac wedyn mha hynni'n triclo lawr y generation nesa gyda pa mor bwysig yw e.'

[The young people, they are, and they will be the future and so it is important that they carry that on and do that and that then trickles down to the next generation with how important it is.]

[Recorded interview, 7/11/17]

The *Well-being of Future Generations (Wales) Act 2015* (Future Generations Commissioner for Wales, 2015) emphasises on the importance of promoting the Welsh language and encouraging people to participate in sport and recreation. As the future generation, young people should be encouraged and empowered to develop and embrace the Welsh language. It was emphasised that young people play a vital role in encouraging younger generations to speak and use the language and programmes concerning young ambassadors could play a key role in facilitating this.

NOPF 2- 'I think the young ambassadors programme is really critical there, and I know that there has been good use of Welsh in that as well, really really very important because peer you know pressure, or encouragement can be very significant... young people are absolutely critical because they are not going to listen to all the rest of us, they are going to listen to each other. And you know, a kind of pupil in year 11 is more

likely to appeal to a pupil in year 9 than somebody who isn't even in that school, so I think we have to be realistic about how we communicate these areas as well.'

[Recorded interview, 12/3/18]

Something that was also discussed among policy informers, was the role that sport might play in young peoples' lives and in this way influence the future provision of services (Sapin, 2013). A number of policy informers raised this and was highlighted by ROF 4.

ROF 4- 'I think that, for me the future of sport development and the future of sport is the young people. We have got to stop adults prescribing to young people what they want from the sport, and we have to empower the young people... for me, it is all about making sure and putting the young person at the centre of that and giving them the confidence to build that framework as they want it, and as adults it's our responsibility to listen to what they say and to provide the framework for them to do what they want to do.'

[Recorded interview, 12/2/18]

This viewpoint was significant and struck a chord as the school and community phases of this research found that many young Welsh speakers did not wish to use Welsh beyond the school gate. There were multiple reasons for this which related to behaviours, attitudes, influencers, habit and competency. Importantly, policy makers need to understand these complex reasons, and consider how the linguistic position of the language in relation to the young people and their social contexts might be improved in order for provision to reflect context.

Wider Policy Considerations

Communication and Information Dissemination

An emerging theme from this phase of research was the erratic nature of communication and information dissemination. The policy informer interviews revealed this was a relevant issue to all interviewees regardless of whether they worked locally, regionally or nationally. There was a sense that communicators associated with the Welsh language focused on compliance and that this might be impeding the development of initiatives and the engagement of organisations and communities.

LOF 3- 'Dwi ddim yn gwybod lle [mae'r dissemineiddio gwybodaeth] yn stopio i fod yn onest, oherwydd mae'n rhaid bod o'n dod i'r corf, ond oherwydd bod y pencampwr Cymraeg ddim yna, well ar y bwrdd, ond mha hi'n brysiwr, ond oherwydd does dim un person wedi glysnodi o fewn y cwmni sydd yn gyfrifol am hynna i gyd, dydy o ddim yn cael eu dyrannu o hynna ti'n gwybod... So dwi ddim yn gwybod pwy sydd yn derbyn y cyfathrebu yna ar hyn o bryd. Ac os dwi'n bod yn onest, dwi ddim yn gweld lot o ddim byd o Chwaraeon Cymru yn dod trwodd am mentrau sydd yn defnyddio'r iaith Gymraeg, neu dim byd i fod yn onest.'

[I don't really know [the dissemination of information] where it stops to be honest, because it must come to the body, but because the Welsh language champion is not there, well on the board, but she is busy, but because there is not one person in the company who is responsible for all of that, it has not been donated from that you know... So, I don't know who receives that communication at the moment. And if I am being honest, I do not see anything from Sport Wales coming through regarding initiatives which are concerned with using the Welsh language, or anything to be honest.]

[Recorded interview, 17/11/17]

ROF 4 discussed this further:

ROF 4- 'I am always conscious that you have to include people in the mix, and at times things would not get to the right people in a timely manner, particularly in a Sport Wales context, not a criticism it is just an observation. It could be talking to a lot of people about different things, and sometimes it would be good to have more points of contact, so your liaison officer would be across everything that it needed to be spoken to about, rather than kind of leading on development of sport, and five or six people taking about five or six different initiatives which is fine, but I always think it could be more efficient... communication is always a challenge, and I don't think people are doing it deliberately, but I think sometimes you can always take some time to think about how they could communicate a bit more efficiently.'

[Recorded interview, 12/2/18]

There is an emphasis here on ensuring the disseminated information is consistent across all organisations. One policy informer with experience of sitting on a national board shared their view that the board's main objective is to '*maintain a high-level strategic focus, not to be dabbling in what is happening at local level, because you don't have the time or energy to do that*' (NOPF 2 interview 12/3/2018). Given this focus, there is potential for information to be sifted and filters out and thus it is questionable whether boards received adequate information from their workforce or key policy organisations. As further outlined by NOPF 2 information presented at boards was used as '*checks and balances*' of '*high level information*' which would be shared with senior management teams. Therefore, there may not only be a challenge of disseminating information from the top, but also feeding the information, challenges and best practices up from the ground.

NOPF 1- 'Dwi'n credu bod un o'r sialensiau ni fel Cymru yw i bod yn barod i rannu arfer da. Mae yna tueddiad weithiau i ddweud, syniad fi oedd na, a dwi ddim yn mynd i rannu e gyda neb, dwi just yn mynd i cadw ynni i'm hunain a pheidio rhannu fe.'

[I think that this is one of the challenges for us Welsh is to be willing to share best practice. There is a tendency sometimes to say, that was my idea, I am not going to share it with anyone, I am just going to keep it to myself and not share it.]

[Recorded interview, 6/4/18]

In relation to good governance and the management of VSOs, traditional and outdated governance structures inhibit the ability for organisations to learn and develop in relation to the complex sport development environment (Houlihan, 2011; Palmer, 2011). Considering the recent changes in Welsh language legislation and policy, the need for effective change management is critical as these may impact on the everyday activities of the organisation (McGraw *et al.*, 2012). Several of the policy informers questioned the effectiveness of communication and whether messages are communicated effectively between and within organisations. Being fully informed of change is considered to be crucial (Robinson, 2011a; McGraw *et al.*, 2012), therefore communication is vital. Bell and Gallimore (2015) also found that communication is critical in the improvement of engagement from stakeholders in strategic planning stages. There were reports among some policy informers that information regarding the *Amdani* project had not been disseminated between or within their organisation.

ROF 3- 'One of [my friend's] colleagues was a big part of Amdani, and she was like you need to speak to [ROF 3] [laughing]... so had the personal link...[she said]... you should be getting an invite to this [an event related to Amdani]... we were just invited to a workshop that the Welsh Language Commissioner had put on... unfortunately at that time no one had attended... [so I ended up]... saying to senior management that this is not good enough and [I was] being quite outspoken internally that we represent ourselves at that meeting.'

[Recorded interview, 25/10/17]

Interestingly a number of policy informers spoke about a recent compliance challenge, which an organisation had faced which related to Welsh language services during a community sport activity (ran by the LA).

ROF 3- 'Earlier this year 20 out of 22 local authorities were provided with investigations into their Welsh language [sport] provision. That information is available on the Welsh language commissioner website, so basically there was a

complaint that was submitted regarding the lack of provision of Welsh language in response to these investigations with relation to the local authority... [we]... embrace[d] the Amdani resource, and when we were obviously made aware of the Amdani, we were like, hang on a second this is fantastic, but none of these words relate to [our sport]... because we are a private organisation, we don't have to follow the same guidelines as the local authorities from a legal point of view, but... [Welsh language use]... is actually been driven by the staff on the ground rather than senior management and we have upwardly managed and influenced management internally to say that this is something that we need to be doing... we need to lead by example.'

[Recorded interview, 25/10/17]

There are questions here that relate to linguistic capital. For some organisations or people, Welsh may not be a priority and may hold little legitimacy compared with other political issues. Importantly, such a view if allowed to be promulgated would be a threat to the minority language gaining legitimacy both within organisations and also within community sport due to its low perceived importance. Yet it is important also to avoid an agenda which only focuses on compliance and so the bottom-up approach, as discussed by ROF 3, may play an important role in the development of the Welsh language, and points also the role that young people should play in its development.

Welsh Government and the Welsh language

Overall, clearly the WG, the Senedd and political parties in Wales were perceived to be very open and ready for suggestions, and that they work closely with their public departments. NOPF 1 noticeably emphasises this and suggested that Wales is '*ffodus iawn*' [*very fortunate*] that the Senedd in Cardiff is open to new ideas. Other policy informers also felt that the WG and the Senedd were genuinely committed to seeing the Welsh language thrive.

NOPF 1- 'Yn gyffredinol ... yn sicr gyda'r pleidiau mawr, y twriaid er enghraifft, mae dealltwriaeth wedi cael eu greu, mae yna trafodaeth defnyddiol iawn yn digwydd gyda

nhw, a dwi'n gweld nhw yn troi nid yn blaid ceidwadol Prydain, ond really yn plaid geidwadol sydd yn perthyn I Gymru.'

[Generally, ... especially with the bigger parties, the Conservatives for example, understanding has been created, and there are very useful conversations happening with them, and I see them not turning into a British party, but really a Conservative party which belongs to Wales.]

[Recorded interview, 6/4/18]

NOPF 2 – 'With regards to the Welsh language, I found all of the parties very amenable to supporting the language, both languages, and wanting Welsh to thrive. Some of them I think are less able to strategize about how you do that, but generally I would say that all of them have a real commitment about doing something positive to ensure that we have a sustainable growth in Welsh speakers... they recognise what a unique asset it is, they feel that it is something that should be sustained, protected and developed, I can't imagine them arguing against it.'

[Recorded interview, 12/3/18]

These comments offer an interesting insight into the commitment of political parties towards the Welsh language. However, participants raised the issue of the extent to which their words were turned into actions.

NOPF 2- 'At least in terms of what they say, very positive, what they do is not always a translation of what they say... I don't feel that there has been any lack of good will towards the Welsh language, it's more of a case sometimes in delivery it gets relayed or off set by other pressing considerations really.'

[Recorded interview, 12/3/18]

Aside from the WG, the independent nature of the WLC and SW offers an ideal position to work collaboratively with researchers, organisations and people to utilise knowledge and

understanding. Whilst undertaking this research it should be noted that the WLC's office has recently come under threat. Considering this, the role of the WLC was perceived to be highly important concerning being a promotor and an advocate, but less so about their regulatory role.

NOPF 2- 'The discussion now whether it should be a regulator or an advocate or promoter, and it has always been a bit of all of those things really. I think like the future generations work, which Welsh comes into of course, in terms of sustainability and vibrancy of the nation and so on, and I think the regulatory role is the least important part for me, I am much keener on the promotional and advocacy part because in my meetings with the commissioner, she has always been very keen that organisations... don't just become tick box regulators.'

[Recorded interview, 12/3/18]

The regulatory role of the WLC is important to ensure that legislation and rights are met, however, the emphasis on compliance may have implications upon how the Welsh language is perceived. Policy informers emphasised that organisations have not always been engaged with political ideologies concerning the Welsh language due to the perception of it being a 'bureaucratic exercise'.

NOPF 4- 'I think there is the potential negative around the Welsh language in that... I see it quite a bit in Wales, not just in the sport sector... a feeling it is being forced on people, and I think that can have quite a negative impact... If it does go too far towards forcing people to do it, there is a real push back and I don't think it will have the long-term impact that it could if there is not enough momentum and urgency it could just end up being the ... coaching resource that no one uses.'

[Recorded interview, 23/5/18]

A key message emerges from this extract which relates to the potential for resources to be overlooked. Many regional and local policy influencers saw the WLC as a regulator, which is

concerned with how organisations achieve compliance in relation to the legislation. Therefore, resistance is a concern related to developing collective understandings, momentum and motivation to promoting Welsh.

ROF 1- 'I think that the authorities' perspective because of the role of the commissioner and the legislation, will probably start from a compliance perspective, but I also have a role to try and promote innovative practice, that actually gets more people, not just to do the basis, or to be scared of the compliance issues, but to engage more I suppose in driving forward the productive use of Welsh... It probably has felt like more of a threat and a challenge of getting things wrong, rather than being able to present that things are going pretty well, you know and where you are actually getting some good stuff happening, your more worried about the one reported failure, perhaps in this specific instance... because it is founded in an act, and legislation it is very hard isn't it.'

[Recorded interview, 14/2/18]

There is a perception among local and regional policy informers interviewed, that their practices concerning the Welsh language are under scrutiny, and good practice may not be recognised. As such, the communication and sharing of best practice may be lost, which may impede the Welsh language from developing further into the future.

Welsh language, the European Union and Brexit

It was interesting to hear opinion formers' views on the potential impact that Brexit might have on the Welsh language. Along with austerity concerns, opinion formers raised their apprehensions at losing the understanding in which the European Union [EU] has towards minority languages. Policy influencers identified this as a potential danger to the future of the Welsh language.

ROF 2- 'Dwi'n meddwl oherwydd bod yna ieithoedd eraill lleiafrifol yn Ewrop, rydym yn neud gwaith ac yn partneriaid i gwledydd arall.. Dwi hefyd yn meddwl bod yna dealltwriaeth well yn Ewrop, nag sydd ym Mhrydain dros y bont i dwyieithrwydd yn gyffredinol. Mae'r canran o pobl sydd yn byw yn mainland Ewrop sydd yn siarad o leiaf dwy iaith yn uchel iawn a maen nhw yn deall bod dwyieithrwydd yn peth da ac bod dysgu ieithoedd yn peth da. Barn personol yw hon, ond dwi ddim mor hyderus bod yr un peth yn wir dros y bont yn Lloegr. Felly mha hi'n bryder a mae e dim just yn torri cyllid ond i ti'n colli ar adnoddau... Mae'n bryder, mha hi'n bendant yn bryder. Mae'r [sefydliad] wedi bod yn llwyddiannus i denu eithaf tipyn o nawdd yn lot o meysydd gwahanol, yn maes ieuenctid yn benodol mae tipyn o arian ar gyfer swyddi ac felly darpariaeth (Sigh).'

[I think that because there are other minority languages in Europe, we do work and are partners with a number of different countries... I also think that there is a better understanding in Europe, compared to Britain over the bridge that bilingualism is common. The percentage of people who live on mainland Europe who is able to speak at least two languages is very high and they understand that bilingualism is a good thing and that learning languages is a good thing. My personal opinion is that I do not feel that the same is true for across the bridge in England. So, it is a worry that it is not just going to be cutting funding, but you are also going to lose resources... It is a worry, it is definitely a worry. The [organisation] has been successful in attracting quite a lot of funding from a lot of different areas, in the youth area especially there is quite a lot of money for jobs and providing opportunities (Sigh).]

[Recorded interview 25/10/17]

It was also stressed by many participants that there is a better understanding of bilingualism in Europe compared to within the UK, which again raises concerns about the potential emphasis that the minority language may have in the future. This was further emphasised by NOPF2:

NOPF 2- 'Well, this is not based on hard evidence, purely based on my interpretation. You know, the European Union have been very supportive of minority languages, very supportive of bi and tri-lingualism, so when we are outside of the European Union,

some of the funding for developing projects will dry up, now we are told that the UK government will find ways of supporting such schemes, but of the proof of the pudding will be in the eating, until we know that the UK government will compensate us for the loss of some of those programmes that have allowed sports to upskill, schools to develop opportunities, then I would be quite concerned about the impact of Brexit. It is probably too early to know what the depth of that impact would be at the moment.'

[Recorded interview 12/3/18]

And also, by NOPF 1:

NOPF 1- 'Dwi yn meddwl bod hi yn drueni mawr mawr ein bod yn troi ein chefnau ar gymuned o wledydd amlieithog... Dwi ddim yn siŵr pa effaith geith e yn uniongyrchol ar y Gymraeg, mi alle rhywun ddadlau bod yn gyfle, ond dwi yn poeni bod colli'r cyswllt yna gyda'r gwledydd Ewrop bod yna perig i ni fynd fwy Westminster centric eto, a fydd rhaid i'r Senedd yng Nghaerdydd a llywodraeth Cymru weithio yn galed iawn dwi'n credu i sicrhau bod dwyieithrwydd Cymru a'r Cymraeg yn para'n gryf o fewn hynna.'

[I think that it is a big shame that we have turned our backs on a community of multi-lingual countries... I am not sure what direct effect it will have on the Welsh language, some could argue that it is an opportunity, but I do worry that by losing the connections with the European countries is going to be a risk for us going Westminster centric again, and the Senedd in Cardiff and the WG will have to work very hard I think to make sure that Welsh bilingualism and Welsh remains strong within that.]

[Recorded interview 6/4/18]

The concerns raised by these policy informers, provide some critical implications for the future of the language post Brexit. These points have been endorsed by the WG (2017b) in their *Securing Wales' Future* white paper, that the languages, cultures and traditions in Wales may see the most dramatic and rapid effects of EU withdrawal. Despite the adverse perceptions of the impact that Brexit may have on the Welsh language, an opportunity for sport was identified as a method of bringing communities together.

NOPF 4- 'I think there is a huge opportunity for sport because what you know what has come about with Brexit it has created quite a further round nationalism... I think the opportunity for sport is that it cuts across all of those cultural barriers... it is a great leveller, everyone is in their sport kit or whatever, your part of the team or you are doing an activity with others, it doesn't matter your background your culture, and I think that is a huge huge opportunity for sport, and I think that can add to the social fabric of communities. I think it can benefit, and this is where the opportunities go on to that sport has to be better at demonstrating its broader social impact, social and cultural impact... absolutely sport has a role to play but I don't think you know sport is just one of the contributors to people speaking more Welsh, we can't solve everything.'

[Recorded interview 23/5/18]

NOPF 4's perception emphasises the belief that sport has the potential to be a vehicle for wider community values (Collins, 2010). In the UK, this was emphasised by Blair who saw opportunities for political and social capital, and therefore sport became more centrally planned (DCMS, 1999; Coalter, 2007; Houlihan and Green, 2009; Jeffreys, 2012). NOPF 4 did however state that *'we have to be careful that sport is often seen as sport will solve everything'* [Recorded interview 23/5/18]. Coalter *et al.* (2000) also suggested that sport cannot address social issues on its own that education and personal development programmes play an important role. There is also an emphasis from NOPF 4 related to the importance of collaborative co-dependent policy planning to ensure that communities, organisations and individuals have the opportunity to be empowered and to have a sense of ownership over the language, policy objectives and initiatives.

Amdani- 'go for it'

Policy informers within this study considered the normalisation of the Welsh language in relation to linguistic capital. The English and Welsh languages are competing for legitimacy in communities, with one language gaining over the other depending on a group's dominant

dialect (Bourdieu, 1991). Policy informers suggested that to promote the language and to attempt to change culture and attitudes, this should be implemented at a foundation level, and as early as *ysgol meithryn* (nursery). By doing so, it was suggested that an attempt to change culture and attitudes not only towards the use of Welsh but also sport would be more effective. This extensive quote by NOPF 2 explains the challenge:

NOPF 2- 'I have got some experiences of [cylch] meithryn and [dosbarth] derbyn¹¹ and the early years of education, and it seems to me that there isn't enough integration of sport in the meithryn sector, I don't get a sense that for example you know the cylch meithryn, rather than the meithryn in the [school], I feel that there is lots of really good activities, but a lot of the teachers just don't have any sport or PE experience so they are very nervous about doing anything other than the basic physical activity with two to four year olds, or two to five year olds really, and so it is an area that I have felt quite strongly for a long time. And I have said to my colleagues at [organisation], that would be for me a really important growth area for girls [sport] because by the time girls are 5, they might already feel that [sport] is for boys not girls because they have not had any positive experience of it. And of course, it kills two birds with one stone, you are operating though the medium of Welsh... which group should you prioritise, and, in my opinion, it should be pre-school. Because I think that is where you can change cultural attitudes... So, we have to try and twist that culture really and turn it around you know we've got mothers involved in the sport as well and grandmothers and aunties and everybody else really and I think taking the younger stage is probably the best way of going about that.'

[Recorded interview, 12/3/18]

As suggested by the young people and community sport providers of this research, making the language fun and worthwhile could help to increase its use and promote positive attitudes. However, educational resources and tools were seen to be scarce and thus prohibiting the development and competence of Welsh speakers and learners. One example of an intervention

¹¹ Cylch meithryn is a Welsh medium play-group and dosbarth derbyn is reception class.

which was discussed earlier and has received considerable support is *Amdani* and its potential was conveyed by NOPF 1.

NOPF 1- 'Mae Amdani yn esiampl wych lle dwi'n gweld pobl yn defnyddio'r ddwy iaith nol ac ymlaen heb feddwl, o dwi'n siarad Cymraeg nawr, dwi'n siarad Saesneg nawr, a dyna yw'r realiti n bywydau ni i ddweud y gwir ni yn siarad y ddwy iaith ac mae rhaid i ni ddathlu hwnna. Hwnna yw'r normaleithio sydd angen digwydd, yw bod ni yn gweld y ddwy iaith, nid mewn cystadlaeth.'

[Amdani is an excellent example of where I see people using both languages back and forth without thinking, oh I am speaking Welsh now, I'm speaking English now, and that is the reality in our lives to be honest is speaking both languages and we need to celebrate that. That is the normalising that needs to happen, is that we see both languages, not in competition.]

[Recorded interview, 6/4/18]

Several participants stressed the importance of developing Welsh language provision alongside information technology advances. Through developing online platforms for not only Welsh language provision, but also for coach education developments, and seen to be more practical and suit the needs of society.

ROF 4- 'We have recently re launched and re developed our level 1 and level 2 courses and they have now gone partially online... so a Welsh speaking candidate could do the theory courses in Welsh through the online resource and they can do that in their own time in their own speed and I think that has created a better environment for us to educate through Welsh because with the traditional format we were relying on making sure that we had a tutor who was capable of delivering the course through Welsh. Also, we were able to provide that provision of course, we were not always able to do that in a timely manner as you would want to. So, the online course gave us that opportunity so it's kind of been the main driver for that area of work and then where we are capable

to where we need to and keep our country and our level courses through the medium of Welsh based on demand.'

[Recorded interview, 12/2/18]

Considering that many volunteer coaches (participating in phase three of this research) felt that they did not have the time to attend a coaching course to gain a qualification, the use of information technology could help provide the opportunity to undertake courses fully through the medium of Welsh. This would not only help to increase the provision of the language but would provide further opportunities for the confidence of Welsh speakers and learners to use the language.

ROF 2- '[Allwn] cael myfyrwyr o'r prifysgol sydd fase'n keen i dyfarnu un o twrnamaint pêl droed, sydd ddim falle yn siarad Cymraeg ond, grêt, dewch i dyfarnu'r twrnamaint fe nawn i dod i cwrdd â chi yn y coleg wythnos mha a just mynd trwy real basics o amser llawn, hanner amser, a just y stwff hanfodol ar gyfer gemau i ddechrau ac wedyn datblygu sgiliau o fanna na really.'

[[We could] have university students who are maybe keen to referee one of the football tournaments, who maybe can't speak Welsh but, great, come to referee the tournament, we will meet with you at the collage this week just to go over the real basics, full time, half time, just the necessary stuff you need for games to start and then develop the skills from there.]

[Recorded interview, 25/10/17]

Aspirations identified by policy informers within this research were for *Amdani* to be introduced into several areas beyond sport. This included potential collaborations between government departments and education. Robinson (2011b) suggests that in order for VSOs to operate effectively, an understanding of their internal and external environment is crucial. This suggestion is also relevant to the development of initiatives such as *Amdani*, as identified in the presentation of the local perspective chapter, that there are several external challenges which need to be overcome to successfully implement such an intervention.

One policy informer who worked regionally raised one weakness of the *Amdani* project. She identified that the resource only caters for those who are familiar with and know how to use and speak the Welsh language, but not for those who are unfamiliar with the phonetics. It was raised on one occasion during the interviews, however it was also raised during a recent sport development networking event by a national policy informer. Although not an explicit part of this study, the point was relevant and needs to be considered in view of the implementation challenges that would be associated with the roll-out of *Amdani*. Being able to pronounce the words correctly was the first challenge and is highlighted by ROF 3:

ROF 3- 'What we wanted to do was to embrace the Amdani resource, and when we were obviously made aware of the Amdani, we were like, hang on a second this is fantastic, but... [we]... wanted to go down a different design to be honest. One of the things as a non-Welsh speaker, I can see the spelling of the word but obviously I don't always know how to pronounce it properly. So, my input... [to the Amdani consultation] ... was... [if we] ...can we have it phonetically, but ... to get their support and... [to]...fit into what they are doing, because you obviously want to align yourself with the WLC and stick with their branding... [without phonetics] ... which was a bit frustrating because I know that there are a lot of swimming teachers like me out there who I know would benefit from the phonetics.'

[Recorded interview, 25/10/17]

Interestingly, ROF 3 and the national policy informer (during the sport development networking event) had consulted and fed back to the WLC's team on the *Amdani* project, however their feedback had not been taken into account in the printing and development of the resource. As considered above, the resource may not be inclusive to Anglophones wishing to use more Welsh in their sessions, therefore poses a threat to the meaningful use of the resource in practice.

The policy informers have raised many key considerations regarding the promotion of the Welsh language from both a policy and community sport viewpoint. However, the continued

strain on sport to deliver a number of wider social benefits should be considered and remembered.

NOPF 4- 'Sport can play a contributing role, but I think we have to be careful that sport is often seen as sport will solve everything. Sport will save the health service billions of pounds, sport will make the world safer, sport can do a lot of that, but sport is a vehicle for helping that, it isn't necessary the direct benefits of sport... I think traditional sports development is something of the past and I think looking ahead it is far more about community engagement and sport being a vehicle and a tool for people to engage and for people to thrive and for people to improve their lives and again across the landscape and I think that we have got to think about sport quite differently that sport is multi-dimensional.'

[Recorded interview, 23/5/18]

Summary

The Introduction explained that in 2011, the Welsh Language (Wales) Measure was published resulting in the Welsh language receiving official status which in practice means that Welsh and English must be treated equally. This was followed in 2012, with a five-year strategy, which sought an increase in the number of people who both speak and use Welsh daily (WG, 2012). This was reviewed in 2017 with an ambitious goal of a million people using and enjoying the Welsh language in just over 30 years (WG, 2017a). A clear message presented in this chapter is that considerable challenges remain if Welsh is to become a living language although it was recognised by interviewees that normalising the Welsh language remained a priority. One challenge identified was that Welsh needed to be seen not only as a school language, but one that has value and is used in the community. In order to achieve this, it was recognised that flexible bilingualism in the community should be encouraged and was identified as one possible solution, albeit, there are challenges in developing this agenda. Diversity of language use and accepting Wenglish as part of making it a living community language were identified as relevant. Young people were considered by the policy informers as important stakeholders in the policy planning process for language promotion. However, as

identified in chapter four and further reflected on in this chapter, many young people do not wish to speak Welsh outside of school.

Policy informers stated that one route to developing the language was to view Welsh as an essential part of professional development of organisations. Developing competencies and confidence to use Welsh would in turn increase its use. It was also identified that HE and FE institutions in Wales could play a relevant role in the development of a suitably qualified Welsh speaking workforce. To support organisations developing Welsh provision, the policy informers identified that communication and information dissemination needs to be more effective within and between organisations (locally, regionally and nationally).

The importance of partnership working with the Urdd was considered by the policy informers as they are viewed as the 'market leader' for developing community sport provision through the medium of Welsh. Challenges were also identified, however, that related to clarity of their role and responsibility, and how resources could be utilised effectively to ensure adequate provision across Wales. Policy informers indicated that there needed to be a more informed understanding by policy makers of the community sport landscape before implementing specific interventions. The *Amdani* intervention, was criticised by policy informers in relation to its development and audience. Policy informers felt that communication regarding the Welsh language is seen more as compliance focused, therefore the development of Welsh provision in the community was seen as a rather bureaucratic exercise or a simple 'fix' for a complex issue.

What is evident from this chapter is that community sport presents many challenges as a conduit with which to promote the Welsh language in the community. The policy informers identified a number of key barriers and opportunities which are significant to Welsh becoming a living language and after Coalter (2007) it is questionable what role sport can make. Sport is challenged to deliver on wider social benefits, and it is questionable, given its reliance on volunteers in the community, whether it can deliver on this without a collaborative partnership from national governing bodies, Sport Wales and the Urdd (who would need a wider remit) who collectively seek to develop using Welsh as part of a community programme. Having

presented the findings from all four phases of the research design, the thesis will move onto discussing the challenges and opportunities in further detail.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION

Introduction

The two preceding chapters have reported on the sustained period of fieldwork which involved four phases of qualitative research undertaken over eighteen months. The core purpose was to understand the different perspectives towards the Welsh language. Furthermore, given the policy objective to have a million Welsh speakers by 2050 it was important to understand, what if any, the role which could be implemented within the sport sector. The research revealed a complex picture and one which has highlighted both challenges and opportunities. These will be explored further in this chapter and are critically evaluated (Research Objective V). As such, the chapter considers seven challenges which are relevant to the promotion of the Welsh language, beyond the school gate¹². Attention then focuses on the opportunities of which there are five. The final section of the chapter considers the implications of this research for future policy.

The Challenges

Welsh is not a Community Sport Language

Welsh is not seen as a community sport language, but instead as a school language which holds little legitimacy beyond the school gate. There are a number of different reasons why Welsh was not seen as a community sport language. Safeguarding attitudes of teachers at *Ysgol y Bont* emphasised the difficulty of promoting and developing a minority language, especially given the challenges of using the language once outside school and immersed in the community. However, this had diverse effects on the behaviours and attitudes of young people. Similar to that found by Lemke (2002), the separated language approach adopted by *Ysgol y Bont* meant that pupils associated Welsh with school. This has had and will continue to have

¹² The thesis' author (Evans, L) along with her supervisors (Bolton, N., Jones, C. and Iorwerth, H) published a paper in the special edition in *Sport in Society: Community sport and social inclusion: International perspectives* (2019). This paper presents some of the key findings in relation to the dominant and 'operational' language of many community sport clubs in the case study area. We found that increasing use of Welsh in community sport settings risks excluding non-Welsh speakers, but ignoring the language denies Welsh speakers the opportunity to participate in Welsh. For reference to this paper, see peer-reviewed published paper which is noted at the outset of this thesis under the title 'Peer Reviewed Publications' on page III.

implications on how Welsh is viewed beyond the school gate, and ultimately on whether young people continue to use the language into the future. It is relevant to note that had this research been undertaken in north Wales, where there are higher percentages of Welsh speakers and it has more traditional areas which speak Welsh as an everyday language, the results of this research may have been different. Thus, there are some historical and inherent challenges for organisations charged with developing and promoting the Welsh language. There are implications that face many relevant national organisations such as WG, WLC and Sport Wales when implementing policy and this suggests that a ‘one size fits all’ approach would often be inappropriate. This research points to some limitations when designing and implementing Welsh language sport interventions.

Given the growth in Welsh in more non-traditional areas of Wales linked also to the up-take in attending Welsh speaking schools in these areas, this research took an exploratory approach to understand some of the issues that might be encountered in the community. It was relevant, therefore, to select an area in which English is the dominant language of the community sport clubs that participated within this research and the availability of Welsh speakers affected whether Welsh was used, heard or spoken. The linguistic capital of young Welsh speakers is significantly impacted by the dominant language, as well as the linguistic market which has been fabricated and influenced through their sporting community and social relations (Susen, 2013). Many of the young people and community sport providers (namely coaches) which took part in this study saw Welsh to have little linguistic capital value beyond school. English was the language predominantly used within the community sport clubs, which reflects the embedded social context (Fang, 2011) where Welsh is not seen as the legitimate medium of communication. In this field, language is seen as a key communication tool, and this research revealed that a group’s dominant language defined the linguistic habitus (Bourdieu, 1991) with English subordinating Welsh. Such was the absence of Welsh being spoken in community sport clubs, the legitimacy of Welsh could be questioned. This ensured that at best it was not recognised or used and at worst it was subjugated via individuals using their position to control the setting and promote English.

The diversity of Wales is important to consider here due to the difference in social and cultural contexts (Fang, 2011), which impact on the perceived value of Welsh linguistic capital. As

reported by policy informers, the difference in social and cultural contexts are important when evaluating the demand for interventions, and how Welsh is or could be developed and used. Areas of North West Wales have a considerably different perception of the value of Welsh linguistic capital, compared with areas of south Wales. Therefore, rather than Welsh being subject to competing demands, as it is in the south, in the north, Welsh linguistic capital was found to be a question of the perceived dominant dialect or accent. Not only does this demonstrate the regional variations of how Welsh is used or spoken, but also emphasises the importance of context-relevant knowledge.

Heterogeneity of Welsh Speakers

The extensive research undertaken in the case study area involved participant observations, interviews and focus groups. The evidence revealed a clear difference in the perceptions and behaviours of young people when attending school compared to their actions in the community. Many of the young Welsh speakers involved in this research had different linguistic habits which reflected on their home language, social language and preferred and/or their more confident language. The field is important to consider and is also relevant to this research, as the young people demonstrated different habitus in each social environment. The two fields are the Welsh medium school and the community sport club setting. Bourdieu (1992) views linguistic habitus as the predispositions behind attitudes, thoughts, actions and behaviours.

Drawing on the research gathered for this thesis Table 3 provides a tentative typology of the pupils and their attitudes towards Welsh when in school. In broad terms it is suggested from the research that pupils could be categorised as a ‘champion,’ ‘ambivalent’ or ‘challenger’ in terms of their approach towards the Welsh language. Importantly, as pupils moved ‘beyond the school gate’ and into the community their disposition toward using Welsh changed (Table 4). There were less ‘champions’ and more young people who would be considered ‘ambivalent’ but what was most striking was the new category of young people who have been labelled as ‘conformists’ in terms of implicitly if not explicitly promoting English.

Table 4. *Tentative Typology of Pupils' Attitudes to Welsh in the School Context (pupil).*

<i>Typology Categories</i>	<i>Language behaviour at school</i>
Champion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Committed to speaking the Welsh language. - These young people highly valued Welsh linguistic capital within school and sought to safeguard the language. - They often faced significant challenges concerning dominant group dialect. - Highly perceived Welsh skills and competencies.
Ambivalent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Commitment to speaking Welsh was influenced by both the Challengers and Champions, as well as being in the presence of a teacher. - These young people valued Welsh linguistic capital within school. - Most possessed high-perceived Welsh skills and competencies.
Challenger	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Demonstrated a lack of commitment to the Welsh language within the school context. - Influenced language and general behaviours of other pupils. - Most did not value Welsh linguistic capital.

Table 5. *Tentative Typology of Pupils' Attitudes to Welsh in the Community Context (participant).*

<i>Typology Categories</i>	<i>Language behaviour in their community sport club context</i>
Champion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Committed to speaking the Welsh language. - These young people highly valued Welsh linguistic capital within a community environment and sought to safeguard the language. - They often faced significant challenges concerning dominant group dialect and were at risk of being excluded due to language choice. - High perceived Welsh skills and competencies. - Marked their identity as a Welsh speaker.
Ambivalent	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Commitment to speaking Welsh was influenced by both being in the presence of champions and Anglophones. - These young people saw value of both Welsh and English linguistic capital. - Would not often be in a situation where a whole group could speak Welsh therefore language curtesy was considered. - Most possessed high-perceived Welsh skills and competencies.
Conformists	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Demonstrated a lack of commitment to the Welsh language within the community sport clubs. - Did not value Welsh linguistic capital beyond the school gate.

A key finding from this study is that many pupils previously observed as champions and/or ambivalent in the school context demonstrated more conforming behaviours regarding using English over Welsh when observed in their community sport settings. Within the school setting, the use of Welsh was seen as a source of power held by the teachers to protect and safeguard Welsh, with those pupils more confident in speaking the language more likely to excel, compared with those who did not. This highlights potential inequalities within the Welsh medium school system and supports Bourdieu's (1991) claim that the education system plays a pivotal role in construction, legitimisation and imposition of official languages.

Linguistic forces are not the only determination of power, which is related to language use. Bourdieu (1991) also states that the competence of the speakers and social structure interactions are important considerations. In the case of the Welsh language, the more competent the speaker, and the more interactions which are present, the more likely power will be related to it. This research identified that those young people who demonstrate higher confidence levels whilst speaking Welsh, are more likely to speak the minority language both in school and in the community. This influenced a young person's linguistic habitus as those who had higher perceived ability and confidence in speaking English, compared to Welsh, would more naturally develop an English linguistic habitus. In contrast those demonstrating 'champion characteristics', had higher perceived competence and confidence in speaking Welsh, and thus in their community sport settings were determined to develop their Welsh linguistic habitus. The problem is that numerically, there were far fewer champions in the community. In the school context, Welsh holds high linguistic capital, and so this often favoured those whose first language is Welsh. In this regard, pupils where Welsh is the first language were seen to be more influential (both implicitly and explicitly) which suggests they had more power.

In contrast, pupils whose habitus has been shaped by the predisposition to speak English (as this is the group's dominant dialect), are often perceived to challenge the school's endorsed habitus. Considering Elias's (cited in Van Krieken, 1998: 59) conceptualisation of habitus, in the school context there is an expectation that the pupils adhere to the generalized disposition that Welsh is and should be spoken throughout their school life. Habitus develops rapidly throughout childhood and youth (and continues to develop through a person's life) (Van Krieken, 1998; Green, 2003). Green (2003) reflects on this and suggests that habitus remains

open to development as the interdependent networks people are involved with becomes more-or-less complex. Thus, understanding the differences in attitudes and behaviours among the young people when in school and then when they are in the community is relevant to this research, and the findings reveal a far more complex and nuanced picture.

Much like challenges facing other minority communities, such as the francophone in Canada (Dallaire, 2003a, 2003b), young people within this study conformed to the majority culture and therefore were significantly influenced by the English language. Hybridity, as identified through Dallaire's (2003a) research with francophone youth, is relevant to describing the experiences of linguistic identities of the young Welsh within this research. Many young Welsh expressed that they are loyal to the minority language, however, are influenced by convenience, opportunity and resources when choosing how and where to participate in community sport. With limited opportunities to participate through the medium of Welsh in community sport within an Anglophone majority community, it is the behaviours and attitudes of young Welsh and significant others that determine whether the minority language is used. Some young people, which faced adverse attitudes and situations, demonstrated pro-Welsh attitudes and marked their Welsh speaking identity through continuing to speak the minority language. Bourdieu's interpretation of language as a power broker is relevant here, implying that when English is used, this ensures that Welsh is not and those who invoke this are able to do so through a position of influence which is a form of power. Such actions expose inequalities within the community sport setting (in relation to language). Simply put, if English is the language used in these community settings then it is a power resource used to demonstrate authority and control, and consequently (whether intended or unintended) Welsh is the inferior language.

Self-perceptions of speaker dominance and language ability affects an individual or group's decision on which language they prefer to use (Hodges, 2009; Thomas, Apolloni *et al.*, 2014). Prys *et al.* (2014) found that volunteers were not always aware of the language of their service users, and thus the opportunities to satisfy needs of Welsh speaking users are sometimes lost. The data collected in this research also suggest that due to habit and low perceived language confidence among coaches, that despite awareness of a young person's ability to speak Welsh, it was typically not spoken. And a clear impediment is that once one has become fully

accustomed to speaking a certain language with a person, it is difficult to change the language behaviours. Another key challenge, which affect the confidence of Welsh speakers and learners, is the perception that Welsh must be spoken in a certain way. Welsh medium education has previously been suggested as elitist (Hodges, 2009), however this research has identified that this perception goes beyond the school gate. These cultural attitudes may pose a threat to not only the way Welsh is used, but also may affect the confidence of Welsh speakers to use the language.

These findings emphasise the constructs of field, habitus and capital for decisions which are made by teachers, coaches and young people, and in some contexts the linguistic habitus of young Welsh speakers are ignored. In the school environment, similar to that found by Flynn (2015), this research highlighted some inequalities in the Welsh medium education system. In particular, it was clear that the Welsh medium curriculum conveys a Welsh monolingual habitus, and the needs of those who do not possess this type of habitus are sometimes disregarded. Similar to that found by Flynn (2015) in England, this research revealed that those with a superiority standard of Welsh were using the more valued mode of communication. Typically, teachers devalued modes of expression which were not associated with the legitimate language (Welsh in the school setting), therefore the young people were often corrected when using English or Wenglish when at school. In contrast, however, in the community sport setting, most clubs preferred participants to speak English, and Welsh was either not used or in some cases, disallowed. The local language context played a significant role in the establishment and maintenance of identity within this study, whether that be in a positive or negative way, and therefore is an important advancement in understanding minority languages in specific contexts. Considering the WG's vision for a million Welsh speakers by 2050, there are significant challenges for both Welsh medium and English medium education in Wales. As Thomas, Apolloni *et al.* (2014) and Laugharne's (2007) research found, perceived language competency is a major influence on the attitudes people have towards using the minority language.

Considering that young people are the future generation of minority language speakers, English medium schools in Wales also play a critical role in promoting Welsh and developing second language users. Young people, regardless of whether Welsh is their first or second language,

need to feel confident in using it beyond the school gate otherwise, exposure to the language in English dominant communities will be limited. Exposure to the minority language is crucial if it is to be normalised beyond the school gate. Perceived linguistic capital value was an important factor in whether Welsh was or was not used among young people in the community. A key message from this research is that there is no right way to speak the language, and that attitudes promoting pure forms of the language should be eradicated if young people are to use Welsh naturally in the community. These findings support Susen's (2013) three social processes which need to be achieved for normalisation of a language to occur ('standardization', 'officialization', and 'institutionalization'), although based on these research findings there is scope for a fourth social process to be considered which is 'empathy'. This research revealed that if minority languages are to become legitimate, not only do they need to have a level of standardisation, but also empathy. The need to develop an environment which involves empathetic social interaction is needed to ensure those less confident and competent are not discouraged from using Welsh once they are not in the school setting.

Using Welsh and the Risk of Exclusion

A challenge facing young people, who wish to use Welsh in English dominant community sport clubs, is that they may be at risk of exclusion due to their language choice. This resonates with other research such as the unequal situation of bilingualism in Brittany, France (Dolowy-Rybińska, 2016). Young people in this study who wanted to use Welsh as their language of choice needed to have self-belief and express a certain level of determinism to use the minority language once they had left school.

The over-arching legitimacy held by the English language in the community sport settings was very evident and certainly far higher than any use of Welsh. Research suggests that the use of a minority language is not only reliant on the capacity to use it but the opportunity and desire to do so (Grin, 2003). In this study, young Welsh speakers were unlikely to be in a community situation where they were surrounded by Welsh speakers. This was unless they are attending a specific Welsh speaking club such as those provided by the Urdd or Welsh speaking parents were members or coaches of their community sport club. Although some Welsh speakers were in friendship groups together, often they also included some who could not speak the minority

language. Language courtesy surfaced as a consequence that influenced the ‘community sport linguistic’ habitus of Welsh speakers and their attitudes to use the minority language within community sport. Isolation of non-Welsh speakers is the main reason for this courtesy, and for young Welsh speakers they were mindful of excluding those who could not speak the minority language. In line with Sam and Berry’s (2006) viewpoint that societies are culturally plural when more than one language is spoken, the dominant group power (as found in this research) clearly influenced the linguistic habitus of young people within their community sport settings. For those who emphasised a Welsh linguistic habitus, they were at risk of segregation and in some instances, marginalisation. The results in this thesis emphasises Hodges’s (2009) work that language courtesy influences and challenges Welsh language use among young people. Although well intended, this behaviour represents a significant threat to the language and paradoxically is at best undermining its normalisation beyond the school gate and at worst creating the circumstances for its demise.

In this study, Welsh was not seen as a community sport language among many non-Welsh speakers, and their attitudes, behaviours and beliefs significantly impacted on its use. Peer and coach attitudes and practices has been previously found to impact on positive youth development (Schaillée *et al.*, 2015; Gould and Carson, 2011; Schaillée *et al.*, 2017). This research found that the conditions which a coach controlled within a community sport session influenced the decisions whether to, or not, use the Welsh language. This research raised concerns that due to the attitudes, which some coaches had towards the language, young people who decide to use Welsh within community sport are at risk of being socially excluded. Bourdieu (1977) argues that education plays a role in reproducing social inequality and exclusion. This research supports this view, but the data also revealed that community sport clubs can also be sites for the reproduction of inequalities. In this context community coaches can be seen to fulfil the role that a teacher does in an educational setting. The coaches have influence and power over the young people and control the community sport sessions – the content of them and importantly, the environment in which they are conducted. The findings from this research endorses the findings from Gould and Carson (2011) and Schaillée *et al.* (2017) that coaching actions and behaviours (whether encouraging or unenthusiastic) have a significant influence on the personal and social development of young people. Importantly, most coaches involved in this research neither understood nor valued the fact that young people participating in these sessions were Welsh speakers and as such if Welsh was disallowed those

young people may be at risk of being marginalised. Language habitus (Bourdieu, 1991) in most of the community sport clubs participating in this research inhibited Welsh from gaining legitimacy, therefore impacting on social and linguistic capital (Fang, 2011). Evidently, as empirically revealed by this research the English language had been deeply embedded in the community sport environments of the case study area, and thus young Welsh speakers wishing to use the language, struggled to compete against the local language.

Cultural differences are considered to create barriers that hinder people's successful immersion within a mainstream setting, therefore limiting their social capital (Stanton-Salazar, 1997). This research emphasises that cultural differences within community sport, particularly concerning national or language identity poses significant threats on the ability to achieve social capital and integration. Such socio-cultural barriers prevent young people from fully participating in community sport clubs if their preferred language is Welsh, and linguistic barriers obstructed the development of allowing bilingualism. Reflecting on Putnam's (2000) conceptualisation of social capital, the social networks, which some young people discussed, had limited cohesiveness and sense of community, therefore resulting in exclusion. This consideration is linked with *de facto* that speakers lacking competence are excluded from the social domain (Bourdieu, 1991). As found in this research, some Welsh young people lacking confidence to speak English are subject to *de facto* exclusion, especially in some English led community sport clubs led by English speaking administrators and coaches.

Silver's (1994) solidarity and specialisation paradigm provides an insight into how young people may be socially excluded due to their use of the minority language. Related to the solidarity paradigm, social exclusion is amplified due to resistance to incorporate multiple cultures into society (Silver 1994), and the majority (English language) and minority (Welsh language) cultures are separated. Due to these young Welsh speaker's different capabilities, skills and interests, which are not shared by their social systems, they are at risk of exclusion (Silver 1994; Levitas *et al.*, 2007). Additionally, related to the specialisation paradigm is that exclusion is owing to individual choice, whereby the young Welsh speakers choose to exclude themselves because of rights/choices not being respected (Levitas *et al.*, 2007). Due to linguistic identities (Silver, 1994) and perceived linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991), those wishing to fluently speak the minority language beyond the school gate within community

sport settings, may be in danger of marginalisation or exclusion. The reinforcement of social stratification and exclusion, as a dark side of sport participation (Putnam, 2000; Tonts, 2005; Perks, 2007) results in some young Welsh adopting dominant linguistic culture, English. Other young people feel like outsiders to the majority culture, but in order to avoid marginalisation they impose self-restraint and avoid highlighting their Welsh linguistic culture identity. Only a few young people are prepared to assert their Welshness and most of these young people adopt language courtesy when with mono-lingual English speaking young people.

This research found that the power of sport can both increase social inclusion and capital, through development of identities, social connections among peers and increasing confidence to use the language, however social exclusion may occur in some settings. The Urdd offer opportunities for young Welsh to activate their Welsh cultural capital. Participating in the Urdd promotes bonding social capital (Putnam, 2000), as engagement in their community sport activities are exclusive to Welsh speakers. Thus, involvement in the Urdd guarantees opportunities for promoting the use of the Welsh language in community sport settings although there are significant limitations in terms of developing social capital beyond their immediate network. Evidence from this research suggested several limitations. One limitation is that there were limited opportunities for young people to take part in Urdd activities located within the case study area. A second limitation is the extent to which participants value sport performance over speaking Welsh. Young people who wanted to have the opportunity to reach a performance level in sport were more likely to participate in community sport clubs which are elite/performance orientated, even if it meant being in an English speaking environment (increasing their bridging social capital). Participating in community sport clubs with a variety of different socioeconomic and cultural groups enhances the young person's ability to invest, explore and activate their social capital. Reflecting on Helliwell's and Putnam's (2004) finding, these young people participating in community sport clubs are more likely to develop personal wellbeing. Reflecting on the shortfall of Putnam's conceptualisation of social capital (Gelderblom, 2018), this research has identified some negative aspects of social relations, and that power relations are important considerations when evaluating social capital within community sport contexts.

If young people are unable to access community sport opportunities through their preferred language, it is questionable as to whether the Welsh language can indeed be developed and enhanced through community sport. This significantly influences the ability for Welsh to become a living language within this context. For the promotion of social inclusion to be effective, it is paramount that the government recognises the number of cultural and social challenges, which currently face learners, speakers, community sport providers and indeed all of whom have investment in the language. Considering this, it is questionable as to whether all community leaders, as suggested by the WG (2014a), can be the ones to drive and promote development of using the minority language in their communities. Development of the use of the Welsh language in the community was identified as a key strategic theme in the *Moving Forward* publication, however considering this finding, it is debatable as to whether all community sport clubs can play a role.

Community Sport Resources

As reflected in the club sample of this research, the voluntary sector is a crucial part of the UK sport infrastructure and are the face of community sport development (Hylton and Totten, 2013; Nichols, 2013). Green, Sigurjónsson and Skille (2018) found that volunteering is flourishing rather than decreasing. However, the voluntary run community sports clubs participating in this research spoke about the difficulty of recruiting Welsh speaking volunteers. Reality is, that Welsh was not a priority in recruitment of coaches or club officials in this non-traditional Welsh speaking area. This has implications on the extent to which Welsh can be used within these clubs. Similar to the challenges identified by Dallaire and Harvey (2016), the recruitment of Welsh speaking volunteers was raised as a relevant challenge to promoting Welsh within community sport clubs. Recruitment of minority language participants in areas which are less numerous is a challenge identified by Dallaire and Harvey (2016) in the attraction to the Finale des Jeux du Québec. Dallaire's (2003b) conclusion that sport's contribution to promoting minority identities is related to sporting expertise and community resources, is also true for promoting minority languages, as found in this research.

Limited community resources were identified as a barrier for promoting the minority language beyond the school gate in three ways; limited coaches and community sport providers able (or confident) to speak Welsh, low numbers of young people confident to use the language, and low demand. This has led to little development of Welsh language community sport activities. Although the Urdd offer opportunities to participate in sport through the medium of Welsh, as discussed above, there are concerns regarding the isolation of Welsh speakers and exclusion of those who are learning but also wish to be involved. Dallaire and Harvey (2016) also raised this. Dallaire and Harvey (2016) concluded that sport has a ‘metaphoric’ power, which can both be an agent of freedom, but also division.

The understanding and knowledge gained from this research regarding the difficulties in recruiting and promoting the Welsh language into community sport should be considered by the WG and other Welsh language agencies before committing to schemes and policies, which may deter the minority language further. The case study chosen for this research demonstrates that sport can be a vehicle for promotion of the minority language. However, there is a need to ensure that young people are confident to use the language so to normalise it, and through the increased awareness of its use and importance, it should be celebrated. This research revealed a paradox in that whilst Welsh held legitimacy in school, this did not carry over into the community in any sustained, meaningful way. In spite of Welsh and English being equal in law, Welsh is challenged in terms of whether it can become a living community language. This research revealed the challenges in using and developing Welsh in community sport settings and that much of this was controlled by English speaking volunteers and coaches whose own language preferences prevented Welsh being used.

Brexit and Compliance

A key concern regarding the UK’s separation from the EU is the loss in understanding for bilingualism and minority languages. Unsurprisingly all policy informers involved in this research raised concerns regarding Brexit and the future of the Welsh language. The Senedd has suggested that the economic implications of the UK’s exit are a cause for concern for Welsh speakers and Welsh-speaking communities (National Assembly for Wales, 2018). Further, key recommendations from this research related to employability and workforce are considerations

which could be hindered due to Brexit (National Assembly for Wales, 2018). The Welsh economy has benefited considerably from cultural programmes in the country, with the Urdd and Menter Iaith receiving significant amounts of funding to support Welsh medium activities. Austerity regarding EU funding caused concerns for many of the policy informers participating in this study who work within organisations that seek to promote and develop opportunities through the medium of Welsh. Wales is a net beneficiary of £680million in EU funding per year (National Assembly for Wales, 2018). The Urdd received £4million in European funds between 2009-2013 to run the 'Routes to the Summit' programme which gave young people the opportunity to develop workplace skills, receive personal support and social development, all through the medium of Welsh in their local communities (National Assembly for Wales, 2018). Considering the findings of this research, such programmes would be crucial to promote the use of the language among young people, normalise the Welsh language and work towards the goal of a million Welsh speakers. There is also a need for emergent and flexible approaches to be adopted when funding sport and physical activity (Jones, 2008), and this includes promoting the use of Welsh. For some participants, attitudes towards the Urdd were ambivalent as it potentially promoted silos in their offerings, which target competent Welsh speakers.

Relationships and attitudes towards legislation and compliance were also reported to be impacted due to the enforcement and the perception that best practice would not be recognised over the negative. Policy informers reflected that their experiences of compliance and legislation had led to a perception that Welsh was a tick box exercise and that legislation and policy established diverse attitudes towards engaging fully with developing the minority language in the community. This is mainly due to the perception that organisations were not being recognised for their good work, rather they were being scrutinised. If best practice is not recognised, it is uncertain that organisations are going to be motivated to promote the minority language and consequently the use of the minority language is not going to be a priority.

Information Dissemination, Resources and Communication

Policy informers participating in this research identified a challenge with communication and information dissemination. Concerns included the worry of duplicating provision and

competition for funding which might influence willingness to share best practice. The concern of duplicating Welsh medium provision was raised among many policy informers, especially those working in areas that have low numbers of Welsh residents and therefore limited demands. The Urdd are a key partner to these organisations, where Welsh medium opportunities would be provided on behalf of the LA or NGB. As reflected by many policy informers, their organisations would solely rely on the Urdd for the development of Welsh medium provision in the community.

The nature of top-down policy processes is that it is considered to ignore service providers and the needs of communities which are crucial stakeholders in the implementation of policy (Bolton *et al.*, 2008; Grix and Philpotts, 2011; Mackintosh, 2011; May *et al.*, 2012; Jones *et al.*, 2017). A number of policy informers stressed the challenges which they had faced related to the dissemination of information of current initiatives and programmes concerning Welsh and community sport. Challenges which derived from this included clarity regarding roles and responsibilities and also the dissemination of key delivery information through an organisation. Clearly, reflecting on the discussions and interviews conducted for this research, not only did the young people and most of the coaches have no knowledge of the *Amdani* project, but also some key stakeholders had limited knowledge of its existence. Worryingly, participants whom clearly should have been involved in the piloting and consultation stages of the project, namely coaches and local/regional policy informers, may have been neglected. It is important that the WG considers how information is disseminated and that there is potential for organisations such as the WLC to bridge that gap to empower and collaborate with communities and service providers. Participants convincingly argued that longevity of the WLC should be seriously considered if the Welsh language is to survive and thrive and that the WG should look to other countries and learn from their attempts to drive minority languages.

As stressed by Bolton *et al.* (2008) and Jones *et al.* (2017), communities must be engaged with the process of policy development. Further, Mackintosh (2011) stresses that there is a need for experiences and insight to develop policy, based upon good practice, therefore this may have been absent from the process of developing *Amdani* if communities have not been included in the process. The *Amdani* project did undergo a period of consultation, which began at the outset of this PhD (2014). However, noticeably many of the clubs involved with this

consultation were situated in traditionally Welsh speaking areas (as noted on the *Amdani* resource itself). *Amdani* may indeed be successful in traditional Welsh speaking clubs, however, there seems to be little consideration towards the challenges which face community sport clubs in non-Welsh speaking areas, such as those that participated in this research. The uncertainty of the WLC and its future role was a further challenge considered among national policy informers. Policy informers felt that any diminution of role and responsibility would negatively impact on creating a positive long-term future, in which communities and organisations embrace the Welsh language. Moreover, there would be less likelihood of developing initiatives such as *Amdani*.

The Opportunities

Community Sport as a Space for Peer to Peer Learning

A key finding to emerge from the interviews conducted with the young people, revealed a desire to improve the abilities of their Anglophone friends. Young people reported in this study to be ready to help Welsh learners with their speech, writing and reading. Peers play a prominent role in the development of young people's lives (Molloy *et al.*, 2011) therefore when taking this into consideration, peers in this research also affected the development and social acceptance of the Welsh language. Language use is a crucial element in the construction of a group identity, therefore linguistic dominance is important to consider (Robbins, 1991). As reported in this research, young Welsh speakers wish to support and encourage their Anglophone friends to speak and learn Welsh. Sagers *et al.*'s (2004) suggestion that through leisure activities young people are given the opportunity to develop their own sense of identity through social interactions is relevant here and could offer further opportunities to develop greater Welsh identity in community sport settings. In addition, these young people are using their leisure activities to equip not only themselves but also others with transferable skills (Sagers *et al.*, 2004). Developing the confidence and competence of Anglophones in Welsh (who are all Welsh learners as it forms a compulsory part of the national curriculum until the age of 16), reflects positively on the minority language and offers opportunities to build and develop cultural linguistic capital. Similar to that found by Green and Jones (2005) with

regards to serious leisure, community sport clubs in this study provided the space for young people to share, maintain and interact based on their leisure identity. Furthermore, Green (2014) stated that family and friends play a significant role in the development of a young person's sporting capital and habitus. This study builds on this finding and suggests that they also play a significant role in developing linguistic capital and habitus through community sport engagement.

Young people often spoke about how important teaching their Anglophone friends Welsh in a fun and empathetic way. A possible intervention considering this finding is to encourage language ambassadors within the school environment to be developed and supported. This intervention would utilise the young Welsh speakers in Welsh medium schools and connect them with English speaking young people in their community settings. Adams *et al.* (2017) suggests that peer-peer relationships characterised by personal trust, similar to that found in this research, is vital in enabling social capital outcomes. This research also suggests that in relation to linguistic capital, peer to peer relationships are critical for the normalisation of minority languages, in so far as it is developed within social settings involving young confident speakers. Therefore, the empowerment of young people to encourage and drive the Welsh language is an important consideration.

Using the young people as language ambassadors is something which may not only motivate Welsh to be spoken more widely, but will also help to normalise the language. Good second language programmes are considered an effective way for acquisition of a minority or second language (Fang, 2011), therefore creating attractive, engaging and empowering learning opportunities is a crucial development for Welsh as a second language among young people as well as developing their social, cultural and sporting capital. Considerations of such an intervention is that young people would not only have to take ownership of it, but also be supported to do so by their teachers and significant others. As reflected in this research, the way which teachers respond to pupils speaking English has contributed to the separation of the language between school and community. In light of this, similar to that suggested by Thomas, Apolloni *et al.* (2014) teacher training programmes should focus on the development of strategies which build the confidence among teachers to encourage, motivate and inspire young people to use Welsh both within and beyond the school gate. It is important that young people

are key stakeholders in the development of future policies, strategies and interventions, so that they are developed in line with the needs, expectations and experiences of young people in mind. This research has evidenced the importance of understanding the experiences and perceptions of those who are affected but are not currently given the opportunity to influence policy.

Incidental Welsh and Amdani

Currently the purpose of *Amdani* only sits within the community/club sport domain, however little has been done to develop and evaluate the intervention post launch date. Recommendations from this research suggests that it should be utilised within the education sector, especially within English medium schools where Welsh is taught as a second language. The perceptions of participants suggest that Welsh should be made more fun and meaningful, where what is learnt at school can be transferred easily into the community. What the *Amdani* tool provides is a platform for learning Welsh terms in an incidental way, which acknowledges that Welsh can be associated with sport among young Welsh learners. Similarly, it should be developed as a resource not only for sport but for other subjects so to familiarise learners with key terms associated with topics. Interventions such as *Amdani* attempts to introduce Welsh sporting terms into coaching and teaching, however such an initiative is questioned in terms of its ability to be rolled-out and to offer a meaningful response to the challenge of embedding Welsh language into community sport settings. The findings presented in this thesis has demonstrated the complex and nuanced landscape of developing the Welsh language in the community and as such, *Amdani* should be thought of as potentially a government-led marketing campaign rather than a meaningful social policy intervention.

Future interventions and appraisal of the *Amdani* intervention should adopt theory-based evaluation. Bolton *et al.* (2018) suggests that theories of change can place single projects, in a broader policy framework. They discuss that by articulating theories of change at different levels helps policy makers develop and adopt a coherent approach, which would allow researchers to evaluate interventions against wider outcome policy goals (Bolton *et al.*, 2018). Bolton *et al.*'s (2018) study into the evaluation of the Calls for Action intervention in Wales,

which seeks to address inequalities in participation among hard to reach groups, concluded that such an approach which is critical for the facilitation of real-time change.

As identified in the *Welsh-medium Education Strategy: Next Steps* (WG, 2016b), there is a need to ensure that young people have the confidence to use their Welsh language skills. What is evident from this research is that most pupils attending Welsh medium schools do have the confidence to use the language, however conforming behaviours and opportunities to do so impact on the extent to which it is used. To build confidence of learners, English medium schools in Wales play a critical role in promoting and developing the language. English medium schools also play a key role in developing linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1991; Fang, 2011), and by successfully doing so increasing the potential for Welsh to be recognised as an acceptable medium of communication. Considering Putnam's (2000) notion of social capital, by increasing confidence of Welsh learners there is a potential for communities to be 'bonded' and for strong social ties to be developed within community sport.

Continued Professional Development

With around million and a half people employed in Wales [n=1,437,400 on 20th June 2018] (Stats Wales, 2018b), there is an opportunity to develop Welsh as a competency expected within the workplace. Policy informers participating in this research suggested that Welsh should be a workplace skill. According to the 2011 census, 16.6% of people employed in Wales reported to be Welsh speakers. Therefore, there are a significant number of people in Wales who are either not Welsh speakers, or who may not be or feel competent enough to report as a Welsh speaker. CPD was raised frequently as an opportunity for developing Welsh language competencies within the workplace. CPD provides the opportunity for people to maintain and develop knowledge and skills related to their professional lives (Collin, Van der Heijden and Lewis, 2012). It is also used to provide a climate which encourages individual development and change through informal learning opportunities (Rowold and Kauffeld, 2009; Collin *et al.*, 2012). Creating opportunities for CPD may help normalise the Welsh language within the workplace, in so far as to develop key skills and competencies of the workforce.

Commitment to an organisation is influenced upon an individual's perceptions of their participation values (Ringyet-Riot, Cuskelly, Auld and Zakus, 2014). In sport, commitment is considered to stem from an effective incentive (Ringyet-Riot *et al.*, 2014). From a community sport provider perspective, CPD was highlighted as an incentive for volunteers to ensure that they feel valued and to support retention. Meaningful volunteer experiences are a key factor in volunteer retention, as identified in this study (see Chapter 4 section *Community Sport and Promoting Welsh*) and by others (Phillips *et al.*, 2002), therefore it is important that volunteers see worth in giving their time. Incentives that emerged from this research was being offered a funded coaching, officiating or language development qualification or course opportunity. It was suggested that by offering incentives, volunteers would be more likely to give more and be motivated to continue giving their time to the club. Prys *et al.* (2014) suggests that there is little awareness that Welsh is a specific skill relevant to volunteering, therefore it is unsurprising that many volunteers and coaches saw no need for Welsh to be promoted at their clubs.

The Role of Peer Group Mentoring

One means of addressing this is to use best practice from elsewhere including, for example, a successful mentoring programme for the teaching profession which has been implemented in Osaava Verme, Finland. Peer-group mentoring (PGM) was designed to support the professional development of teachers in Finland (Geeraerts, Tynjälä, Keikkinen, Markkanen, Pennanen and Gijbels, 2015).

A system like the PGM peer system (Geeraerts *et al.*, 2015) could be developed within institutions in Wales, and could be an important advancement to the development and mentoring of teachers and sport coaches in promoting Welsh meaningfully within education and the community. This would help to entice improvements in quality and attitudes towards minority languages so that future teachers and coaches are culturally aware and appreciative of the needs of speakers. A programme such as PGM has not yet been suggested or developed as a means for improving minority language awareness and should be a key consideration for all institutions and schools which are developing the future generation of workers. In Wales, a

programme like PGM has the potential to advance the normalisation of the minority language beyond educational settings.

Universities that offer applied work experience opportunities, modules and teacher training degrees provide a fitting platform for minority language exposure. This is not only something that should be considered by HE and FE institutions in Wales, but also in other bilingual or multilingual countries. As suggested by participants in this study, these institutions are the ones who are developing the future workforce and should consider this as relevant to future employability. *Amdani* was identified as a significant resource in supporting the use of the language in this way. Creating awareness and understanding of the minority language is key in normalising it, especially within non-traditional Welsh speaking areas. However more importantly, developing culturally aware future workers is vital for minority languages to develop, thrive and regain social status.

Considerations for Future Policy and Intervention Development

Welsh language interventions include the WLC the Urdd, Eisteddfodau, Welsh medium education, have played a significant role in growing the language. Considering Homma and Masumoto's (2013) sport policy culture model, there are several considerations, which are also important for future sport and language policy to consider. An opportunity is for the *Amdani* project to be embedded within policy programmes to help shape cultural and social structures and behaviours. This approach would consider that suggested by Girginov and Hills (2009), that sport policy should not only address the behaviour of people but should also address social structures and relations. Currently, the *Amdani* project is developed with the factors of people's behaviour in mind, however it is questionable as to whether people's attitude and social system have been thoroughly explored. Further, it has not taken into consideration how an organisation's culture behaviours, attitudes and social system may influence the effectiveness of the intervention.

This research has revealed several key behaviours and attitudes, which young people present towards the Welsh language. When designing interventions, appreciating the complexity of a

minority language speakers' life and experience when designing policy interventions and programmes should be a priority. Policy is often criticised for ignoring service deliverers and young people, however as stressed in this research, these should be considered as crucial- if not *the* most crucial- policy influencers. Several influential challenges have been presented in this research, and had this research only been concerned with policy makers and national organisations, which was considered at the outset of the PhD, crucial findings would have been overlooked. This research demonstrates how important understanding and appreciating the lives of those who are often ignored in the policy process is to the successful future of government agendas.

Young people found it difficult to alter their habitual behaviour of language use with others, and thus poses a challenge for the normalisation of the language beyond the school gate. Increasing knowledge of the importance and understanding the benefits of using the minority language is part of the process of behaviour change. It is also important to note here that language acquisition is complex, and there are a number of external factors that influenced the behaviours of young people. As identified by Adams and White (2005), stage-based interventions may not be effective in promoting physical activity due to the complexity of activity behaviours and external factors. Similar conclusions could be made here with regards to the complex linguistic behaviours of young Welsh speakers, and the diverse external factors which they face when using the minority language beyond the school gate. As previously discussed, significant others influenced whether Welsh would be spoken beyond the school gate. The subjective norms, attitudes, and local language context influenced on the extent to which young people would use the minority language beyond the school gate. The exclusion of others, and 'language courtesy' were pressures they faced when deciding whether to use Welsh or not. These also influenced the perception of young people on the opportunities and challenges, which they may face in speaking the minority language within community sport, and some chose to overcome these controls, while others conformed.

Understanding the Welsh Language Sport System

The sport structure in Wales is complex in relation to the Welsh language. In order to ensure that Welsh language is developed and sustained within community sport, a Welsh language sport structure, similar to that conceptualised below in Figure 13, must be understood by organisations across Wales. Figure 13 illustrates some of the organisations within the sport system in Wales (which also reflect participants of this research), which are a) required to comply with legislation regarding the Welsh language, and b) not required to comply with legislation regarding the Welsh language. It also maps the financial and partnership links between these organisations with regard to the use of the Welsh language, which took part in this study.

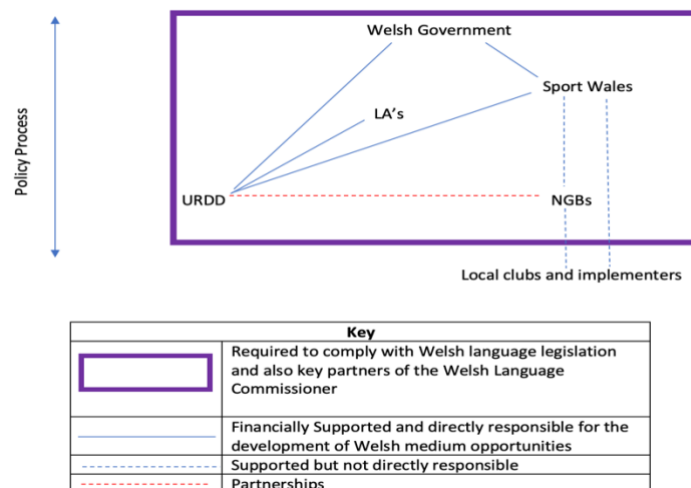


Figure 9. *Researcher's interpretation of a Welsh language Sport System.*

A sport system is made up of the various organisations, which have an impact on sport through either policy, funding or delivery (Robinson, 2011b). From a Welsh language perspective, the Urdd were considered by many policy informers and participants to be an important partner that could influence the sport system further. Clearly there are a number of challenges which influences service delivery and clarity concerning roles and responsibilities among organisations within the sport system in Wales, particularly with regards to the Welsh language.

Policy informers reported in this research that they hope to create an environment and culture where organisations together and share best practice. It was reported by policy informers that this is currently happening on the ground, however the effectiveness of the collaboration within the sport system remains questionable. This way there will be better clarity among organisations concerning where responsibility lies with the development of community sport opportunities and also clarity concerning the key partnerships which are or should be established.

By understanding the Welsh language sport structure, organisations are able to ensure that resources are not strained, and that provision is not duplicated. There is a need for an organisational actor to fulfil a leadership role (Houlihan and Lindsey, 2008), currently it could be suggested that the WLC takes on this role, however their future existence is uncertain. Houlihan and Lindsey (2008) suggest that without an organisation or actor providing strategic leads, it inhibits a coordinated sporting system. Therefore, for the Welsh language to be developed further beyond formal educational settings, there is a need for strategic leadership and collaboration across a number of organisations, partnerships and individuals.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

Introduction

The findings in this thesis provide some valuable insights into the use of, and the attitudes, behaviours and perceptions towards the practice of the Welsh language within a school and community setting among young people. The previous chapters have shown that this is a complex and nuanced subject which is entwined with many historical and social factors. The purpose of this chapter is to conclude the findings from this programme of research and it focuses on three main areas. The first is to summarise the findings concerning whether community sport can be a vehicle for promoting the use of Welsh beyond the school gate by relating back to the research aim and objectives. Key messages and policy recommendations are then presented which reflect the results and discussions presented in the preceding chapters. The strengths and limitations of this study are then discussed which is then followed by future research recommendations. An important closing statement, provided by a policy informer, is presented to mark the end of the thesis.

Before providing a summary of the key points, a short background note is given which helps position the author. I am a bilingual (Welsh and English) speaker and grew up in an English speaking family, where neither of my parents was able to speak Welsh. My pre-school, primary and secondary education was through the medium of Welsh, and I attended schools which were located in non-traditional Welsh speaking areas. My undergraduate and taught master's degrees, completed at Cardiff Metropolitan University, were undertaken predominantly through the medium of English, however thanks to the Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol a small number of my first year optional units were available in Welsh. In undertaking this doctoral level research project, I needed to re-acquaint myself with Welsh and up-skill my competency in the language to develop greater confidence both in speaking and writing. This was achieved by attending classes at Cardiff Metropolitan University and with the Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol. As a result, this enabled me to be more confident conversing through the medium of both Welsh and English. Being bilingual was beneficial both in terms of the observations and interviews as these could be undertaken through both languages. Moreover, there was a further advantage in that being bilingual offered an important connection to the young people themselves. I was embedded in the fieldwork area for over two years and spent many months undertaking observations, interviews and focus

groups in the natural settings of the school and selected community sport clubs that were attended by the young people in the study. Being bilingual offered rich insights and detailed accounts that demonstrated the complex nature of the Welsh language in these diverse environments and how pupils and young people would use multiple identities and alter their approach depending on where they were and who they were mixing with. My own background helped underpin this context and provides an authenticity to the data collection that ensured there was a close understanding between myself as the researcher and those being researched.

General Concluding Discussion

The knowledge acquired throughout this research demonstrates that community sport indirectly plays a role in promoting the use of the Welsh language. As this research has identified, there are several challenges and threats facing the use of the Welsh language within community sport and among young people. This section will summarise the key opportunities and challenges facing the use of Welsh in community sport.

Participant observations both within the school environment and within the community sport setting reflected mixed relationships and attitudes among young people towards the use of the Welsh language. These were highlighted in Chapter Six with the identification of the school and community sport typology (Table 3 and 4). Within the school environment Welsh was the day-to-day language, mainly due to the school rules and the staff's commitment to these. Although many pupils abided by the rules and spoke Welsh most of the time, some pupils challenged school rules and thus a tentative pupil typology was created to describe pupils' perceptions of and behaviours towards the Welsh language. Significantly, it was language competency that influenced the relationship, behaviour and attitudes that pupils demonstrated towards using the Welsh language. Higher levels of confidence meant that Welsh would be most likely spoken, and vice versa for those with higher levels of confidence speaking English. Language competency was identified as a key challenge facing the use of Welsh beyond the school gate, but it was not the only issue to be reported.

Interestingly, pupil behaviours and attitudes towards the Welsh language altered when in their community sport setting. Most young people demonstrating champion characteristics at school became more ambivalent towards using the Welsh language in their community sport settings. Most young people who have grown up speaking Welsh at home continued to demonstrate champion characteristics in the community, but many who were not first language Welsh speakers but might have been champions in school were more likely to shift to their behaviour towards using the Welsh language. Local language context significantly influenced a young person's behaviours and attitudes towards using Welsh beyond the school gate.

Many young people identified that in community sport settings, it was unlikely that they would be aware of, or in the presence of a Welsh speaker or a group of speakers. Thus, young people experienced a dramatic shift from Welsh being the dominant language in school to becoming the minority language in the community. Importantly the community environment was controlled by volunteers and coaches, most of whom were English speaking.

In community sport settings, English was the majority language, with very little Welsh being spoken. Enthusiastic young Welsh speakers were aware of participating alongside English speaking young people and adopted being 'language courteous' to ensure that they did not exclude Anglophone friends from conversations. Locally contextualised language is a key challenge facing language inheritance. Especially in non-traditional Welsh speaking areas, and areas that report low percentages of Welsh speakers, the English language dominates and is considered the local language.

Welsh speaking young people themselves identified that if the language is to survive and thrive in the future, that they themselves must become the promoters of it. A key message that the young people stressed was that awareness that the language is used and spoken is vital if the language is to be accepted as a community language. Welsh speakers often spoke about how they adopt a teaching and support role so that they can help develop the skills of their Anglophone friends.

Community sport has potential to provide opportunities to promote the Welsh language and to secure its use beyond school. The young people discussed making the language ‘fun’ and appealing, and that they believed sport was one platform that could be used to promote it further. Despite challenges and threats that have been identified in this research, several young Welsh speakers confidently use the language and seek to reduce the social language stigma within society (that Welsh is a school language). Nonetheless this remains a significant challenge and will require further resources from WG and national organisations to support Welsh being promoted in the community and greater normalisation of the language.

In the community, the behaviours and attitudes of some volunteers and coaches who were non-Welsh speakers towards the use of Welsh revealed some significant challenges. The research revealed that some community sport providers actively discouraged Welsh speakers using the language. Often, those who would not allow Welsh to be spoken during community sport activities, overlooked the language preference of the young people, due to the fear that speakers would be speaking behind their back.

Volunteer recruitment and retention was considered a challenges that faced community sport providers. In a number of instances community club officers stressed the challenge of recruiting coaches generally, and that it was more by luck if they were able to speak Welsh. Learning Welsh and providing CPD opportunities were identified as ways in which meaningful volunteer experiences could be achieved. Whilst some of the coaches expressed no interest in learning the language (and thus this could be a challenge for policy implementors), others reported on successful practices of offering CPD and retaining volunteers and Welsh language courses were suggested as another opportunity for increasing meaningful experiences. It was also suggested that for the Welsh language to be meaningful to both young people and those learning/non-Welsh speakers, it must be taught in a way that is attractive and moves Welsh beyond the show cards that were used in the *Amdani* initiative.

As raised by the young people and community sport providers, the key messages that emerged from the policy informers suggests that there are a number of wider political challenges and opportunities hindering or aiding the development of the Welsh language. Along with austerity

concerns as well as concerns regarding how Welsh is perceived among organisations, policy informers raised their apprehensions of losing the significant context that EU has towards minority languages. This is especially important now given the UK's decision to leave the EU. As the UK leaves the EU there will be further challenges for policy informers in Wales to develop cross-sectoral and collaborative ventures which will help maintain and develop Wales' position and help promote the Welsh language.

The attitudes which organisations in Wales have on the development and promotion of the language was considered to have an impact on whether it holds high or low legitimacy compared with other political issues. A challenge identified by policy informers within this research is that organisations felt under scrutiny to comply with legislation concerning the Welsh language. One opportunity which was raised in this research related to the development of the future generation of workers in Wales. Partnerships with HE and FE institutions for developing a future workforce that is culturally aware was identified as an opportunity to adapt and change behaviours and attitudes towards Welsh. This could be an important step in the direction of normalising the minority language.

Much like the perceptions of the young people, some community sport providers felt that by introducing the language into a social environment, it would allow the language to become more visible in the community. In spite of its limitations that have been reported, the project *Amdani* provides a starting point to develop Welsh in community sport settings. Welsh or bilingual sessions could be encouraged to increase awareness of the Welsh language in community sport clubs and this emerged as an opportunity during this research as a means of building confidence to increase the use of the minority language. As identified from this research, Welsh is not seen as a community sport language despite some interventions promoting its use. Furthermore, it may not be a priority for some organisations. These findings reveal that there are different levels of understanding and attitudes towards the Welsh language among community sport providers (research objective II). It also helps reveal the views of community sport providers and policy informers concerning the opportunities and barriers for using Welsh beyond the school gate (research objective IV). Implementation issues referred to in the earlier chapters, means that the 'recommendations' may need reflect different levels in the sport/education and community policy networks previously identified.

Clearly, young people are the future generation of Welsh speakers and should be a priority target group for the government in their aspirations for the minority language. Understanding their behaviours, attitudes, experiences and needs is crucial in ensuring longevity for the language. The opportunities and barriers presented in this thesis are important for policy makers to consider. Sport should not be viewed as a method of solving all political problems, nor should it be seen in isolation to other services. Sport, education and the workplace are all important avenues for promoting minority languages, and each offer environment specific challenges and opportunities. This study has focused on community sport; however, education, workplace and other areas of sport have also been identified as important avenues for minority language promotion. The importance of understanding what happens on the ground is emphasised here, and therefore the insights collected from this research should be used to inform future policy interventions and projects concerning both minority languages and community sport development in the future. Appreciating and understanding the perceptions of those who are impacted by policy should be considered a vital component of policy planning, and young people specifically should be stakeholders in future processes.

Strengths and Limitations of this Research

Although the objectives of this research have been fulfilled, it is acknowledged that there are limitations, which would have improved the studies. Due to time and access restrictions, of the 36 clubs sampled as research locations for the second study, seven agreed and consented to take part in the study. The club sample size was enough to achieve the objectives of the research, although higher recruitment rates of clubs would have improved the project but would have also stretched my resources as a researcher. Some may perceive that a larger sample size would have resulted in more stories to tell, but it may not have generated any different findings than what has been found through the participating seven clubs. A practical implication also emerged whilst writing a paper on social inclusion and the use of the Welsh language within community sport that I had limited interactions with school challengers compared to those pupils who were champions/ambivalent. The main reason, linked in part to no football, rugby or dance clubs replying. It was these clubs which were identified as community activities in which challengers would take part within. This limitation was reflected and led to the follow

up interviews (as part of Phase 4 I) with school challengers who were identified by the case study school PE teachers.

Not only this, but it has also provided understandings towards the complex nature of sport development, community sport and young people behaviours and attitudes and how these impact on minority language use. A strength of this research is that in-depth empirical research was conducted which has created a detailed picture of the challenges and opportunities of using the Welsh language beyond the school gate within non-traditional Welsh speaking community sport clubs. With this understanding there is a potential for Welsh language interventions to be developed with a more enhanced understanding of the challenges and opportunities which face using the minority language in non-traditional Welsh speaking communities. A further strength of this research is the emergent and flexible research design which allowed for additional collections of data based on relevant and noteworthy leads. Without this flexibility, and the appreciation of a complex Welsh language sport system, understanding from a number of different key actors would not have taken place.

Future Research Recommendations

Before providing a summary of the key points, a short background note is given which helps position the author. I am a bilingual (Welsh and English) speaker and grew up in a non-Welsh speaking family, where neither of my parents was able to speak Welsh. My pre-school, primary and secondary education was through the medium of Welsh, and I attended schools which were located in non-traditional Welsh speaking areas. My undergraduate and taught master's degrees, completed at Cardiff Metropolitan University, were undertaken predominantly through the medium of English, however thanks to the Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol a small number of my first year optional units were available in Welsh. In undertaking this doctoral level research project, I needed to re-acquaint myself with Welsh and up-skill my competency in the language to develop greater confidence both in speaking and writing. This was achieved by attending classes at Cardiff Metropolitan University and with the Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol. As a result, this enabled me to be more confident conversing through the medium of both Welsh and English. Being bilingual was beneficial both in terms

of the observations and interviews as these could be undertaken through both languages. Moreover, there was a further advantage in that being bilingual offered an important connection to the young people themselves. I was embedded in the fieldwork area for over two years and spent many months undertaking observations, interviews and focus groups in the natural settings of school and selected community sport clubs that were attended by the young people in the study. Being bilingual offered rich insights and detailed accounts that demonstrated the complex nature of the Welsh language in these diverse environments and how pupils and young people would use multiple identities and alter their approach depending on where they were and who they were mixing with. My own background helped underpin this context and provides an authenticity to the data collection that ensured there was a close understanding between myself as the researcher and those being researched.

Several political and practical recommendations have emerged from the empirical work conducted as part of this research. Considering the findings and policy recommendations, future research is still needed to understand how minority languages can be developed and normalised beyond the school gate. Suggestions from this research, identified four key areas which are important to comprehend. Firstly, as this study is concerned with a single case of a non-traditional Welsh speaking area, further understanding is needed into the behaviours and attitudes and the use of the Welsh language within community sport settings in traditional Welsh speaking areas. Furthermore, research is required within non-traditional and traditional Welsh speaking areas which focuses on younger age groups, namely nursery and primary school pupils, to understand how behaviours and attitudes are fostered, and how Welsh could be promoted and incorporated further into the foundation and KS 1 and 2 curriculums.

An important consideration is to understand the role of PE in the promotion of the Welsh language. Many participants of this study highlighted the need to make Welsh ‘more fun’. Sport can be a potential driver for encouraging learners and fluent Welsh speakers to enjoy the language. In turn, this would improve opportunities of achieving the WG’s vision of a million Welsh speakers by 2050. The perceptions of teachers would be an important advancement to knowledge here. Another avenue which might be further explored is the street based and youth sport environments. As leisure lifestyles becoming more street based, with outdoor activities

and informal participation in sport becoming increasingly popular, these environments might act as potential drivers for increasing the use of the Welsh language beyond the school gate.

The *Amdani* intervention would seem to have merits, although there is a need to evaluate its effectiveness through further insights into provider perspectives on its suitability. For the intervention to be successful, there is a need to further understand its practical implications, strengths, opportunities for further development and threats. Some key messages arose from this study concerning the intervention, however further research should be considered to ensure project longevity and success. Finally, as identified by the policy informers, HE Institutions and FE Centres could provide a meaningful platform for increasing awareness, promoting language use, and encouraging Welsh to be used. Research into this recommendation would allow for current knowledge and understanding which FE and HE institutions play in promotion of minority languages and whether this is a successful avenue to pursue further.

I Gau- To Conclude

In conclusion to this PhD thesis, I would like to close with a message from a national policy informer, shared during their interview. The message conveys the importance of collaborative policy planning and embracement of the language, which we should all, from policy makers to those whom policy effects, should evoke.

NOPF 1- 'Os ydyn nhw o ddifri ynglŷn â chreu gwlad ddwyieithog, y sialens fawr dwi'n credu yw creu gweithle dwyieithog, so felly y sialens mawr yw sicrhau bod y bobl ifanc sydd yn mynd trwy y system addysg yn gweld gwerth y Gymraeg fel rhan o'i bywydau nhw, ac mae angen i'r system addysg newid er mwyn neud hynna. Mae rhaid i ni, y gair yna, normaleiddio a neud yn siŵr bod y Gymraeg yn perthyn i bawb... mewn ffordd mae gennym ni gyfle bendigedig yng Nghymru i greu gwlad ddwyieithog hyderus.'

[If we are serious about creating a bilingual country, the big challenge I think is to create a bilingual workplace, so the big challenge is to ensure that young people who go through the education system see the value of Welsh as part of their lives, and the

education system needs to change for that to happen. We must, that word, normalise and make sure that Welsh belongs to everyone. In a way we have an amazing opportunity in Wales to create a confident bilingual country.]

[Recorded interview, 6/4/18]

For the Welsh language to be normalised beyond the school gate, especially within a community sport environment, there is a need to consider several complex challenges and exciting opportunities. For Welsh to be normalised and to gain legitimacy, the language needs to be embraced by all. Community sport offers a fundamental opportunity for promotion of minority languages, however diversity, attitudes and behaviours impact on the effectiveness of its potential. Ultimately, there is a need for confident young people to emerge from education with the pride, passion and enthusiasm to promote the language. Wales provides a unique opportunity for this to be developed and to be recognised worldwide as a leading country in promoting minority languages.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A- INTERVIEW GUIDES

Club official

About the Club- The club official will be asked to collect the necessary data before the interview taking place.

1. Tell me about the history of your club?
2. How many members does the club provide for?
3. How does the club recruit coaches?
 - a. How many are paid?
 - b. Are they qualified?
 - c. How many are parent volunteers?
4. What committee roles are there at the club?
 - a. How effective does the committee run?

Club Development

1. What is the ethos and culture at the club and among the members like?
2. What is the ethos and culture at the club and among the staff members like?
3. In your opinion, what are the opportunities for the club when looking at recruiting volunteers/paid coaches?
 - a. What do you think motivates coaches/volunteers to coach at your club?
4. What are the challenges that the club face with regards to recruiting coaches/volunteers?
5. What are some of the challenges facing you and your club for club development?
6. What might help improve club development?
 - a. NGB support
 - b. Funding
 - c. Coach development
7. How is the club run?

Welsh Language- touch on the aim of the study.

8. Are there any officials/volunteers/coaches/members at the club who speak Welsh?
9. When do you hear Welsh being spoken at the club?
10. Between who do you hear it being spoken?
11. In what ways do you support the use of Welsh at the club?
12. Does the promotion of Welsh feature in any policies at the club?
13. Out of interest, are you aware of how Welsh could be enabled in the club?
 - a. NGB support/Local Authority/Welsh language bodies.
 - b. Are you aware of the Welsh language commissioner's work and some of the initiatives created for the encouragement of Welsh in sport?
14. In your opinion, what scope is there for more Welsh to be spoken at the club?
 - a. Who should be the ones to promote the use of Welsh spoken at the club?

Club coaches

Consent will be obtained before the session starts for the conversations to be recorded.

An ideal conversation will take place around the following questions:

1. What are your sporting interests?
2. What motivates you to coach/volunteer?
3. What are some of the challenges facing you as a volunteer?

Young people

4. What are the different types of young people which you come across while volunteering at the club?
5. What are their different attitudes/behaviours?
6. What differences are there in attitudes and behaviours between the different age groups?
7. Do you have a child which participates at the club?
 - a. If so, what are the challenges/opportunities which you face as a parent coach?
8. Do you hear Welsh being used among the young people?

- a. If so, where, when and between who?

Welsh Language

9. Do you support the use of Welsh at the club?
 - a. If so how?
 - b. If not, why not?
10. What might be some of the challenges towards using Welsh during your sessions?
11. What scope is there for the use of Welsh to be spoken at the club?
 - a. Who should be the ones to promote the use of Welsh spoken at the club?

Young People

Assent and consent will be obtained before the session starts for the conversations to be recorded.

Interviews may go in different directions depending on the typology of the pupil.

An ideal conversation will take place around the following questions:

1. Tell me about some of your biggest achievements in your sport.
2. What do you enjoy about participating in sport?
 - a. What motivates you to participate?
3. Why do you attend the club?
4. Do you use Welsh in the club?
 - a. If so, when, where and with who? (with friends/coaches/parents)
 - b. Why do you use Welsh?
 - c. If not, why?
5. Are you offered Welsh speaking opportunities at the club?
6. What projects could be put in place which might motivate you to use Welsh among your friends at your sports club?

Young Person focus group

Following from our interviews last year, I would like to chat about some of the ideas which you all identified as possible avenues for Welsh to be used during your community club sessions.

- How could the school/university encourage you to use Welsh in the community?
- How might you use your volunteering activities to use more Welsh outside of school/university?
- If you were involved in a specific programme which was designed for you to be a young ambassador for the use of Welsh within community sport...
 - o Would it motivate you to use more Welsh outside of school? If so, how so? If not, why not?
 - o What advice or recommendations might you give to those designing the programme?
 - o Do you feel that such a programme would help to increase the use of Welsh outside of school? If so, how so? If not, why not?
- Is there anything else that you feel like you would like to add?

National sport and WL policy informers

Intro:

Thank you for your time to meet with me today.

I have been undertaking research in a non-traditional Welsh speaking area and I would like to share with you some of my findings as well as understand some of your current operations with regards to the Welsh language.

1. As the (job role) of (organisation) what are your main responsibilities, and do you have any specific duties or responsibilities for the provision of the Welsh language?
 - a. If so, can you provide some more detail into these responsibilities and how do you apply these into your role?
 - b. If not, can you tell me why this may be?
2. As an organisation I understand that your current commitments towards the use of the Welsh language is are there any other current commitments/responsibilities at a national level?
 - a. Can you tell me about these additional commitments and how does the organisation go about reaching these?
 - b. If not, can you tell me about why is this?
3. As an organisation I understand that your current commitments towards the use of the Welsh language are do you have any other current commitments/responsibilities at a regional level?
 - a. Can you tell me about these additional commitments and how does the organisation go about reaching these?
 - b. If not, can you tell me about why is this?
4. As an organisation I understand that your current commitments towards the use of the Welsh language are do you have any other current commitments/responsibilities at a local level?
 - a. If so, can you tell me more about these additional commitments and how does the organisation go about reaching these?

- b. If not, can you tell me about why is this?
- 5. Can you tell me about which stakeholders you see as having responsibilities over the development of Welsh language initiatives at a national level and why?
 - a. Are there ways in which your organisation has consulted and supported these stakeholders on their roles and responsibilities?
- 6. Can you tell me about which stakeholders you see as having responsibilities over the development of Welsh language initiatives at a local level and why?
 - a. Can you tell me about the ways in which your organisation consulted and supported these stakeholders on their roles and responsibilities?
- 7. As an organisation which organisations/stakeholders have responsibilities over local implementation and initiatives towards increasing the use of the Welsh language within community sport?
 - a. Can you tell me about the ways in which your organisation consulted and supported these stakeholders on their roles and responsibilities?
- 8. Are there ways which you support local stakeholders and NGBs with the development of using the Welsh language?
- 9. Can you tell me about the ways in which you communicate your policies and interventions with organisations which are responsible for the delivery of initiatives?
 - a. What are the follow up procedures on whether policies and interventions have been delivered and for stakeholders to feedback?
 - b. Can you tell me about the officers/people that are involved with this initial contact and what are your understandings of the process following your initial communication with these key people?
- 10. In your opinion, who should be the ones to promote the use of the Welsh language within community sport?
- 11. What are your thoughts on young people themselves being given more opportunities and support to help increase the use of Welsh within community sport? A

recommendation from this research is that this could be delivered through a young ambassador scheme with bilingual university students at Cardiff Metropolitan University having the opportunity to support its delivery through their work experience module.

- a. Could you tell me whether your organisation would support such an initiative, and how might this support be given?

NGBs and LAs

Intro:

Thank you for your time to meet with me today.

I have been undertaking research in a non-traditional Welsh speaking area and I would like to share with you some of my findings as well as understand some of your current operations with regards to the Welsh language.

1. As the (job role) of (organisation) what are your main responsibilities, and do you have any specific duties or responsibilities for the provision of the Welsh language?
 - a. If so, can you provide some more detail into these responsibilities and how do you apply these into your role?
 - b. If not, can you tell me why this may be?
2. As an organisation I understand that your current commitments towards the use of the Welsh language is do you have any other current commitments/responsibilities at a regional level?
 - a. Can you tell me about these additional commitments and how does the organisation go about reaching these?
 - b. If not, can you tell me about why is this?
3. Can you tell me about the ways in which your organisation receives support for the development of Welsh language use initiatives?
 - a. Can you provide some further by what organisations and in what form is the support?
4. What can you tell me about the current Welsh language schemes in sport which are being developed by governmental organisations?
 - a. Welsh language commissioner

5. Can you tell me about the way does your organisation support the development of Welsh language use initiatives being undertaken at a national level?
6. What ways does your organisation support the development of Welsh language use initiatives being undertaken at a local level?
7. How are you given the opportunity to communicate your best practice examples of Welsh language use to governmental organisations?
 - a. If you are given the opportunity, how has this impacted on your Welsh language provision?
 - b. If you are not given the opportunity, what benefits would you have as an organisation if this opportunity was offered to you?
8. What are the opportunities which are available to you as an NGB to support the development of Welsh language use initiatives?
9. What are the challenges which face you as an NGB to support the development of Welsh language use initiatives?
10. Can you tell me about how information and government initiatives are disseminated to you and who is responsible for this communication?
11. In your opinion, who should be the ones to promote the use of the Welsh language within community sport?
12. What are your thoughts on young people themselves being given more opportunities and support to help increase the use of Welsh within community sport? A recommendation from this research is that this could be delivered through a young ambassador scheme with bilingual university students at Cardiff Metropolitan

University having the opportunity to support its delivery through their work experience module.

- a. Could you tell me whether your organisation would support such an initiative, and how might this support be given?

APPENDIX B- EXAMPLES OF INFORMATION SHEETS AND CONSENT FORMS

STUDY INFORMATION

Sport and Welsh Language

Dear,

Title of project: Exploring the Potential of Community Sport in Encouraging Young People's Use of the Welsh Language Outside of School

A researcher from Cardiff Metropolitan University has received funding from the Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol to conduct research study on whether sport could be a vehicle for encouragement and allowing young people to interact through the medium of Welsh.

What will I be researching?

The aim of this research is to explore whether sport can play a role in encouraging young people, particularly from non-traditional Welsh speaking areas, to use the Welsh language away from school.

About me

I have an enhanced current DBS check and a UKCC Level 1 qualified swimming coaching certificate. I currently teach Water polo at the University and also act as an Academic Associate, gaining experience of teaching and lecturing at Cardiff Metropolitan University. I am also a licenced water polo referee as well as an ex international surf lifesaver and a current international water polo player. I gained a first-class honours degree in Sport Development (2013) and recently graduated (summer 2015) with a distinction for an MA in Sport Management and Leadership.

During the project I will work closely with a team of expert sports management, development, sociology and philosophy specialists from Cardiff Metropolitan University. Dr Nicola Bolton, Professor Carwyn Jones and Dr Hywel Iorwerth are academics at Cardiff Metropolitan University.

Your Involvement

We would like to invite your school to participate in this important project. The research will take part from November 2015 to January 2016. Your school will be used as a site for the following research objective by using participant observations:

- To understand the use of, the different relationships with, and the attitudes towards community sport and the Welsh language among pupils.

The observations will be a key platform for understanding the Welsh culture and identities among pupils, as well as informing participant selection and emerging themes in order to satisfy the other research objectives.

As a result of participating in this project, your school will receive a full report on the results of this study. This information could be used as evidence for the use of Welsh language of pupils within the school and physical activity elements of wellbeing in your school.

In order to participate in this research, it is essential that we have your consent as the Head Teacher. The researcher will also ensure that all University and school ethical procedures are met.

By agreeing to participate in this research you are agreeing that the data can be used for scientific purposes and possibly published in a scientific journal. All data collected will be kept confidential and will only be viewed by the team of researchers working on the project and kept for 5 years in a locked cabinet. Your involvement as a school, in this research is voluntary and you have the right to withdraw from this study at any time.

If you have any queries or would like to discuss the research further, please feel free to contact Lana Evans (Principle Researcher), Dr Nicola Bolton (Director of Studies), Professor Carwyn Jones (Supervisor) and Dr Hywel Iorwerth (Supervisor) whose details are included below. Thank you for taking the time to read this letter. We hope you will be involved in this worthwhile project.

Yours truly,

Lana Evans (Principal Researcher)

✉ imevans@cardiffmet.ac.uk

Dr. Nicola Bolton

✉ njbolton@cardiffmet.ac.uk

Professor Carwyn Jones

✉ crjones@cardiffmet.ac.uk

Dr. Hywel Iorwerth

✉ hiorwerth@cardiffmet.ac.uk

SCHOOL CONSENT FORM

School:

Title of Project: **Exploring the Potential of Community Sport in Encouraging Young People's Use of the Welsh Language Outside of School**

Name of Researcher: Lana Evans

School representative to complete this section:
initial each box.

Please

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

☐

2. I understand that the school's participation is voluntary and that the school is free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.

☐

3. I agree for the school to take part in the above study.

☐

4. I agree for observations to be carried out by the researcher at the school site.

☐

School stamp

Date

Name of person taking consent

Date

Signature of person taking consent

** When completed, 1 copy for participant and 1 copy for researcher site file*

Invitation Email

Dear (insert name)

My name is Lana Evans and I am a researcher from Cardiff Metropolitan University. I am currently researching into whether sport can play a role in encouraging young people to speak Welsh outside of school, and I have been working closely with pupils and staff at [school] and I would love to have the opportunity to work with your club as part of this important and unique research. Your club has been identified to take part in this study by the pupils and staff members at [school] and would involve (i) the researcher observing club activities, and/or (ii) taking part in an interview or focus group.

If you are happy for your club to participate in the study, it would be great to meet or discuss over the phone about the study and your involvement. I have attached an information sheet for further information.

Please do not hesitate to contact me via email or phone.

I look forward to hearing from you,

Lana Evans

LMEvans@cardiffmet.ac.uk

STUDY INFORMATION

Sport and Welsh Language

To whom it may concern,

Title of project: Exploring the Potential of Community Sport in Encouraging Young People's Use of the Welsh Language

I am a researcher from Cardiff Metropolitan University and have received funding from the Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol to conduct a research study on whether sport could be a vehicle for encouragement and encouraging young people to interact through the medium of Welsh.

What will I be researching?

The aim of this research is to explore whether sport can play a role in encouraging young people, particularly from non-traditional Welsh speaking areas, to use the Welsh language away from school.

About me:

Having grown up in the Vale of Glamorgan, and being a Welsh speaker and sport enthusiast, I am extremely passionate about understanding sport provision and understanding the language used by young people outside of school. As a youngster, I competed at the World stage in Surf Lifesaving, winning numerous titles as a surf swimmer, and with nearly as much time spent in the pool training, as I did in school, it was rare that I used Welsh while participating in sport. This research project is important, and I really hope to have the opportunity to work with your club. There is no pressure for you to participate, however, your participation will be greatly appreciated and will hopefully help to inform policy making and practice in the future. Your club has been identified by the pupils attending the Welsh medium school, and as a club which is popular among pupils at the school.

I have an enhanced current DBS check and a UKCC Level 1 qualified swimming coaching certificate. I currently teach Water polo at the University and also act as an Academic Associate, gaining experience of teaching and lecturing at Cardiff Metropolitan University. I am also a licenced water polo referee as well a current international water polo player. I gained a first-class honours degree in Sport Development (2013) and recently graduated (Summer, 2015) with a distinction in MA, Sport Management and Leadership.

About the Project:

This research is supervised by a team of experts in sports management, development, sociology and philosophy from Cardiff Metropolitan University. Dr Nicola Bolton, Professor Carwyn Jones and Dr Hywel Iorwerth are academics at Cardiff Metropolitan University.

We would like to invite your club to participate in this important project. The research will take place from April 2016 to September 2016.

You will have the opportunity to be a part of the study in these two ways

1. Having your say and voicing your opinions on the Welsh language being used in your club and in the community.
2. Allowing the researcher to observe your club.

With your help, and your permission to participate in the above, you will help develop a greater understanding of some of the issues and challenges of using Welsh during community sport opportunities, as well as exploring the potential community sport provision has towards encouraging more young people to use the Welsh language outside of the school gates.

By participating in this research, you are agreeing that the data can be used for scientific purposes and possibly published in a scientific journal. All data collected will be kept confidential and will only be viewed by the team of researchers working on the project and kept for 5 years in a locked cabinet. Your involvement as a club, in this research will be voluntary and you have the right to withdraw from this study at any time.

If you have any queries or would like to discuss the research further, please feel free to contact any member of the team and details are given below. Thank you for taking the time to read this letter. We hope you will be involved in this worthwhile project.

Yours truly,

Lana Evans (Principal Researcher)

✉ imevans@cardiffmet.ac.uk

Dr. Nicola Bolton

✉ njbolton@cardiffmet.ac.uk

Professor Carwyn Jones

□ crjones@cardiffmet.ac.uk

Dr. Hywel Iorwerth

□ hiorwerth@cardiffmet.ac.uk

CONSENT FORM- Club Observations

Participant:

Title of Project: **Exploring the Potential of Community Sport in Encouraging Young People's Use of the Welsh Language Outside of School**

Name of Researcher: Lana Evans

Please complete this section:

Please initial each box.

- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| 1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily and am happy for the club to take part in the study. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. I understand that the club's participation is voluntary and that I/they are free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. I agree that the data can be used for scientific purposes and possibly published in a scientific journal. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. I agree on behalf of the club and its members (young people) to be involved in the observations which will be carried out by the researcher. | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Signature

Name of person taking consent

Date

** When completed, 1 copy for participant and 1 copy for researcher site file*

Coaches- CONSENT FORM- Observations

Participant:

Title of Project: **Exploring the Potential of Community Sport in Encouraging Young People's Use of the Welsh Language Outside of School**

Name of Researcher: Lana Evans

Please complete this section:

Please initial each box.

- | | |
|--|--------------------------|
| 1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily and am happy to take part in the study. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am are free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. I agree that the data can be used for scientific purposes and possibly published in a scientific journal. | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. I agree to be involved in the observations which will be carried out by the researcher. | <input type="checkbox"/> |

Signature

Name of person taking consent

Date

** When completed, 1 copy for participant and 1 copy for researcher site file*

CONSENT FORM- Interview

Participant:

Title of Project: **Exploring the Potential of Community Sport in Encouraging Young People's Use of the Welsh Language Outside of School**

Name of Researcher: Lana Evans

Please complete this section:

Please initial each box.

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily and I am happy to take part in the study.

☐

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.

☐

3. I agree that the data can be used for scientific purposes and possibly published in a scientific journal.

☐

4. I agree for the interview to be recorded.

☐

5. I agree to participate in a:

a) Face to Face interview

b) Phone or Skype interview

Signature

Name of person taking consent

Date

** When completed, 1 copy for participant and 1 copy for researcher site file.*

STUDY INFORMATION

Sport and Welsh Language

To whom it may concern,

I am a researcher from Cardiff Metropolitan University and have received funding from the Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol to conduct a research study on whether sport could be a vehicle for encouraging young people to interact through the medium of Welsh.

What will I be researching?

The aim of this research is to explore whether sport can play a role in encouraging young people, particularly from non-traditional Welsh speaking areas, to use the Welsh language away from school.

About me:

As a youngster, I competed at the World stage in Surf Lifesaving, winning numerous titles as a surf swimmer. With nearly as much time spent in the pool training, as I did in school, it was rare that I used Welsh while participating in sport, despite attending a Welsh medium school. I have an enhanced current DBS check and a UKCC Level 1 qualified swimming coaching certificate. I am also a water polo referee as well a current international water polo player. I gained a first-class honours degree in Sport Development (2013) and recently graduated (Summer, 2015) with a distinction in MA, Sport Management and Leadership. As part of my personal development I also support research and sport specific modules at the University.

About the Project:

This research is supervised by Dr Nicola Bolton, Professor Carwyn Jones and Dr Hywel Iorwerth from Cardiff Metropolitan University.

We would like to invite your child to participate in a discussion before, during or after their club session. There is no pressure for your child to participate, however, their participation will be greatly appreciated and will hopefully help to inform policy making and practice in the future. Your child has been identified as a potential participant for this research by the researcher.

With your permission, your child will have the opportunity to be a part of the study through having their say and voicing their opinions on the Welsh language being used in the club and in the community through an individual or group discussion with the researcher. By

participating, your child will help to develop a greater understanding of some of the opportunities, issues and challenges of using the Welsh language during community sport.

By consenting for your child to participate in this research you are agreeing that the data can be used for scientific purposes and possibly published in a scientific journal. All data collected will be kept confidential and will only be viewed by the team of researchers working on the project and kept for 5 years in a locked cabinet. Your child's involvement in this research will be voluntary and you or your child has the right to withdraw from this study at any time.

If you have any queries or would like to discuss the research further, please feel free to contact any member of the team- details are given below. Thank you for taking the time to read this letter. We hope you will be involved in this worthwhile project.

Yours truly,

Lana Evans (Principal Researcher)

✉ imevans@cardiffmet.ac.uk

Dr. Nicola Bolton

✉ njbolton@cardiffmet.ac.uk

Professor Carwyn Jones

✉ crjones@cardiffmet.ac.uk

Dr. Hywel Iorwerth

✉ hiorwerth@cardiffmet.ac.uk

Dear Participant,

I have been conducting research at your school and in the local community in order to explore the potential which sport might have in increasing the opportunities for you to be able to speak Welsh, if you wish to do so, outside of school. Your school has been chosen to take part in this important study which has been ongoing since October 2015, and you have been selected to take part in a discussion on your thoughts.

What will happen?

You will participate in a short discussion with me on the following topics:

- 1) Your use of Welsh
- 2) How you feel Welsh could be used in the community
- 3) Your sporting achievements

The discussions will take place during the final 2 weeks of school and during September.

What do you need to do?

I have enclosed two permission forms for your parents/guardians and you to fill in and sign. Your parents need to fill in the consent form and you need to fill in the assent form.

I hope that you will participate in this project that promises to be an enjoyable and educational experience. You are free to drop out from this project at any time. All the information you give us will be completely confidential.

Yours faithfully,

Lana Evans

☐☐LMEvans@cardiffmet.ac.uk



Parental CONSENT FORM- Interview

Participant:

Title of Project: **Exploring the Potential of Community Sport in Encouraging Young People's Use of the Welsh Language Outside of School**

Name of Researcher: Lana Evans

**Please complete this section:
box.**

Please initial each

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily and I am happy for my child to take part in the study.

☐

2. I understand that my child's participation is voluntary and that I am/they are free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.

☐

3. I agree that the data can be used for scientific purposes and possibly published in a scientific journal.

☐

4. I agree for my child's interview to be recorded.

☐

Parent/guardian Signature

Name and Date

PARTICIPANT ASSENT FORM- Interview

Name:

Title of Project: **Exploring the Potential of Community Sport in Encouraging Young People's Use of the Welsh Language Outside of School**

Name of Researcher: Lana Evans

Please fill this form in by ticking the Yes or No boxes:

Yes

No

I understand the purpose of the study

☐☐

I have had an opportunity to ask questions and get them answered

☐☐

I know I can stop at any time and that will be OK

☐☐

I know that class information may be passed onto teachers, but my individual information will not

☐☐

I am happy for my interview to be recorded

☐☐

Your Signature

Date:

Over18 CONSENT FORM- Interview

Participant:

Title of Project: **Exploring the Potential of Community Sport in Encouraging Young People's Use of the Welsh Language Outside of School**

Name of Researcher: Lana Evans

**Please complete this section:
box.**

Please initial each

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily and I am happy to take part in the study. ☐
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am/they are free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason. ☐
3. I agree that the data can be used for scientific purposes and possibly published in a scientific journal. ☐
4. I agree for my interview to be recorded. ☐

Signature

Name and Date

STUDY INFORMATION- Parent and Child Information

Sport and Welsh Language

Dear Parent/Guardian

I am a researcher from Cardiff Metropolitan University and have received funding from the Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol to conduct a research study on whether sport could be a vehicle for encouraging young people to interact through the medium of Welsh. As a Welsh speaker and keen sportswoman, my research project interests me in many ways, not only from a Welsh language development point, but also from a sports participation and development point. I competed at the World stage in Surf Lifesaving, winning numerous titles as a surf swimmer. With nearly as much time spent in the pool training, as I did in school, it was rare that I used Welsh while participating in sport, despite attending a Welsh medium school.

About the Project:

The aim of this research is to explore how sport can play a role in encouraging young people, particularly from non-traditional Welsh speaking areas, to use the Welsh language away from school.

This research is supervised by Dr Nicola Bolton, Professor Carwyn Jones and Dr Hywel Iorwerth from Cardiff Metropolitan University. We would like to invite your child to participate in a focus group which will be conducted during a lunch time break during their school day. With your permission, your child will have the opportunity to be a part of the study through participating in a focus group aimed to explore their ideas on the opportunities for using the Welsh language in the club and in the community. The focus group will be recorded.

There is no pressure for your child to participate, however, their participation will be greatly appreciated and will hopefully help to inform policy making and practice in the future. Some of the data will be used as evidence within publications, the PhD thesis, as well as at conferences and public dissemination events. All data will be anonymised in order to protect the identity of your child and kept for 5 years in a locked cabinet. Your child's involvement in this research will be voluntary and you or your child has the right to withdraw from this study at any time. The focus group will be scheduled at a time discussed and agreed with the head of PE and your child.

If you have any queries or would like to discuss the research further, please feel free to contact any member of the team- details are given below. Thank you for taking the time to read this letter. We hope your child will be involved in this worthwhile project- I have also attached a brief information guide for your child (please turn over).

Yours truly,

Lana Evans (Principal Researcher)

imevans@cardiffmet.ac.uk

Dr. Nicola Bolton - njbolton@cardiffmet.ac.uk

Professor Carwyn Jones - crjones@cardiffmet.ac.uk

Dr. Hywel Iorwerth- hiorwerth@cardiffmet.ac.uk

Dear (insert participant name),

I have been conducting research at your school and in the local community in order to explore the potential which sport might have in increasing the opportunities for you to be able to speak Welsh, if you wish to do so, outside of school. You have been selected to take part in a workshop on your thoughts on how sport might contribute to more Welsh being spoken outside of school.

What will happen?

You will be asked to participate in focus group with me on what ideas you have on how Welsh could be used in your community club and how you could be more involved with using Welsh outside school.

The focus group will take place during a time which is agreed with you and the head of PE your parent/guardian have understood and agreed for you to take part in the research.

I hope that you will participate in this project.

Diolch (Thank you),

Lana Evans

☐☐LMEvans@cardiffmet.ac.uk



Parental CONSENT FORM- Focus group

Participant:

Title of Project: **Exploring the Potential of Community Sport in Encouraging Young People's Use of the Welsh Language Outside of School**

Name of Researcher: Lana Evans

**Please complete this section:
box.**

Please initial each

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily and I am happy for my child to take part in the study.

☐

2. I understand that my child's participation is voluntary and that I am/they are free to withdraw from the study at any time, without giving any reason.

☐

3. I agree that the data can be used for scientific purposes and possibly published in a scientific journal.

☐

4. I agree for my child's focus group to be recorded.

☐

Parent/guardian Signature

Name and Date

PARTICIPANT ASSENT FORM- Focus group

Name:

Title of Project: **Exploring the Potential of Community Sport in Encouraging Young People's Use of the Welsh Language Outside of School**

Name of Researcher: Lana Evans

Please fill this form in by ticking the Yes or No boxes: Yes

No

I understand the purpose of the study

☐☐

I have had an opportunity to ask questions and get them answered

☐☐

I know I can stop at any time and that will be OK

☐☐

I am happy for my focus group to be recorded

☐☐

Your Signature

Date:

Over18 CONSENT FORM- focus group

Participant:

Title of Project: **Exploring the Potential of Community Sport in Encouraging Young People's Use of the Welsh Language Outside of School**

Name of Researcher: Lana Evans

**Please complete this section:
box.**

Please initial each

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily and I am happy to take part in the study.

☐

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.

☐

3. I agree that the data can be used for scientific purposes and possibly published in a scientific journal.

☐

4. I agree for my focus group to be recorded.

☐

Signature

Name and Date

SCHOOL CONSENT FORM

School:

Title of Project: **Exploring the Potential of Community Sport in Encouraging Young People's Use of the Welsh Language Outside of School**

Name of Researcher: Lana Evans

School representative to complete this section:
initial each box.

Please

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.

☐

2. I understand that the school's participation is voluntary and that the school is free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason.

☐

3. I agree for the focus groups to take place on the school site during lunchtime.

☐

4. I agree for a teacher to be present during the focus groups and only to participate if required to do so by the researcher.

☐

School stamp

Date

Name of person taking consent

Date

Signature of person taking consent

** When completed, 1 copy for participant and 1 copy for researcher site file*

PhD INFORMATION- Policy informers

Sport and Welsh Language

Dear

I am a researcher from Cardiff Metropolitan University and have received funding from the Coleg Cymraeg Cenedlaethol to conduct a research study on whether sport could be a vehicle for encouraging young people to interact through the medium of Welsh. As a Welsh speaker and keen sportswoman, my research project interests me in many ways, not only from a Welsh language development point, but also from a sports participation and development point. I competed at the World stage in Surf Lifesaving, winning numerous titles as a surf swimmer. With nearly as much time spent in the pool training, as I did in school, it was rare that I used Welsh while participating in sport, despite attending a Welsh medium school.

About the Project:

The aim of this research is to explore how sport can play a role in encouraging young people, particularly from non-traditional Welsh speaking areas, to use the Welsh language away from school. We would like to invite you, as a key stakeholder of sport and the Welsh language, to take part in an interview with the principle researcher which will be related to the third PhD study (information provided on the following page). During the interview we will be discussing some key themes which I have identified throughout the research fieldwork. Additionally, we will be discussing some of the ideas which the young people have identified through recent focus groups undertaken to explore the opportunities for using the Welsh language in the club and in the community.

This research is supervised by Dr Nicola Bolton, Professor Carwyn Jones and Dr Hywel Iorwerth from Cardiff Metropolitan University.

There is no pressure for you to participate, however, your participation will be greatly appreciated and will hopefully help to inform future principles and practices concerning sport and the Welsh language. Some of the data will be used as evidence within publications, the PhD thesis, as well as at conferences and public dissemination events. All data will be anonymised in order to protect your identity and kept for 5 years in a locked cabinet. Your involvement in this research will be voluntary and have the right to withdraw from this study at any time. The interview will be scheduled at a convenient time and location for you. The interview responses will be recorded with your permission.

If you have any queries or would like to discuss the research further, please feel free to contact any member of the team- details are given below. Thank you for taking the time to read this letter. We hope you will be involved in this worthwhile project.

Yours truly,

Lana Evans (Principal Researcher)

imevans@cardiffmet.ac.uk

Dr. Nicola Bolton - njbolton@cardiffmet.ac.uk

Professor Carwyn Jones - crjones@cardiffmet.ac.uk

Dr. Hywel Iorwerth- hiorwerth@cardiffmet.ac.uk

Interview consent form

Participant:

Title of Project: **Exploring the Potential of Community Sport in Encouraging Young People's Use of the Welsh Language Outside of School**

Name of Researcher: Lana Evans

Please complete this section:

Please initial each box.

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily and I am happy to take part in the study. ☐
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason. ☐
3. I agree that the data can be used for scientific purposes and possibly published in a scientific journal. ☐
4. I agree for my interview to be recorded. ☐

Signature

Name and Date