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## BILINGUAL EDUCATION IN THE SERVICE OF EUROPEAN DEMOCRACY

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### ABSTRACT

*The author traces the development of bilingual education in Wales and suggests several challenges and opportunities which have influenced the manner in which the Welsh people have struggled to reproduce their language and culture. Education is viewed in tandem with the family and the community as the principal agencies by which language reproduction is maintained, but unlike the other two pillars of cultural struggle, the parameters of educational life in Wales have been increasingly marked by a divergence from a British state norm. The development of a national curriculum for Wales following the Educational Reform Act of 1988 together with other key legislative changes such as the Welsh Language Act, 1993 and the Government of Wales Act 1998 have changed the politico-legal context of bilingualism and have institutionalised bilingual education as a significant and growing element of Welsh national life.*

**Key words:** education, bilingualism, language minorities, Welsh people

## SCUOLA BILINGUE IN FAVORE DELLA DEMOCRAZIA EUROPEA

### SINTESI

*L'autore tratta lo sviluppo della scuola bilingue nel Galles e presenta diverse sfide e occasioni che hanno influenzato gli sforzi dei gallesi per riprodurre la propria lingua e la propria cultura. La scuola è trattata assieme alla famiglia e alla comunità, quali principali ambienti in cui si conserva la riproduzione linguistica, ma a differenza di queste due colonne della battaglia culturale, i parametri dell'educazione nel Galles sono stati sempre più caratterizzati da un allontanamento dalle norme britanniche. Lo sviluppo del piano nazionale d'insegnamento del Galles, seguito alla Legge sulla riforma scolastica del 1988, assieme ad altri fondamentali cambiamenti legislativi come la Legge sulla lingua gallese del 1993 e la Legge sul governo del Galles del 1998, hanno cambiato la concezione politico-giuridica del bilinguismo ed hanno istituzionalizzato la scuola bilingue quale importante elemento della vita nazionale gallese.*

**Parole chiave:** istruzione, bilinguismo, minoranze linguistiche, gallesi

## INTRODUCTION

Thank you for the invitation to address you and for the opportunity to trace the key issues which have influenced the development of bilingual education in Wales and relate this process to the wider currents of democratic change in Europe.

Bilingual education in the service of European democracy might seem like a grandiose title to describe what most of you, as bilingual educators, are involved with day by day in teaching children of all ages the basics of the set curriculum. But I want to remind you that most teachers are understandably caught up in the details of what they do within the profession, together with the profound responsibility of looking after the interests of individual children, to worry about the broader context of policy.

Education has always been the prime socialisation agency of any advanced modernising state. Accordingly I want to argue that teachers are in the front line of bilingualism and multiculturalism in Europe. Curriculum and language planners may set the agenda, but it is the teaching profession which is best armed to deal with the particular needs of children and students within an increasingly multi-cultural Europe. In consequence, the teaching profession constitutes the core of any society's information network. But from time to time, it can be unfairly burdened should popular expectations presume that it, above all other elements, is primarily responsible for the transmission of a national language and culture.

Educational planners used to dealing with curriculum development and teacher training issues are now also becoming more sensitive to the issues of personality development and the social psychological adjustment of children with mixed identities. Thus children experiencing bilingual education ask many of the standard questions which intrigue all humans, such as:-

Who am I? Where do I come from? How do I fit in to this complex and often mystifying world? Will I be valued when I leave school? How do I relate to other people who are not quite the same as me?

But in addition, having been exposed to primary instruction in two or more languages, pupils at bilingual schools also engage in self-reflective assessment of the relationship between their individual bilingualism and the collective social identity. Sometimes it is very obvious that significant groups within multicultural societies do not accept or respect the particular sort of education which bilingual or multilingual children are receiving. Tension and social conflict often accompany initial attempts at establishing a bilingual educational system, especially if the rationale of the reform is to compensate for the previously discriminatory experience suffered by a particular section of society within the state educational system.

The right to be taught in one's mother tongue or

preferred language is born in struggle and is realised in personal human freedom. Bilingual education is not a natural government planned service. It is nearly always a struggle between a beleaguered minority and a hegemonic state majority. However, there are many ways of wresting minority rights from states. We can struggle with a smile or we can struggle with a fist, but it is still a struggle. So we must always remain cool calm and hopefully sophisticated in justifying who we are and what we do as professionals interested in bilingualism and bilingual education.

So the first thing I want to do is to remind you that you are part of a much larger reality, namely the construction of a Europe which is more democratic, more sensitive to the needs of its constituent cultures and less enamoured with the demands of the putative nation-state and its historical agenda of subjugating dissenting minorities.

Some of you will be most interested in the way in which bilingual education delivers a better quality of education within specific subjects, such as nurturing Slovene and Italian language skills, History or Geography. Others will add to this interest the way in which the bilingual skills so assiduously learned within the classroom can be honoured and realised within the wider society. Yet others will be interested in the Slovene diaspora population and how bilingual education can assist them to keep in touch with their national culture and contribute in a very positive way to their group maintenance and identity.

For analysts, such as myself, it is the whole of this complex picture which is of interest. We ask fundamental questions such as what is bilingual education for? How does it relate to the socio-economic needs of the nation and of the international system? We then seek to ascertain which policy options are most likely to be supportive of a more tolerant, plural society. For the degree, quality and social impact of bilingual education in some societies can be a very sensitive temperature gauge of democracy. Let me illustrate by reference to Wales.

#### EDUCATION AND THE STRUCTURE OF BILINGUAL WALES

When bilingual schools were established in Wales in the fifties and sixties they were criticised for being linguistically and educationally divisive and they were accused of serving the interests of a small cultural nationalist elite. Such has been their success and the consequent socio-political changes within the attitudes of many sections of society, that bilingual schools are now championed as models of good education and as essential elements in preparing citizens to participate fully within a bilingual democracy and a multicultural European Union. I believe that the Welsh experience offers many lessons as to how a committed, non-violent

popular pressure for social reform can transform centuries of state-inspired discrimination and lead to a more plural, democratic and positive bases for civil society.

Welsh society is characterised by a unilingual majority and a bilingual minority whose bilingualism adds an extra frisson to life which at times is enrapturing and at others downright uncomfortable. Historically the hearth, the farm and the chapel have been the traditional domains which sustained a Welsh-medium network of agencies of language reproduction. This reached its zenith in the late nineteenth century when the institutions of Welsh nonconformity created a parallel 'social totality' which enabled Wales to cope with the huge upheaval of industrialisation and urbanisation, without necessarily losing its language or culture.

At the beginning of the twentieth century (1901) 929,824 were recorded by the census as able to speak Welsh and 1,577,141 able to speak English. The Welsh population was comprised of 928,222 monoglot English residents, 280,905 monoglot Welsh residents and 648,919 bilingual Welsh-speakers who, also spoke English, because English was becoming pervasive and advantageous in most spheres of life. The vast majority of these bilingual residents were descendants of unilingual Welsh speakers. However, bilingualism was not just a one way process of Welsh speakers acquiring English as their second language then as now. Some were the children of non-Welsh migrants who had been attracted to the resource-rich coalfields, and had been socialised within the multilingual melange of the industrial crucible and had learned Welsh *en passant*. Others were the children of slate quarry workers in North Wales, part of an immigration flow from the Midlands and North of England who integrated into Gwynedd's predominantly

Welsh - medium socio-cultural environment.

Successive inter-censal decline has been the marked feature of census evidence on Welsh-speaking ever since 1911, when 977,400 persons were returned as able to speak Welsh, 190,300 of whom were monoglots. Since this peak of language intensity the number of Welsh-speakers has consistently declined, to reach its present low of 590,800 hardly any of whom are adult monoglots. In proportional terms this represents a decline from 43.5% of the total Welsh population in 1911 to only 18.7% in 1991, a loss of 24.8%. Various explanations have been advanced both for the absolute and relative rate of decline, with particular attention having been focused on the inter-war period when stigmatisation, a collapse in confidence and depression-induced population out-migration encouraged widespread language shift. The period 1921-1939 was the crisis turning point for Welsh. A generation was denied the opportunity to learn Welsh reflecting both parental rejection of the language and an unresponsive school system. This powerful combination of forces reflected the apogee of British imperial values and attitudes, which deemed that Welsh was irrelevant in a modernising world order. Since the early 1950s the rate of decline has been more moderate, reflecting the already emasculated levels of Welsh fluency.

The most significant element of language decline has been the collapse of the monolingual population. The fact that all Welsh speakers are bilingual does change the social-psychological context of language production and reproduction, for unlike many other examples of diglossic societies, individual and societal bilingualism in Wales does not vary tremendously.

**Tab. 1: Proportion of population speaking Welsh, by county, 1921-1991.**

**Tab. 1: Delež valžansko govoreče populacije po okrajih 1921-1991.**

	Percentage of all persons speaking Welsh							Percentage of all persons speaking Welsh only					
	1921	1931	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	1921	1931	1951	1961	1971	1981
Wales	37.1	36.8	28.9	26.0	20.8	18.9	18.7	6.3	4.0	1.7	1.0	1.3	0.8
Counties													
Clwyd	41.7	41.3	30.2	27.3	21.4	18.7	18.2	5.8	3.4	1.3	0.8	1.4	0.8
Dyfed	67.8	69.1	63.3	60.1	52.5	46.3	43.7	15.3	9.6	4.1	2.4	2.4	1.6
Gwent	5.0	4.7	2.8	2.9	1.9	2.5	2.4	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1
Gwynedd	78.7	82.5	74.2	71.4	64.7	61.2	61.0	28.1	22.1	9.1	5.2	4.9	2.6
Mid Glamorgan	38.4	37.1	22.8	18.5	10.5	8.4	8.5	2.3	0.8	0.3	0.4	0.8	0.5
Powys	35.1	34.6	29.6	27.8	23.7	20.2	20.2	6.1	3.9	1.6	0.9	1.0	0.9
S. Glamorgan	6.3	6.1	4.7	5.2	5.0	5.8	6.5	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.2
W. Glamorgan	41.3	40.5	31.6	27.5	20.3	16.4	15.0	3.6	1.3	0.5	0.5	1.0	0.8

Source / Vir: Census 1981 Welsh Language in Wales, table 4, p. 50.

Changes between 1981 and 1991 were fairly minimal and in that respect, the bilingual population appears fairly stable, predictable and likely to grow. If we disaggregate the data by age groups the 1991 census reveals that there have been significant increases in the 3-15 age group (Table 2) a consolidation of the 16-44 age group and an expected decline in the two older age groups. These trends are likely to be maintained in successive decades which suggest that the demographic future of Welsh is brighter than at any other time in recent history. Much will depend upon how social agencies and the National Assembly implement current socio-linguistics reforms and how strong will be the functional motivation of future generations to exercise their language choice and social power.

**Tab. 2: Welsh-speakers, 3-15 years.**

**Tab. 2: Valžansko govoreči, 3-15 let.**

County	Percentage of age group able to speak Welsh		Numbers able to speak Welsh		% Change 1981-1991
	1981	1991	1981	1991	
Clwyd	18.6	27.9	13796	18167	31.7
Dyfed	40.3	47.7	23163	25811	11.4
Gwent	2.3	4.8	1921	3490	81.1
Gwynedd	69.3	77.6	28785	27889	-3.1
Mid Glam.	8.6	16.1	8906	14604	64.0
Powys	16.7	30.0	3284	5463	66.4
S. Glam.	7.4	11.9	5152	7690	49.3
W. Glam.	9.3	15.0	6064	8719	43.8

Source / Vir: Aitchison J. and Carter, H., 1993.

Thus towards the end of the century bilingualism represented more of a social choice for c. 590.800 individuals, who switch language by domain, by interlocutor and by whim as the opportunity allows. However, the chief problem facing those who wish to use the Welsh language as their primary means of communication is to optimise the conditions wherein a genuine free choice of languages may be exercised in all domains of social life.

Although the census is the single most comprehensive data set available it does not probe very deeply into the social context or use of bilingualism. Thus we need to supplement its findings by non-census based social survey analysis best represented by the Welsh Office 'Welsh Social Survey' (1993). This contains details of 19,056 households interviewed between September and December 1992. The survey revealed that Welsh speakers represent 21.5 per cent of the total population (Table

3). If we disaggregate this ability factor we find that the highest incidence is in the youngest age range, 3-15, with 32.4 per cent of the population fluent in Welsh. The proportion drops dramatically in the age range of 16-29, at 17.8 per cent, and falls further to 16.7 per cent for the next age range 30-44. The figures rise to 18.7 per cent for the age range 45-64 and reaches 24.2 per cent for the 65 and over range. Clearly this bodes well for the future, but in- and out-migration, marriage patterns and a host of other reasons preclude any firm prediction that this youngest cohort will necessarily maintain such reasonable levels of fluency into adulthood. We need to know far more about first and second language patterns and in this respect the survey has anticipated this need by identifying 55.7 per cent of Welsh speakers who considered it to be their mother tongue. They represent 12 per cent of the national population.

The balance between first and second language speakers is a delicate issue. Very often one hears about the need to encourage language reproduction within predominantly Welsh speaking families and communities. However, language production through the education system rather than language reproduction through community socialisation seems to characterise the younger elements of the population. This is revealed clearly in Table 3 where the school factor is very evident for only 27 per cent of the total Welsh speakers in the 3-15 age range considered Welsh to be their mother tongue. Presumably the majority consider their Welsh fluency to be a school acquired skill which does not invalidate any of their abilities to use the language, but neither does it assume that for such children Welsh is the first, instinctive language of daily life. Interesting trends are revealed in Table 3 for each successive age cohort recorded higher proportions of mother-tongue speakers, reaching a peak of 79.3 per cent for the 65 and over group. The orthodox explanation would be that the older age groups learned Welsh at home within the family and for some linguists this is a significant feature for their use of Welsh is likely to be natural, richer, more idiomatic and colloquial than the rather formal, English-influenced style and patterning of younger Welsh speakers. This raises difficult questions of interpretation, for it might be that in terms of vocabulary and domain confidence the quality of Welsh spoken by the youngest group might in general be superior to that of the eldest group, even if it is less idiomatic. It may also be suggested that for the younger age groups their language loyalty/affiliation may not prove to be as resolute in the future, if Welsh represents for them a predominantly second language: a useful means of communication rather than an automatic first choice language of expression.

**Tab. 3: Welsh by age, 1992 (thousands).**

**Tab. 3: Valžani po starosti, 1992 (v tisočih).**

Age category	Sample size	Population base (aged 3 and over)	No. of Welsh-speakers	Welsh-speakers as % of population	Mother-tongue speakers as % of all Welsh-speakers	Welsh-speakers as % of population, 1991 Census
3-15	5094	486.2	157.4	32.4	27.0	24.3
16-29	4809	517.0	91.8	17.8	48.9	15.9
30-44	5741	585.2	97.5	16.7	60.8	14.8
45-65	6674	664.4	123.7	18.7	70.7	17.4
65+	5335	498.0	120.4	24.2	79.3	22.6
Total	27653	2750.7	590.8	21.5	55.7	18.7

Source / Vir: Welsh Social Survey, 1992, Welsh office, HMSO, Cardiff.

Further evidence on self-assessed language ability is provided by the Social Survey which indicates that 368,000 (13.4 per cent) are fluent in Welsh. A further 94,900 (3.5 per cent) described themselves as able to speak quite a lot of Welsh, and 467,300 (17.0 per cent) described themselves as speaking only a small amount of Welsh. Thus 930,200 (33.9 per cent) were able to speak a little Welsh and 462,900 (16.9 per cent) were capable of speaking a considerable amount of Welsh. These figures are far higher than the normally cited Welsh-speaking population of c. 590,800 people and should prove useful as a rough guide to the potential Welsh-speaking mass for government services or consumer/audience affairs.

Of those who claimed to be fluent, 80.5 per cent came from families where both parents spoke Welsh, 7.2 per cent from where the mother was fluent, 4.6 per

cent from where the father was fluent and 7.7 per cent from families where neither parent was fluent.

Welsh speakers were asked to describe one statement which best represented their current use of Welsh (Table 4). Interesting county variations are revealed with Gwynedd and Dyfed, as might be expected, recording the highest usage of Welsh at 79 per cent and 71.1 per cent respectively. Lower proportions are recorded for Powys and Clwyd at 51.5 per cent and 40.9 per cent, while West Glamorgan and the amalgamated category of the three counties of the south-east record 32.8 per cent and 33.1 per cent respectively. Interestingly whilst only 6.9 per cent of fluent Welsh speakers in West Glamorgan would claim that they rarely use the language as many as 15.3 per cent in the industrial south-east found little reason/opportunity to use Welsh (Table 4).

### THREE PILLARS OF WELSH: FAMILY, COMMUNITY AND SCHOOL

#### The family

The data suggests that social context, family language transmission and exposure to formal bilingual education are key factors in language reproduction. However, both the community and the family seem to be less powerful as agents of language reproduction than was true in the past. This implies that bilingual education, for both children and adults, will be a more significant agency of language production and reproduction than hitherto. Thus we need to specify with more precision just what are the relationships between these three elements and then move on to a consideration of how formal language planning can translate the undoubted potential inherent within bilingual education into the reality of employing either Welsh or English as languages of choice in the widest possible range of social domains.

**Tab. 4: Welsh-speakers' current use of Welsh, 1992 (figures are percentages).**

**Tab. 4: Uporaba valžanskega jezika danes, 1992 (v odstotkih).**

Welsh ability	Wales	Clwyd	Dyfed	Gwynedd	Powys	West Glam.	Gwent, Mid & South Glam.
Rarely speak Welsh	4.5	8.9	1.9	1.3	5.7	6.9	15.3
Occasionally	12.0	21.7	7.4	5.5	17.9	26.8	21.8
Half & half	21.2	28.5	19.6	14.3	25.3	33.6	29.7
Most or all the time	62.3	40.9	71.1	79.0	51.1	32.8	33.1

Source / Vir: Welsh Social Survey, 1992, Welsh Office, HMSO Cardiff.

**Tab. 5: Language attributes and household type.****Tab. 5: Jezikovne lastnosti in vrsta gospodinjstva.**

	Household types	Percentage of households
Type 1	All households	
(i)	Households without Welsh speakers	73.6
(ii)	Households with Welsh speakers	26.4
Type 2	Households with Welsh speakers	
(i)	Households wholly Welsh-speaking	53.6
(ii)	Households partly Welsh-speaking	46.4
Type 3	Household composition and Welsh speech	
a	Households wholly Welsh-speaking	
(i)	With children	10.9
(ii)	Without children	42.7
b	Households partly Welsh-speaking	
(i)	With Welsh-speaking children	18.9
(ii)	With non-Welsh-speaking children	5.8
(iii)	With no children	21.7
Type 4	Household size, composition and Welsh speech	
a	Households wholly Welsh-speaking	
(i)	With children	10.9
(ii)	Single-person households	21.3
(iii)	Without children	21.5
b	Households partly Welsh-speaking	
(i)	Households with Welsh-speaking children-single speaker	6.2
(ii)	Households with Welsh-speaking children-more than one Welsh speaker	12.7
c	Households partly Welsh-speaking but with non-Welsh-speaking children	
(i)	Single Welsh speaker	4.9
(ii)	More than one Welsh speaker	0.9
d	Households partly Welsh-speaking without children	
(i)	Single Welsh speaker	18.6
(ii)	More than one Welsh speaker	3.1

Note: in the above table each type is nested, ie it is a successive division of the previous type. Thus Type 2 is a subdivision of Type 1 (ii); Type 3 is a subdivision of Type 2 (i); Type 4 is a further subdivision of Type 3. Each type (1 to 4) therefore sums to 100.  
Source / Vir: Aitchison and Carter (1997), p. 362.

Recent analysis of family/household composition patterns by Aitchison and Carter (1997) reveal significant and possibly damaging trends. Their analysis of SARs data shows that an extremely high proportion of Welsh speakers are linguistically isolated within their home environments. Table 5 describes a nested hierarchy of four types of households based on the language ability of household members. A basic distinction was drawn by Aitchison and Carter between Type 1 (i) - those households that have at least one Welsh speaker (defined as 'Welsh speaking households'), and Type 1 (ii) - those that have no Welsh-speakers. Twenty two per cent of all households belong to the first of these two types, but over half (51 per cent) of the households contain only one Welsh speaker within

them and many of these are elderly persons living alone. This does not bode well for the future.

A second distinction is that between households which are wholly or partly Welsh-speaking, Types 2(i) and 2(ii). Just over half of Welsh speaking households are wholly Welsh speaking (54 per cent) but they represent only 14 per cent of all households in Wales. Wholly Welsh speaking households can be further sub-divided into those with and those without children (aged 3-17 years) - Types 3a(i) and 3a(ii). Aitchison and Carter aver that such a pattern is disconcerting for Welsh as the data show that a very high proportion of such households have no children within them; furthermore almost half are single person households (Type 4(ii)). Similarly of partly Welsh speaking households, nearly two thirds (64

percent) have just a single Welsh speaker (Types 4a(i), 4b(i) and 4c(i), the majority of whom are in households which have no children. Encouragingly 41 percent of the households that are partly Welsh speaking have one or more children who are able to speak Welsh. More sobering is the realisation that some 70 per cent of the Welsh speaking households have no Welsh speaking children within them. Welsh households are in the main linguistically fractured and structurally diverse in composition.

### The community

Clearly by 1991 the monolingual reservoir had disappeared and the family as a pillar of Welsh cultural reproduction was under strain. There is current concern that a second pillar, the communities of the northern and western heartland will also fragment irretrievably. The dominant theme in the socio-linguistics of Welsh has been the collapse of the territorial frame of the north and west. Fragmentation and decline is all too pressing a description of many Welsh-speaking communities. If this cultural resource base atrophies what then for the production and reproduction of the identity transmitted by the Welsh language?

The key issue is whether or not a virulent Welsh culture can survive without its own autochthonous heartland as a resource-base. The relationship between an autochthonous language group and its territorial base is often described as being natural or primordial. However, in Brittany, Euskadi, Friuli and Wales, there is a concern that the core area which sustained these distinctive language communities is atrophying, with dire consequences for the cultural reproduction and the maintenance of group identity. Changes in the New World Order and the globalisation of economic organisation threaten to increase the pressure for uniformity and render small-scale language communities even more vulnerable and marginal to the interests of global culture. Clearly one would be naive to deny the rapid advancements made in technologically-induced cultural change. The whole premise of an integrated Europe depends in large part on the technical ability to realise a European Union without internal borders and trade barriers which is influenced by two processes.

The first, centrifugal, process is the decentralist challenge of the 'ethnic revival' which has characterised the past generation. The ethnic intelligentsia in many of the lesser-used language regions of Europe have stressed the organic authenticity of language. Their focus on the inviolability of the ethnic homeland has given a literal interpretation to the search for roots in the soil, community and landscape of one's own people. In Wales concepts derived from 'cydymdreiddiad tir ac iaith' (the interpenetration of land and language) have been given practical shape in planning policies aimed to bolster

indigenous Welsh-speaking communities through environmental improvement and rural-economic diversification (Jones, J. R. 1966). The language movement has re-discovered its 'ecological' heritage, and has re-packaged what were deemed to be rural community issues in the twenties and thirties as issues of 'cultural species' survival and as a local response to globalisation (Williams, 1994). The gift of Wales, so to speak, to the diversity of the world is the preservation and conservation of its unique cultural heritage.

The second, centripetal, process is the internationalisation of language, described by Mackey (1986) as the 'definitive liberation of language from its traditional bounds of time and space ... when language is no longer inevitably attached to spatial boundaries as it was in the past, when its speakers had to be limited to one or a few areas of the globe.' Telecommunication changes and mass migrations have empowered world languages such as English and French to perform critical inter-communicative roles which are historically predicated upon the economic power of Western capitalism. But they also derive immense power from the extension of digital technology, Mini-Satellite T.V., and interactive computing systems to the farthest reaches of this globe. Technology further empowers such languages as essential means of communication and endow them with a cumulative relative advantage vis á vis all other languages.

The key question then becomes whether smaller languages such as Welsh and Breton can benefit from the same liberation from time and space? Whether they too can be technologically empowered so as to compensate for the loss of territorial dominance? Further, we need to know whether there is a relationship between decentralist localism and globalisation? If there is, how do both processes at either end of the continuum mediate what happens in mainstream society? Is the former process a primordial reaction to cope with the new threats and demands of the latter? Put in its most fundamental form does the increased internationalisation of English inevitably threaten the ability of Welsh to compete and survive well into the next century?

English has been the official state language since mediaeval times and Welsh lost any formal role as a language of government and state affairs following the Acts of Union of 1536 and 1542. However, although there had not been a statutory obligation to recognise Welsh as an official language within Wales since the 16th century, agencies of the state and of the established Church did employ Welsh in a wide range of domains in the intervening period because they were dealing with a predominantly monolingual population. However, it was not until the passing of the Welsh Courts Act of 1942 that the provisions prohibiting the use of Welsh by the Acts of Union were rescinded. Further legal recognition was given in the Welsh Language Act of 1967 which offered an initial and inadequate definition of

equal validity of English and Welsh in Wales. This was related mainly to the greater provision of Welsh in the Courts of Law and in legal proceedings generally, but did not extend into the wider sphere of public administration and formal bilingual rights.

During the sixties and seventies a number of statutory and non-statutory bodies called for greater state support for the language. One initial response by the Welsh Office was the establishment in 1977 of the short-lived *Cyngor yr Iaith Gymraeg* (The Welsh Language Council). It also led to some limited financial support for Welsh language activities, both in the public arena and in education via specific provisions in two government acts passed during the latter part of the 1970s. Under section 26 of The Development of Rural Wales Act 1976, the Welsh Office provide support for Welsh language social activities, most importantly the work of *Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin* (The Welsh Nursery Schools Movement, founded in 1971), *Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Cymru* (The National Eisteddfod of Wales), *Cyngor Llyfrau Cymraeg* (The Welsh Books Council) and via *Menter a Busnes* (Business and Enterprise), concerned with the promotion of a new spirit of enterprise in rural Welsh speaking Communities.

#### **Bilingual education provision: the school system**

With the secularisation of society and the breakdown of the relative homogeneity of rural communities an alternative, urban, formal set of domains has been constructed mainly in the south and east. The principal instrument of language production and reproduction in such environments is the Welsh medium school system which has done more than any other agency to promote the language and introduce it, and its related culture, to hitherto non-Welsh speaking families. Welsh-medium education across the curriculum now includes Maths and Science, Technology and Computing in addition to the conventional Humanities and Social Science subjects. The nation-wide network of primary, secondary and tertiary Welsh-medium institutions, are actively socialising a younger generation into participating in a fully functional bilingual society.

#### **A relevant curriculum for Wales?**

For the majority of the modern period Welsh education was planned in tandem with educational provision for England, but over the last thirty years a separate and distinct Welsh system has evolved. The main currents of educational reform are summarised in Figure 1 which charts both those features which were held in common between England and Wales and those which contributed to a separate Welsh character. The process may be divided into three periods, 1944-1964 which saw the evolution of two types of curriculum, 1964-1988 which

saw a swing towards a teacher's informed curriculum, and the post 1988 period where both London and Cardiff sought to develop separate national curricula for England and Wales respectively. This latter period was not without its difficulties for any attempt to develop an independent educational body which would meet the indigenous needs of the Welsh electorate had to be tempered by state-wide currents of educational thought and policy, which in practice were unsympathetic to too many divergences between English and Welsh policy.

Let us illustrate such tensions, which incidentally face most minority bilingual educational sectors, by reference to the experience of the limited-life experiment of the Committee for the Development of Welsh-Medium Education (known in Welsh as '*Pwyllgor Datblygu Addysg Gymraeg*' PDAG).

PDAG was established in 1987 and given a five-fold task, namely:

- 1) to provide a forum to discuss Welsh-language education policies;
- 2) to identify needs for development, priorities among those needs and means of meeting them;
- 3) to co-ordinate developments in Welsh-language education in order to ensure the optimum use of available resources;
- 4) to provide information and publicity;
- 5) to designate areas of research and development.

(PDAG, 1988; Williams, 1994).

This was the first ever bilingual educational planning body in the UK. PDAG was created by the authority of the Welsh Office, but it specified that it should function within the purview of the Welsh Joint Education Committee (CBAG, *Cyd-Bwyllgor Addysg Gymraeg*) as a Local Authority directed, but Welsh Office and County Council funded agency. Its brief was to chart the anticipated needs of Welsh-medium education in the statutory sector, but it quickly enlarged this brief by tackling both the nursery and post-school provision, envisaging itself as a body concerned with all aspects of such education from the cradle to the grave. As an innovative and pioneering body, it helped shape the priorities in the medium term, collated valuable experience and information, distributed government finances to support resource and learning development and generally acted as a mouth-piece for bilingual educational issues in Wales. As such, despite its small staff and budget, it was an effective forerunner of what may become a more comprehensive national educational institute.

In the period 1987-1992 PDAG, performed a significant planning role in the field of bilingual education, focussing on strategic questions, the devising of research programmes to answer acute needs and the encouragement of bilingual educators at all levels within the profession. However, in 1992 as a result of a major government re-think on the reform of the educational system PDAG's future looked bleak. The debate centred



England / Wales

Wales

*1944-64 Two types of curriculum*

Butler Education Act	1944	
Sec Schools Exam Council	1946	147 grammar/24 technical/127 secondary modern Ysgol Gymraeg Llanelli
	1948	CBAG. Welsh Joint Education Committee
GCE O Level (16+)	1950	
3.2%	1952	Ysgol Gymraeg Y Barri
	1954	WYEC textbook scheme
	1956	Ysgol Glan Clwyd
Finance Act	1958	
(extending LEA powers)	1960	35% grammar/35% modern/12% comprehensive
Education Act	1962	Ysgol Uwchradd Rhydfelen

*1963-86 The teacher's curriculum*

School Council	1964	Secretary of State for Wales
Circular 10/65; CSE exam	1966	The Welsh committee of the Schools Council
5% GDP	1968	The Gittins Report
Plowden Report		
Black Papers	1970	Education transferred to Welsh Office
	1972	Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin (Nursery)
APU	1974	Local Government Reform
Callaghan's Great Debate	1976	
Curriculum 11-16 (HMI)	1978	
Framework for the School Curriculum	1980	97% Comprehensive Schools Welsh grants from section 21
(DES)	1984	Development Committee of the schools curriculum
SCDC; SEC		
GCSE exam	1986	PDAG

*1988-99 The centre rules-which centre?*

National Curriculum; NCC, SEAC	1988	The Curriculum Council of Wales
LMS; direct grant schools	1990	History/Welsh Committees
3.3% GDP	1992	Geography/Arts/Music 6 Direct Grant Schools
SCAA	1994	Schools Examination and Assessment Authority
Constitutional Reform	1997	Government Wales Act
Devolution in UK	1999	National Assembly for Wales Welsh core subject in all schools

Source / Vir: PDAG (1993) Williams (1994) with recent revisions and additions.

**Fig. 1: A relevant curriculum for Wales?**

**Sl. 1: Ustrezen učni načrt za Wales?**

upon two radically alternative conceptions of the need for such an agency. Defenders of the fledgling system, such as the Welsh Joint Education Committee, wished to see itself designated as the Curriculum and Assessment Authority in Wales thereby avoiding any fragmentation of PDAG's responsibilities which offered an holistic framework from nursery level education to adult educa-

tion. The WJEC claimed that it had a history of democratic accountability, an unparalleled record of successful examination and curriculum assessment and a national network of experienced professional staff working in schools and colleges throughout the country. The status quo would thus provide a firm platform for expansion of PDAG's role and responsibilities within a

proven educational system.

In complete contrast the government's White Paper on Education (July 28<sup>th</sup>, 1992) proposed the establishment of two non-departmental public bodies, answerable to Ministers, and more in keeping with its philosophy of centralised direction and control of the statutory education, 5 - 16, sector. (see Figure 1). The Schools Funding Council for Wales (SFCW) and the Curriculum and Assessment Authority for Wales (CAAW) would thus become "the major authority in Wales on Welsh language education" and accordingly on December 18<sup>th</sup>, 1992 the Conservative Government's Welsh Office Minister, Sir Wyn Roberts announced the transfer of PDAG's responsibilities to CAAW, effective from late 1994. Within CAAW a new Welsh Department would oversee the operation of the national Curriculum and concentrate its efforts on the statutory education sector.

Initially this development was viewed as an attack on the fairly radical and autonomous stance on bilingual education which PDAG had adopted. It also meant that very many outside specialists who had been drafted in to assist in the thinking and operation of PDAG would now be excluded from influencing government departmental thinking and this was interpreted as an increase in bureaucratic unaccountability and a decrease in communal involvement in the bilingual educational process.

The government's response was in part to argue that bilingual educational needs would be satisfied by the greater institutionalisation of the Welsh language through the passing of the Welsh Language Act, 1993 and its attendant strengthened Welsh Language Board.

In many respects, this new institutionalisation of Welsh consequent to the recent reforms promises to influence attitudes and behaviour patterns in a more constructive manner. The past decade has seen a more accommodating reaction on behalf of unilingual English speakers and this bodes well for the future extension of services which seek to convince them that they also may benefit from sharing a bi-cultural community.

However, the bilingual character of Wales is far more than the public, formal acknowledgement of language rights, public services and educational opportunities.

The school's role in promoting a bilingual society has increased following the reforms of the 1988 Education Act which insisted that Welsh be a core subject in the National Curriculum. It is now possible to teach a wide range of subjects including Maths and Science, Design and Computing through the medium of Welsh. After 1994, all save a few opt out schools in the secondary sector, were obliged to teach Welsh to the pupils in the lower forms. This, in turn, has exposed a far greater number of Welsh youth to the language and culture of

their homeland and requires a significant investment in teachers and resources to be successful. In Higher Education circles also there is a wide range of vocational and non-vocational courses available to full and part-time students, but again it must be emphasised that in such developments the numbers involved within particular courses are small. Even so the trend and direction of change is significant for it extends both the domain use and practical utility of bilingualism in society.

### The structure of Welsh-medium education 1980-1999

During the period 1990-1997 the proportion and number of pupils in formally designated Welsh medium primary and secondary schools has grown very slowly. It is within the dominant, conventional English-medium sector where the greatest impact of educational reforms may be charted and analysed by reference to the following suite of tables. Table 6, for example, charts the trends in maintained primary schools teaching through the medium of Welsh, 1990-1997. Of the 1,718 schools in 1990, designated Welsh-medium schools where Welsh was the sole or main medium of instruction accounted for 25.9% (445) of the total. The number in this category had risen slightly to 26.7%, (449) schools by 1997 and will witness a gradual growth over the next decade.

However, it is in the non-conventional Welsh-medium sector that significant changes have been recorded. In 1990 50.7% (870) of schools had classes where Welsh was taught as a second language only. By 1997 this proportion had risen to 67.6% (1,136). Most of the increase was due to the curriculum impact of the 1988 Education Act and the social effects of the Welsh Language Act, 1993 which in effect abolished Category D schools (Table 6). Whilst in 1990 14.2% (244) of primary schools were not obliged to teach any Welsh, by 1997 only one school was exempted from this statutory requirement.

An alternative method of measuring the impact of the reformed curriculum is to analyse changes in the numbers of children able to speak Welsh as a direct result of being exposed to the school influence in addition to any home or parental fluency in Welsh. Table 7 suggests that over the period 1990-1997, about the same number of children (aged 5-11) (c. 14, 500) speak Welsh at home. But throughout this period there is a steady increase in the number of children who can speak Welsh fluently but who do not speak it at home, from 15,181 to 21,221. Again, there is a doubling of the numbers who can speak Welsh but are not completely fluent, from 30,753 in 1990 to 67,666 in 1997, and therefore a corresponding drop in the numbers who cannot speak Welsh at all from 155,796 to 124,682.

**Tab. 6: Maintained primary schools teaching through the medium of Welsh (a).**

**Tab. 6: Pouk v osnovni šoli s koncesijo v valižanščini kot učnem jeziku.**

		Number of schools					
		1990/91	1993/94	1994/95 (b)		1995/96	1996/97
A	Schools having classes where: Welsh is the sole or main medium of instruction Percentage of schools	445 25.9	460 27.1	465 27.5	453 26.8	455 27.1	449 26.7
B	Schools having classes where: Welsh is used as a medium of teaching for part of the curriculum Percentage of schools		116 6.8	108 6.4	120 7.1	106 6.3	95 5.7
	(B) Schools having classes of first and second language pupils where some of the teaching is through the medium of Welsh Percentage of schools	36 2.1					
	(C) Schools having classes of second language pupils where some of the teaching is through the medium of Welsh Percentage of schools	122 7.1					
C	Schools having classes where: Welsh is taught as a second language only Percentage of schools	870 50.7	1,068 62.9	1,091 64.5	1,091 64.5	1,109 66.0	1,136 67.6
D	Schools where: No Welsh is taught Percentage of schools	244 14.2	54 3.2	27 1.6	27 1.6	11 0.7	1 0.1
	Total schools	1,718	1,698	1,691	1,691	1,681	1,681

(a) At January each year. Prior to 1993/94 at September each year. Includes grant maintained schools. The mode of instruction in primary schools varies widely according to linguistic background and a school may have classes in more than one category. However, each school appears once only in this table, under an appropriate heading. Figures from 1991/92 onwards are not directly comparable with previous years because of a change classification, therefore, figures are shown separately for previous years.

(b) The method of classification changed in 1994/95: the first column for that year indicates the schools under the old classification with the second showing schools under the new classification. For details of Welsh classification for LEA and grant maintained primary schools see Glossary (Appendix III) (1998).

**Tab. 7: Maintained primary school pupils, aged 5 years and over, by ability to speak Welsh (a).**

**Tab. 7: Govorna sposobnost v valižanskem jeziku pri učencih osnovnih šol s koncesijo, starih 5 ali več let.**

	1990/91	1993/94	1994/95	1995/96	1996/97
Number of pupils who:					
Speak Welsh at home	14,827	14,328	14,632	14,343	14,656
Do not speak Welsh at home but who can speak it with fluency	15,181	18,647	19,608	18,300	21,221
Speak Welsh but not fluently	30,753	64,631	60,907	63,356	67,666
Cannot speak Welsh at all	155,796	124,197	128,837	131,003	124,682
Total	216,377	221,803	223,984	227,002	228,225
Percentage of pupils who:					
Speak Welsh at home	6.9	6.5	6.5	6.3	6.4
Do not speak Welsh at home but who can speak it with fluency	7.0	8.4	8.8	8.1	9.3
Speak Welsh but not fluently	14.1	29.1	27.2	27.9	29.6
Cannot speak Welsh at all	72.0	56.0	57.5	57.7	54.6
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

(a) At January each year. Prior to 1993/94 at September each year. Includes grant maintained schools. These figures are derived from assessments made by headteachers.

Alternative evidence of the same structural change may be presented in relation to the organisation of teaching through the medium of Welsh in maintained primary schools, by class distribution (Table 8) and by

pupil distribution (Table 9). Note that there has been a general increase in the range and number of classes taught through the medium of Welsh and a corresponding absolute drop of four fifths in those classes wherein

**Tab. 8: Organisation of teaching through the medium of Welsh in maintained primary schools, by type of class (a).**  
**Tab. 8: Organizacija pouka v valižanščini kot učnem jeziku v osnovnih šolah s koncesijo glede na tip razreda.**

	Number of classes				
	1990/91	1993/94	1994/95	1995/96	1996/97
Classes where Welsh is the sole or main medium of instruction	1,736	2,065	2,147	2,170	2,192
Classes where Welsh is used as a teaching medium for part of the curriculum		503	411	421	309
Classes of first and second language pupils where some of the teaching is through the medium of Welsh	188				
Classes of second language pupils where some of the teaching is through the medium of Welsh	764				
Classes where Welsh is taught as a second language	5,804	7,318	7,591	7,876	8,262
Classes being taught no Welsh	2,455	1,280	1,032	804	550
All classes	10,947	11,166	11,181	11,271	11,313

(a) At January each year. Prior to 1993/94 at September each year. Includes grant maintained schools. Classes as taught (i.e. as organised for teaching). Figures from 1991/92 are not directly comparable with previous years because of a change in classification, therefore, figures are shown separately for previous years.

**Tab. 9: Pupils by use of Welsh in class, in maintained primary schools (a).**  
**Tab. 9: Učenci osnovnih šol s koncesijo, ki uporabljajo valižanski jezik v razredu.**

	Number of pupils				
	1990/91	1993/94	1994/95	1995/96	1996/97
Pupils in classes where Welsh is the sole or main medium of instruction	38,404	46,950	49,382	50,327	50,392
Pupils in classes where Welsh is used as a medium of teaching for part of the curriculum		12,062	10,303	10,906	7,649
First and second language pupils in classes where some of the teaching is through the medium of Welsh	3,780				
Second language pupils in classes where some of the teaching is through the medium of Welsh	17,308				
Pupils in classes where Welsh is taught as a second language	151,037	192,839	201,148	209,103	220,136
Pupils in classes being taught no Welsh	62,245	33,843	28,20	21,870	14,553
All pupils	272,774	285,694	289,036	292,206	292,730

(a) At January each year. Prior to 1993/94 at September each year. Includes grant maintained schools. Classes as taught (i.e. as organised for teaching). Figures from 1991/92 are not directly comparable with previous years because of a change in classification, therefore, figures are shown separately for previous years.

Welsh is taught, down from 2,455 in 1990 to only 550 in 1997. Similarly there has been a significant growth in the number of pupils in classes where Welsh was the sole or main medium of instruction from 38,404 in 1990 to 50,392 in 1997. Conversely there has been a sharp decline in the numbers of pupils in classes being taught no Welsh from 62,245 in 1990 to 14,553 in 1997.

At the secondary level a similar picture obtains but we may trace the trend over a longer time period 1980-1997. Table 10 reveals that there has been a more structured and linguistically differentiated pattern of school type. The composite school category, where Welsh was taught as both a first and second language has shrunk, while there has been a corresponding increase in the number of schools where Welsh is taught as a first language only, from the five pioneering schools

which existed in 1980 to the 18 such schools by 1997. A larger number of secondary schools are now classified as equipped to teach Welsh as a second language from 116 in 1980 to 161 in 1997. As a consequence the final category of schools (N=35) where no Welsh was taught in 1980 has been eliminated from the classification by 1997. Most of these 35 schools were either state-funded Catholic schools or secondary schools located within long-Anglicised areas of Wales, mostly in the border counties abutting England.

There is a clear relationship between progression through the secondary school system and lessening exposure to Welsh, as revealed by Table 11. As Welsh is part of the core curriculum for all students in year groups 7, 8, and 9 it is not surprising that the numbers taught Welsh remain constant. However, once an element of option choice for formal school-leaving exami-

nations in introduced in year 10 (aged c. 15+) there is a drastic falling away from c. 85.2% of all pupils to c. 34.7%. An even more sharp decline takes place in the final years of schooling, during years 12/13 where only 5.5 % and 5.0% of pupils are taught Welsh as a first or second language respectively.

That the position of Welsh medium education has been strengthened is a significant development in its own right. However, there has been a corresponding shift in the proportion of all pupils now exposed to the indigenous language, literature and culture of Wales. Some of these go on to be very active participants within Welsh-medium networks and public life. The vast majority do not, but having had such a long term exposure to formal education through Welsh, the previous generations' suspicion and tension which surrounded the use of Welsh as a language of the minority has largely disappeared. The general effect of this is recorded in much more positive attitudes towards bilingualism and the construction of a bilingual society *per se*. However, beneath this positive trend there remains for many a grumbling doubt as to the real worth of bilingualism, for it is argued that once pupils have left the artificial confines of the school classroom there is little

economic and instrumental justification for maintaining fluency in Welsh. Time will tell as to whether this judgement can still be made after the current period of institutional bilingualism has had its full impact. Outside the educational system many other pillars of Welsh culture are entering a more dynamic phase which also leads to increased language reproduction.

#### OTHER PILLARS OF THE WELSH-MEDIUM CULTURAL SYSTEM

Broadcasting is one acid test of the social use and adaptability of Welsh culture. Radio paved the way with a limited range of Welsh medium transmissions in the fifties and sixties, largely devoted to religious, children or daily life issues. In 1977-79 as a result of the development of VHF wavebands, an English-medium Radio Wales and a predominantly Welsh-medium Radio Cymru service was launched. The latter provides some 127 hours per week, ninety of which are in Welsh, and are of a high quality. Radio Cymru might be said to act like a national community network for many, as it encourages audience participation to a greater extent than do its far more diverse and hence specialist English counterparts.

**Tab. 10: Maintained secondary schools teaching Welsh (a).**

**Tab. 10: Srednje šole s koncesijo, kjer poučujejo valižanski jezik.**

	Number of schools					
	1980/81	1990/91	1993/94	1994/95	1995/96	1996/97
Schools where Welsh is taught as both a first and second language	82	68	53	48	50	50
Percentage of schools	34.5	29.6	23.3	21.1	21.9	21.8
Schools where Welsh is taught as a first language only	5	11	13	18	17	18
Percentage of schools	2.1	4.8	5.7	7.9	7.5	7.9
Schools where Welsh is taught as a second language only	116	129	153	158	159	161
Percentage of schools	48.7	56.1	67.4	69.6	69.7	70.3
Schools where no Welsh is taught	35	22	8	3	2	0
Percentage of schools	14.7	9.5	3.5	1.3	0.9	0.0
Total	238	230	227	227	228	229

(a) At January each year. Prior to 1993/94 at September each year. Includes grant maintained schools.

**Tab. 11: Pupils taught Welsh in maintained secondary schools, by year group and type of course, 1996/97 (a).**

**Tab. 11: Dijaki, ki se učijo jezik v valižanskih srednjih šolah s koncesijo glede na letnik in vrsto programa, 1996/97.**

	Number of pupils						
	Year group:						Total
	7	8	9	10	11	12/13	
Taught Welsh as a first language:	4,870	4,502	4,387	4,298	4,191	1,171	23,419
Percentage of pupils	13.3	12.8	12.5	12.2	12.1	5.0	11.7
Taught Welsh as a second language:	31,715	30,014	29,923	12,190	11,066	1,293	116,201
Percentage of pupils	86.4	85.1	85.2	34.7	32.0	5.5	58.0
Not taught Welsh at all	101	746	822	18,609	19,361	21,029	60,668
Percentage of pupils	0.3	2.1	2.3	53.0	55.9	89.5	30.3
Total	36,686	35,262	35,132	35,097	34,618	23,493	200,288

(a) At January 1997. Includes grant maintained schools.

The greatest boost to the popular and technical use of Welsh in this post-modern, international era was of course the inauguration of the television service, Sianel Pedwar Cymru on the 1st of November, 1982. It had been preceded by some thirty years of intermittent and gradually expanding television output in Welsh by the BBC, TWW, Teledu Cymru and Harlech TV which had demonstrated the potential for a sustained independent channel to serve the needs of a bilingual audience. The absence of such a channel had clear implications, not only for language reproduction, but also for sustained dissatisfaction on behalf of the unilingual English-speaking majority in Wales. Up to 1982 some ten per cent of programmes were transmitted in Welsh, with the effect that those who preferred not to watch Welsh medium output, had their television sets tuned permanently to English transmitters in the Mendips, Shrewsbury, Kidsgrove and Chester. In consequence one had the strange anomaly that very many households in Wales received their daily diet of regional news and accompanying programmes from a neighbouring region across the border. This also limited the appeal and impact of English-medium programmes produced in Wales, and of course, diminished the potential revenue derived from commercial advertising. Both sides of the 'linguistic divide' were thus profoundly unhappy with the situation. However, identifying the problem is one thing, acting to redress it is quite another, especially when there are huge political and financial implications. Nevertheless at a number of key turns in the seventies, it became obvious that there was a growing support in favour of a fourth channel being devoted in whole or in part to Welsh medium services. The 1974 Crawford Committee endorsed this view as did the Conservative manifesto pledge of 1979. However, within a few months of taking office the new administration withdrew their commitment, preferring to improve the existing broadcasting arrangements. This policy change engendered the largest mass protests witnessed in post-war Wales, with a plethora of social movements, political parties and non-aligned interest groups campaigning in tandem to force the government to honour its pledge. The focus of this campaign was the May 5<sup>th</sup>, 1980 decision of Gwynfor Evans, a former leader of Plaid Cymru, to fast to death unless the government announced the creation of S4C. To the great relief of many, on 17<sup>th</sup> of September 1980 the government reversed its decision and Wales has subsequently enjoyed a popular and varied Welsh-medium broadcasting service. Some thirty out of 145 hours per week are transmitted in Welsh, mainly at peak time. The programmes reach a relatively high percentage of their target audience. S4C is a commissioning rather than a production body, and in consequence has spawned a network of independent film makers, animators, creative designers, writers etc. who can turn their original Welsh language programmes into English or

'foreign' languages for sale in the international media market place. Cardiff ranks second to London as a media-production centre in the UK with all the technical, economic and post-production implications of a growing infra-structure in such a specialist industry.

Three issues dominate the current broadcasting debate in Wales viz., (1) financial self-sufficiency versus subsidy; (2) the relaxation of boundaries inside programmes between the use of Welsh and English; and (3) the multicultural nature of S4C which transmits European soccer and sport, repackaged documentaries, soaps, quizzes and a host of other material all dubbed into Welsh. In part this is to attract new viewers to the channel and in part it reflects S4C's participation in the European Broadcasting Union and commercial marketing of international television material.

At a more voluntary level there is a very active network of Eisteddfodau (competitive cultural festivals) which nurture school-based and community-based performances of Welsh plays, or plays in translation, of musical items, poetry, craft work, art and design and scientific projects. This network starts at the local level and the successful competitors progress through intervening stages to reach either the National Eisteddfod or the Urdd National Eisteddfod. During the present century it was the Eisteddfod system which acted as a vehicle for national culture, setting both the themes and the standards of popular representation of Welshness. More recently the Urdd (The Welsh League of Youth) has re-interpreted traditional Welsh mass culture by adding go-karting, tenpin bowling, discos, and surfing 'in Welsh'. An additional voluntaristic element is the adult learning of Welsh through Ulpan and related schemes which are geographically widespread and well subscribed. These in turn often feed Welsh clubs and social centres which may have sport, folk dancing or music as their focus but offer a wider entrée into the indigenous culture. Their children, and those of in-migrants, may attend Language Centres for English-only speakers, designed to speed up their integration into the local community. However, as in most unbalanced bilingual countries there are severe difficulties in reconciling the rights and obligations of indigenous citizens with those of incomers, many of whom are antagonistic or hostile to the requirement that their children attend a bilingual school. Thus Wales experiences grass-roots parents movements in favour of extending bilingual education, and a lesser number, but often well organised, who oppose such an extension on the grounds that it limits their natural rights as British citizens.

#### **Factors which affect the structure of the education system**

Let me first pay tribute to the countless hundreds of dedicated individuals whose exemplary commitment to

Wales and its youth have brought us to the promising plateau we occupy today, Despite all the accompanying social reforms, the education system remains the most fundamental agency for the promotion of bilingualism even if, as I have warned in the past, there is a danger that we over burden the education system as the saviour of our language.

The Education Act 1988 allows for a certain national differentiation of Wales from England, reflected in a separate national curriculum containing mandatory Welsh and variants of the manner in which English is taught among other subjects. A dualism reflecting greater flexibility in curriculum design and central National Assembly control is characteristic of the new order in Wales. The twin agencies of implementation are the School Funding Council for Wales and the Schools Examination and Assessment Authority. In a small country new systems are as good as the character of the personalities who will implement them, but structures and strategic relationships are also crucial. In consequence, after the opening of the National Assembly for Wales in May 1999, managers of the current structure are tentatively awaiting what new system may be devised by the Assembly's Education Committee in the new millennium.

A second uncertainty is the relationship between the Schools Funding Council for Wales and the Local Education Authorities. I have suggested that it could be an unbalanced partnership, reflecting the emasculated role of local government during the Conservative administrations of Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and John Major (1979-1997). L.E.A.s have acted increasingly as intermediate agencies processing government initiatives in, for example, training and in dispensing formula funding to individual schools. But if the trend towards grant maintained and opted out schools had gathered pace, then the Common Funding Formula for grant maintained schools would have transformed L.E.A.s into dead letter post boxes, for they would reflect rather than initiate educational trends. In comparison with England, very few schools in Wales chose to opt out. So much of our good practice in bilingual education has its origins at the local level, developing county-wide infra-structures, that one might be forgiven for feeling pessimistic about current trends toward the central control of the curriculum, its funding and its strategy.

And yet to do so would be to miss-read an opportunity. Under the L.E.A. formula an element of increased power has been transferred to individual schools and to

local communities. Should the institutionalisation of Welsh continue apace, then both the educational reforms and the 'free market' philosophy which drive it could benefit the Welsh language and culture, and that for a number of complex and unpredictable trends elaborated upon below which relate to the implications of passing the Welsh Language Act, 1993 with its strengthened Welsh Language Board and the establishment of the National Assembly for Wales, 1999.

### The Welsh Language Act 1993 and language planning

The current challenge is to realise a fully functional bi/multilingual society through creating new opportunities for language choice within the public, voluntary and private sector of the economy. Legislation is critical, not only in authorising linguistic rights, but also in establishing the infra-structure wherein such rights can be exercised without let or hindrance. Too often individuals and groups have a titular right to certain services, but such rights are held in abeyance because of a lack of commitment to honour language choice rights at the point of local contact.

The Welsh Language Act 1993 provided a statutory framework for the treatment of English and Welsh on the basis of equality and inaugurated a new era in Language Planning. Its chief policy instrument is the re-fashioned and strengthened Welsh Language Board, established on 21 December 1993, as a non-departmental statutory organisation. It is funded by a grant from the Welsh Office, which in the year ending 31 March 1998 totalled £5,756,00. It has three main duties:

1. Advising organisations which are preparing language schemes on the mechanism of operating the central principle of the Act, that the Welsh and English languages should be treated on a basis of equality.

2. Advising those who provide services to the public in Wales on issues relevant to the Welsh language.

3. Advising central Government on issues relating to the Welsh language.

The Welsh Language Act 1993 details key steps to be taken by the Welsh Language Board and by public sector bodies in the preparation of Welsh language schemes. These schemes are designed to implement the central principle of the Act, namely to treat Welsh and English on the basis of equality. Since 1995 a total of 67 language schemes have been approved including all 22 local authorities. In 1998 notices had been issued to a further 59 bodies to prepare schemes.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Under the spirit of the 1993 Act the Board has also developed partnerships with the 22 Unitary Authorities through Rhwydwaith (Network), with the Welsh Consumer Council, the Welsh Council for Voluntary Action and with a range of private sector organisations. During the financial year 1997-97 grants totalling £2,254,792 were distributed under the Board's main grants scheme to organisations as varied as the National Eisteddfod, the Welsh Books Council and Shelter Cymru (Welsh Language Board, 1998).

### Aims and objectives

The Welsh Language Board's primary goal is to enable the language to become self-sustaining and secure as a medium of communication in Wales. It has set itself four priorities: 1) to increase the numbers of Welsh-speakers; 2) to provide more opportunities to use the language; 3) to change the habits of language use and encourage people to take advantage of the opportunities provided, and 4) to strengthen Welsh as a community language.

In order to meet its first aim of increasing the numbers speaking Welsh it has focused its efforts on normalising the use of Welsh among young people by seeking to ensure that the provision of Welsh-language and Welsh-medium education and training is planned in conjunction with the key players. It also seeks to ensure an appropriate level of provision to obtain Welsh-language education services for young people, to formulate policies and effective initiatives which ensure the proper provision of public and voluntary services and to provide grants for initiatives which promote the use of Welsh among young people.

The Board's second objective is 'to agree measures which provide opportunities for the public to use the Welsh language with organisations which deal with the public in Wales, giving priority to those organisations which have contact with a significant number of Welsh-speakers, provide services which are likely to be in greatest demand through the medium of Welsh or have a high public profile in Wales, or are influential by virtue of their status or responsibilities'.

A third objective is to change the habits of language use and encourage people to take advantage of the opportunities provided. This is done through an innovative marketing campaign, including attractive bilingual public display signs, the development of a Welsh spell-checker and on-line dictionary, a direct Welsh Link Line for queries regarding the Welsh language and language-related services, a language in the workplace portfolio/file, a Plain Welsh campaign with excellent guidelines for writing Welsh, and other improvements to the infra-structure so necessary before a real language choice can be made by the general public.

The WLB's fourth objective is 'that Welsh-speaking communities be given the facilities, opportunities and the encouragement needed to maintain and extend the use of Welsh in those communities'. This aspect of language planning is concerned with participation and community-level language empowerment. Because the conventional domains are unable to sustain the language it has been posited that individuals are more atomised than ever before, thus rather than talk of Welsh-speaking communities it is more realistic in many parts to talk of Welsh-speakers in the community.

An essential means of increasing the provision of

Welsh-medium services is to create a framework which is supportive of bilingualism; that is, the processes of realising the civil rights which are incorporated in the Language Act and in the respective charters on human rights. The core of this social change would be to deepen the fairly superficial bilingualism which currently obtains and to extend it to the working environment of institutions which offer a service to the public. If Welsh public services are serious about their response to the recent guidelines on developing bilingual policies, then they should *provide* a comprehensive bilingual service rather than give the impression that this is merely a compromise in order to satisfy the requirements of recent legislation. Many institutions require an external stimulus to quick start their reaction. Thus one of the principal recommendations of the Community Language Report (1998) was that the Welsh Language Board, government departments, companies and all types of institutions should develop the idea of linguistic *animateurs* - individuals charged with the special responsibility of promoting the use of the language. Three other recommendations are worthy of note. The first is the rapid extension of a national network of Language Enterprise Agencies (*Mentrau Iaith*) which would stimulate the use of Welsh within particular communities by harnessing local needs and initiatives to national strategic resources and expertise. A second recommendation was the development of County Resource Centres which would provide county-wide services and training to local authority personnel and members of the general public concerned with developing bilingual service delivery in new domains. Above this level there would be a National Resource Centre charged with the threefold function of language planning, terminological and language standardisation and translation requirements together with the provision of bilingual software, pro formas and administrative guidelines/illustrations to realise the bilingual potential of the local state.

### The National Assembly

Much will depend on the political lead and wisdom shown by the newly formed National Assembly, which forms an integral part of the Labour government's constitutional reform for the United Kingdom. Established in May 1999 the Assembly is committed to developing a substantive bilingual policy within a multicultural context and will likely seek to adopt a stronger multilingual line in keeping with the demands of a rapidly evolving European Union.

Clearly there is considerable advantage to be gained from the recognition of the Assembly as a bilingual body from its inception. It is a manifest statement to the world that Wales is a bilingual country. While it is fair to assume that the Assembly, in legal and functional terms, will seek to operate in a comprehensive bilingual man-



ner, legislation alone cannot create a supportive environment within which bilingual working practices will flourish. Rather it is the attitude of Assembly Members towards Welsh and promoting bilingualism which will be the determining factor. Establishing a strong bilingual infrastructure for the Assembly is an essential prerequisite for being able to operate effectively, but the guidelines need to be routinised well in advance of any conflict so that dissenting members understand the rules of engagement. Leaders of the political parties recognise this necessity but need to convince some of their members that the Assembly could be the biggest boost yet to the promotion of Wales as a bilingual society and not as a society comprised of a majority and a minority linguistic community.

National language policy will focus on three important aspects. First language policy in relation to education and public administration, equal rights and the socialisation of citizens within civil society. This would involve *inter alia*, issues such as interaction with the British state and its unwritten constitution, the European Convention on human rights, European Community language policies, the development of bilingual education, bilingual service provision in local government, health and social services. Secondly, economic policies and regional development initiatives which seek to stabilise predominantly Welsh-speaking communities, to create employment, and to promote bilingual working opportunities. Thirdly, consideration of the interests of Welsh language and culture as they are impacted upon by town and country/structure planning and improvements to the transport system. In addition the pressing housing, property control and rural service issues highlighted by various bodies including Jigso and Cymdeithas yr Iaith should be addressed directly. A fundamental precept of the Assembly's mission should be that its policies on bilingualism should be complemented by the promotion of positive attitudes to Welsh culture and heritage.

A prime issue in the normalisation of Welsh will be the extent to which it can become a cross-cutting medium of governance and administration and not limited to its own Committee for the Welsh language and culture i.e. not become commodified and separated out as a 'problem area'. A second issue is the degree to which operating a bilingual Assembly will influence the language-choice behaviour of the public. Critics sympathetic to the promotion of Welsh have observed that local authorities have invested heavily in statutory language schemes which in reality are of little interest to all but a handful of Welsh speakers. It would be regrettable if the Assembly's commitment were not matched by the public's adoption of Welsh as a language of interaction with national government. In turn the Assembly may use its position as an exemplar, a testing ground, an educator and a significant actor to influence behaviour in this regard.

A third issue is the supply of specialists to operate

the Assembly. Critics have warned that just as the development of a bilingual media (c. 1985-1997) drew mainly on the talented professionals of Welsh-medium high schools (and to a lesser extent chapels, as happened in an earlier period), so the fresh opportunities afforded by the Assembly and its associated domains will pose a further threat to the staffing levels of the education system. This is a major challenge to the university sector which as a matter of urgency should provide training courses and bilingual specialist diplomas in matters related to a range of functions which fall under the remit of the Assembly.

The Assembly has the potential to be a major fillip to the fortunes of Welsh but it should not be viewed either as the 'saviour of the language' or the sole agency for language promotion, other voices should be encouraged. Currently moves are afoot to establish a new Welsh language movement, something akin to the style and purpose of Friends of the Earth, which would be a national and voluntary network of representatives of Welsh-medium agencies and individual members.

The Assembly's recruiting policy and training programme could also impact on the public sector, local government and especially bilingual educational provision. Currently there is an acknowledged shortage of competent accredited translators, experienced language tutors, and skilled bilingual administrators and technical specialists. The training infrastructure for a bilingual workforce is woefully inadequate. Consequently special attention should be paid to how the Government's training agencies, such as the TECs, are resourcing or failing to resource the required training programmes for an increasingly sophisticated, bilingual economy. The skills gap in the workplace needs to be addressed urgently if the relationship between the Assembly and the rest of the public sector is to operate harmoniously. The Local Government Management Board suggest that the Welsh Assembly and the TECs should acknowledge this skills shortage and establish industry-recognised accredited courses for training tutors. This would necessitate a partnership between the further education colleges, the universities and the WJEC together with the TECs to develop accredited intense and part-time courses. Government agencies should recognise Welsh language courses as a necessary skills-based training course for those searching for employment. In recognising the necessity for such skills agencies should pay both course and examination fees and lobby to receive government assistance for upgrading the skills level of its employment force as a consequence of the changes set in train by the Welsh Language Act, 1993.

The necessity to produce bilingual legislation will also have a direct impact on the development of a Welsh-language legal community to match that of the media community as co-equality of language use becomes common in many domains. It is imperative that

the university system and professional training of legal specialist take due regard of this trend and attend to the very real employment and training needs of the profession. In addition strong positive messages on the societal value of bilingualism will not go unheeded within the private sector, even though at present it is not covered by the Welsh Language Act. It is likely that the Assembly will seek to strengthen the 1993 Act so as to include within its remit the private and voluntary sectors.

### **The social impact of the National Assembly: Key questions**

1) What effect will the arrangements for the bilingual servicing of the National Assembly have on the legitimisation of bilingualism as a societal norm?

2) How will the experiences generated within the National Assembly impact on the bilingual character of educational and public administrative services, together with the local government and legal system?

Two issues of direct importance for education will be the wider exposure of all children in Wales to bilingual instruction and the introduction of new software and terminological data bases which will enable students to shift back and forth between information generated in English and that generated in Welsh.

A second consideration is the creation of new bilingual opportunities for specialist use of Welsh and English within the democratic institutions and in related socio-economic agencies. How will this impact on the education system and a whole host of other activities? At present, due to the lack of systematic research we know virtually nothing as to how aspects of the education system will influence these issues. Neither do we know very much in detail about the formative influences on conceptions of national identity in Wales nor of the appropriate use of Welsh or English within selected specialist domains. Much of public policy is based on very broad assumptions and generalisations about the relevance of bilingual education in the service of society, but very few research projects have sought to document the bilingual educational experience vis á vis a monolingual English educational experience.

Two recent exceptions have produced limited information relating to the performance of bilingual schools in the industrialised south east of Wales. The first is a study by Bellin and Higgs and Farrell (1998) which attempted to investigate the language shift process by a socio-spatial analysis of census and non-census data within selected communities. The study is typical of social and educational research in that it is localised, concerned more with a cross-cutting snapshot to reveal a pattern rather than the myriad processes involved and it is fairly dependent upon rather blunt aggregate data gathered for purposes other than analysing language shift.

A second, more focused study commissioned by the

Institute of Welsh Affairs was undertaken by Reynolds, Bellin and ab Ieuan (1998). This project sought to assess whether or not the Welsh-medium school sector in the Rhondda Valleys was characterised by several structural advantages which enabled their pupils to out-perform pupils of very similar socio-economic backgrounds who attended English-medium or Church in Wales schools. The results suggested that bilingual children in Welsh medium education were distinctive because i): - their bilingualism generates an interaction effect whereby utilising the two main languages together boosts cognitive performance and intellectual confidence; ii) their Welsh identity gives them security in a rapidly differentiating and increasingly heterogeneous world; and iii) they are conscious of their distinctiveness in a way which helps to boost social confidence and self-esteem.

As the trend toward sending children from non-Welsh speaking homes to Welsh-medium schools is increasing there is a real possibility that within the next generation bilingual citizens in Wales will be advantaged and monolingual citizens will feel at a relative disadvantage. In other words, it is the exact opposite of what has hitherto been the norm. Because language-related considerations have always been a feature of political mobilisation in Wales, it is logical to assume that in future there will be increased agitation and mobilization of the needs of the monoglot English inhabitants in terms of identity formation, educational opportunities and access to certain types of employment and representation. There is a growing tension between those who claim that the Welsh language has been rendered politically neutral and therefore acceptable, and others who argue that this is a smoke screen, despite rapid advances in the status of Welsh, for the struggle between Welsh and English remains at a more subtle level and needs investigating.

In more general terms the contemporary relationship between education and nationality - or identity-formation is still unclear. Many academic studies assert that Welsh-medium education predisposes children to develop socio-political attitudes which are favourable to nationalism and assume that this transfers into support for Plaid Cymru at a political level because of that party's championing of Welsh cultural and linguistic issues. But in truth such assumptions are not backed up by consistent social scientific analysis.

Thus the significance of several recent educational research projects in terms of the national picture cannot be measured as they are not representative samples. The absence of national, time-series educational data of this type makes both inferential reasoning and educational planning very difficult and dangerous at times.

### **Post-devolutionary bilingual policy**

A pressing major research interest is post-devolution comparative work on bilingual policy and language

equality issues within the UK and Ireland. Future policy could be directed toward instigating research which sought to:

1) contribute both a theoretical and a practical element to Language Planning and Language Policy in the UK and Ireland.

2) assess the character, quality and success of the institutional language policies of the newly-established political assemblies in Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland.

3) investigate the complex nature of bilingual educational and administrative systems in Wales together with regional specific systems in Scotland and Northern Ireland.

4) assess the role of cross-border arrangements for the increased recognition of Irish on the island of Ireland, together with Northern Irish, Gaelic and Ulster Scots links with Scotland. An obvious, if hitherto unknown quantity here is the role of the Irish-British Council in terms of co-operation, and political bargaining at the UK and European level, together with bilingual education, civil rights and group equality issues in Northern Ireland. As a new political forum its role and impact should influence the deliberations of European Committee of the Regions and several other international bodies.

5) investigate to what degree the institutionalisation of Celtic languages vis á vs the established dominance of English can be a model for the relationship of other lesser-used languages world-wide in their relationship with English. Potentially this issue is of global significance if one can transfer several of the lessons to be learned from the survival of the Celtic languages to multilingual contexts as varied as contemporary India, and much of Sub-Saharan Africa, let alone the evolving European political system.

6) gauge the degree to which the information technology and media opportunities developed in connection with the National Assembly of Wales and the Northern Irish Assembly are capable of sustaining a wider range of bilingual practices in public life. It is noteworthy that the development of Sianel 4 Cymru, and to a lesser extent the Gaelic-medium television service, has created a self-confident and pluralist bilingual workforce which sustains a wide range of media activities. It is possible that both Assemblies will have a similar impact in relation to the information society as it relates to matters of public administration, education, legal affairs and the voluntary sector.

7) analyse the economic demand for a skilled bilingual workforce in several sectors of the economy; determine to what extent bilingual working practices in Wales offer a model for subsequent parallel developments within a range of multilingual contexts within the English regions e.g. either in respect of several European languages or selected non-European languages such as

Arabic, Urdu, Hindi or variants of Chinese languages of wider communication.

### THE WELSH CASE IN EUROPEAN CONTEXT

The technological trends underpinning European integration suggest four outcomes in relation to the interaction of language, ethnic identity, territory and the state system. First, mass communication technology has reinforced the dominance of English. This has led French, German and Spanish, to re-negotiate their positions within the educational, legal and commercial domains of an enlarged Europe. Fears of Anglicisation ushering in greater North American and Japanese influence has stimulated the following propositions ; 1) that the EU educational system should encourage all students to acquire two foreign languages; 2) that a first foreign language should be obligatory; 3) that English should be taught as a second foreign language, but never as a first; 4) that less information and cultural loss would occur if the principle of multilingualism could be instituted in most supra-national public and governmental affairs.

In an earlier paper in this journal I discussed the implications for autochthonous language groups, such as the Basques, Bretons, Irish and Welsh, who might be further marginalized in an increasingly complex and competitive social order (Williams, 1998. p. 270). I argued that their only hope lay in establishing regional bilingualism as the dominant pattern in education, public administration and the law. Ethnic mobilisation is so often a surrogate for issues such as political struggle, economic deprivation and psychological adjustment that the salience of identity is likely to increase as Western Europe avers a more open, pluralistic society. Our major challenge is interpreting the disjuncture between formal political units and the social behaviour of increasingly autonomous and individualistic citizens.

Logically, if globalization and interdependence can enhance the productive capacity of majority, 'nation-state' interests, they can also be harnessed to develop the interests of lesser-used language groups. The EU has harmonised state and community policies so as to strengthen its majority language regimes. But the wider question of the relative standing of official languages makes political representatives wary of further complicating administrative politics by addressing the needs of roughly fifty million citizens who have a mother tongue which is not the main official language of the state which they inhabit. Recent expansion of the EU has increased the difficulties in translating multi-cultural communication and guaranteeing access to information and hence power for all groups. The real geolinguistic challenge is to safeguard the interests of all the non-state language groups, especially those most threatened with imminent extinction.

Some language groups face a more positive future if

they can use this international spur to democratic participation in public affairs, by encouraging representation within decision-making bodies at all levels from the local, to the supra-state level. However, reliance on this form of supra-structural definition of rights could provide a false dawn of optimism, if it is not also accompanied by a parallel sub-structural reform of many aspects of life in multi-cultural societies. It is essential that experiments in language planning regimes such as those currently undertaken in Euskadi and Wales be fully honoured and funded by the local state. Because these are 'true *Abstand*' minority languages (Trudgill, 1993), what happens to the struggling minority in these two countries is a predictor of the linguistic fortunes of other groups, including those such as Norwegian and Danish who are bolstered by their own state, but nevertheless face the same external competition from languages of wider communication. This is why bodies such as the European Parliament, the European Cultural Foundation and the Council of Europe are engaged in a fundamental political assessment of 'which languages for Europe', asking to what extent the international agencies can sustain all the competing language interests within a representative, but effective, European political system.

### CONCLUSION

The search for an appropriate place for both English and Welsh in a bilingual Wales will continue to evolve, as will the attitudes towards Welsh in general. The interplay between the forces promoting the spread of English and those perpetuating the resistance of Welsh in the past seven centuries captures the power, ambiguity, duality and opportunity inherent in any such relationship between neighbours. But the portents are more encouraging than ever before that such a search will be continued in a non-violent, constitutional mode, emphasising the gradualist rather than the radical or reactionary approaches available.

A persistent problem is framing policy on the basis of inadequate data and specialist research. Hitherto there has been an over-reliance on manipulating the decennial census source which asks four self-report questions on Welsh language abilities. Occasionally such data are supplemented by very localised language attitudes surveys but the samples are generally too small and poorly conceived to be of any analytical or policy-related use. The only exceptions are the 'Welsh Office, Welsh Social Surveys', the Educational Surveys (Welsh Office, 1993) and the Welsh Language Board community surveys of the use of Welsh (Williams and Evas, 1998).

Despite these comprehensive surveys the overall picture is fairly bleak in terms of national data sets. There is an acute need for sophisticated, behavioural rather than merely attitudinal data-sets on many aspects of democracy, devolution and bilingualism. This is an

acute need as so many new policies will be enacted in the future on the basis of very little research and almost no tradition of time-series analysis of issues generated by seeking to operate a bilingual education system within a plural society.

Nevertheless, the public place of Welsh is beginning to be institutionalised, even if this necessitates greater dependence upon the local state as the source of both its legitimacy and finance. Having fought to obtain a semblance of equality for both languages in the post-war period, it is likely that the next generation's concerns will have far more to do with questions of economic development, environmental protection and conservation and holistic planning. This is particularly true for the Heartland region, for despite its relative decline as the source for initiative and social change, it is still the base and bedrock of a relatively autonomous Welsh culture. We may be attracted by the rapid development of bilingual networks in the burgeoning urban districts of the anglicised lowlands, but we neglect the northern and western base of Welsh culture at our peril, for its experience has taught that only when the language is a fully functional element in an integrated society will it prosper and please. No amount of formal language planning, however desperately needed, can substitute for the popular will to reproduce a language and culture. In that respect bilingual education in Wales faces a more optimistic future as the first century of the new millennium dawns. Holistic interpretations of the role of bilingualism within a Welsh and European context will inform the decisions of the National Assembly who will be able to advance, colour and scrutinise the direction of educational and social policy.

The reconstituted Welsh Language Board looks set to become the most critical government agency yet in the social history of Welsh. Such status language planning allows for a measure of purposive rather than reactive thought and policy formulation. It also presages a new era of fresh initiatives and holistic interpretation of language in society which, though small-scale, represent grounded local involvement in socio-linguistic issues. The emphasis on planning requires integrated action by a number of agencies and represents a more holistic approach than hitherto has been the norm. Additionally, rather than be exclusively concerned with the needs and interests of Welsh speakers, we are beginning to address the concerns and involvement of second-language learners and non-Welsh speakers in a more systematic fashion, thereby extending the bicultural nature of society from both ends of the spectrum.

In consequence, the Welsh language has entered a new phase of legitimacy, best evidenced by the working out of the Welsh Language Act (1993). Doubtless there will be calls for a revised Act to cover the private and voluntary sector, yet support for Welsh can no longer be interpreted as essentially a symbol of resistance to An-

glicisation, for it is itself deeply imbued in the process of state socialisation. The language has become a contested instrument both of reform and of governance, of opposition and of authority. Welsh is increasingly incorporated into the machinery of government, of justice, of public administration and of civic control. In that one respect the promotion of bilingualism in Wales represents one small step for the realisation of popular democracy in Europe. My fervent prayer is that many other minority communities throughout this troubled continent may take heart from this example and seek to take hold of their own destiny by realising their dreams in and through a language struggle.

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Tables 6-10 are reproduced with permission from 'Statistics of Education and Training in Wales: Schools 1998', Government Statistical Section, The Welsh Office, Cardiff.

## DVOJEZIČNO ŠOLSTVO V KORIST EVROPSKI DEMOKRACIJI

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## POVZETEK

*Avtor raziskuje razvoj dvojezičnega šolstva v Walesu in predstavi številne izzive ter priložnosti, ki so vplivali na prizadevanja Valižanov, da bi reproducirali svoj jezik in kulturo. Tako šolstvo kot družina in skupnost so obravnavani kot glavna področja, kjer se ohranja jezikovna reprodukcija, vendar za razliko od drugih dveh stebrov kulturnega boja so bili parametri vzgoje v Walesu vedno bolj zaznamovani z oddaljevanjem od britanskih norm. Razvoj nacionalnega učnega načrta za Wales, ki je sledil Zakonu o šolski reformi leta 1988, je skupaj z drugimi ključnimi zakonskimi spremembami, kot sta Zakon o valižanskem jeziku leta 1993 in Zakon o vladi v Walesu leta 1998, spremenil politično-zakonsko pojmovanje dvojezičnosti in institucionaliziral dvojezično šolstvo kot pomemben element valižanskega nacionalnega življenja.*

*Avtor posreduje predloge o šolski politiki in razvojni politiki skupnosti glede na delovanje Državnega zbora za Wales, ki je bil ustanovljen maja leta 1999. Članek se osredotoči na oceno vpliva, ki ga ima institucionalizacija dvojezičnega šolstva na socialne spremembe in enakost skupin v Walesu. Posebna pozornost se posveča politiki primerjalnosti jezikov in podani so predlogi za britansko in irsko ustavno partnerstvo po pooblastitvi. Ta nastajajoča in potencialno radikalna zveza se smatra kot pomembna preizkušnja za jezikovne pravice in demokratične spremembe v okviru preoblikovanega evropskega političnega sistema.*

**Ključne besede:** izobraževanje, dvojezičnost, jezikovne manjšine, Valižani

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