International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism

ISSN: 1367-0050 (Print) 1747-7522 (Online) Journal homepage: http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rbeb20

Welsh-medium education and parental incentives – the case of the Rhymni Valley, Caerffili

Rhian Siân Hodges

To cite this article: Rhian Siân Hodges (2012) Welsh-medium education and parental incentives – the case of the Rhymni Valley, Caerffili, International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 15:3, 355-373, DOI: 10.1080/13670050.2011.636796

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2011.636796

Published online: 31 Jan 2012.

Submit your article to this journal

Article views: 633

Citing articles: 6 View citing articles

Full Terms & Conditions of access and use can be found at
http://www.tandfonline.com/action/journalInformation?journalCode=rbeb20

International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism
Vol. 15, No. 3, May 2012, 355–373

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Welsh-medium education and parental incentives – the case of the Rhymni Valley, Caerffili

Rhian Siân Hodges*

School of Social Sciences, Bangor University, Bangor, Wales, UK

(*Received 15 April 2011; final version received 26 October 2011*)

According to the 2001 Census, there has been a substantial increase in the numbers of Welsh speakers aged 5–15 years, especially in south-east Wales. It is generally accepted that this increase can be largely attributed to the success of Welsh-medium education. Indeed, Welsh-medium education has long been seen as an effective language planning tool and language transmission sphere to transmit the Welsh language in Wales. The aim of this paper is to look at the main parental incentives for choosing Welsh-medium education in the Rhymni valley, Caerffili County. A combination of quantitative and qualitative methods was used to gather information from parents from the 'meithrin' stage (Welsh-medium nursery) and from the primary and secondary school sectors. The main parental incentives in the Rhymni Valley were seen to be cultural, educational, economic and personal reasons and integrative rather than instrumental incentives that came to the forefront. Past studies have tended to emphasise economic reasons, but the findings of this present project indicate that cultural reasons were more predominant factors for parents in the Rhymni valley.

Keywords: language planning; parental educational incentives; sociology of education; sociology of language; Welsh-medium education

Introduction

Successful minority language transmission relies on a combination of powerful mechanisms, namely the influential language transmission spheres of the family, education, community and the workplace. Ferrer and Juarros-Daussa (2011) argue that the most influential language transmission mechanisms to facilitate language maintenance and language resurgence are the family and minority language education in particular. Arguably, the family and its 'intergenerational language transmission' (Fishman 1991) could be viewed as the most natural language planning mechanism (Morris and Jones 2008) to transmit a minority language. However, a real concern amongst language planners and policy makers worldwide is the fragile nature of language transmission within the family (Fishman 1991; Baker and Prys Jones 1998; Lyon 1996; Morris and Jones 2007). Indeed, this concern manifests itself through the increased importance of minority language education or a possible over reliance on education as a 'language rescuer' (Fishman 1991, 13). Moreover, minority language transmission through education is undoubtedly at the very epicentre of contemporary language planning infrastructures throughout Europe and the world at large. Minority

*Email: r.s.hodges@bangor.ac.uk

ISSN 1367-0050 print/ISSN 1747-7522 online
© 2012 Taylor & Francis
http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13670050.2011.636796
http://www.tandfonline.com

language education and indeed bilingual education is also crucially important in safeguarding and promoting minority language rights (Lewis 2008; May 2001; Skutnabb-Kangas 2000) especially within the wider global, social and political context of the endangered nature of minority languages and ultimately language death (Crystal 1999; Nettle and Romaine 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas 2000). This educational system is currently arguably responsible for what Fishman (1991, 57) called 'reversing language shift'. Baker (2004, i) in turn emphasises the value and central role of minority language education as 'a major plank in language revitalisation and language reversal'. Indeed, this particular educational system is seen as largely responsible for creating new speakers of minority languages, a key concept at a European language planning level as demonstrated in recent research by O'Rourke (2011).

Welsh-medium education itself is seen as an effective language planning tool for transmitting the Welsh language in Wales, especially within localities with a low social usage of the language (Hodges 2009a, 2009b; Thomas 2007). Gruffudd (2000, 195) recognises the Welsh-medium educational sector as the only language transmission sphere, which is on the increase in terms of language use amongst the youth of Wales today. Certainly a pattern identified amongst key language planning academics in Wales is that the Welsh-medium education sector is increasing and developing rapidly across many post-industrial communities of south Wales (C.H. Williams 2000; Williams and Morris 2000). Furthermore, it appears that the educational system is often seen by many families as a substitute for undertaking Welsh language transmission in the family (Jones and Morris 2007; Welsh Language Board 1999, 2). Thus, the school is recognised as an essential tool for language planners, as research by Lewis (2006, 23) emphasises, in which he notes that 98% of Welsh-medium pupils across south-east Wales are from non-Welsh speaking homes.[1]

Currently there is resurgence in the field of Welsh-medium education since its establishment over half a century ago. There is increasing demand for Welsh-medium education, especially in the more Anglicised areas of south Wales, such as the Rhondda, Cynon and Rhymni valleys and in Cardiff, where the community use of Welsh is relatively low (Welsh Language Board 2006, 9–10). During its infancy, parents had to fight unsympathetic public authorities and various groups to establish Welsh-medium education in the south Wales valleys (Wyn Williams 2003), but currently the problems are more to do with oversubscription and lack of places in Welsh-medium schools. Although it is apparent that children and young people in south Wales are much more likely than their parents' generation to be able to speak Welsh, the issue of language use is a different matter. As the Welsh Language Board's Youth Strategy (2006, 9–10) noted there is a paradox between the relatively widespread use of Welsh in the educational system in south Wales and the relatively rare informal use of the language among young people in the community. This paper concentrates on one particular location in the south Wales valleys, the Rhymni valley, and asks why parents (who are mostly non-Welsh speaking) choose to send their children through the Welsh-medium educational route.

Background to the study

Recent years have seen major social, demographic and political changes in Wales. Among the most notable developments are the establishment of the National Curriculum for Wales in 1988 (the Education Reform Act), the Welsh Language Act

1993 and the National Assembly for Wales commitment to a 'truly bilingual Wales' (The Welsh Assembly Government 2003). A further significant development has been the ratification of the Welsh Language (Wales) Measure (2011) further emphasising the official status of the Welsh language in Wales through the appointment of a Welsh Language Commissioner. In the context of education, another important document is the development of the Welsh Assembly Government 'Welsh-medium Education Strategy' (2010). Figures from the 2001 Census stated that the highest percentage of Welsh speakers (40.8%) were found amongst children aged 5–15 years (see Table CAS146 in Jones 2007). Furthermore, there has been a substantial increase in the use of the Welsh language within English-speaking schools in Wales since the establishment of the National Curriculum for Wales[2] and similarly the development of the 'Curriculum Cymreig' (The Welsh Curriculum).[3]

There is an apparent paradox in that the 'greatest increases in Welsh speakers have been achieved in those very areas where the language has traditionally been weakest'. (Aitchison and Carter 2004, 2). However, as noted above, ensuring Welsh language ability does not necessarily translate into language practice, and there is substantial evidence that young people who have left the Welsh-medium education system, particularly in south Wales, do not speak the language outside the school (Hodges 2006, 2009a, 2009b). This is a major concern for policy makers, not least it can be supposed because of the substantial resources that are invested in Welsh-medium education (Welsh Language Board 2004). However, it should be noted that this discrepancy in language ability and use is not limited to Wales, but is a concern among other minority language groups in Europe and beyond (European Commission 1996).

Most research emphasises that speaking Welsh (or other minority language) in the home is the most important way of ensuring language reproduction. Research has shown that language practices are established early on in a child's life and the influence of the family on this process cannot be overemphasised. However, as transfer of language within the home is not an option for the mainly English-speaking families of south Wales, the education system is seen to be an important tool in promoting language production. The hope is that the children who learn Welsh in school will one day be in a position as a Welsh speaking parent to be able to transmit the language themselves.

However, why would parents who are themselves non-Welsh speakers start on this process of educating their children through the medium of a language that they themselves do not understand? Finding out the reasons for this was the main aim of the present Rhymni Valley study. Other questions immediately became apparent, among them: When did they decide on this education medium? What family/outside influences played a part in their decision? Had their reasons/incentives developed since the establishment of Welsh-medium schools? Related questions included: Is Welsh-medium education as a language planning tool a strong enough base in order to sustain the Welsh language further within the south Wales valleys in the future? What other social organisations are needed to ensure sustainability? Is there need for further Welsh language legislation to bolster language use? With these and other questions in mind, we turn to the field work that was carried out over a period of 2 years to investigate these issues in more depth.

Study location

The location of the study is the Rhymni Valley, Caerffili County, a valley spanning 16 miles from Rhymni in the north to Caerffili in the south. The Rhymni Valley comprises a plethora of diverse communities with varying socio-economic characteristics and it is pertinent to state that this specific valley location cannot be viewed as a uniform and homogeneous community. The Rhymni Valley is located to the north of Cardiff, and Caerffili is only 8 miles from Wales' capital city. The Rhymni Valley is located at the very epicentre of Caerffili County Borough. The county itself was formed in 1996 due to the reorganisation of counties throughout Wales. Caerffili is the fifth largest local authority in Wales with 73 Elected Members representing 33 wards (Caerffili County: Consultative Draft 2009, 9). Linguistically, Caerffili is amongst the counties with the highest numbers of Welsh speakers in south Wales. However, as noted earlier, the percentage of Welsh speakers varies considerably.[4] Table 1 compiled by Aitchison and Carter (2004, 38–9) from 2001 Census Data states that 27,228 people have an understanding of the Welsh language, but more importantly, 13,916 people are competent in all three linguistic skills of speaking, reading and writing in Welsh.

The above data clearly states that Caerffili County has great potential to influence future national language planning strategies. The numbers of Welsh speakers in Caerffili have increased since the 1991 Census where approximately 6% or a little over 9700 people spoke Welsh (www.nationalstatistics.gov.uk). However, these percentages are relatively low in terms of the wider context of Welsh speakers in Wales. According the 2001 Census the highest increases amongst Welsh-speakers were within the 5–15 years old category. Indeed, Caerffili itself experienced a 20.8% increase amongst Welsh speakers in this age category since the 1991 Census.[5] Furthermore, there has been a notable increase in the number of Welsh-medium schools in the Rhymni Valley. When Caerffili officially formed in 1996 there were eight Welsh-medium primary schools and one was Welsh-medium comprehensive school however, at the beginning of the 2010/2011 academic year, there are presently 11 Welsh-medium primary schools and one Welsh-medium comprehensive school (with proposed educational restructuring planned for a second Welsh-medium comprehensive in Caerffili town itself – see RhAG 2011).

This increase in Welsh speakers can largely be attributed to the success of Welsh-medium education in the locality which reflected the increase in young Welsh speakers in the post-industrial valley regions of south Wales (C.H. Williams 2000, 24). There has also been a notable increase in second language Welsh speakers due to the compulsory nature of the Welsh language on the curriculum of English-medium

Table 1. Results of Welsh speakers in Caerffili County according to the 2001 census.

Percentage and number of Caerffili inhabitants who: (Caerffili Population 169,519)	Percentage	Number
Understand oral Welsh only	2.8	4617
Speak but do not read/write Welsh	1.7	2814
Speak and read Welsh, but do not write Welsh	0.7	1095
Speak, read and write Welsh	8.5	13,916
Other linguistic combinations	2.9	4786
An understanding of Welsh (at least one linguistic skill)	16.7	27,228

Source: Aitchison and Carter (2004, 38–9).

schools.[6] According to Caerffili County Borough's Welsh-medium Education Scheme (Consultative Draft) 2009–2014, during January 2008, there were 29,551 of children aged 3–18 years who received education in Caerffili. A total of 16,915 were educated in the primary sector, 12,513 in the secondary sector and 123 within the special educational needs sector. Moreover, 12.7% of primary school pupils and 10.6% of secondary school pupils in Caerffili County Borough received their education through the medium of Welsh whilst 3.3% of pupils who had special educational needs also received their education though the medium of Welsh (Caerffili County Borough Council 2009, 11).

Aims, objectives and hypothesis of the Rhymni Valley study

The aim of this research was to assess and interpret the main incentives of parents (mainly non-Welsh-speaking parents) choosing Welsh-medium education for their children in the Rhymni Valley. The objective of the study was to assess the opinions and perceptions of a sample of parents from the Rhymni Valley regarding the local Welsh-medium education system. The target group contained parents from the 'Mudiad Meithrin'[7] (Welsh-medium nursery), primary and secondary Welsh-medium school sectors. The 'Mudiad Meithrin' (Welsh-medium Nursery) sector provides education through play for children aged two years to school age specifically (5 years old). The Welsh-medium primary sector provides education for pupils between the ages of 5 and 11 years, whilst the Welsh-medium secondary sector provides education for pupils between the ages of 11 and 18 years, respectively. Parents were the main focus of this study as they were the crucial 'decision takers' at a significant point in their children's lives.

The hypothesis of the Rhymni Valley study was that parents from the Rhymni Valley were selecting a Welsh-medium education option for their children mainly for economic reasons. The study by Williams, Roberts, and Isaac (1978) in the nearby Rhondda valley had noted that parents who chose Welsh-medium education for their children did so mainly because they associated speaking Welsh with economic success and wider employment choices.

Theoretical context

Williams, Roberts, and Isaac's study (1978) in the Rhondda adopted the concepts of 'burghers' and 'spiralists' (Watson 1964) to describe the parents in their study. 'Spiralists'' main concern was social mobility which encompassed geographical mobility, while the 'burghers' looked towards the local labour market for their children's desired social mobility. These concepts were considered to be useful in the present study context. Furthermore, Pierre Bourdieu's (1987) concept of 'social capital' and 'cultural capital' were used in the context of Welsh-medium education in the south Wales valleys, with the additional 'capital' the children received from their second language being used in the market to promote social mobility. Welsh-medium education in the Rhymni Valley afforded like-minded parents membership of a common interest group or community where the parents shared certain norms and values in relation to the Welsh-medium educational sector. Moreover, this particular Welsh-medium education language community could be likened to any minority language community as it valued similar cultural practices and unique behaviour. According to Fishman (1991, 26):

> To really know a language well, one must know its associated culture (even the history of that culture)... as well as the cultural specifics and behavioural goals... every bit as much as it is necessary to know the associated language if one wants to know a culture well.

Furthermore, it could be argued that these united and symbolic meanings divulge deep and rich social data (Walliman 2006, 15). A key example is parents protesting to establish the Welsh-medium education sector locally through staging 'sit-ins' in local disused English-medium schools and lobbying petitions to the local authority (Jones and Richards in Wyn Williams 2003).

The present study's use of Bourdieu's concept of 'cultural capital' (1987) considered the skills, knowledge and information, education and essential advantages that individuals possessed to gain a higher hierarchical status within society. Bourdieu alleged that the main function of the education system is to reproduce culture, and specifically to reproduce the culture of the higher social classes within society. Education is therefore a tool to drive the norms, values and power of the higher classes in society. Bourdieu (1991, 167) stated:

> The culture which unifies is also the culture which separates and which legitimates distinctions by forcing all other cultures to define themselves by their distance from the dominant culture.

The dominant culture of the groups is 'social capital' according to Bourdieu and this is transmitted into wealth and power through the education system itself. Bourdieu stated the connection between the education system and the political structure of society. Social capital has not been shared equally between pupils. Pupils from the higher social classes have a clear advantage over working class pupils because they have been socialised within the dominant culture and are therefore conscious of the social values needed to succeed in it. Bourdieu stated that these pupils 'possess the code of the message' (Bourdieu 1991, 38) or the 'doxa' (Bourdieu 1977, 169) and are therefore conscious of how to succeed academically in a system essentially created for them culturally, socially and linguistically.

It could be argued that parents transmit 'social capital' to their children through providing them with the essential information needed to succeed in the educational system and beyond. It could be stated that parents choosing Welsh-medium education in the Rhymni Valley are recreating and reproducing 'cultural capital' for their children. During the establishment of Welsh-medium education a significant number of parents who chose Welsh-medium education were Welsh-speaking professionals from higher social classes in society (Bush 1979; Bush, Atkinson, and Read 1981; Khleif 1974, 1980). Therefore, parents transmitted a certain, unique Welsh language 'cultural capital' to the children in order for them to succeed in the system. However, it is pertinent to note that this was not the case in all communities in the Rhymni Valley. Parents wanted their children to possess higher social mobility and placed a value and prestige on the educational system to achieve this, however, this is possibly less evident today.

The literature recognises that the Rhymni Valley study is one of the first studies of its kind in the field of Welsh-medium education in south Wales. As the study looks particularly at the main reasons/incentives why parents choose Welsh-medium education for their children, this in itself is unique. Furthermore, the study places parental incentives within a wider field of Welsh language transmission spheres such

as the family, community and the workplace. Many studies such as Thomas (2007) have researched the Welsh-medium education sector in South Wales, however, very few have focused solely on the reasons why parents choose this system and this is where the Rhymni Valley study hopes to address these existing lacunae.

It is pertinent to discuss the seminal research by Williams, Roberts, and Isaac (1978) which discusses main parental incentives for choosing bilingual education for their children in the Rhondda. The study focus was the status and prestige of bilingual education, a clear example of Bourdieu's 'cultural capital' and of Gardner and Lambert's instrumental incentives. The main concepts used were Watson's 'burghers' or 'spiralists' (Watson 1964). 'Burghers' were parents who valued their children learning Welsh because they envisaged their children would live and work in Wales in the future and would benefit from a range of occupational advantages if they could speak Welsh. However, 'spiralists' possessed a more European perspective and they disagreed with learning Welsh because they did not see their children's futures in Wales. They wanted their children to benefit from higher social mobility and experience wider occupational opportunities, further afield from Wales.

Methodology

The Rhymni Valley study draws on the interpretative perspective epitomised by Max Weber. The purpose and function of sociological research according to this perspective is to understand individuals within society to understand society at large rather than researching the society to understand the individuals within it. According to Weber (1964) we should understand social acts by studying the deep and complex meanings and incentives behind social behaviour. This philosophical standpoint is used effectively to gain parental educational incentives of parents choosing Welsh-medium education in the Rhymni Valley. The present study used both qualitative and quantitative research strategies to establish methodological triangulation and to increase validity and reliability. Firstly, 400 semi-structured bilingual questionnaires were administered amongst parents of Welsh-medium 'mudiad meithrin' (Welsh-medium nursery), primary and secondary sectors in the Rhymni Valley using probability sampling to create a representative sample of research participants. Each parent within each educational sector had the same chance of being chosen as part of the research. A sample of parents was randomly gathered from communities throughout the Rhymni Valley based on differing linguistic and socio-economic backgrounds. Linguistic background distinctions were made: 'non-Welsh-speaking' (families where neither parent spoke Welsh), 'mixed language families' (families where one parent spoke Welsh and the other spoke English) and 'Welsh-language families' (families where both parents spoke Welsh). Due to the linguistic composition of this particular valley, the vast majority of parents were 'non-Welsh-speaking'. Following this, contact information gleaned from the 400 questionnaires was used to create a sub-set of 50 parents to conduct the main in-depth interviews of the research. The aim of using a mainly qualitative research strategy was to glean rich social data regarding parents' feelings and perceptions of Welsh-medium education within the Rhymni Valley. A small scale pilot study was used prior to final research strategies to operationalise key words and concepts within the questionnaire and interview schedule. Participants were made aware at the beginning of the research process that this research would adhere to the strict ethical guidelines of the Data Protection Act (1998), The British Sociological

Association and Bangor University Ethics Committee respectively. Indeed, key principles such as anonymity, confidentiality, informed consent and data protection were emphasised early on. Indeed, a thorough and comprehensive ethical outline was provided and passed the Bangor University Ethics Committee. SPSS (Software Package for Social Sciences) was used to analyse and interpret quantitative questionnaire data whilst NVivo 2 was used to collect, code and subsequently create themes from the interview data. These analytical tools were effectively used to analyse the main primary research patterns.

Primary data results

The main focal point of this research was to assess parents' incentives for choosing Welsh-medium education for their children in the Rhymni Valley which emerged fully from in-depth interview data. Four main categories of reasons were created in terms of importance. These were cultural, educational, economic and personal reasons. A diverse set of reasons emerged and are discussed below.

Parents from the Rhymni Valley chose Welsh-medium education for their children mainly due to cultural reasons. Half the sample (50%) chose cultural reasons as their main educational incentive. The second reason discussed by a little over a third (34%) of the parents was educational reasons, whereas only 8% chose economic and personal reasons. As well as their main reasons, participants were asked to state their top three reasons and this reflects the multi-dimensional nature of the research findings. Welsh-medium education during the Rhymni Valley study was chosen by parents due to complex combinations of reasons (Packer and Campbell 1997, 2000; Thomas 2007).

In terms of the second reason for choosing Welsh-medium education almost half the sample (46%) chose educational reasons whilst a little under a third of parents (30%) chose cultural reasons. Twelve per cent of the sample did not have a second reason whilst only 8% and 4% chose economic and personal reasons, respectively. Furthermore, parents stated their third reason/incentive for choosing Welsh-medium education. Their third most prominent reason which highlights Gardner and Lambert's instrumental incentives were economic reasons. However, one-fifth of participants did not have a third reason, 16% chose educational reasons and 8% chose cultural reasons. This thematic pattern highlights the complex and multi-layered nature of the Rhymni Valley primary research data. The main parental reasons and incentives are discussed below.

Cultural reasons

The main reason parents chose Welsh-medium education for their children in the Rhymni Valley was cultural reasons which reflect an evident body of research (Lyon 1996, on Anglesey, north Wales and Thomas 2007 in south-east Wales). Moreover, this stresses the importance of integrative rather than instrumental parental educational incentives (Gardner and Lambert 1972). Indeed, 50% ($n = 25$) of the sample chose cultural reasons which immediately disproves the hypothesis based on research by Williams, Roberts, and Isaac (1978) which noted economic reasons. Participants emphasised the importance of cultural identity and nationhood, the intrinsic value of speaking Welsh, the 'lost generation of Welsh speakers', equality of Welsh and English languages and a natural choice for Welsh speakers.

Cultural identity and nationhood: proud to be Welsh

This was a prominent theme amongst non-Welsh speaking parents especially. Indeed, 32%, almost a third ($n = 8$) of parents who chose cultural reasons as a main reason emphasised cultural heritage, patriotism and a pride in being Welsh. These sentiments are underlined by a non-Welsh-speaking mother with children in the secondary sector[8]:

> I just wanted it, I'm Welsh, they are Welsh and I wanted them to speak Welsh . . . my children didn't have to wear a tall black hat, a woollen shawl, and a pleated skirt to prove they are Welsh . . . all they have to do is to open their mouths. (Interview 32, 237–42)

This unique idea of nationhood was stipulated further by participants as Welsh-medium education was deemed to promote a specifically 'Welsh' identity rather than a globalised, generic identity. According to a non-Welsh-speaking mother[9]:

> They go to the Urdd[10] and there's Santes Dwynwen[11], other people have never heard of it, but our children have been brought up with the Welsh feel to their lives. With 'Sky TV', they are brought up as little Americans so I think it's lovely that they've got the Welsh culture when they go to school. (Interview 56, 142–49)

This pride in being Welsh was a common theme throughout the research and is even more pertinent as the vast majority could not speak Welsh. This sheds an interesting light on defining a south-Walian Welsh person who cannot speak Welsh. According to a non-Welsh-speaking father with children in the secondary sector, 'you feel immensely proud that the children can speak Welsh and I love to hear them speak it' (Interview 36, 322–3). This particular group of parents thought their children should learn, use and appreciate their mother tongue and they emphasised roots and belonging. 'Welsh' and living in 'Wales' were clear identity markers.

Intrinsic value of speaking Welsh

The intrinsic value of speaking Welsh was a clear cultural incentive amongst parents who chose cultural reasons as 28% ($n = 7$) stated this incentive specifically. Parents made comments such as, 'I believe it's worth speaking Welsh in itself . . .' (Interview 34, 36–7), which reflects research by Bush, Atkinson, and Read (1981) and Thomas (2007) but differs from seminal research by Williams, Roberts, and Isaac (1978) which notes the economic value of Welsh. Participants noted that they did not feel the need to justify their educational choice. Some parents such as the following mixed language father with children in the secondary sector,[12] wanted their families to be first language Welsh-speakers and hoped Welsh-medium education would help create this:

> I would like us to be a Welsh speaking family. I'm a proud nationalist and I would like my children to be nationalists. (Interview 49, 86–7)

The lost generation

A clear primary research pattern was a sense of resentment from parents as they never had the chance to learn Welsh themselves as Welsh skipped at least two

generations in the Rhymni Valley. Indeed, theirs was a 'lost generation' as just under a quarter ($n = 6$) of the parents who chose cultural reasons chose this as their main incentive. A non-Welsh-speaking mother[13] stated the following:

> When I was ten I remember meeting people on holidays and I couldn't speak any Welsh. I just felt that was so wrong. How can I say that I'm from Wales and I can't speak my own language? (Interview 21, 7–9)

This 'lost generation' inspired a number of parents ($n = 5$, especially mixed language parents) to learn Welsh themselves. These parents were aware of the value associated with learning Welsh at a young age and this was highly valued. According to an adult Welsh learner, now head teacher at a local Welsh-medium school[14]:

> I wanted them to have what I missed out on, the culture, the commitment, the intense feeling of belonging to a close Welsh-speaking community . . . and also to give them the opportunity that Mum and Dad weren't brave enough to give me. (Interview14, 72–5)

An equal opportunity for the Welsh and English languages in Wales

Of the 25 parents who chose cultural reasons as their main incentive for choosing Welsh-medium education, 8% of these ($n = 2$) referred to the importance of learning Welsh (however, one needs to recognise the small sample size). Indeed, half the sample who chose cultural reasons ($n = 12$) did not consider Welsh a minority language compared to English in Wales. A non-Welsh-speaking mother with children in the secondary sector stated the importance of ownership of the Welsh language:

> . . . it is important for our children to learn their own language, they are Welsh, and have the opportunity to learn, speak Welsh and use it, not as a backup language, but as a language side by side to English . . . we don't want the language to die out . . . (Interview 4, 99–101)

It is possible such comments suggest a subconscious reference to the Welsh Language Act 1993 which called for equality for Welsh and English within the public sector in Wales (HMSO 1993).

A natural choice for parents

All first language Welsh-speaking parents (8%, $n = 2$) within the Rhymni Valley sample stated Welsh-medium education was a natural choice for them (however, one needs to recognise the small sample size). A Welsh-speaking mother with children in the secondary sector states[15]:

> Welsh-medium education was natural for us. Welsh is our first language and both of us taught Welsh . . . it would have been totally unnatural to even contemplate English-medium education. (Interview 11, 218–24)

Mixed language parents viewed the Welsh language as an integral part of their personalities (Packer and Campbell 1997, 2000). Additionally, Welsh language learners also valued Welsh-medium education. Of the 5 learners who chose cultural reasons, all wanted to transmit the language to their children. Interestingly, a clear

pattern emerged amongst non-Welsh-speaking parents as they chose Welsh-medium education as a natural *cultural* choice, rather than a natural *linguistic* choice.

Educational reasons

Educational reasons were the second most popular parental educational incentive. A little over a third (34% and $n = 17$) of parents stated educational reasons were most important when choosing an appropriate education system for their children. The following categories provide a pertinent over view of educational incentives. Parents mentioned academic standards, good reputation, a 'better' education, pastoral care, discipline, bilingual advantages, lower class sizes and commitment of parents and teachers.

Educational standards and academic excellence

The main educational reasons encompassed educational standards and academic excellence. Almost a third of the research sample, 28% ($n = 5$) that chose educational reasons stated educational standards and academic excellence as the main component of the reason. Such parents stated that the success of Welsh-medium education was unparalleled within the Rhymni Valley (Packer and Campbell 1997, 2000; Reynolds, Bellin, and ab Ieuan 1998). This was especially true of non-Welsh-speaking parents. A general trend saw non-Welsh-speaking parents prioritised educational incentives whilst Welsh-speaking parents prioritised cultural incentives. Linguistic background to an extent was a contributory factor.

Bilingual advantages

A clear incentive among almost a quarter (24%, $n = 4$) of Rhymni Valley parents who chose educational incentives was bilingual advantages of Welsh-medium education which echoes research findings by Thomas (2007) in south-east Wales. Research participants stated that bilingualism was a respected addition to any CV and held value and prestige in the workplace (Interview 32, 262–5) which reflects Gardner and Lambert's (1972) instrumental incentives respectively. Parents also believed bilingualism would be a valuable transferable skill to learn other languages (Baker and Prys Jones 1998).

Good reputation and pastoral care of Welsh-medium schools and teachers

There was ample evidence of the good reputation of Welsh-medium schools in the Rhymni Valley largely spread by word of mouth as almost a quarter (24%, $n = 4$) chose this educational incentive. Moreover, such parents referred to the influence of nursery assistants, teachers and head teachers in choosing Welsh-medium education for their children (Interview 19, 29–31). The value of 'Mudiad Meithrin' (Welsh-medium Nursery) and the 'Ti a Fi' ('You and Me') playgroups which proceed 'Mudiad Meithrin' were evident and often shaped parents' educational incentives.

Pastoral care and an expected level of discipline/structure were also components of the 'good reputation' incentives of Welsh-medium education in the Rhymni Valley (Interview 17, 123–4). Pastoral care was of paramount importance, especially as the majority of parents were non-Welsh-speaking. Such parents commented on the

'special relationship' (Interview 4, 67) between teachers and non-Welsh-speaking parents, as noted by a non-Welsh-speaking mother in the primary sector:

> We were very worried because neither of us could speak Welsh and nobody in the family spoke Welsh but teachers took the fear out of the situation. They showed us simple ways we could help our children practice Welsh phrases at home and tackle homework in Welsh too. (Interview 47, 44–5)

Discipline was also a key factor within the 'good reputation' parental incentives as Welsh-medium education was deemed to resemble old local grammar schools in terms of discipline and structure. These parents further described the unique ethos of Welsh-medium schools and how they successfully transmitted the Welsh-language to children from non-Welsh-speaking homes.

'A better education'

Welsh-medium education in the Rhymni Valley was a 'better' education compared to English-medium education in the locality according to 12% ($n = 2$) of parents which confirms research by Thomas (2007). However, it is important to emphasise that comparing Welsh and English-medium education was not the purpose of this study. Non-Welsh-speaking and certain mixed language parents mainly expressed these views which disprove prior research in the field (Khleif 1974, 1980) which stated parents from Welsh language backgrounds held this view. Significantly parents defined 'Mudiad Meithrin' as a 'better education' for their children. It is possible that 'meithrin' parents are subconsciously aware of national language policy drives within education by bodies such as the Welsh Language Board and specific programmes such as Transfer of Welsh in Families. According to a non-Welsh-speaking mother with children in the meithrin, 'a better start, what do we want for our children, but the best?' (Interview 46, 90).

Elitist tendencies were evident amongst these specific parents who stated a 'better education' as their main parental incentive. Indeed, it could be argued that parents held elitist views and such beliefs echo research by Williams, Roberts, and Isaac (1978, 201) in the Rhondda and Packer and Campbell (1997) in Cardiff. A non-Welsh-speaking mother with children in the secondary sector elaborates[16]:

> It's almost like having a public school education in the national system . . . the discipline of the children and the pride and expectations of the teachers. (Interview 30, 56–9)

Claimed failings of local English-medium schools

The purpose of this study was not to compare the Welsh-medium education sector with the English-medium education sector. However, as local schools were mainly English-medium schools it was a somewhat natural comparison. According to 12% ($n = 2$) of parents (who were non-Welsh-speaking) Welsh-medium education offered a broad spectrum of extracurricular activities not offered by English-medium education. However, these parents also declared they chose Welsh-medium education to allow their children the opportunity to learn Welsh. Fundamentally, they did not think this possible if they sent their children to an English-medium school. Parents wanted their children to be fluent Welsh speakers not to learn, 'a second language smattering of Welsh' (Interview 42, 23) within an English-medium school.

Economic and occupational reasons

Economic reasons were the third most popular reason parents chose Welsh-medium education in the Rhymni Valley. Parents placed a varied significance on economic reasons as 8% ($n = 4$) stated this as their most prominent reason. The majority mentioned economic reasons as a benefit or bonus of the Welsh-medium education system rather than the main incentive to choose it for their children. Economic benefits were often used to justify non-Welsh-speaking parents' educational choice (mainly if there was animosity from a partner or extended family). However, this disproves the original hypothesis based on research by Williams, Roberts, and Isaac (1978) in the Rhondda.

Parents who prioritised economic benefits of the Welsh-medium education system thought Welsh-medium education would provide better labour market opportunities for their children which clearly reflect instrumental incentives (Crookes and Schmidt 1991; Ellis 1997). Their educational choices were far-reaching as they wanted to invest in their children's bilingual future. It is pertinent here to draw upon research by Williams, Roberts, and Isaac (1978) that states parents choosing bilingual education for their children are deemed 'burghers' who value the Welsh language as they see their children's future is living and working in Wales. Bilingual education is therefore used as a tool to create a higher social mobility. Economic reasons included the following themes, 'better employment', 'work anywhere in Wales', 'bilingual advantages in the workplace', 'better opportunities' and the 'National Assembly for Wales' vision of creating a truly bilingual Wales'.

'A truly bilingual Wales': the economic advantages of bilingualism

The main economic reasons were those stating better and more varied occupations for their children in the future. Moreover, parents also described the multitude of labour market benefits of studying higher education through the medium of Welsh. All 8% ($n = 4$) of parents who chose economic incentives thought bilingual children had marked advantages over monolingual children. One non-Welsh-speaking mother stated that speaking the Welsh language was an excellent bonus on her children's CV (Interview 7, 183–5). Parents also discussed the poor present economic climate and how speaking Welsh could be a vital advantage during these difficult times (Interview 21, 64–7).

Personal reasons

The fourth main reason for choosing Welsh-medium education in the Rhymni Valley was personal reasons or reasons best described as wanting to belong to Welsh-medium family/community/social network. Eight per cent ($n = 4$) chose these incentives. Only a small number of parents noted this reason however this discovery has a wider significance. Indeed, along with integrative (the desire to assimilate to a particular linguistic community) and instrumental (the desire to possess social mobility such as passing an examination) incentives for learning a language (Gardner and Lambert 1972) it can be argued that learning could also mean expressing a personal identity (Crookes and Schmidt 1991). These particular reasons are discussed below.

Partner/extended family are Welsh speaking

Half of parents (4%, $n = 2$) from the Rhymni Valley study who stated personal reasons chose Welsh-medium education for their children because their extended families were Welsh speakers (Interview 43, 31–2). Indeed, Welsh-medium education was deemed by the sample a natural choice for Welsh-speakers (Packer and Campbell 1997). Interestingly, a number of parents reported that their siblings had attended Welsh-medium education even though they themselves did not. Following this, they seemed even more determined to send their own children to Welsh-medium schools in the locality.

Influence of friends

The influence of friends was evident within the primary data results. Friends were a huge influence on other parents opting to send their children to Welsh-medium schools in the Rhymni Valley. Half of parents who chose personal reasons (4%, $n = 2$) turned to friends for advice and support when choosing an educational system for their children. This influence was deemed at its strongest amongst non-Welsh-speaking parents in the target group. Friends' educational choice was clearly a strong influence on research participants, especially those within the local 'meithrin' (Welsh-medium nursery) sector. The 'Ti a Fi' groups also proved very influential as they created well-established parent social networks and certain parents chose Welsh-medium education for their children on mass as a group of committed friends who created a clear support network for each other. According to a non-Welsh-speaking mother from the secondary sector, 'we all decided to send our children to the Welsh school together at the same time' (Interview 60, 56–8).

Conclusion

The primary data findings from the Rhymni Valley study indicate that parents choose Welsh-medium education for a plethora of complex and multi-dimensional reasons which supports past research in the field of parental educational incentives (Packer and Campbell 1997, 2000; Thomas 2007). The evidence suggests that Welsh-medium education in the Rhymni Valley, despite offering relatively minority provision compared to its English-medium counterparts, is a well-respected and well-supported system. Previous research has indicated that Welsh-medium education is a key language planning player in terms of the increase of young, new Welsh speakers in the south Wales valleys, and this study corroborates this (cf. Jones and Richards, 2003 in Wyn Williams 2003).

In terms of language planning and education in Wales, cultural incentives were the main parental incentives in the Rhymni Valley. This stresses the importance of integrative rather than instrumental educational incentives and supports research led by Gardner and Lambert (1972). These results in turn could have a positive effect on Welsh language development on both a micro (Rhymni Valley) and on a macro (Wales) level, whilst also informing European-wide policy. Additionally, these primary data findings inform policy and further impact on reversing language shift (Fishman 1991) in Wales. The conclusions are at variance with the conclusions reached by Williams, Roberts, and Isaac (1978), which noted economic reasons would be at the forefront of parents' educational choices. It is possible that in the

intervening 30 years between the two research projects that parents' attitudes to Welsh-medium education has been affected by a number of social and political changes in Wales, with an increasing emphasis on culture, identity, nationhood and a 'minority language economy' (C.H. Williams 2000, 120) today. The present study suggests that parents possess a higher consciousness regarding the wider effects of their educational choices on the future of the Welsh language, and the role that they and their children have as active participants in that future. In discussing the varied incentives for learning a language, it could be argued that an integrative incentive for choosing a language could be more effective than an instrumental incentive in the long term (Crookes and Schmidt 1991; Ellis 1997). In the case of the Rhymni Valley this is particularly pertinent as integrative incentives were the strongest incentives for choosing Welsh-medium education in the Rhymni Valley.

Although this study marks a shift from economic to cultural parental educational incentives, which suggests a strong language planning platform, the issue of actual language use needs to be explored further. Other research has documented that the seemingly impressive statistical increase in young Welsh speakers (see Table CAS146 in Jones 2007) is not matched by an increase in language use among young people. This is a phenomenon that has been noted in other European minority language contexts, such as Catalan and Basque (Ó'Riagáin, Williams, and Vila i Moreno 2008), with the consequent ramifications when young parents do not then transmit their minority language knowledge to their children (Gruffudd 2000; Hodges 2009a; Morris and Jones 2007, 2008). Furthermore, Fishman (1991) astutely stated that minority language education has all too often been viewed as a 'language rescuer' shouldering the burden of language transmission for minority languages across the world. With this in mind, it is hoped that recent developments regarding further Welsh language legislation, namely in the guise of the Welsh Language (Wales) Measure (2011) and appointment of the Welsh Language Commissioner, will go some way to addressing these language use issues and to securing a stronger language planning platform for the Welsh language in all transmission spheres in Wales.

Acknowledgements

This paper is based on a doctoral thesis by Dr Rhian Sian Hodges, supervised by Dr Delyth Morris at Bangor University, Wales. The author would like to thank Dr Delyth Morris for her continued support and guidance, all research participants from the Rhymni Valley for their enthusiasm and interest, and also the Economic Social Research Council for funding this doctoral research during the period between 2006 and 2009.

Notes

1. HMI Ysgol Gyfun Cwm Rhymni (2004): 'Although 98% of the pupils come from a non-Welsh-speaking background, the success of the school is notable in securing to a large degree a strong feeling of Welshness amongst pupils of the school'.
2. Welsh Government (2001): 'Welsh was included in the National Curriculum following the Education Reform Act 1988, and became a compulsory subject for all pupils in Wales in Key Stages 1, 2 and 3 in 1990'.
3. BBC (2007): 'The Curriculum Cymreig is a part of the curriculum that is special to Wales. It is designed to reflect the history, geography and culture of Wales and your locality'.
4. Caerphilly County Borough Council (2009): 'In percentage terms, Pontlottyn ward has the lowest percentage of Welsh speakers, at 6.9% and Aber Valley ward has the highest with 15.8%'.

5. Since 1991 Census, there has been an increase of 20.8% of Welsh speakers 5–15 years old in Caerffili county (Source: Table L67W Census 1991; Table CAS146 Census 2001. Both from NOMIS, cited in Jones 2007).
6. According to The Welsh Language Scheme (2010–2014) Caerffili County Borough Council (2009, 17) the numbers of pupils learning Welsh as a second language during Key Stage Three in English-medium schools has increased from 3851 in 1996 to 6604 in 2008.
7. 'Mudiad Meithrin' is a voluntary organisation that was set up in 1971 with the aim of giving every young child in Wales the opportunity to benefit from early years services and experiences through the medium of Welsh. (http://www.mym.co.uk/index.cfm?language = en) (accessed January 25, 2011).
8. A non-Welsh-speaking mother, 42 years old, higher professional occupation (NS-SEC 1), headteacher of an English-medium primary school, lives in the northern region of the valley.
9. A non-Welsh-speaking mother, 38 years old, intermediate level occupation (NS-SEC 3) civil servant living in the centre of the valley.
10. 'Urdd Gobaith Cymru' is the national Welsh-medium youth movement of Wales, the largest of its kind in Europe (http://www.urdd.org/adran.php?tud = 17&lng = en) (accessed December 15, 2010).
11. Saint Dwynwen is the patron saint of Welsh lovers and a special day is celebrated in her honour on 25 January each year.
12. A father from a mixed language background, 47 years old, has learnt Welsh as an adult learner, upholds Nationalistic tendencies and has a repetitive occupation (NS-SEC 7) working as a factory worker, lives in the southern region of the valley.
13. A non-Welsh-speaking mother, 38 years old, lives in the northern region of the valley and is unemployed (NS-SEC 8).
14. A mother from a mixed language family, 41 years old, a Welsh language learner, higher professional occupation (NS-SEC 1) a head teacher of a local Welsh-medium primary school, living in the south of the valley.
15. Welsh-speaking Mother, 50 years of age, lower professional occupation (NS-SEC 2) Welsh-medium primary school teacher, originates from a neighbouring valley and lives in the southern region of the valley.
16. A non-Welsh-speaking mother, 43 years old, higher professional job (NS-SEC 1) managing a local authority policy department, originates from England after spent her childhood mainly in Africa, has lived in south Wales for 15 years.

References

Aitchison, J., and H. Carter. 2004. *Spreading the word: The Welsh language 2001*. Talybont: Y Lolfa.

Baker, C. 2004. Golygyddol [Editorial]. *Cylchgrawn Addysg Cymru* [The Welsh Journal of Education] 1, no. 1: 1–7.

Baker, C., and S. Prys Jones, ed. 1998. *Encyclopaedia of bilingualism and bilingual education*. Clevedon, Canada, Johannesburg: Multilingual Matters.

BBC. 2007. The National Curriculum in Wales. http://www.bbc.co.uk/wales/schoolgate/aboutschool/content/curriculumprimary.shtml (accessed October 7, 2011).

Bourdieu, P. 1977. *Outline of a theory of practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, P. 1987. "What makes a social class?" On the theoretical and practical existence of groups. *Berkeley Journal of Sociology* 32: 1–18.

Bourdieu, P. 1991. *Language and symbolic power*. ed. J. Thompson. Trans. Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Bush, E. 1979. Bilingual education in Gwent: Parental attitudes and aspirations. Unpublished M.Ed. thesis, Cardiff: University of Wales.

Bush, E., P. Atkinson, and M. Read. 1981. *A minority choice: Welsh-medium education in an anglicised area-parents' characteristics and motives*. Cardiff: Sociological Research Unit, Department of Sociology, University College, Cardiff.

Caerffili County Borough Council. 2009. *Advisory draft Welsh-medium education 2010–2014*. Tredomen: Caerffili County Borough Council.

Caerphilly County Borough Council. 2009. Welsh Education Scheme 2009–2013. http://www.caerphilly.gov.uk/pdf/Education_Learning/Welsh-Education-Scheme-2009-13.pdf (accessed March 25, 2011).

Census. 2001. The main statistics about the Welsh language. http://www.byig-wlb.org.uk/English/search/pages/results.aspx?sEnglish%20Corporate&kMain%20Census%20Statistics (accessed May 4, 2010).

Crookes, G., and R. Schmidt. 1991. Motivation: Reopening the research agenda. *Language Learning* 41: 469–512.

Crystal, D. 1999. *Language death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Data Protection Act. 1998. The Data Protection Principles. http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/29/schedule/1 (accessed October 15, 2011).

Ellis, R. 1997. *The study of second language acquisition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

European Commission. 1996. *Multilingualism: Euromosaic study*, http://www.uoc.edu/euromosaic/web/homean/index1.html (accessed September 10, 2008).

Ferrer, C.R., and E. Juarros-Daussa. 2011. 'Maintenace of Catalan and Galician in and out of their territories' http://www.icml13.org/fileadmin/icmlxiii/pdf/ICML_13_brochure-1.pdf (accessed October 7, 2011).

Fishman, J. 1991. *Reversing language shift*. Clevedon, Avon: Multilingual Matters.

Gardner, R.C., and W.E. Lambert. 1972. *Attitudes and motivation second language learning*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House.

Gruffudd, H. 2000. Planning for the use of Welsh by young people. In *Language revitalisation and language planning*, ed. C.H. Williams, 173–207. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

HMI Ysgol Gyfun Cwm Rhymni [Rhymni Valley Comprehensive School HMI Report]. 2004. http://www.cwmrhymni.com/newyddion/Hanes%20yr%20arolwg.htm (accessed May 1, 2010).

Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO). 1993. *The Welsh language act 1993*. London: HMSO.

Hodges, R. 2006. Cymoedd y De: Defnydd o'r Gymraeg ar ôl Cyfnod Ysgol? Astudiaeth o Bobl Ifanc yng Nghwm Rhymney [The South Wales valleys: Welsh language use post education system? The study of young people in the Rhymni valley]. Unpublished MA thesis, University of Wales, Bangor.

Hodges, R. 2009a. Welsh language use among young people in the Rhymni Valley. *Contemporary Wales* 22: 16–35.

Hodges, R. 2009b. Tua'r Goleuni: Addysg Gymraeg yng Nghwm Rhymni–rhesymau rhieni dros ddewis addysg Gymraeg i'w plant [Towards the light: Welsh-medium education in the Rhymni valley – parents' incentives for choosing Welsh-medium education for their children]. Unpublished PhD Thesis, School of Social Sciences, Bangor University, Bangor.

Jones, H. 2007. The implications of changes in the ages of Welsh speakers and their spatial distribution [translation from original paper in Welsh]. *Gwerddon* 1, no. 2. http://www.gwerddon.org/2_goblygiadau_newid_ym_mhroffeil_oedran-67.aspx

Jones, B., and L. Richards. 2003. Welsh restored in the Rhymney valley. In *Our children's language: The Welsh-medium schools of Wales*, ed. I. Wyn Williams, 85–92. Talybont: Y Lolfa.

Jones, K., and D. Morris. 2007. Welsh-language socialization within the family. *Contemporary Wales* 20: 52–70.

Khleif, B. 1974. Cultural regeneration and the school: An anthropological study of Welsh-medium schools in Wales. *International Review of Education* 22, no. 2: 176–89.

Khleif, B. 1980. *Language, ethnicity, and education in Wales*. The Hague; New York: Mouton.

Lewis, G. 2008. *Hawl i'r Gymraeg* [Rights for the Welsh language]. Talybont: Y Lolfa.

Lewis, W.G. 2006. Addysg gynradd Gymraeg: her a chyfle yr unfed ganrif ar hugain [Welsh-medium primary education: The challenges and opportunities of the twenty-first century]. In *Addysg Cyfrwng Cymraeg a Dwyieithog* [Welsh-medium and biligual education], ed. C. Redknap, W.G. Lewis, S.R. Williams and J. Laugharne. Addysg Cyfrwng Cymraeg a Dwyieithog, Bangor: Ysgol Addysg Prifysgol Cymru, Bangor.

Lyon, J. 1996. *Becoming bilingual: Language acquisition in a bilingual community*. Clevedon, Philadelphia, Toronto, Adelaide, Johannesburg: Multilingual Matters.

May, S. 2001. *Language and minority rights, ethnicity, nationalism and the politics of language*. Harlow: Longman.

Morris, D., and K. Jones. 2007. Minority language socialization within the family: Investigating the early Welsh language socialization of babies and young children in mixed language families in Wales. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 28, no. 6: 484–501.

Morris, D., and K. Jones. 1964. Language socialization in the home and minority language revitalization in Europe. *Encyclopaedia of language and education. Language Socialization* 1–17.

Nettle, D., and S. Romaine. 2000. *Vanishing voices: The extinction of the world's languages.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ó'Riagáin, P., G. Williams, and F.X. Vila i Moreno. 2008. *Young people and minority languages: Language use outside the classroom*. Dublin: Centre for Language and Communication Studies, Trinity College, Dublin.

O'Rourke, B. 2011. *Galician and Irish in the European Context: Attitudes towards weak and strong minority languages.* Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire, and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Packer, A., and C. Campbell. 1997. *Pam for Rhieni yn dewis Addysg Gymraeg i'w Plant? Astudiaeth Ansoddol o Agweddau Rhieni, wedi ei chynnal o fewn Dalgylch Ysgol Gymraeg ei Chyfrwng, mewn Ardal Seisnigedig* [Parental choice in the selection of Welsh-medium education]. Aberystwyth: Undeb Cenedlaethol Athrawon Cymru.

Packer, A., and C. Campbell. 2000. Parental choice in the selection of Welsh-medium education. In *Developing minority languages: The Proceedings of the Fifth International Conference on Minority Languages*, July 1993, Cardiff, Wales, ed. P.T. Thomas and J. Mathias, 578–95. Llandysul: Gwasg Gomer.

Reynolds, D., W. Bellin, and R. ab Ieuan. 1998. *Mantais Gystadleuol: Pam Fod Ysgolion Cyfrwng Cymraeg yn Perfformio'n Well?* [A competitive edge: Why Welsh-medium schools perform better]. Caerdydd: Y Sefydliad Materion Cymreig.

RhAG (Parents for Welsh-medium Education). 2011. Caerffili branch bulletin – latest news. http://www.rhag.net/storis.php?id76 (accessed March 15, 2011).

Skutnabb-Kangas, T. 2000. *Linguistic genocide in education–Or worldwide diversity and human rights?*. Mahwah, NJ & London, UK: Routledge.

The Welsh Assembly Government. 2001. *The learning country: A comprehensive education and lifelong learning programme to 2010 in Wales.* Cardiff: The Welsh Assembly Government.

The Welsh Assembly Government. 2003. *Iaith Pawb: A national action plan for a bilingual Wales.* Cardiff: The Welsh Assembly Government.

The Welsh Assembly Government. 2010. *Welsh-medium education strategy.* Cardiff: Welsh Assembly Government.

The Welsh Language Board. 1999. *Continuity in Welsh language education*. Cardiff: The Welsh Language Board.

The Welsh Language Board. 2004. *Strategy for Welsh-medium and bilingual education and training*. Cardiff: The Welsh Language Board.

The Welsh Language Board. 2006. *Welsh Language Board Youth Strategy.* Cardiff: The Welsh Language Board.

Thomas, H. 2007. Brwydr i Baradwys? Y Dylanwadau ar dwf Ysgolion Cymraeg De-Ddwyrain Cymru [Factors influencing the growth of Welsh-medium schools in South-East Wales]. Unpublished PhD thesis, Cardiff University.

Walliman, N. 2006. *Social research methods.* London, Thousand Oaks and New Delhi: Sage Publications.

Watson, W. 1964. Social mobility and social class in industrial communities. In *Closed systems and open minds*, ed. M. Gluckman and E. Devons, 129–56. London: Oliver and Boyd.

Weber, M. 1964. *The theory of social and economic organization*. Trans. eds. A. Henderson and T. Parsons. T. Parsons. Glencoe: Free Press.

Welsh Government. 2011. Welsh medium and Welsh language education. http://wales.gov.uk/topics/educationandskills/allsectorpolicies/welshmededuca/?lang=en (accessed October 15, 2011).

Welsh Language (Wales) Measure. 2011. Official status of the Welsh language. http://www.legislation.gov.uk/mwa/2011/1/pdfs/mwa_20110001_en.pdf (accessed October 15, 2011).

Williams, C.H., ed. 2000. *Language revitalization: Policy and planning in Wales.* Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Williams, G., and D. Morris. 2000. *Language planning and language use: Welsh in a global age*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press.

Williams, G., E. Roberts, and R. Isaac. 1978. Language and aspirations for upward social mobility. In *Social and cultural change in contemporary Wales*, ed. G. William. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Wyn Williams, I., ed. 2003. *Our children's language: The Welsh-medium schools of Wales 1939–2000*. Talybont: Y Lolfa.