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Exploring Welsh speakers' language use in their daily lives

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1. Executive summary

BBC Cymru Wales, S4C and the Welsh Government commissioned Beaufort Research to explore the behaviour, attitudes and aspirations of Welsh speakers in terms of their use of Welsh in a range of everyday settings. Two key outcomes were needed from the research:

- To understand what drives Welsh speakers' behaviours and perceptions around using the language;
- To identify strategies which may encourage more use of Welsh in daily lives, and more use of Welsh language media content.

The research consisted of three components: a quantitative survey which included 483 Welsh speakers; a qualitative study of the behaviours and experiences of 30 participants; and a review of the international literature relating to language choice and behaviour.

Understanding what drives Welsh speakers' behaviours and perceptions around using the language

The majority of the Welsh speakers questioned stated that they 'would welcome the opportunity to do more in Welsh' (84% overall, rising to 92% of the least fluent group). 61% of those interviewed said they wished they 'could speak better Welsh'. Creating the necessary conditions to bring about this change in behaviour and attitudes presents a challenge.

At the heart of what drove positive behaviours and perceptions was a sense of identity with the Welsh language at a number of different levels: personal, family, community, national identity and heritage. This link between language and identity not only spread out from the personal through to national but also spanned the past, present and future. Confidence in using the language, and the desire to support children's education also helped to drive positive behaviours and perceptions around the Welsh language.

At a day-to-day level, further key enablers or triggers to using Welsh included:

- Welsh being the language of the home;
- Opportunities to use Welsh in the local community (for example in shops, in the pub);
- Using Welsh at the start of a relationship (for example with friends);
- Both formal and informal opportunities to use Welsh in the workplace;
- Informal opportunities to use Welsh (for example social media, texting, reading news websites);
- The availability and quality of Welsh language TV and radio, for some participants.

Key life stages were seen to change people's outlook on, and use of, the Welsh language. From a positive perspective, having children or moving to work in an environment where Welsh was regularly used sometimes had a significant impact on usage and perceptions.

The study indicates that there are considerations to address around engagement with the language among 16-24 year olds. 36% of the 16-24 year olds interviewed stated that they always or usually spoke Welsh with friends (the corresponding percentage for all Welsh speakers was 55%, and 61% of the 60+ age group responded in this way). Leaving school was identified as a point at which some participants' Welsh language use diminished. Moving from an area or simply not having the same opportunities to use the language away from school were seen to be influential factors in this respect.

Further barriers to using the Welsh language were often interconnected:

- A lack of confidence to use Welsh in a wide variety of settings, with a (mostly unrealised) fear of being judged;
- Being less fluent in Welsh compared with English;
- The lack of opportunity, or perceived lack of opportunity, to use Welsh (for example among friends, in the community, online);
- Embedded linguistic habits (for example, using English at home, or online);
- The perceived convenience for some participants of using English over Welsh (for example online, whether reading or writing in Welsh);
- Low awareness or visibility of the Welsh language, particularly online;
- Perceived issues for some with quality of content of Welsh language TV and radio.

Identifying strategies which may encourage more use of Welsh in daily lives, and more use of Welsh language media content

Lack of confidence in using Welsh is not a new issue. Welsh speakers who are less comfortable with their Welsh language ability need to be reassured that 'everyday' Welsh (which may include some English words, for example) is just as valid and acceptable as grammatically perfect Welsh, as is the case with English. The key task is how to convey this reassurance.

A starting point could be for Welsh speakers to see and hear everyday Welsh more often through TV, radio and digital content which better reflects the language used in their lives. In addition, language marketing campaigns may have a role in empowering less confident Welsh speakers to use the Welsh they have. Promoting widespread use of badges in the workplace or by members of staff in customer-facing roles would encourage more interaction in Welsh.

Developing (and marketing) online communities would provide opportunities for Welsh speakers of different levels of fluency to use Welsh in an informal environment.

More generally, the information provided by participants concerning what the language means to people, together with triggers / obstacles to using the Welsh language, provide a rich source of insights from which to develop language marketing messages. Future-focused, upbeat messages (for example enhancing a sense of identity, what the Welsh language can do for you / you can do for the Welsh language), practical calls to action and a precise target audience may help Welsh speakers engage with the message.

Further efforts to raise awareness and visibility of TV and radio programme schedules and content is likely to increase viewing of, and listening to, Welsh language media. Also, there is currently restricted availability of Welsh language on-demand services across devices (e.g. mobile) and TV service providers. This situation may therefore be affecting levels of awareness and usage of the services.

Welsh speakers need to be made aware of, or reminded of, opportunities to use Welsh for routine online needs such as news, sport, weather, entertainment, and on-demand services. The increased availability of mobile apps and their usage should inform part of this effort to weave the language into everyday life for Welsh speakers.

Encouraging use of Welsh via social media offers significant potential. It provides an informal environment in which to communicate, and is heavily used by young people who are doing least in Welsh. Further opportunities to engage with young people should also be explored, for example with language marketing messaging or in helping to create digital content in Welsh via funding or competitions. Another avenue to explore would be to give young people who have left school the chance to take part in activities through the medium of Welsh.

Promoting small, cumulative changes and nudges may represent the key areas where sustainable gains can be made over time. Examples include:

- Apps, predictive texting, software settings, tweeting;
- Using cashpoints;
- Language choice when interacting with people who also have Welsh language skills and when contacting certain organisations (supported by language marketing campaigns);
- Raising awareness of Welsh language opportunities with music, theatre, cinema etc.;
- Badges for Welsh-speaking staff in the workplace and in customer-facing roles.

2. The situation, research objectives and research method

2.1 The situation

Offering a language choice to the Welsh public has been central to the Welsh Government strategy for enabling and promoting the use of the Welsh language in Wales (Welsh Government, 2003: 2012). Since the Welsh Language Act of 1993 the emphasis has been placed on enabling the use of Welsh. However, following recent language legislation (2011) and a new Welsh Language Strategy (2012) there has been a renewed focus on normalising the use of Welsh in all language spheres. In addition to a focus on the use of Welsh in families, by young people, in the community and in the workplace, one particular new area of interest has been the importance of enabling the Welsh-speaking public to access new media through the medium of Welsh.

“It is important that Welsh speakers can access technology which supports the use of Welsh in every aspect of life. To achieve this, we need to ensure that more resources are available to support the use of Welsh in the digital environment.”

(Welsh Government, 2013: 03)

Increased choice and competition are features of media provision and media usage both in Wales and worldwide. These choices are increased further if the individual has competence in more than one language. While the Welsh language has a relatively strong media presence in Wales through S4C and Radio Cymru, recent changes in the media landscape raise new challenges for language planners and service providers alike (Welsh Government, 2012a). However, the Welsh language is not alone in this respect, as the advent of new media platforms, including internet and mobile phone technology, is also a challenge faced by other minority language groups (Moring and Dunbar, 2008).

Aitchison and Carter (1994, 2004) have provided an overview of the changes in the demography of the language over the last decades, highlighting the continuing decline in the number of Welsh speakers in its heartland areas, where it has been part of the daily fabric of life and largely passed down in families as a living language.

A further statistical analysis of the vitality of the Welsh language is provided in Jones (2012). This study, published before the results of the 2011 Census were made available, offers a detailed source of information on the numbers and percentages of Welsh speakers, their literacy skills, and their use of the language.

The 2011 Census saw a decline in both the number and proportion of Welsh speakers in Wales. The number of Welsh speakers decreased from 582,000 (21%) in 2001 to 562,000 (19%) in 2011. This loss of 20,000 speakers and fall in percentage have been attributed to demographic changes in the population, out-migration of Welsh speakers and in-migration of non-Welsh speakers (Welsh Government, 2012b). However, some positive results were seen in the Census with a substantial increase in the number of three to four-year-olds able to speak Welsh.

The Census does not contain data regarding levels of language use. The Welsh Language Use Surveys 2004-06 (Welsh Language Board, 2008) add to our understanding of the extent to which speakers use the skills they have. These surveys, added as an appendix to the 'Living in Wales' survey commissioned by the Welsh Assembly Government, provide information on speakers' fluency in Welsh, patterns and frequency of use, according to geographical areas and also in different settings and contexts (including at home, with relatives and friends, at school and in the workplace).

A common thread in all the above analyses is the challenge facing the language in that fewer younger Welsh speakers are *fluent* in the language compared with older Welsh speakers. The proportion of primary school aged children who speak Welsh as a first language at home is now estimated (Jones, 2012: 07) to be around 7%, much lower than for previous generations.

While education in Wales has been seen as a key instrument in language acquisition, there is a current concern that this language ability does not translate into language use (Morris, 2010). Welsh-medium education in Wales is often credited with halting the decline in the number of speakers, especially outside of the Welsh speaking heartlands. Even so, recent research suggests that these 'new speakers' rarely use the language outside of the classroom (Williams in Ó Riagáin *et al.*, 2008; Hodges, 2009; Morris, 2010; Roberts and Thomas, 2010; Morris, Cunliffe and Prys, 2012).

In keeping with the Welsh language, other minority language communities in Europe also report low usage outside of the classroom (Ó Riagáin *et al.*, 2008).

The three clients involved in commissioning this research – The Welsh Government, S4C and BBC Cymru Wales – have significant roles and responsibilities in relation to supporting and encouraging Welsh speakers' engagement with Welsh language activities, services and media. This overlap of interest between the three organisations means that all can benefit from shared learning on behaviour, attitudes and aspirations of Welsh speakers in terms of the latter's use of Welsh in a range of settings.

For the Welsh Government, the research needed to support its five-year Welsh language strategy, *A living language, a language for living*, which is designed to

'breathe new life into the language' and to see it thriving in Wales; this in turn will help to minimise the language's dependence on professional bodies involved in its protection, development and promotion.

In particular the research is intended to provide input into a marketing strategy for the language, feed into Welsh Government efforts to develop the use of Welsh in technology and digital media, and potentially inform future work on encouraging the use of Welsh in the community, among children and young people, and within families.

The research requirements for S4C and BBC Wales centred on audience needs and expectations in relation to Welsh language content at a broad level, and how these needs fit within the context of other forms of engagement with the Welsh language. The ultimate aim for the broadcasters is to reach, serve and build audiences now and in the future.

Two key outcomes were needed from this research:

- To understand what drives Welsh speakers' behaviours and perceptions around using the language;
- To identify strategies which may encourage more use of Welsh in daily lives, and more use of Welsh language media content.

2.2 Research aims

The fundamental questions the research sought to cover were:

- What is likely to cause Welsh speakers to
 - Use more Welsh?
 - Engage more with Welsh language media including digital content?
 - Participate in more Welsh language activities?
- What is the likelihood of an increase in Welsh language usage in different scenarios?
- What marketing messages are likely to encourage Welsh speakers to use the Welsh language more?
- What are the key areas where gains can be made in terms of encouraging Welsh speakers to take up opportunities to use the language?

2.3 Research method

The research consisted of three components:

- A quantitative survey of a representative quota sample of 483 Welsh speakers in Wales (interviewing took place between 6 November and 7 December 2012);
- A qualitative stage consisting of more in-depth research with 30 Welsh speakers, which included an online stage (January to March 2013);
- An evidence review to enable this research to be understood in the context of the wider literature pertaining to language choice and behaviour change - from within Wales and internationally.

The detail on method used for each stage of the research is included in the appendices. A degree of caution is needed when interpreting the results for respondent sub-groups owing to the total sample size of 483 Welsh speakers.

Consideration should also be given to the fact that claimed behaviour and measured behaviour can give different estimates. The number of people claiming to watch a particular TV channel or listen to a particular radio station, for example, can sometimes be different from industry-measured figures.

2.4 Comparisons with research undertaken in 2005 and verbatim comments used in the report

Where appropriate, this report will draw quantitative comparisons with a similar research study conducted by Beaufort in 2005 on behalf of S4C, the Welsh Language Board, BBC Wales and Arts Council of Wales.¹ However, the reader should bear in mind that the 2005 quantitative component adopted a face to face rather than telephone approach, and that the questions were not necessarily identical. Therefore, the comparisons made should be treated as broadly indicative of any similarities or differences.

The report contains verbatim comments made by participants during all stages of the qualitative research. From a stylistic point of view, the reader should therefore bear in mind that some of the comments were written (during the online stage of the qualitative research) rather than spoken by participants. The verbatim comments have been included in the language in which they were made, with an English translation provided for comments made in Welsh.

¹ 'Living Lives Through the Medium of Welsh', 2005 (Beaufort Research for S4C, The Welsh Language Board, BBC Wales and Arts Council of Wales)
http://www.s4c.co.uk/abouts4c/corporate/pdf/e_WelshLivesSummaryReport.pdf

3. Main findings

Introduction

The research adopted a mixed methodology approach, the findings from which are brought together in this report. A quantitative telephone survey was conducted with 483 Welsh speakers who could speak at least a little Welsh. In addition extended, qualitative research was carried out with 30 Welsh speakers, ranging from those who could speak a little Welsh through to first language Welsh speakers. In addition to fluency, the qualitative research sample included a spread in terms of when participants first began speaking Welsh, how often they used the language and where in Wales they lived.

The third component of the study consisted of a literature review conducted by Dr Cynog Prys of Bangor University. The aim of the review was to explore a range of evidence from Wales and beyond, and put the findings from this study into the context of other language use research conducted. The review findings are incorporated into the report.

The survey took place at the end of 2012, and the qualitative fieldwork period ran between January and mid-March 2013.

An overview of Welsh speakers' current behaviour and attitudes

Levels of fluency in Welsh

Whilst the great majority (almost two thirds) of Welsh speakers interviewed in the survey described themselves as 'fluent' in Welsh, the proportion of 16-24s saying this was considerably lower (at around half). The 16-24 age group were least likely to say that they started to speak Welsh as a child at home and were most likely to have started speaking Welsh at nursery or primary school. They were also most likely to describe the spoken language of their home as only English. This suggests that their involvement with the language is primarily through school, either going through Welsh-medium education or learning Welsh as a subject at school, rather than coming from traditional Welsh-speaking backgrounds.

Media consumption and participation in online and general activities in Welsh and English

High proportions of Welsh speakers are accessing traditional media and carrying out certain activities regularly in the Welsh language, e.g. seven in ten had watched Welsh language TV in the last week and almost half had listened to Welsh language radio. At the same time, the study shows that higher proportions of Welsh speakers carried out all these activities in English than in Welsh in the

same period. The findings also suggest that the English language versions are used more regularly than the Welsh equivalents.

Usage of online media in Welsh is considerably lower than usage of more traditional media in Welsh. Fewer than a third of Welsh speakers had carried out any of the web-based activities asked about in the last week. Results show that much higher proportions of Welsh speakers are communicating online in English than in Welsh. However, the gap is smaller for online interaction in both languages via social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter.

The profile of Welsh speakers using Twitter is heavily biased towards the younger age range whilst Welsh-speaking Facebook users have a more balanced age profile but are still mostly aged under 40.

There has been little change in behaviour since Beaufort's 2005 research on those dimensions where it is possible to make a comparison: similar proportions of Welsh speakers are watching TV in Welsh, listening to Welsh language radio and reading a Welsh language magazine or newspaper now as was the case seven years ago.² There is a marked difference in usage and visiting of Welsh language websites. But whilst this has increased three-fold, the rise in usage appears to reflect the huge growth in online generally since 2005 rather than an increase in usage of Welsh language websites *per se*.

The study indicates that young Welsh speakers (aged 16-24) are least likely to consume traditional media (TV, radio and newspapers and magazines) in Welsh, although their usage of the English language equivalents is high. However, looking across the age groups, younger Welsh speakers were the most likely to be accessing social media and other online and digital media in Welsh.

Perhaps not unexpectedly, there is a clear relationship between levels of proficiency in the Welsh language and participation in Welsh-medium activities, with fluent Welsh speakers being most likely to have carried out almost every activity in Welsh in the recent past.

Whilst four in ten Welsh speakers had attended either the Urdd Eisteddfod or the National Eisteddfod in the last two years, attendance was highest amongst the 25–39 year age group and amongst fluent Welsh speakers.

Usage of Welsh in different settings

The study indicates that Welsh speakers are most likely to always or usually speak Welsh with their friends or when out and about in the community, with over half saying they do so. Slightly fewer Welsh speakers (around four in ten) say they always or usually speak Welsh at home or at work.

Regular usage of Welsh online is very low: fewer than one in five said they always or usually use Welsh for web searches, social media or emailing. Usage

² 'Living Lives Through the Medium of Welsh', 2005 (Beaufort Research for S4C, The Welsh Language Board, BBC Wales and Arts Council of Wales)
http://www.s4c.co.uk/abouts4c/corporate/pdf/e_WelshLivesSummaryReport.pdf

of the Welsh version of official forms is also relatively low, although the proportion saying they always or usually do this is higher than that recorded in 2005.

Fluency in Welsh appears to drive regular usage of the language across all scenarios – in all settings there appears to be a strong relationship between level of proficiency and likelihood of always / usually using Welsh. Fluent Welsh speakers were most likely to do so across all settings, whether in informal contexts (e.g. with friends or at home) or more formal ones (e.g. when dealing with external organisations and people outside their circle of family or friends, and when filling in official forms).

Again, younger Welsh speakers tended to be least likely to regularly use the Welsh language across the different settings, whilst the over 60s tended to be most likely to do so (with the exception of online and in the workplace). This can be linked to the former group's lower likelihood of living in a Welsh-speaking household.

Attitudes towards the Welsh language

As well as capturing data on Welsh speakers' behaviour and usage of Welsh, the survey also included some statements to gauge attitudes towards the Welsh language on various dimensions.

The overwhelming majority of Welsh speakers would 'welcome the opportunity to do more in Welsh' (over eight in ten overall, rising to over nine in ten of the least fluent group). Moreover, over six in ten interviewed said they wished they 'could speak better Welsh' (including four in ten fluent Welsh speakers but highest amongst the least proficient – nearly all of those who said they could only speak 'a little' Welsh). A third (but rising to almost six in ten fluent Welsh speakers) feel more comfortable speaking Welsh than English. Hardly any of the less fluent Welsh speakers (not surprisingly) agreed they 'feel more comfortable speaking Welsh than English'.

Less positively, just over one in five Welsh speakers agreed that 'Welsh language culture can seem a bit irrelevant at times'. Interestingly, the proportion endorsing this was highest amongst fluent Welsh speakers (at one in four) and lowest amongst those only able to speak 'a little' Welsh (at almost one in seven).

Again marked differences were evident in attitudes by age – the youngest Welsh speakers interviewed were most likely to agree they would 'welcome the opportunity to do more in Welsh'; they were also most likely to agree that 'I wish I could speak better Welsh'; but they were least likely to agree 'I feel more comfortable speaking Welsh than English'. At the same time, this age group had the highest agreement with the statement 'Welsh language culture can seem a bit irrelevant at times'.

Comparing the results with the 2005 survey, whilst there was little change on most of the dimensions, much higher endorsement of the statement 'I'd welcome the opportunity to do more in Welsh' was seen in 2012. The proportion of Welsh

speakers agreeing with this statement rose from just under seven in ten (2005) to over eight in ten.

Satisfaction with Welsh language provision generally and online in particular

Whilst almost three in four Welsh speakers were satisfied with the amount of information, material and services available to them in Welsh generally, the proportion satisfied with what is available in Welsh online was noticeably lower. After rebasing the data to exclude non-users of the internet and those answering 'don't know', only around six in ten were satisfied with the amount, accessibility and quality of Welsh language information, material and services on the web.

Fluent Welsh speakers tended to be less satisfied than those with lower levels of proficiency in the language on nearly every dimension (including the provision of Welsh language materials and services generally).

Whilst 16-24 year old Welsh speakers were more likely than the older age group (60+) to be satisfied with the accessibility and amount of Welsh language material and content online, they were less satisfied with the amount of information, material and services available generally in Welsh.

Factors that affect Welsh speakers' engagement with the Welsh language

What the Welsh language means to Welsh speakers

Regardless of levels of fluency and frequency of use, Welsh speakers in the qualitative interviews reported an affinity with the language on a number of different levels. The key theme to emerge when discussing what the language meant to them centred on identity, encompassing personal, family, community, national identity and heritage. The dimensions on which the Welsh language and identity operated not only spread out from the personal through to national but also spanned the past, present and future.

The research findings suggest that there is often a hardwired affinity with the Welsh language and a general desire among Welsh speakers to do more through the medium of Welsh. However, the findings on language behaviours show that barriers exist to using the Welsh language more, and which can override the positive, more emotional attachments to the Welsh language.

What triggers and enables Welsh speakers to use the Welsh language

The key themes and scenarios that emerged from the qualitative research which encouraged and / or enabled use of the Welsh language appeared to be influenced to a degree by certain mindsets. These included: what the language

meant to participants; having the confidence to use Welsh, and scenarios where the fear of being judged were reduced; the impact of children's education needs; proactively seeking out opportunities to use the language; and wanting to improve Welsh language skills.

Focusing more on environment and scenarios, the language used at home both currently and as a child, often had a positive impact on Welsh language usage, with those first speaking Welsh as a child at home more likely to continue doing so nowadays.

Some parents with children at primary school in particular had been prompted to use Welsh more at home in order to support their children's education. This could include encouraging younger children to watch Welsh language children's TV programmes. More generally, however, participants tended to be less engaged with Welsh language TV and radio than with English language media. Even so, awareness and enjoyment of Welsh language TV content were regular triggers for using the language for some, and tended to tie in with Welsh being used regularly in the home. Rugby coverage and the programme *Jonathan* were relatively prominent among the programmes that appealed to some participants. Drama and comedy were also mentioned in a positive light.

Using the Welsh language with friends

A key pattern emerged whereby if the participant and a friend had conversed in Welsh at the start of the friendship, then the use of the Welsh language was more or less maintained across different scenarios, where all those involved in a conversation could speak Welsh.

The qualitative research indicated that those who used the Welsh language less often, and were less confident with it, sometimes had close friends with whom they communicated in Welsh. These friends were known to be sympathetic and supportive towards efforts to use Welsh. Texting for some individuals gave them permission to use more informal Welsh, especially if the recipient was a close friend.

The infrequent occasions where, among qualitative participants, the Welsh language was used with Facebook included: adapting posts with the audience in mind; a feeling that it was natural to use Welsh online and being more comfortable writing in Welsh; having the confidence to use Welsh in this scenario; and feeling comfortable posting in 'Wenglish' because of the informal nature of Facebook.

Welsh language and the local community

Inevitably, participants living in areas where Welsh was widely spoken were more likely to encounter opportunities to use it when out and about. Within the qualitative sample, some participants were using Welsh in a variety of situations,

for example with neighbours, in shops, at the golf or bowls club, dancing lessons, in the pub, and at the local GP surgery.

A small number of participants, who were keen to use the Welsh language in the community but encountered fewer opportunities, had to work a little harder to discover where they could use or access the Welsh language (for example which pubs, cafes or live music venues).

Opportunities to use Welsh at work

The chance to use Welsh at work was often linked to the location of the employer in an area where Welsh was widely used. Employers and job functions therefore sometimes provided opportunities for participants to use the Welsh language in a variety of settings, for example in customer-facing roles, experience of which greatly helped some participants with their confidence in using Welsh and developing their language skills.

The workplace also provided the opportunity for some less fluent Welsh speakers to speak Welsh informally with other more fluent staff who were nearly always supportive of the participant's efforts to improve his or her Welsh.

Reducing the fear of being judged on Welsh language capabilities

In terms of patterns of Welsh language usage where the perceived risk of being judged was minimised, the more 'passive' / individual use of the language via TV and radio avoided any such judgement, as did the use of ATMs, and watching local Welsh bands at gigs. Certain usage of the mobile space was also judgement-free, and represented ways in which low-effort actions could help to build the Welsh language into everyday life. These situations were also more likely to involve straightforward and accessible Welsh. Examples were given of using a Welsh language calendar on a smartphone, streaming Welsh language music, and using Welsh language apps.

Twitter also enabled (mostly) passive exposure to the Welsh language, that is, following rather than tweeting, with a few participants following individuals who used Welsh in their tweets (e.g. Welsh international rugby players).

Other Welsh language media and digital content

Across the qualitative sample, few participants reported accessing the Welsh language via other online or digital sources. Similarly, examples volunteered by participants of Welsh language online content that they used were fairly limited.

The limited examples of non-social networking online exposure to the Welsh language included S4C's website (*Cyw* and *Clic*), BBC Cymru website, English to Welsh translation facilities and one or two Welsh music websites.

What obstacles prevent Welsh speakers from using the Welsh language more

As with the previous section which dealt with triggers and enablers to using Welsh, the themes often spanned different environments and scenarios.

It should be noted that a good deal of complexity could surround why it was that the Welsh language was not used more often.

How habits are formed

The qualitative research frequently found that the language used at the beginning of a relationship or when carrying out an activity for the first time tended by and large to persist over time. Examples included the language used in the home as a child, the first conversation with a friend or partner, the language used to go online, or the language initially used to watch TV or listen to the radio. If English was the language used for these interactions, it tended to lead to an ingrained habit of using English more regularly than Welsh.

A change in household composition (for example with a non-Welsh-speaking partner) could also reduce the amount of Welsh language TV / radio usage in-home, especially if awareness of on-demand options like *Clic* was limited.

Inevitably, some participants' use of the Welsh language varied over time, depending on life stage and environment. One key life stage which sometimes adversely affected Welsh language usage was when participants had left school, especially if English had been the language of habit outside the classroom, and if there was little opportunity to use the language at home or in the community.

Habit, along with confidence, appeared to play a key role in preventing some participants from using the Welsh language online on a regular basis. Only 17% of Welsh speakers always / usually use Welsh online in any way. English was considered the default language online and was an ingrained behaviour.

Confidence issues

Along with how habits were formed, issues with confidence were one of the most prevalent obstacles to using the Welsh language to emerge from the qualitative research. Virtually all the qualitative participants who were not speaking Welsh on a daily basis referred at some point to a concern with confidence and using the Welsh language. This theme cut through several environments where Welsh might be used: in particular, when interacting with others, either face to face or online. The kinds of emotion experienced included believing they sounded 'like a fool' trying to speak Welsh, feeling awkward, incompetent and intimidated.

This lack of confidence appeared to be more psychological, with a fear of getting something wrong, and being seen to make a mistake, rather than a result of specific experiences. These negative emotions were sometimes experienced even when among friends who were Welsh speakers. The issue also covered writing in Welsh, for some, with spelling and grammar concerns.

In terms of using Welsh online, and with social media, the fear of making such mistakes with written Welsh was a significant barrier for some (e.g. on Facebook). In addition, Welsh language websites were sometimes expected to be difficult to read because of the formal Welsh used.

Convenience of using English versus Welsh

The perceived convenience of using English over Welsh emerged more strongly in relation to online scenarios, including social media, among those who were less confident with their written Welsh skills (for example considering it faster and more straightforward).

In terms of reading online content in Welsh, there was a perception that websites containing the Welsh language would consist of Welsh that would be hard work to read and would be too difficult to understand. This sense of difficulty and lack of speed associated with using Welsh online was at odds with what the internet represented to some participants (for example, speed and spontaneity with social media – even more so, if using a mobile device).

The theme of (perceived) difficulty and effort in using the Welsh language also arose in relation to TV and radio programmes (for example comprehension if not a fluent Welsh speaker). Reading books, magazines and newspapers in either language was rarely mentioned overall in the qualitative research.

Awareness of opportunities to use the Welsh language

Some participants acknowledged that they did not know many other Welsh speakers which therefore limited the occasions where they could use the language in a social, informal situation, whether online or in other settings.

Routine opportunity was also sometimes an issue in the workplace, especially in areas where the language was not widely used.

For some, a lack of awareness of the opportunity to use the Welsh language applied to TV and radio programmes, with often seemingly limited awareness of TV and radio content in Welsh. More generally, attempting to change broadcast media habits, which can become deeply embedded over time, presents a significant challenge regardless of the quality or relevance of content.

Reflecting the limited levels of Welsh language usage online, participants displayed low levels of awareness of opportunities to use the language online, other than via social media for some. The lack of awareness therefore combined with the notion that English was the default language online to create a significant barrier to making more use of Welsh online, for these participants.

Visibility of Welsh language online appeared to a problem. It became apparent that participants in the main were not actively choosing to avoid Welsh language content, but that often they simply did not know that opportunities existed online; and were comfortable using English online to meet their needs.

Participants were encouraged to visit a number of websites during the research. Those sites which attracted interest from some participants were S4C's website, and on-demand service *Clic* (http://www.s4c.co.uk/hafan/c_index.shtml), the BBC Cymru site (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/cymru/>) and the *BBC Cymru Cymraeg* site (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/cymru/cymraeg>). The latter included a BBC 'Vocab' button which translated key words on the site. Many participants were impressed with this facility. These sites as a whole were considered to contain accessible language and interesting content, which some had not expected.

The possibility of making small changes to routine habits online that could encourage greater use of the Welsh language tended not to be obvious overall. Mobile / tablet apps, for example, were used widely in English but usage was low in Welsh. The qualitative research found that little thought was given to the idea of using Welsh language apps in everyday life, for example for news or the weather.

Public sector online content rarely featured in participants' online repertoire in either language.

Perceived quality of Welsh language content

The theme of quality as a barrier to using the Welsh language emerged primarily in relation to perceptions and experiences of Welsh language TV and radio. Participants were more likely to be critical than positive in this respect.

Some participants assumed that it was a significant challenge for broadcasters to provide content which would appeal to all Welsh speakers, particularly in the current digital media landscape and proliferation of channels.

The TV and radio content available in the Welsh language was often believed to be aimed more at older people. In addition, some thought that the content lacked dynamism, variety and modernity.

Meeting the needs of Welsh speakers to encourage greater use of the Welsh language

One area where participants found it easy to make suggestions for encouraging greater use of the Welsh language was in relation to the perceived quality and variety of Welsh language TV and radio programmes. A variety of requests were therefore made by participants who wished to see improved range and quality from Welsh language TV and radio in order to meet their needs (for example more drama, comedy and modern music).

Focusing on Welsh language engagement online and via mobile, there was some reported interest in knowing more about what was available online. There was also a role in some participants' minds for improving awareness of small changes that could be made to help to introduce the Welsh language into routine online /

mobile behaviours (for example changing Facebook settings to Welsh, and promoting Welsh language apps).

The role of language marketing

During the qualitative research, participants were asked for their views on two examples of language marketing: a campaign to promote the messages of the *Twf* project (2012); and a second, less recent campaign called *Mae gen ti ddewis* (2009).³ Participants generally welcomed the principle of using language marketing to help encourage use of the Welsh language and remind Welsh speakers of the importance of using Welsh. Few, however, were able to recall any examples of marketing aimed at encouraging people to use the Welsh language more, including those tested.

Participants tended to feel that the key ingredients for a language marketing campaign were to adopt a focus on the future in relation to Welsh: the importance of helping children to start speaking Welsh, and also the potential employment opportunities available to those who can speak Welsh. Also, it was felt important that language marketing should recognise the heritage of Welsh and tap into what the language means to those who can speak it.

The use of celebrities and role models

The concept of using well-known people to help encourage Welsh speakers to use the language more was sometimes suggested spontaneously by participants.

The general view in this research was that high profile individuals could play an important role in helping to raise the profile of Welsh language usage on a day to day basis. However, any individuals used would need to be genuinely high profile beyond Wales (for example actors and sports stars).

³ The main aim of the *Twf* project, funded by the Welsh Government, is to increase levels of language transmission in families. Prospective parents and parents of babies up to one year old are the main target audience. In particular, families with one Welsh-speaking parent and one-parent families where the parent speaks Welsh are the focus of this work.

4. An overview of Welsh speakers' current behaviour and attitudes

To provide a broader context to the insight gained from the in-depth qualitative element of the study, a preliminary phase of research was carried out amongst a representative sample of Welsh speakers (although only those able to speak at least 'a little Welsh' were eligible for the survey).

The aim of this quantitative stage was to investigate and profile Welsh speakers' language usage and behaviour in a range of different settings, encompassing speaking the language as well as using it online, watching Welsh language television programmes and listening to Welsh language radio. It also touched on Welsh speakers' attitudes towards and perceptions of the Welsh language.

This section of the report provides an overview of Welsh speakers' current behaviour and attitudes to the Welsh language. Where possible, comparisons have been made with the 2005 study conducted into Welsh speakers' language use to highlight any changes in behaviour, usage or attitudes over time.⁴ Since the methodology for the earlier study was different and the question wording is not always consistent, these findings are indicative rather than conclusive.

4.1 Levels of fluency in Welsh

At the beginning of the survey, the Welsh speakers interviewed were asked to define their fluency in Welsh. The great majority (nearly two in three) described themselves as 'fluent' but the proportion saying this was considerably lower in the younger age range (only 51% of 16-24 year old Welsh speakers did so). No major differences were evident between any other age group – see Table 1 below:

Table 1: Fluency in Welsh by age group

%	All Welsh speakers (483)	Aged 16 -24 (59)	Aged 25 – 39 (96)	Aged 40 – 59 (161)	Aged 60+ (168)
I'm fluent in Welsh	63	51	66	63	66
I can speak a fair amount of Welsh	21	23	20	22	20
I can speak a little Welsh	16	26	14	15	14

⁴ 'Living Lives Through the Medium of Welsh', 2005 (Beaufort Research for S4C, The Welsh Language Board, BBC Wales and Arts Council of Wales)
http://www.s4c.co.uk/abouts4c/corporate/pdf/e_WelshLivesSummaryReport.pdf

The 16-24 age group were least likely to say that they started to speak Welsh as a child at home (35% compared with 63% overall); instead, they were most likely to have started speaking Welsh as a child in nursery or primary school (57% compared with 22% overall). They were also most likely to describe the spoken language of their home as only English (43% compared with 27% overall).

This suggests that their involvement with the language is primarily through school, either via Welsh-medium education or learning Welsh as a subject at school, rather than coming from traditional Welsh-speaking backgrounds or Welsh-speaking homes.

Where relevant, any differences between younger Welsh speakers and other age groups in terms of behaviour or perceptions are discussed in the sections that follow. The youngest and oldest age groups were more likely than the middle age groups to display polarised attitudes and behaviours. In addition, it is worth considering that the 16-24 age group could be more likely to be living with other people of a similar age.

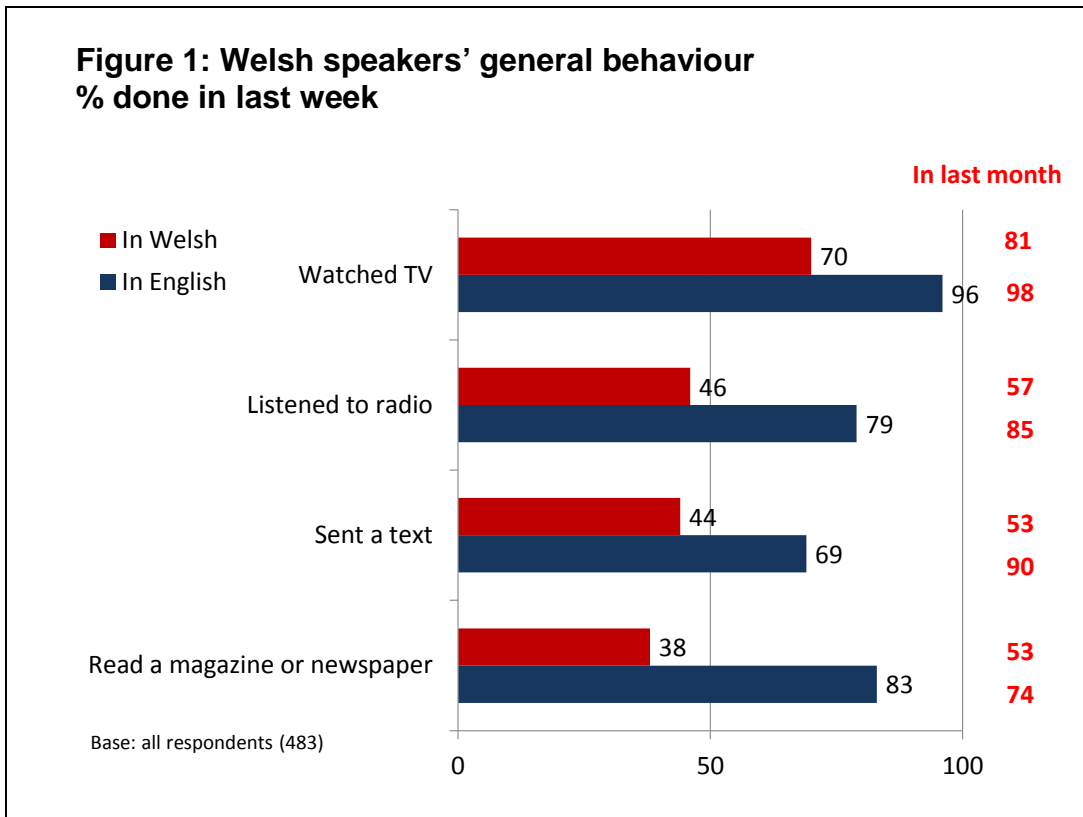
More generally, the 2012 research sample contained a slightly higher proportion of people describing themselves as 'fluent' in Welsh than in the 2005 study (63% compared with 60% in 2005) and correspondingly fewer who were only able to 'speak a little Welsh' (16% compared with 22% in 2005). This difference in language proficiency is highlighted because it may have an impact on some of the results that follow, where comparisons are made between the different points in time.

4.2 Media consumption and participation in online and general activities in Welsh and English

Survey respondents were then asked a series of questions about what they do and don't do in Welsh and English. The activities in question were broad ranging, encompassing broadcast media (TV and radio), reading, sending text messages, using apps and social media (Facebook and Twitter) as well as other online activities (e.g. visiting websites or sending emails) and attending or participating in social and sporting events. For some activities a time interval of 'in the last month / week' was used; for others, which may happen less frequently, the period in question was 'in the last year'.

Looking at non-web based activities first, the results show that high proportions of Welsh speakers are accessing traditional media and carrying out certain activities regularly in the Welsh language: 70% had watched Welsh language TV in the last week, almost half (46%) had listened to Welsh language radio and around four in ten had sent a text in Welsh or read a Welsh language magazine or newspaper in the same period.

At the same time, the study shows that higher proportions of Welsh speakers carried out all these activities in English than in Welsh in the same time period: for example, 96% of Welsh speakers had watched English language TV in the last week, compared with 70% having watched Welsh language TV. The same was true of listening to the radio, sending a text message and reading a paper or magazine (see Figure 1 below):

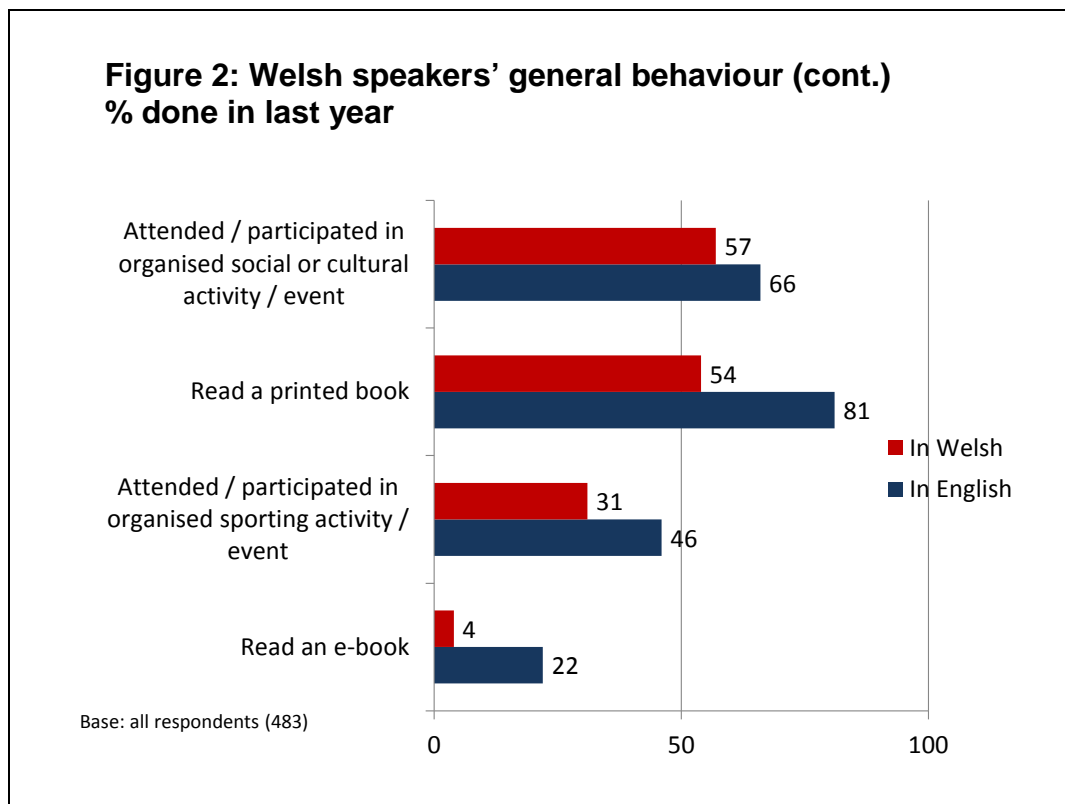


Not only is consumption of broadcast media like TV and radio lower in the Welsh language than in English, but Welsh language TV and radio appear to be less frequently accessed. There is much less of a difference between the percentage of Welsh speakers watching English language TV or listening to English language radio monthly and weekly than is the case with Welsh language TV or radio. For example, 98% had watched English TV programmes in the last month, whilst the proportion doing so in the last week was almost as high, at 96%, whereas 81% had watched Welsh language TV in the last month but this dropped to 70% doing so in the last week. Welsh speakers therefore seem to be carrying out these activities less regularly in Welsh than in English.

Turning to less common activities, over half of Welsh speakers had attended or participated in an organised social or cultural activity or event taking place in the Welsh language in the last year (57%) and around the same proportion had read a printed book in Welsh (54%). Fewer had attended or participated in an

organised sporting activity or event taking place in Welsh, however (31%), and only a very small number had read a Welsh language e-book (4%) – opportunities to do so may be limited by the availability of e-books in Welsh through major channels such as Amazon.

Whilst all activities were more likely to have been carried out in the last year in English than in Welsh by Welsh speakers in the survey, the gap was small in the case of social and cultural events, suggesting high levels of engagement in Welsh language cultural and social gatherings, possibly influenced by eisteddfodau and schools (see Figure 2 below):

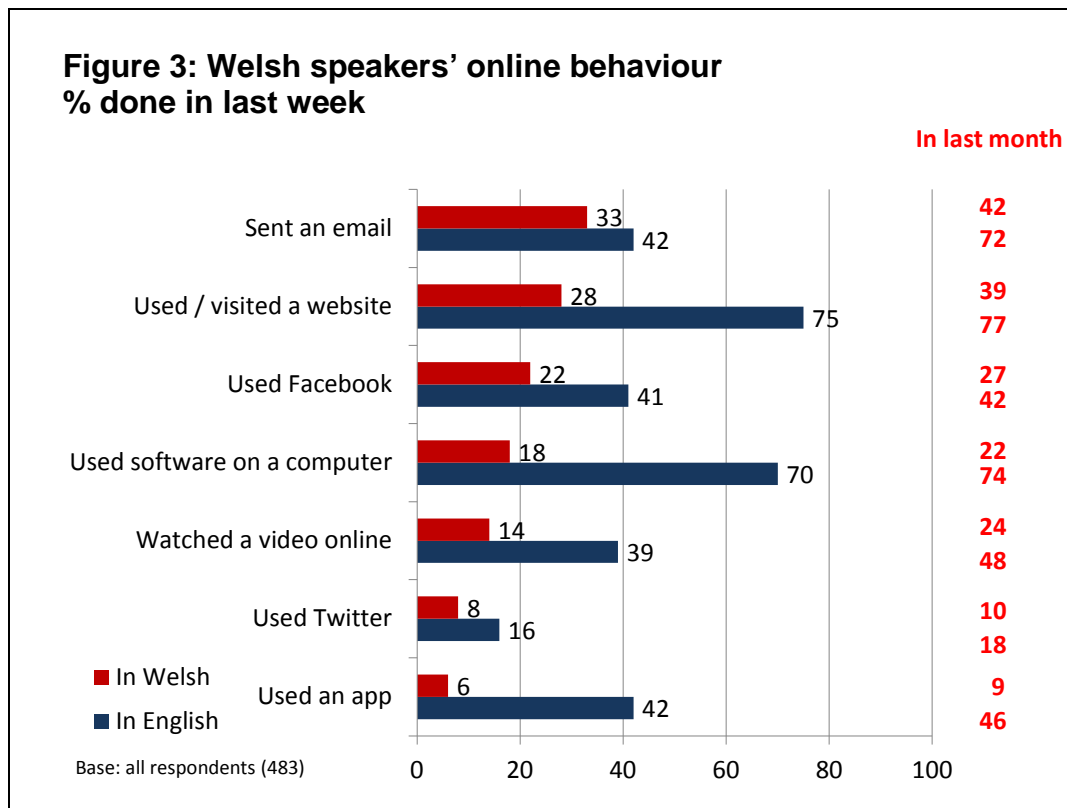


Turning to web-based and digital media, usage of online media in Welsh appears to be considerably lower than usage of more traditional media in the Welsh language. Fewer than a third of Welsh speakers had carried out any of the web-based activities asked about in the last week: around three in ten had sent an email in Welsh and / or visited a Welsh language website, but fewer than one in ten had used Twitter in Welsh (either reading Welsh language tweets or personally tweeting in Welsh) or had used a Welsh language app on a smartphone or tablet.

The results show that much higher proportions of Welsh speakers are communicating online in English than in Welsh – 75% had used or visited an English language website in the last week, compared with 28% having done so

for Welsh language sites; 66% had sent an email in English in the last week, whilst 33% had done so in Welsh; 70% had used English language software on a computer, compared with 18% in the case of Welsh language software.

The gap is smaller, however, for online interaction in both languages via social media sites such as Facebook and Twitter. For example, 41% of Welsh speakers interviewed had used Facebook in English in the last week, compared with 22% having done so in Welsh, whilst 16% had used Twitter in English in the last week, against 8% doing so in Welsh (see Figure 3 below):



Just over one in six Welsh speakers in the survey (16%) had used Twitter in either Welsh or English in the last week, compared with over four in ten (42%) having used Facebook in either language in the same time period.

Usage of Twitter amongst Welsh speakers is heavily biased towards the younger age range – over six in ten recent users of Twitter in the survey were aged between 16 - 24 (64%), whilst just over one in five was aged between 25 – 39 (22%) and only one in seven (14%) was aged between 40 - 59 (nobody was aged over 60). The profile of Facebook users is more spread across the age ranges, although the great majority of recent users were aged under 40 (70%) and only 29% were older than this (see Table 2 below):

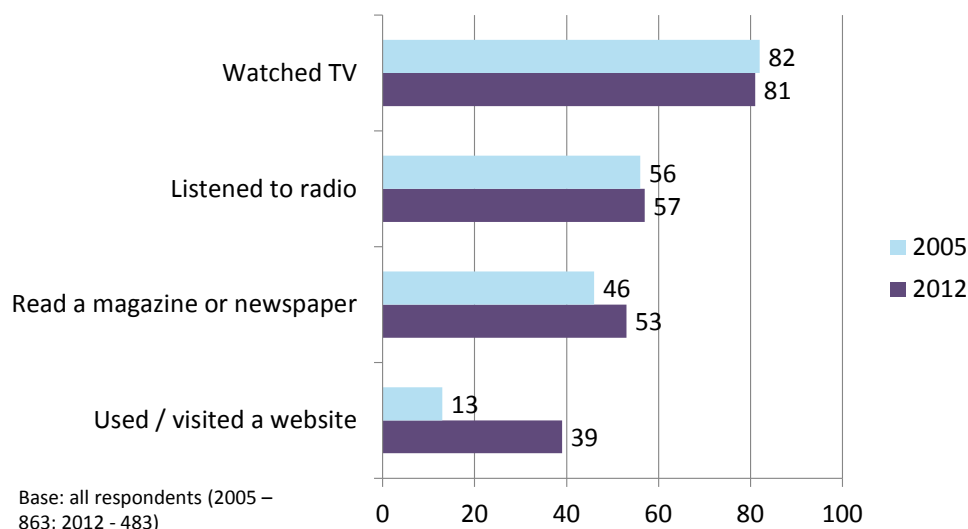
Table 2: Usage of Twitter and Facebook by age group

%	<i>All Welsh speakers (483)</i>	<i>Used Twitter in the last week (in Welsh and / or English) (65)</i>	<i>Used Facebook in last week (in Welsh and / or English) (186)</i>
16 - 24	17	64	35
25 – 39	22	22	35
40 – 59	29	14	22
60+	32	-	7
% used in last week across all age groups	<i>Not applicable</i>	16	42

Looking at behaviour over time on certain dimensions included in the 2005 survey (where usage / consumption in the last month was the time interval), it is interesting to note that there has been little change in behaviour for most of these activities. For example, similar proportions of Welsh speakers are watching TV in Welsh, listening to Welsh language radio and reading a Welsh language magazine or newspaper now as was the case seven years ago (in fact readership of magazines and newspapers is higher in the 2012 survey, but this is likely to be influenced by the higher level of fluency in Welsh amongst the 2012 sample) (see Figure 4 below).

Where there is a marked difference, it is for usage / visiting of websites – the proportion having visited a Welsh language website in the last month in 2012 is three times higher than the proportion who had done so in 2005 (39% compared with 13%). But this difference probably reflects the huge growth in online generally since 2005, rather than an increase in the usage of Welsh websites *per se* (there is a similar uplift of 30% in the proportion of Welsh speakers having visited an English language website from 2005):

Figure 4: Comparison of behaviours over time
% done in Welsh in last month



The study shows that young Welsh speakers (aged 16-24) are least likely to consume traditional media (TV, radio and newspapers and magazines) in Welsh, whilst those aged 60 and over are most likely to do so. However, the same young people are heavy consumers of the English language equivalents – for example whilst 29% of Welsh speakers aged 16-24 in the sample had listened to Welsh language radio in the past week, 92% of them had listened to English language radio in the same period. This suggests that it is not lack of interest in radio or TV *per se* that is behind this finding but other issues (perhaps the content not meeting their needs or low awareness of what's on), examples of which arose in the qualitative research.

The reverse was true, however, in the case of social media and usage of other online and digital media in the Welsh language. Here, younger adults were the group most likely to be accessing these in Welsh. This appears to be a result of their generally higher web usage and social media engagement than older adults, since their usage of the English language equivalents was also frequently much higher than older participants. For example, 80% of 16-24 year old Welsh speakers had watched an English language video online in the last week compared with only 17% of over 60s.

Table 3: Differences in participation in Welsh-medium activities by age

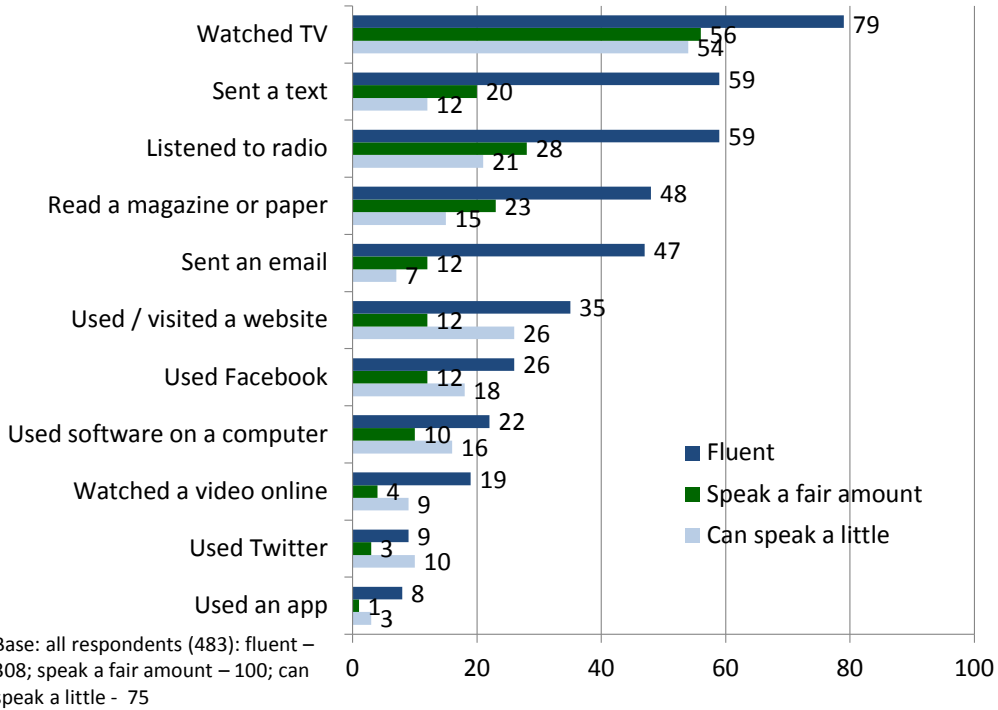
% having done so <u>in last week / year*</u>	All Welsh speakers (483)	Aged 16-24 (59)	Aged 60+ (168)
Watched Welsh language TV	70	62	76
Attended or participated in an organised social or cultural event or activity through the medium of Welsh*	57	49	54
Read a Welsh language printed book*	54	48	54
Listened to Welsh language radio	46	29	52
Sent a text in Welsh	44	56	22
Read a magazine or paper in Welsh	38	36	46
Sent an email in Welsh	33	31	20
Attended or participated in an organised sporting event or activity through the medium of Welsh*	31	38	17
Used or visited a website in Welsh	28	40	11
Used Welsh on Facebook (e.g. reading, posting or messaging in Welsh)	22	37	4
Used Welsh language software on a computer (e.g. Welsh language Microsoft Office, Cysill or Cysgeir)	18	23	5
Watched a Welsh language video online (such as on YouTube, S4C Clic or BBC iPlayer)	14	20	6
Used Welsh on Twitter (e.g. tweeted or read Welsh tweets)	8	31	-
Used a Welsh language app	6	10	1
Read an e-book in Welsh*	4	6	1

Turning to the impact of levels of proficiency in the Welsh language on participation in Welsh-medium activities, the results demonstrate a clear relationship between the two: those who described themselves as ‘fluent’ were most likely to have carried out almost every activity in the last week (the only exception to this was using Twitter in Welsh – see below).

The gap between participation levels amongst the most and least fluent groups in the sample is narrowest for usage of social media in Welsh. As mentioned above, the least fluent Welsh speakers in the sample were just as likely as the most fluent to have used Welsh on Twitter in the last week and there was only a small difference between the two for Facebook (although fluent Welsh speakers were slightly more likely to have used the latter) (see Figure 5 below).

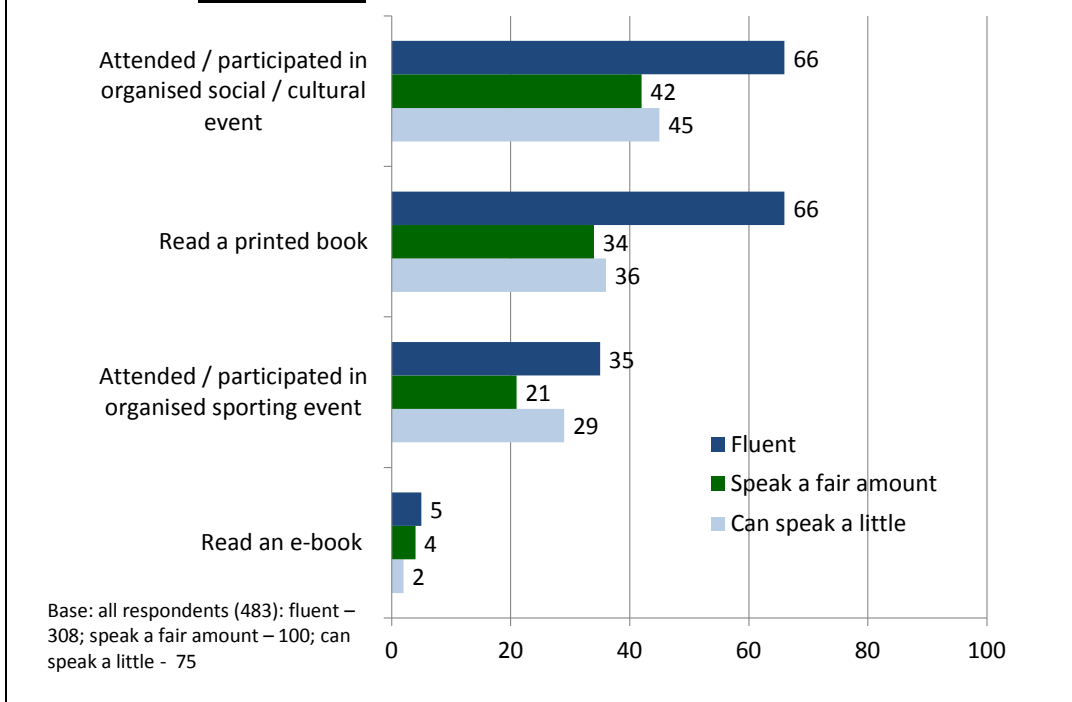
Age may also have a bearing on this finding: users of social media tend to be younger and the younger age range in the sample were least likely to describe themselves as fluent.

**Figure 5: Participation in Welsh-medium activities
% done in last week**



Fluent Welsh speakers also have the highest participation levels for less common activities (see Figure 6 below) although the gap is very narrow for attendance / participation in organised sporting events.

Figure 6: Participation in Welsh-medium activities % done in last year



Survey respondents were also asked whether they had attended either the Urdd Eisteddfod or the National Eisteddfod recently; four in ten Welsh speakers had been to one of these eisteddfodau in the last two years. Eisteddfod attendance was lowest amongst the youngest and oldest ends of the age range (at 33% of 16-24s and 33% of 60+s) but highest amongst the 25 – 39 year old age group, where more than half (52%) had attended at least one of the eisteddfodau in the last two years.

Eisteddfod attendance also appears to be linked to fluency in the Welsh language: it was highest amongst those describing themselves as fluent (with 46% of fluent Welsh speakers having attended at least one of the eisteddfodau in the last two years) and lowest amongst those who could only speak ‘a little Welsh’ (21% attending). Both the latter group and those who described themselves as being able to speak ‘a fair amount’ of Welsh were around twice as likely to have visited the Urdd Eisteddfod than the National Eisteddfod recently, perhaps to see a family member perform, whilst there was no such difference amongst the fluent Welsh speakers.

4.3 Usage of Welsh in different settings

Survey participants were also questioned about their normal use of spoken Welsh in different situations, as well as their language choice when filling in official forms. They were asked how often (always, usually, sometimes or never) they used Welsh both inside and outside the home, when online (e.g. for web searches, social media or emailing) and how often they filled in Welsh language versions of forms.

The study indicates that Welsh speakers are most likely to always or usually speak Welsh with their friends or when out and about in the community, with over half saying they do so. Marked differences are evident on community use by region - Welsh speakers living in North Wales and Mid and West Wales were much more likely to say they always or usually spoke Welsh when out and about (65% and 61% respectively) than those living in South East Wales (at 19%). It is likely, therefore, that this may be linked to opportunity to use the language.

Slightly fewer Welsh speakers (45%) say they always or usually speak Welsh at home, although the proportions saying this are higher in areas where Welsh is more widely spoken (e.g. 58% in North and 50% in Mid and West Wales). Only 22% of Welsh speakers interviewed said the language of their household is only Welsh (although the proportion was higher in the North – at 37%) so the great majority of Welsh speakers in the research living with other people appear to use English to some extent at home.

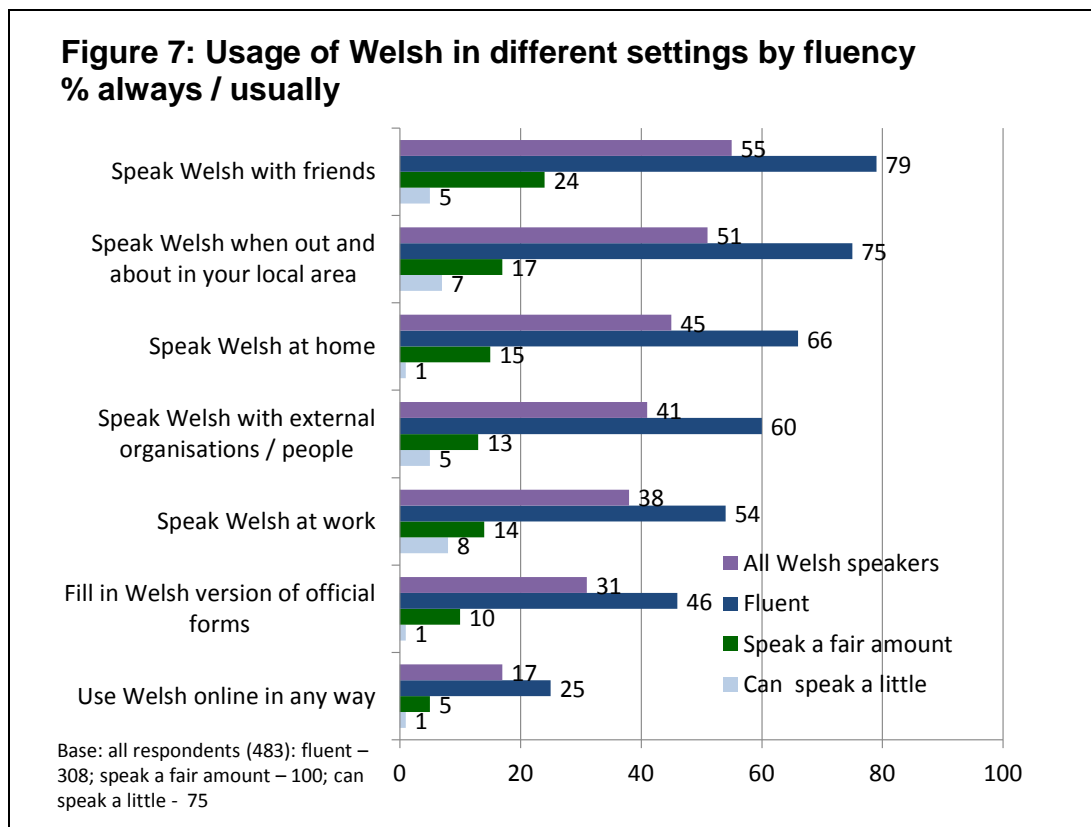
Fewer than four in ten (38%) of Welsh speakers say they always / usually use Welsh at work, but this rises to 51% of those in the 25 – 59 year age group - typically those most likely to be in work (many 16-24s may be in education and many over 60s may be retired). Interestingly there is less regional variation in speaking Welsh at work than is evident on other measures.

Regular usage of Welsh online is very low – fewer than one in five (17%) said they always or usually use Welsh for web searches, social media or emailing. Usage of the Welsh version of official forms is also relatively low, although the proportion saying they always or usually fill in the Welsh language version of forms has increased from the 2005 study (21% to 31% in 2012). This may be linked to the higher levels of fluency in the 2012 sample, although it could also reflect a wider availability of Welsh language forms nowadays as well as perhaps improvements to the design / content of Welsh language forms.

Fluency in Welsh appears to drive regular usage of the language across all these scenarios – in all settings there is a strong relationship between level of proficiency and likelihood of always / usually using Welsh. Fluent Welsh speakers were most likely to do so in all settings, whether in informal contexts (e.g. with friends or at home) or more formal ones (e.g. when dealing with external

organisations and people outside of their circle of family or friends, and when filling in official forms) (see Figure 7 below).

There is a noticeable difference between the behaviour of fluent Welsh speakers and those who are less than fluent – even those who described themselves as speaking ‘a fair amount’ of Welsh were much less likely than fluent Welsh speakers in the survey to say they always or usually used Welsh in any of the situations asked about. The proportions of this group saying they always or usually did so ranged from around one in four (when with friends) down to one in twenty (when online). As might be expected, regular use of Welsh in all situations was very low amongst those who described themselves as ‘speaking a little’ Welsh.



As well as variations by fluency, marked differences are evident by age. Again, younger Welsh speakers in the survey tended to be least likely to regularly use the Welsh language across the different settings, whilst the over 60s tended to be most likely to do so (with the exception of online and in the workplace).

Considerably lower proportions of 16-24s said they always or usually used Welsh at home, when out and about in their local area and with friends than was the case overall (see Table 4 below). This may be linked to their lower likelihood of living in a Welsh-speaking household.

Table 4: Usage of Welsh in different settings by age

% always / usually...	All Welsh speakers (483)	Aged 16-24 (59)	Aged 60+ (168)
Speak Welsh with friends	55	36	61
Speak Welsh when out and about in your local area	51	28	55
Speak Welsh at home	45	26	46
Speak Welsh when dealing with organisations or with people other than family and friends (e.g. customers at work)	41	32	44
Speak Welsh at work	38	33	20
Fill in the Welsh language version of official forms	31	14	35
Use Welsh online in any way (e.g. for web searches, social media or emailing)	17	18	12

4.4 Attitudes towards the Welsh language

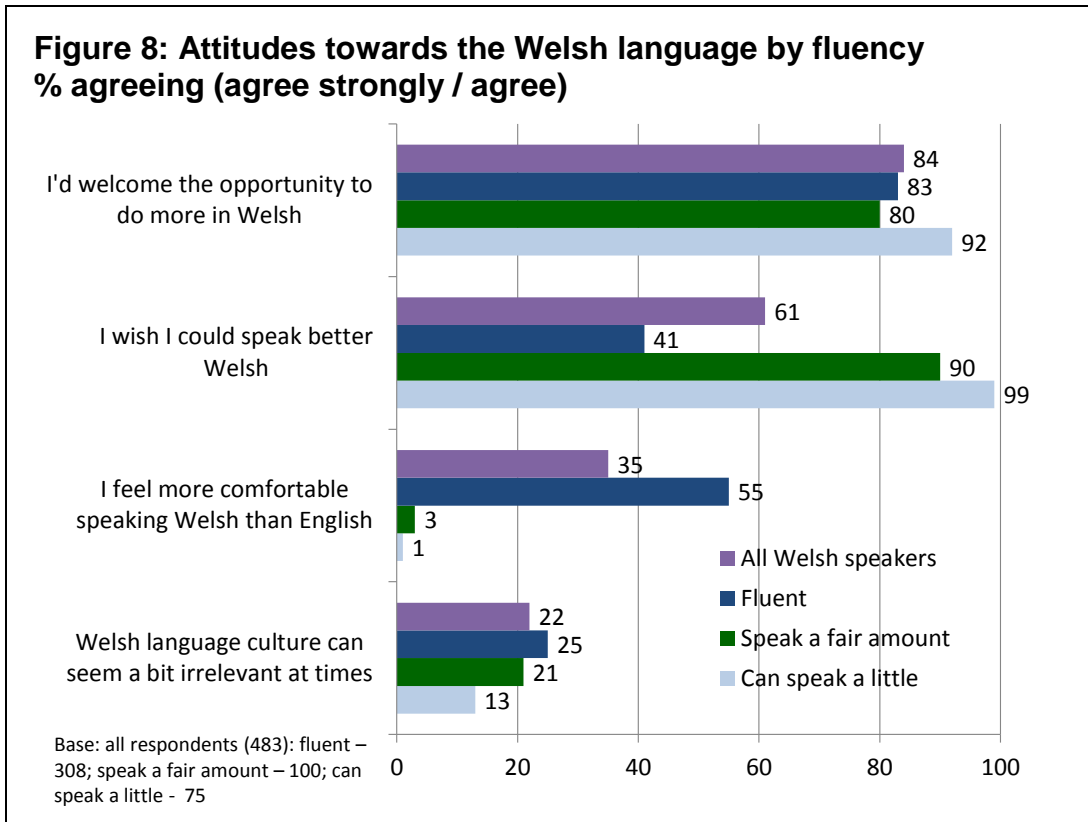
As well as capturing data on Welsh speakers' behaviour and usage of Welsh, the survey also included some statements to gauge attitudes towards the Welsh language on various dimensions.

The overwhelming majority of Welsh speakers would 'welcome the opportunity to do more in Welsh' (84% overall, rising to 92% of the least fluent group) (see Figure 8 below).

Moreover, over six in ten interviewed (61%) said they wished they 'could speak better Welsh'. This perhaps surprisingly included over four in ten of those who described themselves as fluent Welsh speakers (41%), but was highest (as would be expected) amongst the least proficient – rising to 99% of those who said they could speak 'a little' Welsh and 90% of those who could speak 'a fair amount'.

A third overall (but 55% of fluent Welsh speakers) feel more comfortable speaking Welsh than English. Hardly any of the less fluent Welsh speakers (not surprisingly) endorsed this statement.

Less positively, just over one in five Welsh speakers (22%) agreed that 'Welsh language culture can seem a bit irrelevant at times'. Interestingly, the proportion endorsing this was highest amongst fluent Welsh speakers (at 25%) and lowest amongst those able to speak 'a little' Welsh (at 13%).



Again marked differences were evident in attitudes by age – the youngest Welsh speakers interviewed were most likely to agree they would ‘welcome the opportunity to do more in Welsh’ (with 95% of 16-24s endorsing this statement); they were also most likely to agree that ‘I wish I could speak better Welsh’ (at 68% agreement); correspondingly they were least likely to agree ‘I feel more comfortable speaking Welsh than English’ (24% agreeing, compared with 35% overall) (see Table 5 below).

At the same time, this age group had the highest agreement with the statement ‘Welsh language culture can seem a bit irrelevant at times’, at 28%. So although keen to do more in Welsh they perhaps feel less engaged with Welsh culture.

The over 60s were, in contrast, most likely to agree that ‘I feel more comfortable speaking Welsh than English’ and less likely to want to improve their Welsh or welcome the opportunity to do more through Welsh. This is likely to be linked to the over 60 age group in the survey having the highest proportion of fluent Welsh speakers (67% describing themselves as fluent, compared with 51% of 16-24s doing so).

Table 5: Attitudes to the Welsh language by age

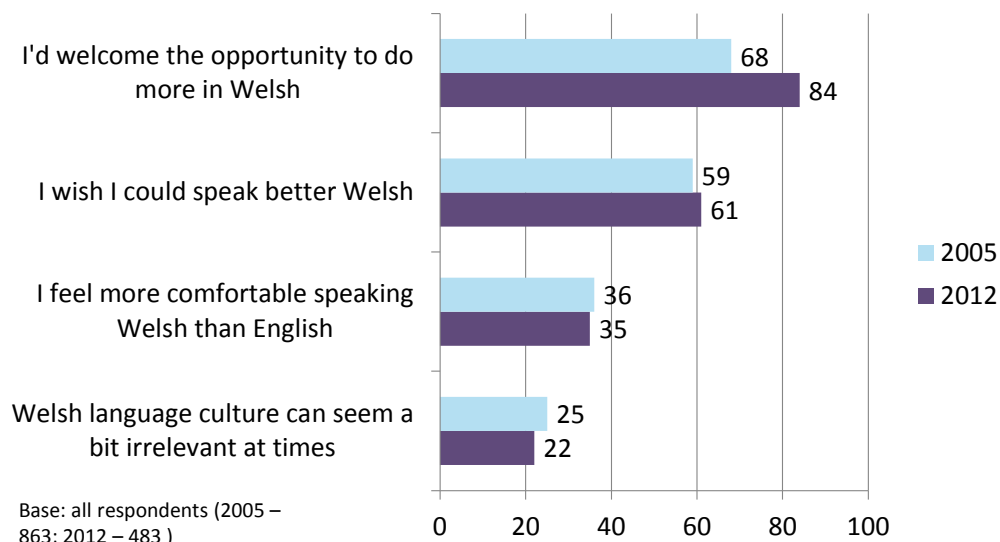
% agreeing (agree strongly / agree)	All Welsh speakers (483)	Aged 16-24 (59)	Aged 60+ (168)
I'd welcome the opportunity to do more in Welsh	84	95	74
I wish I could speak better Welsh	61	68	57
I feel more comfortable speaking Welsh than English	35	24	43
Welsh language culture can seem a bit irrelevant at times	22	28	24

The same statements were included in the 2005 research study, so that any changes over time could be assessed (with the caveat of course that the data-gathering approach used in 2012 changed from personal interviewing to telephone).

Comparing the results from 2012 with the earlier survey, there is little change on most of the dimensions. Very similar proportions of Welsh speakers agreed that 'I wish I could speak better Welsh', 'I feel more comfortable speaking Welsh than English' and that 'Welsh language culture can seem a bit irrelevant at times' (see Figure 9 below).

In contrast, there was a marked change in levels of endorsement of the statement 'I'd welcome the opportunity to do more in Welsh', with the proportion agreeing with this increasing from 68% in 2005 to 84% in 2012.

**Figure 9: Comparison of attitudes over time
% agreeing (agree strongly / agree)**



4.5 Satisfaction with Welsh language provision generally and online in particular

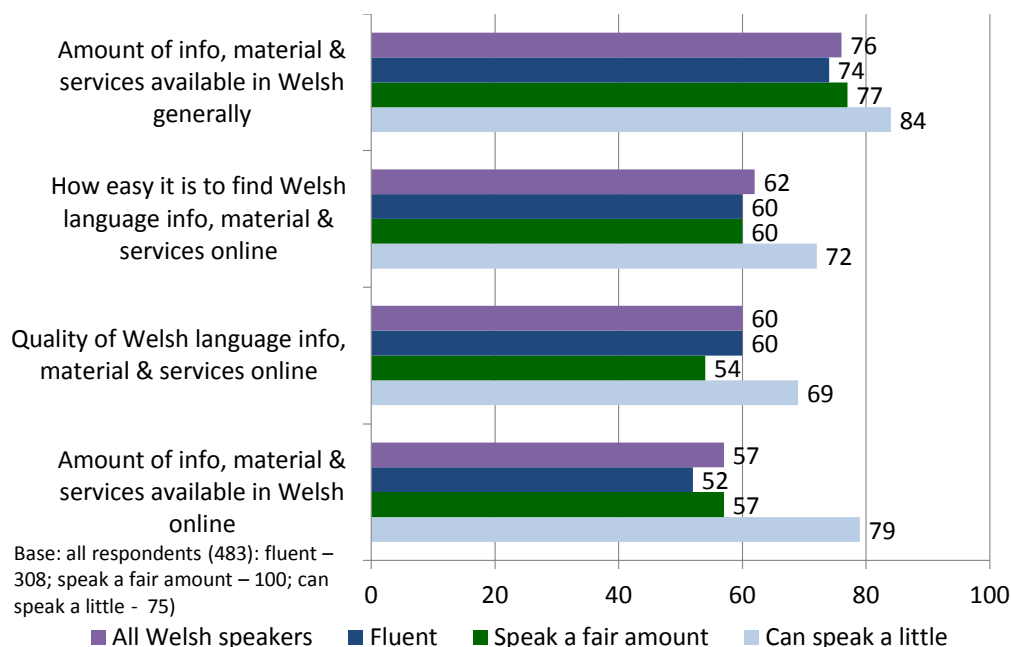
The last theme covered in the quantitative survey was satisfaction with the amount of information, material and services available generally in the Welsh language, as well as online.

Whilst three in four Welsh speakers interviewed (75%) were satisfied with the amount of information, material and services available to them in Welsh generally, the proportion satisfied with what is available in Welsh online was noticeably lower. After rebasing the data to exclude non-users of the internet and those answering 'don't know', only around six in ten were satisfied with the amount, accessibility and quality of Welsh language information, material and services on the web (see Figure 10 below).

Fluent Welsh speakers tended to be less satisfied than those with lower levels of proficiency in the language on nearly every dimension (including the provision of Welsh language materials and services generally):

Figure 10: Satisfaction with provision of Welsh language material generally and online - % satisfied (very / fairly)

Rebased to exclude 'don't knows'



Looking at the results by age, 16-24 year old Welsh speakers were more likely to be satisfied than the older age group (60+) with the accessibility and amount of Welsh language material and content online. Both age groups were less satisfied than Welsh speakers overall with the quality of Welsh language material and content online.

Younger Welsh speakers, however, were slightly less satisfied than the over 60s with the amount of information, material and services available generally in Welsh.

These figures indicate that there is an opportunity to raise levels of awareness among people aged 60+ of the amount of information, material and services available in Welsh online (see Table 6):

Table 6: Satisfaction with Welsh language provision generally and online

% satisfied (very / fairly) – <i>rebased to exclude 'don't know's'</i>	All Welsh speakers (483)	Aged 16-24 (59)	Aged 60+ (168)
The amount of information, material and services available in Welsh <u>generally</u>	76	71	78
How easy it is to find Welsh language information, material and services <u>online</u>	62	68	48
The quality of Welsh language information, material and services available <u>online</u>	60	55	50
The amount of information, material and services available in Welsh <u>online</u>	57	63	42

For some, the Welsh language enhanced and strengthened their personal sense of identity. Using the Welsh language also felt instinctive and natural to some participants, for example as a first language Welsh speaker. Among those who had started speaking Welsh at school or as an adult learner, there were instances of the Welsh language giving the individual a feeling of personal achievement through having the skill to speak Welsh. (Conversely, this feeling was occasionally accompanied by a sense of guilt if the individual had let their own Welsh language skills 'fade'.)

I didn't really see the benefit because it's not a very Welsh-speaking area but I always wanted to [speak Welsh]. I think it's just nice to have your own language and it makes me feel more Welsh, I think, and it gives you a sense of pride . . . (F, 16-24, fair amount, less often than weekly, Cardiff)

Extending the personal identity theme, some parents in the qualitative research who had children at home believed that it was important to ensure that the children were able to speak Welsh as part of their identity and future, for example by providing them with potentially wider employment opportunities. In one case, despite moving away from Wales for a number of years, a parent had continued to speak Welsh to her young children who were eventually able to be educated through the medium of Welsh on the family's return to Wales.

I don't want to lose the Welsh language, I want my kids to learn it and speak it more. I think it's important for them to. (F, 25-40, fluent, daily, Pwllheli)

The association between the Welsh language and identity also incorporated the community for some participants, and where the Welsh language was regularly heard when out and about. Examples given included: the importance of children hearing the Welsh language in the community as well as in school; seeing the language as something to share with non-Welsh-speaking newcomers to the area; and personally wanting to cement a sense of belonging having moved to a predominantly Welsh-speaking community.

Mae'n bwysig iawn i ddefnyddio'r iaith Cymraeg mor gymaint ag gallwn, enwedig i'r plant. Mae cael ein iaith hunain yn rhywbeth dylem fod yn falch ohono. Mae yna lawer o bobl Saesneg yn symud i fewn i'r ardal ac mae fynd at y bobl sy'n siarad Cymraeg i rhannu y iaith gyda nhw er mwyn i nhw dysgu. 'Dechreuwch bob sgwrs yn Cymraeg.'

'It's really important to use the Welsh language as much as possible, especially for the children. Having our own language is something we should be proud of. A lot of English people are moving into the area and it's up to the people who speak Welsh to share the language with them so that they can learn. 'Start every conversation in Welsh.' (M, 25-40, fluent, weekly, Brynamman)

[The photo I've posted] is about my family and home; the things I love. Wales is a place that evokes so much for me. The language is a key part of understanding Welsh history and also a way of showing the Welsh speakers I meet that I love the country and am interested in what being Welsh means. (M, 41-55, a little, daily, Ruthin)

At a broader level, participants regularly referred to the role of the Welsh language as part of Wales' heritage and the nation itself, for example with strong links to culture and the arts, and helping to identify Wales as more than just a region. There was therefore a wider feeling of responsibility among some participants to keep the language alive. (Interestingly, one participant had noticed more use of Welsh on her Facebook pages during the Six Nations, and shortly after a programme had aired on S4C concerning the flooding of the Tryweryn Valley.) This responsibility was sometimes brought to the fore by specific life events, such as re-evaluating the importance of the Welsh language as a new parent, or having returned to Wales from working in England.

I totally believe that without our language there is no Wales, there's no culture, there's no song. . . . If that was gone, . . . we would just be another part of England. (M, 41-55, fluent, less often than weekly, RCT)

This is a photo of the Eisteddfod tent [posted online]. To me it is an iconic symbol of the Welsh language. It has been an important festival for Welsh speakers and learners for many years. By being in South Wales and North Wales on alternate years it makes it accessible to everyone. (F, 16-24, fair amount, less often than weekly, Cardiff)

I have chosen [to post online] this photo of Saunders Lewis firstly because I have great admiration for his literary works, secondly because he evokes very happy memories of my time learning Welsh as an adult and thirdly because of his courage. (M, 56+, fair amount, rarely, RCT)

Thus the dimensions on which the Welsh language and identity operated not only spread out from the personal through to national but also spanned the past, present and future. The strength of this affinity with the Welsh language was not necessarily uniform, as there were occasional examples of participants who appeared slightly less attached to the language.

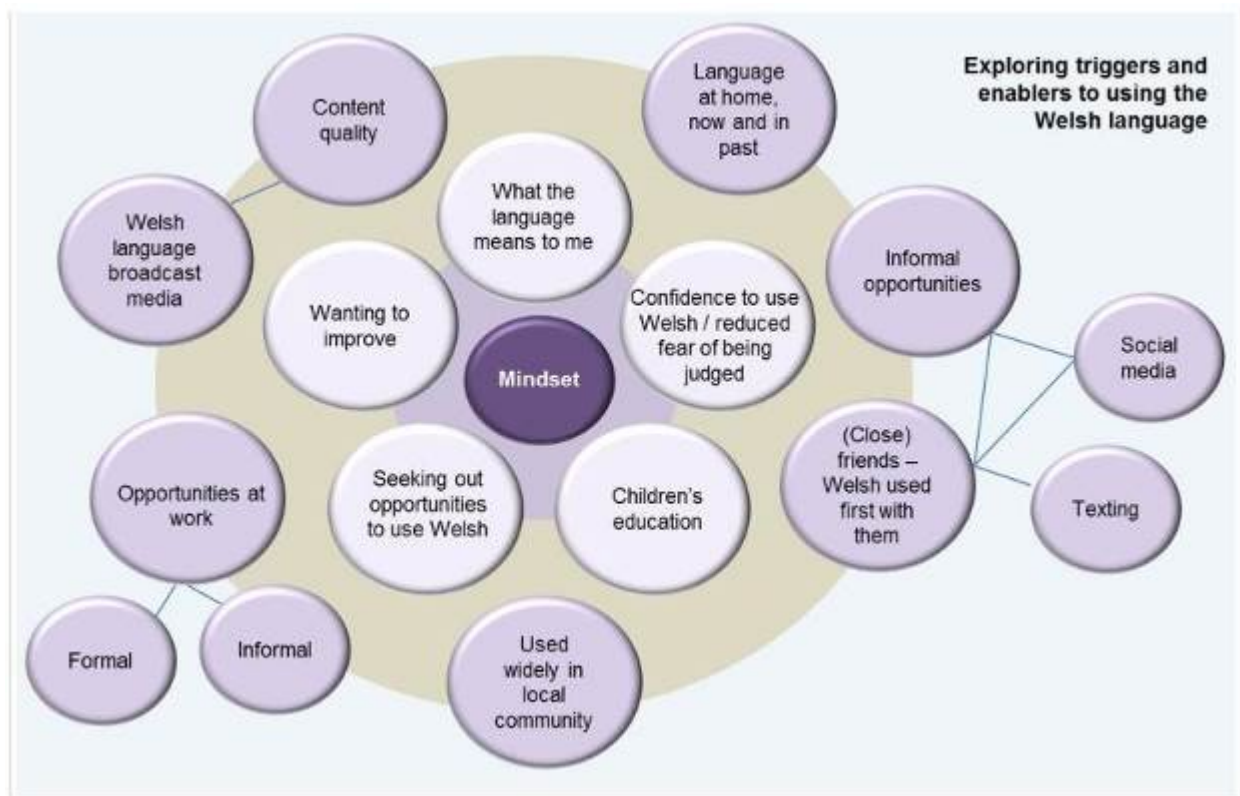
The qualitative findings suggest that there is often a hardwired affinity with the Welsh language and a general desire among Welsh speakers to do more through the medium of Welsh. Similarly, the quantitative component found that 84% of Welsh speakers *did* want to do more in Welsh. However, the quantitative results on language behaviours illustrate quite clearly that barriers exist to using the Welsh language more, and which override the positive, more emotional attachments to what the Welsh language signifies. In addition, not all participants

in the qualitative research (among those using the language less often than daily) could see what might encourage them to do more through the medium of Welsh.

Before exploring these obstacles to using Welsh, the report will first describe the factors encountered that do encourage Welsh speakers to use the language, which were often underpinned by the emotional attachments discussed above.

5.2 What triggers and enables Welsh speakers to use the Welsh language

The diagram below summarises the themes and scenarios that emerged from the qualitative research which encouraged and / or enabled use of the Welsh language. The themes at the heart of the model centre on attitudes and mindsets which, when present, positively influenced usage of Welsh. The themes towards the edge of the diagram focus more on scenario and environment which also played a key part in using Welsh, when combined with mindset.



Among the qualitative research participants, the types of trigger and enabler that prompted Welsh language use were often similar across participant type (fluency, frequency) but varied in terms of level of usage in those scenarios. It should be noted that the qualitative sample was designed to ensure a mix of levels of

language use and where the participant had first started speaking Welsh, across levels of fluency, so was not intended to be representative of Welsh speakers generally.

As this and the subsequent section of the report show, what may be a trigger or enabler for some participants, can be a barrier for others, for example the language of the household, the language spoken in the community, and the language spoken at work.

5.2.1 At home

Language used in the home among qualitative research participants was naturally influenced by Welsh language proficiency of the family or friends in the household. Those who had started speaking Welsh in the home as a child and / or were fluent were more likely to have continued to do so through to adulthood (in the survey those who had been raised as Welsh speakers by their parents were more likely to always / usually use Welsh in all situations) and to display confidence with the language.

Some participants, who were less confident with Welsh and used it less frequently, were still able to use the language in the household because their children (and occasionally grandchildren) were learning Welsh at school or attended a Welsh-medium school. Examples included helping with homework, reading to the children in Welsh and accessing S4C Welsh language digital content aimed at children (*Cyw*). The latter included both TV programmes and online content (e.g. games), in a few examples.

Case story: using S4C to get the children thinking in Welsh for school

These primary school aged children live in Rhondda Cynon Taf. Their Dad, although fluent, has not had much opportunity to speak Welsh in recent years - and his confidence has dipped although he does sometimes use it with the children, and occasionally online with old school friends. Mum is a non-Welsh speaker but believes strongly in the importance of the language. The children therefore attend a Welsh-medium school. However, outside of school, the children don't get to speak much Welsh. The parents therefore make a point of turning on S4C children's programmes in the morning to get the children thinking and speaking in Welsh before they head off for school.

Teachers had sometimes encouraged the parents in the sample to do more with the children in Welsh. On occasion, in-home observations during the interviews highlighted examples of correspondence received from the school which was bilingual, and which acted as a means of helping to shift the language into routine life.

Their teachers say to me that I should do more Welsh with them at home. I do try, I read more Welsh books to them, as before we used to read English books only because it was easier, but now there is a lot more Welsh books. (F, 25-40, fluent, daily, Pwllheli)

In the qualitative research, a mixed language household tended to result in less Welsh being used at home (in the survey, 28% of fluent Welsh speakers lived in households where only or mostly English was spoken), including watching Welsh language TV / listening to Welsh language radio. A number of participants in the qualitative research switched between Welsh and English at home depending on the language ability of others or simply because it felt natural to do so. (As section 5.3 highlights, however, it was not always the case that those in the household who could speak Welsh did so among themselves.)

Qualitatively, participants tended to be less engaged with Welsh language TV and radio than with English programmes and stations. However, awareness and enjoyment of Welsh language TV content were regular triggers for using the language for some, and tended to tie in with Welsh being regularly used in the home or else as a means of helping young children in the household with their Welsh (via *Cyw*).

The more fluent participants and some of those who had started speaking Welsh as a child at home were more likely to identify programmes they liked to watch on S4C. Rugby coverage and the programme *Jonathan* were relatively prominent among the programmes that appealed. In addition to sport, other mentions from the qualitative sample included drama (for example *Pobol y Cwm*, *Teulu*, *Alys*, *Gwaith Cartref*), youth / magazine programmes (*Y Lle*, *Heno*), natural history, farming (*Cefn Gwlad*), music (eisteddfodau coverage, *Noson Lawen*) and news.

Jonathan's another programme [I watch]. I quite like the humour of it and again because it's sport-orientated. (M, 16-24, a little, daily, Aberaeron)

O 'n i yn gwylio'r series Alys, I liked that, a Teulu weithiau a Pobol y Cwm ambell waith. Oedd Alys yn drama da, I enjoyed everything in it. Mae Teulu yn realistic.

'I watched the series Alys, I liked that, and Teulu sometimes and Pobol y Cwm occasionally. Alys was a good drama, I enjoyed everything in it. Teulu is realistic.' (F, 41-55, fluent, daily, Brynamman)

The range of programmes mentioned indicated that some participants were able to find content that appealed, and contrasted to a certain extent with some of the less positive opinions voiced on Welsh language TV content generally (described in section 5.3.6).

A small number of participants in the qualitative research, who were keen to improve their Welsh, welcomed the opportunity S4C provided to develop their

vocabulary and language skills for example via subtitles. Accessing the Welsh language via TV programmes also meant that a learner felt they would not be judged on their ability with the language. Taking the opportunity to practise Welsh (when combined with a natural confidence as an individual) occasionally extended to any scenario where the participant was able to practise their Welsh, for example when out and about and via social media.

I do catch the odd Pobol y Cwm omnibus every so often; and I like doing that mainly because I like watching it with the subtitles and that's mainly because it gives me a little more of the vocab. (F, 25-40, fair amount, weekly, Ruthin)

If I put [the TV on] in Welsh I'm not going to feel intimidated, oh, somebody is going to say something at me. I can take my time, work it out. (M, 41-55, fair amount, less often than weekly, Pwllheli)

The subject matter [on Y Lle] is quite irreverent and it's quite punchy and spicy. Because the segments are short I can watch it and pick up little bits, change to another element or subject matter and you're picking up things about that. (M, 41-55, a little, daily, Ruthin)

The trigger to watch Welsh language programmes was sometimes less to do with the genre or quality of the content, however, and more to do with identifying local areas on-screen or individuals who the participant knew would be on the programme.

Occasionally, the attachment to the Welsh language described in section 5.1 was mentioned by participants as a key reason for watching Welsh language TV / listening to Welsh language radio because it was another way of helping to sustain the language.

Dw i'n meddwl fod o'n bwysig fod yr iaith Gymraeg yn cario 'mlaen ar y teledu, oherwydd mae'n bwysig fod yr iaith yn cario ymlaen. (I think it is important that the Welsh language is used in television, because it helps to keep the language alive.) (Bilingual post online, F, 56+, fluent, daily, Pwllheli)

A further enabler which helped a small number of participants to access Welsh language TV was awareness and usage of S4C's on-demand service, *Clic*, to catch up on programmes like *Jonathan*, *Gigl*, sport, and any programmes filmed in the local area.

From an observational perspective, there appeared to be limited use of printed media in Welsh around the home. Books containing the Welsh language tended to be dictionaries. Other examples noted included children's books, cook books and an autobiography.



5.2.2 Using the Welsh language with friends

The literature review found that social networks are often seen as an important means for the development of language practice (Morris, 2007, 2010; Ó Riagáin *et al.*, 2008; Welsh Language Board, 2006). Extending the social circle beyond the family, the role of friends in this research also played an important part in determining participants' language choices.

A key pattern emerged whereby if the participant and a friend had conversed in Welsh at the start of the friendship, then the use of the Welsh language was more or less maintained across different scenarios (for example one participant talked about her 'Welsh' friends and her 'English' friends) – where all those involved in a conversation could speak Welsh. (Section 5.3, however, highlights the flipside of this pattern.)

There was an indication that those who used the Welsh language less often, and were less confident with it, sometimes had close friends with whom they communicated in Welsh. These friends were known to be sympathetic and supportive although communication from the participant in Welsh tended to be in reaction to the friend beginning a conversation in Welsh (e.g. face to face, texting or via social media). Texting for some individuals gave them permission to use more informal Welsh, especially if the recipient was a close friend. Both these factors could therefore combine to overcome the lack of confidence that many participants expressed about using the Welsh language. In addition, unlike some social media channels, texting is normally a one to one, controlled interaction so the sender is reassured over who will see the Welsh used in the message.

[My boyfriend] knows I'm trying really hard . . . and just in texts I will try and say something in Welsh. It is a lot easier by text. . . . When I see it written down I find it a lot easier to process. If you're listening to something you might not catch it automatically and he is from North Wales. (F, 16-24, fair amount, less often than weekly, Cardiff)

The infrequent occasions where the Welsh language was used on Facebook were triggered by a range of factors:

- Adapting posts with the audience in mind, i.e. the knowledge that those for whom a post or message were intended spoke Welsh; examples included

- friends with whom the participant had always spoken Welsh whether since childhood or having met them more recently (e.g. during education);
- A feeling that it was natural to use Welsh online and being more comfortable writing in Welsh, with little conscious thought given to language choice;

I comment sometimes [online] in Welsh, but it goes back to, some of my friends they maybe post in Welsh, and if I speak to them in Welsh, I'd probably comment in Welsh, I just do what comes naturally though, I don't think about it. (M, 16-24, a little, daily, Aberaeron)

- Having the confidence to use Welsh in this scenario;
- Knowing that Facebook settings could be switched to Welsh (and being comfortable with the Welsh language terminology used in the settings);

My Facebook page is set to display in Welsh, I text/tweet/email etc. in both languages depending on whom I'm communicating with. I don't mind which language I use, though am more confident in English as this is my first language. (M, 41-55, fluent, weekly, Cardiff)

- Having time to think about and check the content to be posted;
- For some who were less confident, simple greetings for special occasions provided them with the opportunity to post in Welsh, or knowing that those reading a post or message were supportive of the participant's efforts to use and improve their Welsh;

'Diwrnod Santes Dwynwen hapus'. My housemate has got a cake that my other housemate made for his birthday and that is in Welsh. I did say 'Pen-blwydd hapus'. . . . I knew how to say it and I knew it wasn't hard, and loads of my friends were writing it so if I thought mine was wrong I could just check and see. (F, 16-24, fair amount, less often than weekly, Cardiff)

- Feeling comfortable posting in 'Wenglish' because of the informal nature of Facebook.

It all depends who I'm speaking to really [on Facebook]. If it's a friend who speaks Welsh, then I'll post it in Welsh, using a very weak strain of Wenglish! . . . It's a lot more informal so you don't need to worry so much about grammar, punctuations and spelling and you can get away with it more on these social whatsits! (F, 25-40, fluent, weekly, Aberaeron)

Participants who were using the Welsh language on Facebook and other social media were sometimes more reactive than proactive in their use, that is

responding to posts from others which were in Welsh rather than taking the lead, because English was viewed as the default language online (see section 5.3).

I've got a lot of friends on Facebook who are Welsh speakers so they tend to put their comments in Welsh, and if I need to send a message it'll be sent in Welsh. (F, 41-55, fluent, daily, RCT)

5.2.3 Welsh language and the local community

The literature review established that language use at home is often seen as an important factor in influencing language use in the wider community (in the case of Wales, see Harrison, Bellin and Piette, 1981; Lyon, 1996; Gathercole, 2005; Morris and Jones, 2007a; Morris and Jones, 2007b; Morris, 2010; Thomas and Roberts, 2011).

Morris (2010: 96) noted that the *“linguistic nature of the home area of young people was a significant factor in the opportunities they had to use Welsh socially”*.

Inevitably, participants living in areas where Welsh was widely spoken were more likely to encounter opportunities to use it when out and about (in the survey, those living in North and Mid and West Wales were much more likely to always or usually speak Welsh in their local community than those living in South East Wales). Within the qualitative sample, some participants were using Welsh in a variety of situations, for example with neighbours, when shopping, at the golf or bowls club, dancing lessons, at the local garage, in the pub, at the local GP surgery (if a Welsh speaker was on duty), at church, at the cashpoint, and via the arts (e.g. being a member of a choir, seeing a Welsh band play or attending a theatre production).

There was a touring theatre company and they put on Macbeth in Welsh, but that was only because a friend of ours was [involved] I think, but it was really good and I thoroughly enjoyed it. I was actually very surprised that I enjoyed it! (F, 25-40, fluent, weekly, Aberaeron)

In areas where Welsh speakers were a minority, those participants keen to use the Welsh language encountered fewer opportunities to do so and had to work harder to discover where they could use or access the Welsh language. These occasional examples, in the Cardiff and RCT areas, included frequenting certain pubs, a record shop, an arts centre, keeping an eye on music listings in the area, and attending church. One participant described how his partner made a point of doing as much as she could in the Cardiff area with a like-minded Welsh-speaking friend through the medium of Welsh by making an effort to seek out opportunities.

Un ffordd i gadw'r iaith fynd ymlaen yw gwneud fel fy ngwraig yn ei wneud, sef dod o hyd i ffrind sy' byth yn siarad Saesneg â chi, a chwilio am bethau i'w gwneud gyda'ch gilydd - fel mynd i'r gym, cwrdd am goffi, mynychu darlithiau neu glwb llyfrau Cymraeg ayyb. Yng Nghaerdydd mae llawer o bethau i'w gwneud trwy gyfrwng y Gymraeg, os y'chi'n chwilio amdany'n nhw.

'One way to ensure the longevity of the language is to do what my wife did, which is to find a friend who never speaks English with you, and look for things to do together - such as going to the gym, meet for a coffee, attend lectures or Welsh book clubs and so forth. There are plenty of things to do in Cardiff through the medium of Welsh, if you look for them.'
(M, 56+, fair amount, weekly, Cardiff)

But the other day [at church] half of the book was in Welsh and I found myself following, 'cause [my partner] was reading it in English and he had the Welsh writing on one side, I did follow the Welsh side. And the gentleman who was sat next to me noticed it and he did start to speak to me in Welsh, 'cause he noticed that I was reading from that side, the same as him. (F, 25-40, fair amount, weekly, RCT)

Morris, Cunliffe and Prys (2012) concluded that social networking sites afforded young people that live in a community without the critical mass of Welsh speakers, the opportunity to use and practise the Welsh language. Although not raised by participants overall in this research, this idea may be an opportunity to explore further, provided that the purpose of the online space was clear, appealing and that any feeling of being judged was minimised.

5.2.4 Opportunities to use Welsh at work

Employers and job functions sometimes provided opportunities for participants to use the Welsh language in a variety of settings. This is particularly true of public sector jobs in Wales, resulting from current language legislation.

The Welsh Government sees the use of Welsh in the workplace as an important area for the promotion and encouragement of the Welsh language (2011b: 14).

Those in external-facing roles were sometimes required or at least encouraged to use Welsh, when interacting with customers. If working in an area where Welsh was widely spoken, customers often wished to speak in Welsh for example at a pub, restaurant or local community centre. In other cases, the Welsh language formed part of the organisation's offering (e.g. technology, legal or education) and the job role required the participant to communicate in Welsh with certain clients (or with pupils, as a teaching assistant).

It was sometimes the case that participants had to overcome confidence issues with the Welsh language in these customer-facing roles but subsequently very much appreciated the impact of the job on their self-belief and language ability.

[I felt] slightly uncomfortable at first because I knew my Welsh wasn't up to standard, but by the end it did me a huge favour because I got so much more confident with it [participant working in a legal practice]. (F, 25-40, fluent, weekly, Aberaeron)

Case story: Using Welsh at work causes rethink on the language

This fluent Welsh-speaking younger participant in North Wales comes from a non-Welsh-speaking family. He attended a bilingual primary school and then moved between a number of different secondary schools. Thinking that it would be easy, he chose to do A Level Welsh but found it a good deal harder than expected. On leaving school, he forgot about the Welsh language and spent three years at university, and lost all confidence in speaking Welsh. He eventually found a job to match his IT skills and it required Welsh language capabilities because of the client base. Having gained the job, he was 'thrown in at the deep end' not only because of customer requirements but because other staff were Welsh speakers as well.

The combination of supportive colleagues and the job role have resulted in greater confidence in using the language and a different outlook on its significance. The participant also now uses Welsh more regularly in other situations when out and about in the community, for example starting a conversation in Welsh, and using the cashpoint in Welsh.

Mae popeth yn mynd nôl i'r dechrau yn y job yma. 'Dw i yn sbio a'r bopeth yn wahanol rŵan. . . . Rŵan dw i wedi newid fy meddwl 'dw i'n meddwl bod eisiau cario fo ymlaen, ac os 'dw i yn cael plentyn, plan fi yw i danfon nhw i ysgol Gymraeg.

'Everything goes back to the beginning in this job. 'I look at everything differently now. . . . Now I have changed my mind, I need to carry on, and if I have a child, my plan is to send them to a Welsh medium School.' (M, 16-24, fluent, daily, Ruthin)

The workplace also provided the opportunity for some less fluent Welsh speakers to speak Welsh informally with other more fluent staff, who were nearly always supportive of the participant's efforts to improve his or her Welsh. The situations could involve chats in the kitchen, daily greetings or a text message. As with those using Welsh with customers, interacting with other staff in Welsh had helped or was helping some participants to regain a degree of confidence in their language capabilities. One recently retired participant recounted how the use of

'learner badges' in the workplace had helped break down confidence barriers between staff over using the Welsh language.

The Welsh language has come more back to me since I've worked in this [factory]. The majority there are Welsh-speaking. (M, 41-55, fair amount, weekly, Pwllheli)

O'dd y bos wedi tecstio fi gynne, a nes i tecsto nôl. Mae wastad yn gwneud, a mae'n dod yn fwy naturiol i fi erbyn nawr tecsto nôl yn Gymraeg, oherwydd bo fi'n dysgu o spelling hi.

'The boss sent me a text earlier, and I replied. She always does, and it has become more natural for me now to reply in Welsh, because I learn from her spelling.' (F, 41-55, fluent, daily, Brynamman)

In the example below, the participant was an adult learner and explained how the workplace provided him with daily opportunities to try out Welsh that he had learned on his course. Welsh was the 'first language' in the office.

There is more opportunity to use it, . . . I can drop in phrases like 'Rwy'n hoffi anifeiliaid llawer' is one of those that stuck from the Welsh lessons, . . . it was nice to be able to drop that in because it cemented the idea that I wasn't just learning it for the hell of it. I will be able to use it and interact. (M, 41-55, a little, daily, Ruthin)

The open plan nature of the office also encouraged the same participant to use Welsh with colleagues.

As I walk in from the stairwell there is an open plan area, and there are Welsh speakers dotted around there so they are people I can say 'Bore da' to, and 'Chi'n iawn?'; just socialise and use spoken Welsh. (M, 41-55, a little, daily, Ruthin)

To sum up, therefore, some participants who had been less certain in their Welsh language skills had subsequently grown in confidence, and attributed much of the improvement to the workplace as a key enabler.

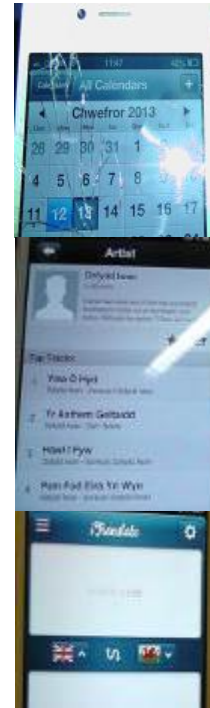
5.2.5 Reducing the fear of being judged on Welsh language capabilities

Section 5.3 will highlight key themes around confidence and the Welsh language, as well as limited awareness of small changes that can be made to encourage greater use of the language.

In terms of patterns of usage where this perceived risk of judgement is minimised, it is worth noting that the more 'passive' or individual use of the Welsh language via broadcast media avoids any exposure on the participant's part to judgements from other Welsh speakers on his or her Welsh language

capabilities. Other instances of similar scenarios where there would be no perceived risk of being judged included the use of ATMs (usage of which was also a way of making a statement that the choice to do so was welcomed), and watching local Welsh bands at gigs.

Certain usage of the mobile space was also judgement-free, and represented ways in which low-effort actions could help to mainstream the Welsh language into everyday life. These situations were also more likely to involve straightforward and accessible Welsh. A number of examples were given of using a Welsh language calendar on a smartphone, streaming Welsh language music, and using Welsh language apps (e.g. for the weather, S4C's *Clic* and *Cyw*, and dictionary apps like *Geiriaduron*). The images (right) give examples of Welsh language usage in the mobile space among participants.



Mae gen i iPhone ac iPad. Ar blaen y ffôn a'r iPad, dw i wedi newid y dyddiad i'r Cymraeg ar y front screen, ar y calendr actually.

'I have an iPhone and an iPad. On the front of the phone and iPad, I have changed the date to Welsh on the front screen, and on the calendar actually.' (F, 16-24, fluent, daily, Brynamman)

As discussed in 5.2.2 the controlled environment of texting minimised the risk of judgement if the recipient was someone the participant could rely on to be supportive.

Twitter also enabled (mostly) passive exposure to the Welsh language, that is, following rather than tweeting, with a small number of participants following well-known individuals who used Welsh in their tweets. (In the survey 8% of Welsh speakers had used Welsh to some extent on Twitter in the last week, whether reading tweets written in Welsh or themselves tweeting in the Welsh language.) Examples of those followed in the qualitative study who tweeted in Welsh included the rugby players George North, Mike Phillips and Jamie Roberts; Nigel Owens (rugby referee); Alex Jones (TV presenter); Glyn Wise (reality TV contestant); Radio Cymru; *Stiwdio Gefn* (S4C music programme); Time to Change Wales (mental health initiative); and Dyfed-Powys Police.

As with certain other scenarios, Twitter has the potential to offer learners the chance to try out their Welsh, as one adult learner experienced, and in an 'informal', 'unthreatening' environment.

I follow the Welsh Time to Change project and New Work Connections project. With both of these I sometimes post in Welsh - using very basic sentences and ideas. I love doing that as it means I'm using written Welsh

more often and that cements what I've learnt. It feels informal and unthreatening using Welsh on Twitter as I'm comfortable using Twitter. (M, 41-55, a little, daily, Ruthin)

5.2.6 Other Welsh language media and digital content

Across the qualitative sample, few participants reported accessing the Welsh language via other online or digital sources. In isolated cases, Radio Cymru was highlighted for appealing aspects of its content, such as Welsh music with an entertaining presenter (e.g. C2), sport, news (e.g. *Post Cyntaf*), and programmes of local interest or offering local news (e.g. *Taro'r Post*). This small group of participants were more likely to have learned Welsh as a child at home, and to be fluent speakers (in the survey, those brought up as Welsh speakers by their parents and those describing themselves as fluent were most likely to have listened to Welsh language radio recently).

I listen to Radio Cymru, but it tends to be for things like rugby, for sports things and stuff like that. I will tune in if I can't get it anywhere else. (F, 25-40, fair amount, weekly, Ruthin)

Nid wy'n gweld Radio 1 yn dda ar ôl 10 o'r gloch, felly dw i jyst yn switcho drosodd i ffindio'r music gorau reili. Amser 'na o'r nos wedyn falle Radio Cymru neu Radio Carmarthenshire.

'I don't think Radio 1 is very good after 10 o'clock, so I just switch over to find the best music, really. At that time of the evening, I'll listen to maybe Radio Cymru or Radio Carmarthenshire.' (F, 16-24, fluent, daily, Brynamman)

Rwy'n gwranddo ar Radio Cymru o 7 y bore tan 5 y prynhawn os yw'n bosib. Mae rhaglen Iola Wyn yn ddiddorol iawn a hefyd Garry Owen. Rwy'n mwynhau clywed hanesion diddorol hen a newydd.

'I listen to Radio Cymru from 7am until 5pm if it's possible. Iola Wyn's programme is very interesting, and also Garry Owen's programme. I enjoy hearing interesting stories, both old and new.' (F, 56+, fluent, daily, Aberaeron)

Other radio stations were occasionally mentioned where participants were able to access content that included the Welsh language, for example Radio Ceredigion and its regional focus and mix of Welsh and English content; and Radio Cardiff (Thursdays 9.00pm).

I sometimes listen to Radio Ceredigion though, because they play some good music; it's a bit of both [Welsh and English] and it's relevant to the area, you pick up on a few things and know a few people who are on it. (M, 16-24, a little, daily, Aberaeron)

Similarly, examples volunteered by participants of Welsh language online content that they used were fairly limited. Qualitatively, those who were fluent speakers and / or used the language on a daily basis and / or had learned Welsh as a child at home were relatively more likely than others to identify an element of Welsh language content as part of their online repertoire. In this respect, using or being exposed to the Welsh language via social media was more common than usage of more 'traditional' websites.

Cunliffe, Morris and Prys (2013) also noted a similar pattern with young people on social networking sites, with fluent Welsh speakers more likely to use Welsh online (via Facebook) than non-fluent Welsh speakers. They also found that social media was the most frequent online space for the use of Welsh, citing lack of Welsh language content in other 'traditional' websites.

The limited examples of non-social networking online exposure to the Welsh language included S4C's website – *Cyw* and *Clic* (e.g. for rugby, programmes filmed in the area or Urdd Eisteddfod programmes), BBC Cymru (e.g. a participant who was more comfortable reading in Welsh than English); and finding the site good for news and weather), English to Welsh translation facilities (first language Welsh speaker) and one or two Welsh music websites.

Os byddai'n defnyddio BBC Cymru, ac yn edrych am newyddion, byddai'n newid i'r Gymraeg oherwydd dwi'n gweld darllen y Gymraeg yn fwy hawdd na darllen y Saesneg, a gyda'r tywydd a pethau fel na, dwi'n dueddol o newid e i'r Gymraeg, oherwydd dwi'n deall y termau o daearyddiaeth yn yr ysgol.

'If I choose BBC Cymru, and search for the news, I change the language to Welsh because I think that reading in Welsh is easier than reading in English, and with the weather and things like that, I tend to change it into Welsh, because I understand the terminology from my geography lessons in school.' (F, 16-24, fluent, daily, Brynamman)

Have also gone on the Cyw website with my children as they like to play the games on there and have a look around the site. We sometimes will print out the resources on there, such as colouring sheets of their favourite characters from a particular programme. (F, 25-40, fair amount, weekly, RCT)

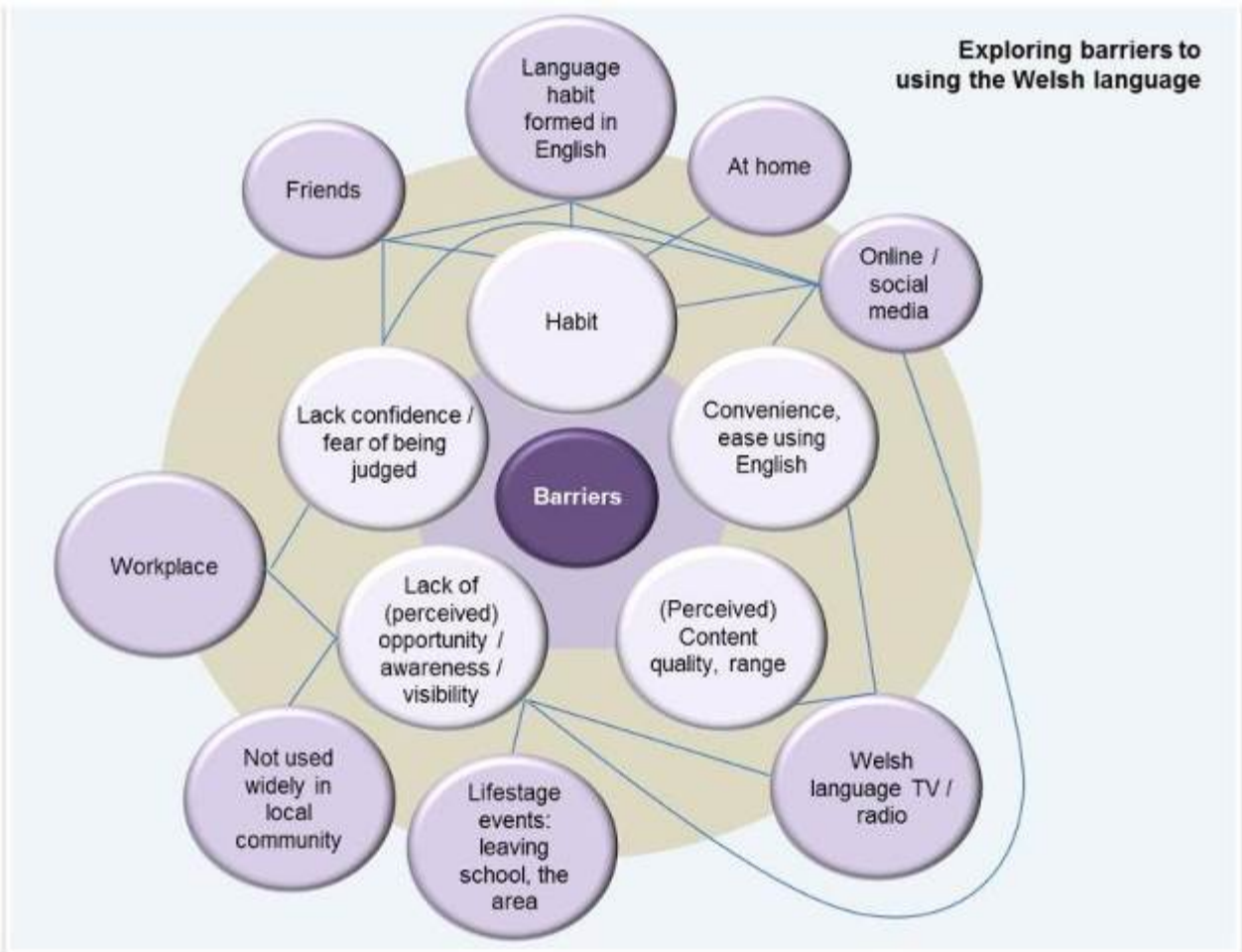
5.3 What obstacles prevent Welsh speakers from using the Welsh language more

This section of the report highlights key patterns which influenced the extent to which participants used the Welsh language in their day to day lives. As with the previous section which dealt with triggers and enablers to using Welsh, the themes often spanned different environments and scenarios.

“When bilinguals use both their languages on a day-to-day basis, language use is not haphazard or arbitrary. Rather, bilinguals tend to use their different language in different context or domains and with different people.”

(Baker and Prys Jones, 1998: 51)

It should be noted from this research that a good deal of complexity could surround why it was that the Welsh language was not used more often. Not all participants who used the Welsh language infrequently were able to pinpoint what had led to changes in their usage over time. In addition there were sometimes situations where the environment indicated that Welsh could be used (e.g. with Welsh speakers in the household either currently or as a child; or among friends) but where English was used instead. The centre of the model below focuses on those key themes, with the influence of different environments / scenarios towards the outer edge.



The key themes are discussed below.

5.3.1 Habit

A key barrier, which prevented Welsh speakers from using the Welsh language more, was identified by exploring with participants how language habits had been formed over time. The qualitative research frequently found that the language used at the beginning of an interaction tended by and large to persist over time. Examples included the language used in the home as a child, the first conversation with a friend or partner, the language used to go online, or the language initially used to watch TV or listen to the radio. If English was the language used for these interactions, it tended to lead to an ingrained habit of using English more regularly than Welsh.

A similar trend was also noted in research conducted by Thomas and Roberts amongst primary school pupils (2011) and Cunliffe, Morris and Prys amongst secondary school aged pupils (2013).

A change in household composition could reduce the amount of Welsh language TV / radio usage in-home, especially if awareness of on-demand options like *Clic* was limited.

The scenarios described above mainly encompass key routine behaviours of individuals' day to day lives, and changing these types of habit presents a significant challenge.

This 'language trap' [is the issue]; and that is that you tend to speak to someone in the language that you first knew them. (M, 56+, fair amount, rarely, RCT)

I've got a few friends I talk Welsh with, but most of the time it's English. Most of them spoke Welsh as well, but you know when you start talking English it's a bit weird to change. (M, 16-24, fluent, Pwllheli)

My friend I'm doing the course with, she's a fluent Welsh speaker, but she says she finds it funny to speak to me in Welsh, even though she knows I'm learning, she won't speak to me in Welsh. (F, 25-40, fair amount, weekly, RCT)

Inevitably, some participants' use of the Welsh language varied over time, depending on life stage and environment. One key milestone which sometimes adversely affected Welsh language usage was when participants had left school. Examples included those living in areas where Welsh was not widely spoken who no longer had the opportunity to speak Welsh. When this change in circumstance was combined with having grown up speaking with family and friends mostly in English, it resulted in their Welsh language usage falling away. A couple of participants acknowledged that the language had not consciously meant a great deal to them at the time, and that they had 'forgotten' about it on leaving school.

Unless a teacher said like, 'Speak Welsh.' And then as soon as their back's turned you just start speaking in English. . . . It wasn't in my mind [the Welsh language on leaving school]. I just didn't think about it at all. (F, 25-40, fair amount, weekly, Cardiff)

I think life gets in the way really then, from that time on, 'cause I went to university, come out from university, didn't really use it in university at all and got married, and so I think it's just something you miss. (F, 25-40, fair amount, weekly, RCT)

Qualitatively, the impact on Welsh language usage of life stage or life events was more likely to be felt among those who had been unable to mainstream the language into their lives away from the classroom, for example having first started to speak Welsh as a subject at school or at a Welsh-medium school. Also, occasional instances were described by participants, either as a parent or from recollection, of Welsh being associated with school, rather than something to be used in day to day life.

I decided to send my daughter to Welsh school. So I thought if I learned [again] as well, when she came home we could be speaking Welsh and that would be that, but when she came home from school, as a very young girl then, I'd speak to her in Welsh and her reaction would be, 'No Dad, Welsh is for school – we're in the house now so we speak English'. (M, 56+, fair amount, rarely, RCT)

Examples were given of others with strong Welsh language skills who had moved away from their community, for example to university or for employment (e.g. to England) and had therefore seen their language habits change, and their Welsh fade. Sometimes the language was rediscovered, for example moving back to a Welsh-speaking area of the country and having a job where Welsh was used in the workplace.

Case story: changes in circumstances over time see Welsh language skills diminish

This older participant feels that he can speak a 'fair amount' of Welsh but uses it less regularly nowadays. Originally from Ammanford, he grew up speaking Welsh with his parents and siblings and attended a Welsh-medium primary school. He then attended a non-Welsh-medium secondary school and found himself speaking more English outside the home. His education then took him to Aberystwyth University where the courses were in English. The friends he made there were also non-Welsh-speaking. Afterwards, and having moved abroad for five years, he returned to work in London for twenty years. The lack of apparent opportunity to use the language meant that, by the time he moved back to Wales, settling in the South East, his confidence in his language capabilities had diminished.

However, his partner is also a Welsh speaker but they have always spoken to each other in English: it seems 'more natural' to him, and he feels more comfortable doing so.

Na, dydyn ni ddim [yn siarad Cymraeg]. Seicolegol yw e, rwy'n fodlon, ond dydy e ddim. (Wife) Fel am blynydde, dim on Sisneg odd gyda ni yn 'de, a mae'n mwy naturiol i siarad yn Sisneg.

'No, we don't speak Welsh. It's psychological, I'm willing, but he isn't. (Wife) For years, we only had English, and it's more natural for us to speak English.' (M, 56+, fair amount, weekly, Cardiff)

Habit, along with confidence (discussed below), appeared to play a key role in preventing some participants from using the Welsh language online on a regular basis. The survey results indicate that only 17% of Welsh speakers always / usually use Welsh online in any way. English was considered the default language online and was an ingrained behaviour.

Visibility of the Welsh language online also appeared to be an issue. For some, the Welsh language was not even an active consideration when going online. In certain social media environments, in particular Facebook, some participants were not consciously thinking of whether or not they should post in Welsh because the range of friends included people who could not speak the language.

Na sa i'n credu, na ni'n digon hapus yn defnyddio'r Saesneg i ffindio be dw i isie.

'No, I don't think so, no I'm happy enough to use English to find what I want.' (M, 56+, fluent, weekly, Aberaeron)

What stops me is because most of the people speak English to me, it would be weird me replying back in Welsh. . . . I'd use Welsh more online if people spoke Welsh to me, but because they don't I don't need to use it. (F, 25-40, fluent, daily, Pwllheli)

Cunliffe, Morris and Prys (2013) also identified similar findings. Their research into language use online by secondary school aged pupils found that Welsh was rarely used online: English was seen as a default language in many cases.

The diary exercise during the qualitative research gave participants the option to complete the task online. Having logged onto the site, they were given the option of clicking on an English version or Welsh version of the diary questions. All but one participant clicked on the English version even though some of those doing so posted in Welsh, which might support the view that online habits could become ingrained.

Habit and particularly lack of awareness tended to affect participants' language use with software settings. A small number had attempted to use the 'Cymraeg' settings for Facebook and had found some of the terminology used unfamiliar. Consequently, they had changed the settings back to English. During the research, Facebook users were encouraged to try out the 'Cymraeg' settings, with mixed results. Some felt certain Welsh words used were not very familiar, but also uncomfortable with changing an established, familiar habit of using the site in English.

Dw i yn licio bod gen ti ddewis. Ond o'r point of view o fi gan mod i ddim yn iaith gyntaf Cymraeg, i supportio nhw 'dw i yn struglo dipyn bach mwy gyda nhw gan bod literally bob peth yn Gymraeg, gyda geiriau technological, yr interface i ni'n cael problem.

'I like to have a choice. But from my point of view as my first language is not Welsh, to support them, I struggle a little more with them as literally everything is in Welsh, I find problems with the technological words and the interface.' (M, 16-24, fluent, daily, Ruthin)

[Tries changing Facebook settings to Welsh.] Oh my God! That is so strange! . . . It just doesn't feel right. Feels as if you've used a different programme or something and you always revert back to your old ways. (F, 25-40, fair amount, weekly, RCT)

On a related topic but focusing specifically on schools, research by Morris, Cunliffe and Prys (2012) suggested that the use of Welsh language software amongst Welsh-medium secondary school aged pupils was low. One possible explanation for this trend was that the Welsh-medium schools in the sample tended to use English language software packages for the teaching of IT.

5.3.2 Confidence

One of the most prevalent obstacles to using the Welsh language to emerge from the qualitative research was the issue of confidence. This issue has already been raised by the Welsh Government and Welsh Language Board with regards to Welsh language skills in the workplace (see National Assembly for Wales, 2011b; Welsh Language Board, 2011). The National Assembly for Wales Enterprise and Learning Committee found that a lack of confidence in the ability to speak Welsh was commonplace in the workplace (National Assembly for Wales 2011b: 13). The *Living Lives Through the Medium of Welsh* study (2005) also concluded that confidence was a factor which influenced the use of Welsh in daily lives.

This theme cut through several environments where Welsh might be used: in particular, when talking with others, either face to face or online. The types of emotion that some participants experienced if having to speak or write in Welsh contrasted strongly with the positive emotions voiced over what the language meant to them. The kinds of emotions experienced (highlighted below) included believing they sounded 'like a fool' trying to speak Welsh, feeling awkward, or feeling incompetent and intimidated.



Virtually all the qualitative participants who were not speaking Welsh on a daily basis referred at some point to an issue with confidence and using the Welsh language. It also tended to be slightly more keenly felt among those who had started to speak Welsh at school. In the quantitative survey, as many as four in ten fluent Welsh speakers (41%) agreed 'I wish I could speak better Welsh', rising to 82% of those who started to learn Welsh at nursery or primary school.

This lack of confidence in the qualitative sample appeared to be more psychological, with a fear of getting something wrong, and being seen to make a mistake, rather than a result of specific experiences. There were only a very

small number of examples given where confidence had been dented by a more fluent Welsh speaker taking issue with the participant's attempt to use the language. Although rare, such incidents could have a lasting effect on the individual's self-confidence.

[A customer was] refusing to speak English and demanding to speak Welsh; and my other colleague was butting in to help, but she wouldn't speak to her, she wanted to make the point, you know? . . . I try the best that I can, I try to be polite as I can. I just don't think my Welsh is good enough. (F, 41-55, fair amount, weekly, Ruthin)

Face to face scenarios during which some participants lacked confidence to use Welsh not only covered interactions with fluent Welsh speakers who were acquaintances (for example at work with colleagues or more formal situations with customers) but also sometimes exchanges with neighbours, closer friends and even housemates.

Given the Welsh language capabilities of some of these participants, it would seem that the nervousness associated with using Welsh was likely to be unfounded. When combined with an emotional attachment to the language, one or two participants felt a degree of guilt in not grasping the opportunity to use Welsh more often in these situations.

Earlier today a fluent Welsh-speaking friend of mine called in for ten minutes and because he didn't initiate the conversation in Welsh then I didn't carry it on in Welsh. . . . If I have the chance to speak Welsh and don't take it, I feel vaguely ashamed, as if I've let the language down. (M, 56+, fair amount, rarely, RCT)

I feel happier talking English. I think I sound a bit weird talking Welsh. . . . It's just that I sound a bit like a fool talking. (M, 16-24, fluent, weekly, Pwllheli)

I feel awkward when speaking to the neighbours in Welsh, because I don't know a lot of Welsh. (F, 25-40, fair amount, rarely, Brynamman)

I really need to be more positive and not shy away from speaking Welsh as sometimes I do, especially when a true first language speaker comes along I tend to get flustered, and can sometimes feel nervous. I think it's more shame really: ashamed that I never kept it up enough and forgot some of the basics. (M, 41-55, fluent, less often than weekly, RCT)

When people try to bring in the very big Welsh words I feel intimidated and then revert to the English. I was brought up with a Welsh father but an English mother so the Welsh was not as fluent. (M, 56+, fluent, weekly, Aberaeron)

In addition to spoken Welsh, the confidence factor was just as prevalent among participants when it came to writing in Welsh. Worries were expressed (often by those who had started speaking Welsh at school) about being grammatically correct, for example with mutations, and again being judged on their efforts.

In terms of using Welsh online, and with social media, the fear of making spelling and grammar mistakes with written Welsh was a significant barrier for some. If posting on Facebook, the concern could be more acute: how many people might read and judge this Welsh language post? Similarly if sending an email, for example at work, participants who were less certain of their capabilities preferred to use English or, if the email needed to be in Welsh, would check the contents with a Welsh-speaking colleague.

I can't write Welsh well enough to feel confident about my [Facebook] posts. (F, 25-40, fair amount, less often than weekly, Ruthin)

[I'd feel] a bit anxious because, oh, it might be wrong and someone is going to read it and think, what an idiot. (F, 16-24, fair amount, less often than weekly, Cardiff)

I'd feel uneasy that I'd make a stupid mistake and that I'd got a word wrong and everyone would go 'naaaa' at the post. . . . I've got about 400 good friends online and they've got, thousands of people are going to see it. I'm very conscious about spelling things. (F, 25-40, fair amount, weekly, Ruthin)

Interestingly, lack of confidence in written Welsh was not a primary barrier uncovered in research conducted by Cunliffe, Morris and Prys (2013) on the use of Welsh on social networking sites (e.g. Facebook). Their research focused on young bilinguals currently studying in Welsh-medium secondary schools. This suggests that Welsh-medium teaching is successfully creating competent Welsh/English bilinguals, and some on leaving school are losing their language confidence, and over a longer period losing their competence. The firm footing provided by Welsh-medium education may be compromised by lack of usage beyond the school years.

From time to time, participants referred to what they deemed to be the 'perfect' Welsh used on some websites (although could not provide specific examples) which did not reflect the type of Welsh they used. The issue of confidence was therefore combined with one of anticipated difficulty in both reading and writing Welsh online. (Section 5.3.3 suggests that some of these views may be based more on perception than reality.)

I fi mae o'n fwy anodd. Gan fod dw i'n gwbod mod fi ddim yn siarad Cymraeg 'yn iawn'. Dw i yn cymysgu fy iaith, ac yn siarad 'very informally.'

Pan dw i yn gweld gwefan Cymraeg mae popeth yn berffaith, mae yna lot o eiriau rwy ddim yn deall, ac mae gallu fod yn dipyn off putting i fi. 'For me, it's more difficult. Because I know I don't speak Welsh very 'correctly'. I mix up my language, and speak 'very informally'. When I see a Welsh website, everything is perfect, there are a lot of words which I don't understand, and it can be quite off-putting for me.' (M, 16-24, fluent, daily, Ruthin)

I personally wouldn't use any Welsh websites, it's much easier to read English than Welsh. Don't get me wrong, I love the Welsh language but if you're looking for something online in Welsh you get all these big words that I wouldn't understand. (F, 25-40, fluent, daily, Pwllheli)

I just don't want to use Welsh online. I don't feel I would be able to understand it as much as I would if I went on it in English. . . . When I use Welsh online I feel . . . inadequate. I don't feel, yeah, confident, no. I use Welsh online because sometimes I have to. (F, 25-40, fair amount, weekly, Cardiff)

5.3.3 Perceived convenience of using English versus Welsh

The perceived convenience of using English over Welsh emerged more strongly in relation to online scenarios, including social media, among those who were less confident with their written Welsh skills. Given the choice of posting a comment or writing an email in Welsh versus English, the latter was considered faster and more straightforward because the participant did not have to think too much about spelling and grammar, as they would have to have done in Welsh.

In terms of reading online content in Welsh, there was a perception that websites containing the Welsh language would consist of Welsh that would be hard work to read. In English, the content could be skim-read and understood at a glance. On a few occasions, this perception was challenged during the research, with participants subsequently discovering that certain Welsh language online content was more accessible than expected. Two examples of this change in opinion occurred when participants were encouraged to look at S4C's website including *Clic* (http://www.s4c.co.uk/hafan/c_index.shtml), and the *BBC Cymru Cymraeg* site (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/cymru/cymraeg>).

Things like reading the news or other things online, I just want to do it and for it to be over as quick as possible. It takes me longer in Welsh and I just use what I have set up already. (M, 16-24, a little, daily, Aberaeron)

This sense of difficulty and lack of speed associated with using Welsh online was also at odds with what the internet represented to some participants. Social media usage, for example, was described as an instant, spur-of-the-moment activity which was not always reflected in perceptions of using Welsh online. In

addition, social media was sometimes used via a mobile device which contributed to the sense of interaction on the go. To stress further the convenience theme of using English online or via mobile, a couple of participants pointed out how difficult it was to use a mobile device with predictive text if using Welsh.

Facebook is very often spur of the moment comments and therefore by the time you've thought about your reply and if necessary looked up words, the moment has gone! (F, 25-40, fluent, weekly, Aberaeron)

[Predictive text] makes it really difficult. But I don't text in Welsh an awful lot, but it could be like random words here and there and like Welsh slang words as well, and the predictive text will always change them. (F, 16-24, a little, rarely, RCT)

The theme of (perceived) difficulty and effort in using the Welsh language also arose in relation to TV and radio programmes. Perhaps unsurprisingly, participants who were less fluent or confident in their Welsh language capabilities were more likely to cite comprehension issues in this respect. References were made to the use of 'big words', to presenters / actors speaking too fast on programmes, and to difficulties following North Walian and sometimes South Walian accents on Welsh language TV and radio programmes (depending on which part of Wales the participant came from). This latter issue was also mentioned by fluent Welsh speakers in the qualitative sample. While the report references in section 5.2.1 how subtitles were of use to some participants, others on occasion found it a chore to concentrate on subtitles when trying to relax in front of the TV.

The presence of dialectal variation in Welsh broadcasting is noted by Browne and Uribe-Jongbloed (2013: 18). However, they note that a measured use of dialect helps build a bond between the broadcaster and the audience, and is present in minority language broadcasting in Welsh, Irish and Māori.

5.3.4 Awareness of opportunities to use the Welsh language

Some participants acknowledged that they did not know many other Welsh speakers, which therefore limited the occasions where they could use the language in a social, informal setting, whether online or in other situations. In addition, in areas where Welsh was not as widely spoken (such as RCT and Cardiff), opportunities for some participants to use the language were not very obvious or prevalent when out and about. It could therefore be a challenge to keep the language top-of-mind if it was not effectively woven into day-to-day life.

It can be quite hard to find people in the capital who speak Welsh. (M, 41-55, fluent, weekly, Cardiff)

The limited awareness of opportunities to use Welsh has the potential to be countered by a greater emphasis on using Welsh on social networking sites, as discussed in the conclusions to this report.

In one example, this lack of apparent opportunity existed despite observing reasonably widespread examples of Welsh language signage in the area, as illustrated by the following participant case story.

Case story: regularly encountering Welsh language signage in the community

As part of the research, this participant volunteered to take photos to help record routine behaviours. The photos below illustrate how regularly he was exposed to the Welsh language through routine life, which contrasted with his lack of usage (confidence issue) despite having strong Welsh language skills, and having a small number of Welsh speakers as friends. It could be argued, however, that signage itself is insufficient if not supported with further opportunities to use Welsh, for example with a good selection of Welsh language books in a library or a shop assistant greeting a customer in Welsh (a badge indicating the wearer is happy to speak Welsh would help to encourage usage).



Routine opportunity was also sometimes an issue in the workplace, especially in areas where the language was not widely used, which would require seeking out other Welsh speakers (if in a large organisation), as one first language Welsh-

speaking participant did in order to be able to use the language. Even then, if a non-Welsh-speaking member of staff was present, the conversation would revert to English.

A lack of awareness of the opportunity to use the Welsh language applied to TV and radio programmes, for some participants. The qualitative research indicated that familiarity with Welsh language TV and radio content was often limited, or sometimes based on perception rather than recent experience. More generally, attempting to change broadcast media habits, which are often habitual and deeply embedded over time, presents a significant challenge regardless of the quality or relevance of content, as the comments below imply.

Fi'n gwybod bod fi'n mynd i cael, bang, great quality gyda Radio 4, so sa' i'n mynd i fynd off i rhywle arall. Does dim byd gen i yn erbyn Radio Cymru.

'I know that I'm going to have, bang, great quality with Radio 4, so I'm not going to go off anywhere else. I don't have anything against Radio Cymru.' (M, 41-55, fair amount, daily, Aberaeron)

I fod yn honest dw i ddim yn gwbod beth mae nhw yn rhedeg ar S4C y dyddiau yma achos dw i ddim yn watcho dim byd ers blynyddoedd.

'To be honest, I don't know what they are broadcasting on S4C these days because I haven't watched any of their programmes in years.' (M, 16-24, fluent, daily, Ruthin)

The issue of limited awareness of what is on Welsh language TV and radio is further highlighted by some of the suggestions put forward by participants on what would encourage them to watch / listen more. In addition to greater familiarity with schedules, genres were mentioned which are already represented in current schedules, for example comedy, documentaries, drama, modern music, and natural history. (However, quality issues were also raised in these areas, however, discussed in section 5.3.6.)

I think if there was, I'm not sure if there already is, but if there was a comedy panel show, like Mock the Week,⁵ if there was something like that maybe [I'd watch]? (M, 16-24, a little, daily, Aberaeron)

Some also believed that more needed to be done to promote more widely what was available on Welsh language TV and radio beyond Welsh language channels of communication.

Dw i'n cytuno hefyd gyda [named participant] a [named participant] [online forum], ond mae rhaid i S4C ac y BBC rhoi mwy o arian mewn i wneud 'programau' dda. A hefyd yn defnyddio Cymraeg a Saesneg ar yr un rhaglen, dim just ar S4C ond 'to promote the Welsh language outside the

⁵ A comparable comedy panel show *Gwefreiddiol* is currently broadcast on S4C.

Welsh-speaking base programmes like this must be aired on BBC Wales, too.'

'I also agree with [named participant] and [named participant] [online forum], but S4C and the BBC need to invest more money to make good programmes. Also use Welsh and English in the same programme, not only on S4C but to promote the Welsh language outside the Welsh speaking base programmes like this must be aired on BBC Wales, too.'

(M, 41-55, fluent, less often than weekly, RCT)

Reflecting the limited levels of Welsh language usage on the internet, (as was seen in the survey, fewer than one in five Welsh speakers always or usually used Welsh online in any way) participants displayed low levels of awareness of opportunities to use the language on the web, other than via social media, for example with other Welsh speakers, or possibly via content for learners. Even some who were fluent, regular users of Welsh could not easily think of examples of sites with Welsh language content. The issue of awareness therefore combined with the notion that English was the default language online, to create a significant barrier to making more use of Welsh online, for these participants. Building on this theme, approximately one in four respondents in the survey who used the internet were unhappy with the amount, accessibility and quality of information in Welsh online.

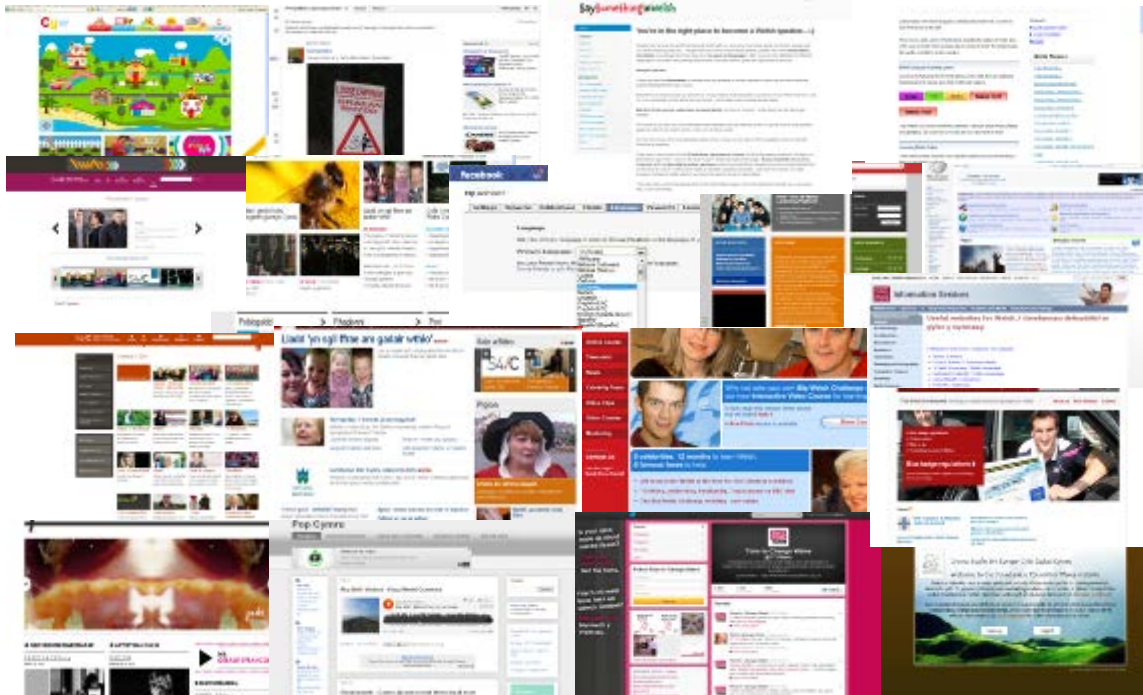
Other than if I wrote something on Facebook or something I'm not sure what else I would use Welsh online for. (F, 16-24, fair amount, less often than weekly, Cardiff)

I fod yn onest, heblaw am Facebook lle mae'n bosib cyfathrebu yn Gymraeg gyda pobl eraill allai'm meddwl am unrhyw wefan arall sy'n rhoi'r cyfle i bobl siarad trwy'r Gymraeg. Mae sawl gwefan fel y BBC yn cynnig ambell i dudalennau Cymraeg i ymarfer darllen.

'To be honest, without Facebook where it's possible to communicate in Welsh with other people, I can't think of any other website which gives people the opportunity to speak through the medium of Welsh. Several websites like the BBC provide some pages in Welsh where you can practise reading.'

(M, 16-24, fluent, daily, Cardiff)

During the online forum stage of the research, participants were encouraged to post a link or screenshot of any Welsh language pages they could find, examples of which are provided below. Some of the more fluent Welsh speakers tended to post links to sites they had used, for example covering news, Welsh language TV and music. Other examples encountered include pages aimed at learners (e.g. *SaysomethinginWelsh.com* and *Hwb*) and Wikipedia Cymraeg and the Welsh Government site, which had been used on isolated occasions for school / college work.



Mae bookmarks Facebook, S4C a BBC Cymru, i gyd yn Cymraeg. Mae'n dod yn naturiol i ddefnyddio'r Gymraeg, a chwarae teg, dw'i yn gallu ffindio beth dw'i isiau. 'Facebook, S4C and BBC Cymru bookmarks are all in Welsh. It becomes natural to use Welsh, and fair play, I can find what I want.' (F, 56+, fluent, daily, Aberaeron)

<http://www.surfacelanguages.com/language/Welsh> These would be the type of websites that I would use for Welsh on purely a learning basis, as I would look at English sites for any other information. (F, 25-40, fair amount, weekly, RCT)

As part of the qualitative research process, participants were also encouraged to view a number of Welsh language web pages. It became apparent that participants in the main were not actively choosing to avoid the content, but that often they simply did not know that the pages existed; and were comfortable using English online to meet their needs. The sites viewed during the research which attracted interest from some participants were S4C's website, and on-demand service *Clic* (http://www.s4c.co.uk/hafan/c_index.shtml), the BBC Cymru site (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/cymru/> and the BBC Cymru / Cymraeg site (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/cymru/cymraeg>). A number of participants thought that they might find content of interest on these sites (e.g. for local news, finding appealing TV programmes), and those whose written Welsh skills were not fluent appreciated the accessible Welsh the pages used.

Knowing the sort of programmes that are available on S4C I'll take time searching them out, knowing I can watch them when I have a bit of time to myself, that's probably when I'll start to use that function [Clic]. (M, 41-55, a little, daily, Ruthin)

*Sites fel hyn, [BBC Cymru], dwi'n gallu darllen e.
'Sites like this, [BBC Cymru], I can read.' (F, 41-55, fluent, daily, Brynamman)*

*O'n i ddim yn gwybod bod na /Cymru tan i fi weld o ar y fforum.
'I didn't know that /Cymru existed until I saw it on the forum.' (M, 16-24, fluent, daily, Cardiff)*



A key area of interest among those less confident with reading Welsh was the translation facilities on BBC Wales' *Cymru Cymraeg* site: a Welsh to English / English to Welsh dictionary and a 'Vocab' button. When activated, this function translates individual words on the site when the mouse hovers over the word. As a couple of participants pointed out, accessing a website with a

'Cymraeg' button which linked to a Welsh language translation of the same site would mean switching between the Welsh and English versions of pages to understand the content. This behaviour sometimes resulted in staying on the English page from a convenience point of view. Also, the pages did not appear too daunting because they contained a certain amount of English language content.

[BBC Cymru Cymraeg 'Vocab' button] that would be more useful on more websites without directing you to a new completely English page – I do like that and it would probably encourage me more. (F, 16-24, fair amount, less often than weekly, Cardiff)

The site with the dictionary is brilliant [BBC Cymru Cymraeg], I like the idea that you can translate from Welsh to English or English to Welsh depending on how you want to read it. That is a brilliant idea. (F, 25-40, fair amount, weekly, Ruthin)

[Http://www.golwg360.com](http://www.golwg360.com) was included among the websites that participants were encouraged to view during the online forum. Very few participants in the sample chose to do so.

Although the focus was to obtain reactions to the idea of this type of online concept, it is worth pointing out that a small number of younger participants doubted that they would visit these pages because they did not think they contained anything of interest for them. Also, from a technical point of view, it was not clear how the 'Vocab' function worked on touch-screen devices like tablets and smartphones, where touching a word to be translated only activated the zoom function on the device rather than giving the translation of the word.

I mean, especially for older people who perhaps want to go on sites like these. Like I wouldn't think to go on them because my main priority online is just Facebook and Twitter. (F, 16-24, a little, rarely, RCT)

The qualitative research touched on the way in which BBC Wales provides a Welsh language site (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/cymru>) and an English site (<http://www.bbc.co.uk/wales>) with slightly different content. The more fluent Welsh-speaking participants who viewed these sites expected one to be a direct translation of the other (including a small number who had visited the English version before). When they discovered that this was not the case, some were slightly bemused (or were indifferent towards it) and felt that it would be more useful to users to have the translation so that they could switch between sites if they encountered an issue with the language. The rationale for having different sites was not always very clear to participants.

No great shakes really, I assume anything on there will be on the other site but set up in a different way that's all. . . . I don't know, I suppose in a certain way maybe there is something as a Welsh speaker would find more important than an English speaker in Wales, but I don't know who would determine that? (F, 25-40, fair amount, weekly, Ruthin)

The Welsh one is more based on things that are on S4C, it seems to be. I don't watch any of that, or even listen to that radio. (F, 25-40, fluent, daily, Pwllheli)

The possibility of making small changes to routine habits online that could encourage greater use of the Welsh language tended not to be obvious overall. Mobile / tablet apps, for example, were used widely in English, but usage was extremely low in Welsh (in the survey 42% of Welsh speakers had used an English language app in the past week compared with just 6% having used a Welsh language app). The qualitative research found that little thought was given to the idea of using Welsh language apps in everyday life, for example for news or the weather. Similarly, the ability to change Facebook settings to the Welsh language was not common knowledge to these participants. Having become aware of this opportunity, some participants (but not all) were enthusiastic about the change and resolved to keep the settings in Welsh.

One thing I will do is leave Facebook in Welsh. I'll see how it goes, it's a place to start. (M, 16-24, fluent, daily, Ruthin)

Public sector online content rarely featured in participants' regular online repertoire in either language. On occasion, participants gave examples of using the school website for information or a local authority site for updates on services (parts of the fieldwork period coincided with adverse weather conditions). During the course of the research conversations, participants were asked to explore making a payment to a public service body or utility company online, through the medium of Welsh, where possible. These two examples were chosen as relevant options that consumers might have cause to use. Those who chose to look at the public service body online expected the site to have identical pages available in both languages because of the 'Cymraeg' option on the homepage. They were surprised, however, that the payment options only appeared to be given in English and that the site did not have identical pages in Welsh to English. Despite the finding that participants overall did not seem to be looking to use the Welsh language online routinely, there was a sense that the option should have been clearly available to access the site in Welsh given the 'Cymraeg' tab. Otherwise, it gave the impression of 'tokenism' towards Welsh.

To me that's why you have specifically gone onto the Welsh site, it's because you want to use your language and then it's made you revert back to English. . . . I was shocked more than anything, it defeats the object. (M, 41-55, fair amount, weekly, Pwllheli)

Hang on, that's disgraceful, look at that, you press 'Cymraeg' and everything to go and pay . . . and update your details is all in English! (M, 41-55, fluent, less often than weekly, RCT)

On the occasions where participants looked at paying a utility bill online, examples included:

- Having no problems being able to access the relevant information using one provider's website (although the participant had not thought of using Welsh language sites in this way in the past);
- Not being able to find any Welsh language pages with another provider;

At the moment I can't see anything clear to say, 'Do you want this in Welsh?' . . . Unless I'm being blind . . . I don't think there's anything on there in Welsh . . . It doesn't bother me. I could probably really see it would bother people that do speak Welsh [sic], though. (F, 25-40, fair amount, weekly, Cardiff)

Participants in this research did not report making great use of public sector websites in either language. When prompted, participants' negative experiences of visiting a public service body website during the research (imagining they wanted to pay their bill online in Welsh) suggested that it is possible some

organisations which may have a statutory obligation to provide a bilingual service might not always provide an equal service in Welsh and English.⁶

5.3.5 Website design: literature review findings

Deere and Cunliffe (2009: 74) state that poor web page design can have a negative impact on the ability of minority language speakers to access materials in their language choice. However, there is a lack of information regarding the extent of Welsh language content available online which may be a further area to research. The depth of Welsh language content (when accessing a website) may also be a specific area of interest.

The Welsh Government's Welsh-language Technology and Digital Media Action Plan "*emphasise[s] the need for the technology itself to offer a clear language choice to the user, rather than the user having to seek out the Welsh language*". (Welsh Government, 2013: 09). In 2012 the Welsh Language Commissioner produced a document to assist in the production of bilingual computer mediated communication (Welsh Language Commissioner, 2012). This document contains a wide range of advice, for public sector bodies and non-public sector organisation alike, regarding bilingual good practice, which included bilingual website design. However, as a vast amount of online content is beyond the public sector and legislative reach, the impacts of these guidelines remain limited.

5.3.6 Perceived quality of Welsh language content

The theme of quality as a barrier to using the Welsh language emerged primarily in relation to perceptions and experiences of Welsh language TV and radio. Participants were more likely to be critical than positive in this respect (more positive views are covered in 5.2.1). The role of Welsh language TV and radio was generally perceived to be important because it offered choice and helped to keep the language alive. Some participants assumed, however, that it was a significant challenge for broadcasters to provide content which would appeal to all Welsh speakers, particularly in the current digital media landscape and proliferation of channels. Competing in this environment in terms of quality was therefore deemed to be an issue by some, for example with the range of English language drama available from the UK as well as the US.

The TV and radio content available in the Welsh language was often believed to be aimed more at older people. In addition, some thought that the content lacked dynamism, variety and modernity. References were made to a prevalence of traditional music, 'too much chat and not enough music' on Welsh language

⁶ The standards that derive from the Welsh Language Measure have yet to be announced. The new standards will extend statutory obligations for some parts of the private sector (see Welsh Language Measure, 2011 for further details).

radio, the same faces appearing in different programmes with Welsh language TV, and questionable levels of reality depicted in dramas.

It was just lucky that [Y Lle] was something I happened upon, I'd [normally] flick over to S4C and see rambling old guys just chatting and it seemed very old fashioned, it seemed laboured. (M, 41-55, daily, a little, Ruthin)

Radio Cymru is like a Radio 4: slow, boring, really, really difficult sometimes to understand. (M, 41-55, fluent, less often than weekly, RCT)

Last night I was watching S4C on and off throughout the night and both the TV programmes that I tuned in to were audience TV programmes and not to sound badly, the audience was made up of people over the age of 50 and the acts were terrible, such as a four-piece folk band. This I understand might appeal to a certain number of people but for me on a Saturday night this is not what I would want to watch. This programme was then followed by [programme name] but I find the show's production just shocking, childish and again not what I would want to watch, so it was turned off to another channel. (F, 25-40, fair amount, weekly, RCT)

It's the same actors that are on TV on S4C, it's a pity, because there are loads of drama groups about, it would be nice having a person from S4C to go about these groups to look for new talent. (F, 56+, fluent, daily, Pwllheli)

I really don't watch much on S4C. The programmes do seem a bit dull. The news is quite good, but I don't know what would make me watch more to be honest. (M, 41-55, fluent, weekly, Cardiff)

As Vincze and Moring (2013: 48) note: “language minorities often do not have the possibility to access certain media content in their native language, and in such case they have no other option but to rely on the majority language”.

Browne and Uribe-Jongbloed (2013: 21-22) note the need for minority language media providers to “work harder to ensure that the largest possible number of potential interested audience members for MLMs [Minority Language Media] be made aware of the existence of such services and their various offerings – in other words, service and programme promotion”.

6. Meeting the needs of Welsh speakers to encourage greater use of the Welsh language

This section of the report deals with what participants thought might encourage them to do more through the medium of Welsh in their day to day lives, although coming up with suggestions was not always easy for them. Also covered here are reactions to the concept of 'language marketing' (using marketing techniques to promote a minority language), and to the idea of involving celebrities or well-known individuals to help promote a minority language.

6.1 Participants' views on encouraging greater use of the Welsh language

One area where participants found it easy to make suggestions for encouraging greater use of the Welsh language was in relation to the perceived quality and variety of Welsh language TV and radio programmes. A range of requests was therefore made by participants who wished to see improved quality from Welsh language broadcasting in order to meet their needs. Drama and music improvements were the more likely to feature among these requests. The range of examples included:

- Good quality, modern drama (*Homeland* was mentioned on more than one occasion);

Dwi'n teimlo bod pob rhaglen drama ar S4C a dylanwad teulu a chymdogaeth cryf, ac erbyn heddiw, mae realiti yn dangos nid fel ni yw bywyd dyddiau yma. Felle byddai'n syniad dyfeisio rhaglen sydd fwy addas a modern.

'I feel that every drama programme on S4C has a strong influence of family and community, and today, reality shows that life isn't like that these days. Maybe it would be an idea to create a programme which is more suitable and more modern.' (M, 25-40, fluent, weekly, Brynamman)

I think if there were more dramas in Welsh, such as those which have recently come out on BBC and ITV, I would be more inclined to make a concerted effort to watch S4C. (F, 25-40, fluent, weekly, Aberaeron)

- A wider variety of (modern) music, and less 'chat' on Welsh language radio, for example including English language music that might have some connection with Wales, or even UK chart music to encourage younger listeners to tune in;

I agree with most [on the forum] that there is a need to give more opportunity for Welsh music. I used to watch Bandit, so it would be good to see that more often. (M, 16-24, fluent, daily, Cardiff)

Whenever I have tuned in accidentally [to Radio Cymru], it's been a lot of phone-ins and stuff that wouldn't capture my interest. I'd rather have silence than this I think! It's just a bit staid and old fashioned. (F, 25-40, fluent, weekly, Aberaeron)

- More comedy, light-hearted programmes on TV;

I'd be more inclined to watch Welsh language TV if there were more modern programmes (with the option of stabilisers: subtitles). Current music, comedians etc. would be good. (M, 41-55, a little, daily, Ruthin)

- More high profile sport;

Does dim byd ar S4C, dw'i rili moen gweld i ddweud y gwir, helblaw am rygbi, falle. Pêl-droed, Aberystwyth All Saints yn erbyn rhywun arall, with a crowd of five! Wast o amser.

'There isn't really anything that I want to watch on S4C to be honest, except for rugby, maybe. Football, Aberystwyth All Saints against another team, with a crowd of five! A waste of time.' (M, 41-55, fair amount, daily, Aberaeron)

- Seeking out new acting talent;

Dw i hefyd yn meddwl bod eisiau rhoi cyfle i actorion newydd, gan fy mod yn gweld yr un pobl yn chwarae cymeriadau gwahanol mewn rhaglenni gwahanol, ac o ganlyniad mae'n anodd perthnasu gyda nhw.

'I also think there is a need to give opportunities to new actors, because I recognise the same actors playing different characters in different programmes, and as a result it's difficult to relate to them.' (M, 25-40, fluent, weekly, Brynamman)

- More learner content (awareness appeared low of what is currently available in this respect, with isolated mentions of *Hwb*);

I think like most of the programmes on [TV] are for fluent Welsh speakers. . . . There was that one programme on with the stars trying to learn Welsh [cariad@iaith]. More like that maybe for teenagers who are trying to learn Welsh. (F, 16-24, a little, rarely, RCT)

- A more realistic mix of Welsh and English language content in dramas, to reflect how viewers might encounter the language in everyday life.

Focusing on Welsh language engagement online and via mobiles, there was some reported interest in knowing more about what was available online, given how many struggled to provide examples of what could be done online and in the

mobile space through the medium of Welsh. It should be noted, however, that a small number of participants doubted that they would be interested in using Welsh online (more) because they were comfortable using English.

Having been a part of this forum, I've realised how rarely I look at Welsh websites, and there are plenty about. Something for me to think about in the future maybe. I've enjoyed myself! (F, 41-55, fluent, daily, RCT)

There was a role in some participants' minds for improving awareness of small changes that could be made to help to introduce the Welsh language into routine online / mobile behaviours. Examples included changing Facebook settings to Welsh, promoting Welsh language apps that were available, and raising the profile of learner sites, combined with the BBC 'Vocab' button, which could be used⁷.

I have come across these sites [tested in the research] and go for the English translation just for ease and understanding. I will try the Welsh version first until a big word comes, then I switch to English to understand that word and don't go back to the Welsh. (M, 41-55, fair amount, less often than weekly, Pwllheli)

Interestingly, participants appeared to have limited awareness of current tools available to facilitate the use of Welsh. One example would be the *LiteratIM* keyboard app for Android phones (<http://bit.ly/17DdO9Z>), which includes Welsh language predictive texting and emailing, and a Welsh English dictionary.⁸ This perception of the limited availability of Welsh language electronic resources may not be an accurate reflection of the current situation.

“Many electronic resources have been developed for Welsh during recent years, including dictionaries, spelling and grammar checkers, speech and text corpora, educational language games, and text to speech synthesis”.
(Prys, 2009: 33)

On occasion, participants thought that seeing usage of Welsh via social media might encourage greater Welsh language engagement online. It was interesting to note with the qualitative research method that one or two participants reported welcoming the opportunity to interact with other Welsh speakers online using the medium of Welsh, and posted in Welsh having seen others do the same (with varying levels of precision). Some still held back because of a lack of confidence or else because it was considered quicker to use English.

⁷ Leighton Andrews, the then Minister for Education and Skills, announced in May 2013 that £250,000 per annum for the next three years will be available to facilitate the development of Welsh language technology and digital media (Welsh Government, 2013). 6th August 2012: S4C Digital Fund launches, £4m over 4 years http://www.s4c.co.uk/e_press_level2.shtml?id=675

⁸ <http://www.troi.org/en/literatim.html>

Further suggestions for encouraging greater use of Welsh online included:

- Raising awareness of on-demand Welsh language media services;
- Promoting messages that the Welsh language content online could consist of 'everyday Welsh' and did not need to be entirely grammatically correct;
- Following well-known celebrities or sports stars on Twitter which would increase exposure to the Welsh language online.

The thing with Twitter is that you follow people because you like them and want to follow them and you're going to be interested in what they say, so that's good if they post in Welsh and you actually want to read what they've written. (F, 16-24, fair amount, less often than weekly, Cardiff)

In other areas, it was hard for participants to consider how they might engage more with the Welsh language, for example if they lived in a community where Welsh was not thought to be widely spoken, if they had few friends who spoke Welsh, or worked in a mainly English-speaking workplace. However, as Cunliffe, Morris and Prys (2013) note, opportunities provided by new media may assist in providing increased opportunities of engagement with Welsh language speakers and Welsh language content.

6.2 The role of language marketing

The Welsh Government recognises the need for marketing current opportunities to use the Welsh language on new technologies and digital media (Welsh Government, 2013: 03).

Communication and marketing campaigns have been used by the Welsh Government as part of its strategy to encourage greater use of the Welsh language.⁹ During the qualitative research, participants were asked for their views on this strategy, and on two examples of language marketing: a recent campaign to promote the messages of the *Twf* project (<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=99MK0VSc6dKIE>, 2012); and a second, less recent campaign called *Mae gen ti ddewis* (http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k_lwl9KZ6N8, 2009).¹⁰

Leaving aside reactions to the individual executions tested, participants generally welcomed the principle of using language marketing to help encourage use of the

⁹ Activities undertaken by the then Welsh Language Board to market the Welsh language included *Cymraeg yn Gyntaf / Welsh: give it a go*, *Cymraeg: Kids soak it up*, *laith Gwaith / Welsh in the workplace*.

¹⁰ The main aim of the *Twf* project, funded by the Welsh Government, is to increase levels of language transmission in families. Prospective parents and parents of babies up to one year old are the main target audience. In particular, families with one Welsh-speaking parent and one-parent families where the parent speaks Welsh are the primary focus of this work.

Welsh language and remind Welsh speakers of the importance of using Welsh. Few, however, were able to recall any examples of marketing aimed at encouraging people to use the Welsh language more, including those tested.

Summing up the feedback on the individual executions, participants tended to feel that the key ingredients for a language marketing campaign were to adopt a focus on the future in relation to Welsh: the importance of helping children to start speaking Welsh (the 'future' of the language), and also the potential employment opportunities available to those who can speak Welsh. There was a further feeling that language marketing should still recognise the heritage of Welsh and tap into what the language means to those who can speak it.

Annog pobol i siarad Cymraeg bob amser, yn enwedig gyda phlant a phobl ifanc, nhw yw y dyfodol.

'Encourage people to speak Welsh all the time, especially with children and young people, they are the future.' (F, 56+, fluent, daily, Aberaeron)

If people knew what they would be able to do if they spoke Welsh maybe they would be more open to learning - especially if this was in English speaking schools. Personally, I wasn't told the benefits of learning Welsh at school and it's only now that I realise what a benefit it is. (F, 16-24, fair amount, less often than weekly, Cardiff)

Perhaps the adverts could focus more on the fact that as a Welsh nation we are unique and have our own identity and special language, which would make people feel proud to be Welsh and therefore encourage them to make use of the language more. (F, 16-24, a little, rarely, RCT)

According to participants, the tone of a campaign should be encouraging and not coercive, regardless of the level of Welsh spoken, in order to appeal to those who lack confidence in their own skills. A practical call to action of some kind as part of the campaign was also considered a beneficial component to some.

This wouldn't go down well with the purists, but I think that if there was some way that people could be encouraged to speak whatever Welsh they've got rather than wait until they're good enough to speak. . . . If people could be encouraged to speak whatever they've got, without any sort of fear of being mocked. (M, 56+, fair amount, rarely, RCT)

Furthermore, well-known individuals, it was suggested, might help with saliency and reach of a language marketing campaign. Taking into account the range of life stages, situations and Welsh language ability, however, it was acknowledged that it would be a challenge to appeal to everyone who could be encouraged to use the Welsh language more.

Turning to the specific executions tested in the research, participants in the online forum were able to view a video ad for *Twf* (using the link above) which targeted prospective parents and parents of babies up to one year old. They tended to conclude that the ad felt dated, lacked 'passion' and the ability to inspire, and dwelt too long on the past. It was also unclear how exactly the individual in the ad had benefited from speaking Welsh. In addition, participants (including some with young children) frequently did not see themselves in the target audience given the 'traditional' family unit conveyed in the ad.

I am afraid I have to agree with many of the participants [in the forum] here - the advert felt very old fashioned and didn't really encourage me to want to find out more or make me feel really passionate about teaching my child Welsh. (F, 25-40, fluent, weekly, Aberaeron)

Felt it was looking back instead of forwards. No, I think more needs to be made out of the opportunities the language can offer. Make it seem "sexy"? (M, 41-55, fluent, weekly, Cardiff)

Despite criticism of the execution, the perceived message of the ad, however, was recognised and welcomed on occasion with its emphasis on children, and the fact that the Welsh language can create opportunities.

Cafodd effaith arnaf wrth iddo ddweud bod yr iaith Gymraeg wedi'i helpu mewn bywyd, ysgol a gwaith, a gallaf gydymdeimlo gyda fe bod e moen gwneud yn siwr bod ei ferch yn gallu siarad Cymraeg hefyd er mwyn sicrhau gwell cyfle mewn bywyd.

'It had an effect on me as it said that the Welsh language had helped him in life, school and work, and I can sympathise with him that he wants to make sure that his daughter can speak Welsh too, so that she can have a better opportunity in life.' (M, 25-40, fluent, weekly, Brynamman)

The message is lovely, . . . I think that would be what I want for these [children], you know, . . . I think it's just the way it comes across, it just looks cheap. (F, 25-40, fair amount, weekly, RCT)

The slightly less recent *Mae gen ti ddewis* campaign was presented after *Twf* in the online forum questions, and tended to receive a more favourable response. Participants contrasted its tempo with *Twf*, describing it as upbeat, younger, colourful, more modern, and catchy with a simple call to action about the ability to make a choice. The online and phone focus were also seen as likely to appeal to the younger generation.

Hoffais i yr enghraifft hyn, roedd yr iaith yn swnio'n naturiol, roed y tiwn yn 'catchy', roedd y lliw yn denu sylw. Hysbyseb syml a canlyniad syml, rwyf nawr yn gw'bod bod gennyf dewis.

'I liked this example, the language was natural, the tune was catchy, and the colours were eye-catching. Simple advert and simple outcome, I now know that I have a choice.' (M, 25-40, fluent, weekly, Brynamman)

Loads better. It made me not only want to listen but also to try the things it's talking about. Like it, like it, like it. Makes me feel positive about Welsh as a choice and that there are more opportunities to use it than I know about. Good. (M, 41-55, a little, daily, Ruthin)

Less positive elements were highlighted but no common theme emerged. Examples included: the ad would only appeal to fluent speakers; the message lacked an emotional dimension; the music was 'awful', and production qualities low.

6.3 The use of celebrities and role models

The research was required to find out participants' perceptions of the use of well-known people to help encourage Welsh speakers to engage more with the language. The concept was sometimes suggested spontaneously by participants when considering what could be done to promote the language more effectively.

As described earlier in the report, some social media users were already following high profile Welsh individuals who tweeted in both languages (for example international Welsh rugby players, and Alex Jones from the *One Show* on BBC1). Others, however, had not consciously considered opportunities for engaging with the Welsh language via Twitter in this way. The idea was put to those participants who used social media, and they were given the following examples of individuals who currently tweeted in Welsh. Overall, however, the examples chosen were not very familiar to many of the participants:

- <https://twitter.com/gruffingtonpost> (Gruff Rhys)
- <https://twitter.com/GlynWise> (Glyn Wise)
- <https://twitter.com/Nigelrefowens> (Nigel Owens)
- <https://twitter.com/VaughanRoderick> (Vaughan Roderick)

The general view in this research was that high profile individuals could play an important role in helping to raise the profile of Welsh language usage on a day to day basis. Research by Thomas and Roberts (2011: 05) suggested that young boys in particular lacked Welsh-speaking male role models. As a result, providing linguistic role models for young Welsh speakers could have a positive effect on future language patterns, and attitudes, of young Welsh speakers. Social media sites could be an effective method of promoting linguistic role models, both male and female.

According to some participants, the 'celebrities' or role models would need to be very well-known in order to have any impact, and ideally to be famous beyond Wales (e.g. an actor like Rhys Ifans). One or two participants even suggested internationally high-profile individuals who had no connection to Wales, which would clearly be unachievable. Nonetheless some of these suggestions indicated what it would take, in some participants' minds, for a celebrity to be effective in raising the profile of the language and encouraging more use.

The point was also made that they did not necessarily need to be Welsh speakers, which might appeal to learners or those less confident with their Welsh skills. It was also suggested that using social media like Twitter would help to reinforce a message that informal Welsh could be used, given the limitations typically imposed on post length.

It's interesting, my personal view is yes, it would be good, people who are in the public spotlight, people you can relate to, delivering the right message is a good thing. (M, 41-55, a little, daily, Ruthin)

Dwi'n credu bod y dull o ddefnyddio pobl enwog yn syniad da er mwyn annog pobl ifanc i'w gwyllo. Rydyn yn byw mewn byd sy'n dylanwadu yn fawr ar beth mae y 'celebrities' yn gwneud, os mae hwn yw'r ffasiwn newydd, pam na allwn ni jwmpo ar y 'band wagon'?

'I think that the method of using famous people is a good idea to encourage young people to watch them. We live in a world which is being heavily influenced on what 'celebrities' do, if this is the new fashion, why can't we jump on the bandwagon?' (M, 25-40, fluent, weekly, Brynamman)

It [Twitter] probably would encourage people who had some Welsh, because there's only so much you can say in 100 and so many words, so it's probably more likely to be a less formal use of Welsh rather than the long words that people struggle to understand. (F, 25-40, fluent, weekly, Aberaeron)

If someone like him [Rhys Ifans], if he was offering a date to somebody who used Welsh on Facebook, then I'd be using Welsh on Facebook! (F, 25-40, fair amount, rarely, Brynamman)

It's good that you can get more people to talk Welsh. . . . I would probably talk to [Glyn Wise] in Welsh. (M, 16-24, fluent, weekly, Pwllheli)

During the online forum, the research also referred participants to the 2012 celebrity version of S4C programme *cariad@iaith* (http://www.s4c.co.uk/cariad@iaith2011/c_index.shtml), which recruited a group of celebrities to learn Welsh while living under the same roof. Among those who volunteered an opinion, views were mixed. On the one hand, the fact that the celebrities were learners meant that some participants could relate to them. The

small number who had seen some of the episodes tended to have enjoyed the programme. Some participants, however, thought that the genre was dated and would struggle without genuinely high profile contestants. Those who took part in 2012 were often not considered to be 'real' celebrities.

7. Conclusions and recommendations

The overwhelming majority interviewed (over eight in ten Welsh speakers) would welcome the opportunity to do more in Welsh and over six in ten stated they wished they could speak better Welsh. While this is encouraging because it suggests a willingness to consider using Welsh more, and also an aspiration to speak better Welsh, the result highlights a common and persistent theme in the study of a lack of confidence in using Welsh. Even four in ten fluent Welsh speakers would like to speak better Welsh which may seem slightly surprising.

This lack of confidence presents a barrier to using Welsh more in day to day lives. There are several ways which could help to overcome confidence issues:

- Portray more ‘everyday’, informal Welsh on TV and radio which over time may help to normalise less than perfect Welsh, and reflect more closely the way people often speak;
- Continue to use targeted language marketing, for example campaigns which empower less confident Welsh speakers to use the Welsh they have;
- Promote wider use of badges in the workplace or for members of staff in customer-facing roles to denote Welsh speakers. The badges could have a number of functions: for those less confident in their own abilities, wearing a badge which indicates that they are a learner or not completely fluent; for those in customer-facing roles or working for a large employer, it would act as a means of identifying other Welsh speakers and encouraging conversation;
- Develop and market more online communities to enable Welsh speakers to use Welsh in an informal environment to discuss any kind of topic in Welsh (for example around sport, entertainment, culture, parenting); as well as communities aimed at learners;
- Encourage wider use of ‘Cymraeg Clir’ across various media, in particular online content (http://www.bangor.ac.uk/canolfanbedwyr/cymraeg_clir_llyfr.php.en).

Comparisons with the 2005 findings suggest that Welsh speakers’ consumption of traditional Welsh language media has remained high despite the proliferation of new media, new channels and digital technology.¹¹ This finding is encouraging given the crowded and competitive nature of the online and digital landscape.

The most regular users of traditional Welsh language media, however, continue to be those aged over 60 years old, and this study suggests that Welsh language TV and radio is not engaging very effectively with younger audiences. 16-24 year

¹¹ ‘Living Lives Through the Medium of Welsh’, 2005 (Beaufort Research for S4C, The Welsh Language Board, BBC Wales and Arts Council of Wales)
http://www.s4c.co.uk/abouts4c/corporate/pdf/e_WelshLivesSummaryReport.pdf

olds are heavy consumers of English language TV and radio but are much less likely to be watching / listening to Welsh language TV and radio. This indicates that more needs to be done to meet the needs of younger people and to raise the profile of Welsh language media amongst this age group – particularly given that they were most likely to agree that ‘Welsh language culture can seem a bit irrelevant at times’.

There are occasional examples uncovered during the literature review of attempts to encourage more usage of minority language with TV among younger people, which could be considered further in Welsh (e.g. South Park has been dubbed into Irish). Other possibilities may include film or music workshops which could be considered as a means of encouraging the use of Welsh as well as creating Welsh language content.

There are other issues around the language and 16-24 year olds. Within this research, not only were they least likely to consume many forms of Welsh language media but they were also considerably less likely than other age groups to be speaking Welsh regularly inside and outside the home – and in informal and formal settings. The literature review reflected similar findings: Ó Riagáin (2008) commented on the need to provide opportunities for young people to use the minority language acquired in schools.

Only half of 16 to 24 year olds in the survey described themselves as fluent Welsh speakers. They were least likely to say that they grew up speaking Welsh at home, and instead were more likely to have started speaking Welsh in nursery or primary school. Also, they were most likely to describe the spoken language of their home as only English. But virtually all of this age group displayed an interest in doing more in Welsh, all of which points to making young people a priority for action – more targeted research is recommended with this audience to guide thinking on what approach to take.

In particular, the research should examine in detail those who have been through Welsh-medium education and were not brought up as Welsh speakers by their family, and whether they continue to engage with the language on leaving school. This research suggests that there may be much to be learned in understanding what would encourage them to keep Welsh as part of their day to day life when they leave education.

In contrast to the positive situation with TV, radio and printed media, there is lower usage among Welsh speakers generally of online / digital media (e.g. sending emails, using websites and mobile apps). Engagement with the Welsh language online is also very low, overall: fewer than one in five always or usually use Welsh when online. Moreover, the habit of using English online, often without any conscious decision-making about language choice, can be deeply ingrained. These results present a significant challenge – but also a clear opportunity –

because online / digital channels are widely used, particularly by the 16-24 year old audience amongst whom Welsh language usage is comparatively low.

More specifically, the findings indicate that social media offers an opportunity to begin to address some of the perceived weaknesses associated with the Welsh language online, (for example around visibility of Welsh language content, or the perception that Welsh used on websites is likely to be too formal). Although use of Facebook and Twitter is lower in Welsh than in English, there is less of a difference between the languages than with other channels and media. This difference in itself suggests a degree of existing willingness to use Welsh in this context. Encouraging use of Welsh via social media therefore offers significant potential: it provides an informal environment in which to communicate; it would help to ensure a contemporary image for the language – and is heavily used by young people who are doing least in Welsh.

The research highlighted a need to address and also challenge certain perceptions: the limited opportunity to use Welsh online; low visibility of what can be done online through the medium of Welsh; and the perception that any Welsh used on websites is likely to be difficult to read.

Continuing with the online / digital theme, apps and predictive texting developments may provide additional opportunity to encourage the use of Welsh in everyday life, and may further enhance the relevance of the Welsh language, normalising the use of Welsh in digital technology. These types of development also represent the potential for small changes and nudges to have a cumulative effect.

Other suggestions for helping to increase usage of Welsh online in day to day lives include the following:

- Organisations that provide Welsh language online content in line with Welsh language legislation to carry out an audit of their online provision. The aim would be to monitor the quality and extent of Welsh language online provision before promoting the service to the public (not doing so could reinforce negative attitudes towards Welsh language services online);
- Using ‘splash pages’ to promote language choice on websites;¹²
- Considering producing mandatory guidelines for bilingual website design, as is the case in Canada. (The Welsh Language Commissioner currently produces guidelines available from its website.)¹³ Previous

¹² A *splash screen* or *splash page* is a page of a website that acts as a front page prior to displaying the home page.

¹³

<http://www.comisiynyddygydraeg.org/English/Publications%20List/20120518%20DG%20S%20T%20echnology%20Websites%20and%20Software%20Welsh%20Language%20Considerations.pdf>

research by Deere and Cunliffe (2009) noted that the availability of Welsh language content online was variable. They found a lack of consistency on many websites, with Welsh language material less prevalent than English language material. Poor web page design was also a factor impeding access to online content (2009: 74);

- Continuing to support schools in the use of Welsh language software (e.g. Windows, Microsoft Office, OpenOffice);
- Many public sector service providers use social media to engage with the public; it may be beneficial to review Welsh language use in these scenarios, and offer good practice guidelines.

Uidhilin (2013: 146) believes that new technologies have lowered barriers to production and publishing which is advantageous for minority language learning. Web 2.0 and beyond therefore provides particular opportunities for language learning. However, this research indicated that there was limited awareness of tools available to support the use of Welsh with new technologies, and for learners (e.g. 'Vocab' button).

More generally, the profile of Welsh digital media and technology could continue to be raised via film-based initiatives and awards (e.g. as a major part of the National Eisteddfod), for example for best app, website, blog, or 'homemade' Welsh language short film.¹⁴ A key element of the focus of such initiatives should be to engage with young people in creating content in Welsh, in addition to more commercial initiatives. There may also be a need to raise the profile of existing initiatives like the S4C Digital Fund.¹⁵ A further possibility could be for S4C to air the best homemade content, along the lines of 'Can i Gymru' but with short films.

Clearly, an online setting offers a cost effective tool for engaging in a targeted fashion in Welsh, for example connecting via forums with other Welsh speakers in the area, but also with marketing. The research identified how key life events can be a turning point – either positively or negatively – in Welsh speakers' engagement with the language, and which would provide appropriate themes for language marketing (for example leaving school, starting university, having a baby, learning as an adult). Further research may be needed in tracking in more detail language use at key life stages.

Themes for marketing messages which may appeal include the following:

¹⁴ Y Labordy will offer four outstanding individuals the opportunity to explore and develop the skills of writing drama for TV, film, theatre and radio. Y Labordy is funded by Creative Skillset Cymru and the Film Agency for Wales. (http://www.s4c.co.uk/e_press_level2.shtml?id=793)

30th May 2013: a new film project launched at the Urdd, with S4C, Cwmni Da and FILMCLUB Wales working on the Children's Commissioner for Wales project, 'Dyma Fi' http://www.s4c.co.uk/e_press_level2.shtml?id=794

¹⁵ 6th August 2012: S4C Digital Fund launches, £4m over 4 years http://www.s4c.co.uk/e_press_level2.shtml?id=675

- How the language can improve employment opportunities;
- Continuing to focus on new parents and what the Welsh language could mean for their children – not only in terms of opportunities later in life but as part of their identity and the future of the language;
- Encouraging people to commit to small changes which could result in increased confidence in using Welsh, as well as having positive implications for the language itself. These messages could challenge current behaviours such as choosing to speak Welsh rather than English with a Welsh-speaking friend; or inform Welsh speakers of changes they could make with practical tips (for example trying out Welsh language apps, software settings or Welsh language news / sport websites);
- The issue of a lack of confidence could be challenged in terms of what was the worst thing that could happen if using more Welsh versus the positive feeling of achievement in having taken the step and successfully used the language;
- The theme of identity described in this report could be used in conjunction with more tangible benefits by highlighting what Welsh speakers can do for the Welsh language, as well as what the Welsh language can do for them.

TV and radio content continue to provide a real opportunity to help mainstream the Welsh language into day to day lives. There appears to be a need to promote more widely the current breadth of content with TV and radio (for example drama, comedy and music), and the different ways of accessing that content (for example on-demand services, and podcasts). To a certain extent, issues may sometimes relate more to a lack of awareness of content and misconceptions, rather than content quality. Further marketing of Welsh language programmes or stations on English channels is likely to help in this respect.

Finally, the workplace is a key setting for creating Welsh-speaking networks, enabling Welsh speakers to use the language while, at the same time for some, offering more opportunities to develop a career. This in turn may be a message to incorporate in future language marketing campaigns, as described above. Visible identifiers like badges, email footers, and desk signs have been used for some time as a means of identifying Welsh speakers in customer-facing roles (and among staff in larger organisations). This fairly low-cost nudge is worth further consideration provided it is accompanied by sustained support.

8. Appendices

8.1 Appendix I - research method and sample

Quantitative stage

The quantitative element to the research consisted of telephone interviews with a sample of 483 Welsh speakers across Wales, using the autumn 2012 Beaufort Welsh Speakers Omnibus. A representative quota sample of 500 Welsh-speaking adults aged 16+ is interviewed each wave via CATI (Computer Aided Telephone Interviewing). For the purposes of this research, only those who described themselves as being able to speak at least 'a little' Welsh were eligible – those who could say 'just a few words' were screened out, reducing the total Omnibus sample size from 504 to 483.

The Beaufort Welsh Speakers Omnibus Survey is designed to be representative of the Welsh-speaking population (aged 16+) in Wales. Using the most recent Census data available, the survey takes into account the proportions able to speak Welsh in three regions of Wales using a combination of unitary authorities (Mid and West, North and South East). Each wave a fresh sample of 500 respondents is interviewed, with quotas set to reflect the demographic profile of Welsh speakers by age within gender within region and no more than one person is interviewed in each household.

The sample is sourced from UK Changes, a specialist survey sample provider. A selection of telephone numbers generated by Random Digit Dialling (RDD) is obtained, with numbers screened to ensure the exclusion of those likely to be non-residential. The Beaufort CATI system randomly presents numbers within the list for each area for interviewers to call. On making contact with a household, an introductory question ('Do you speak Welsh?') is asked to determine if a potential respondent is a Welsh speaker and is therefore eligible for interview, then a series of screening questions are asked to determine fit with quota controls.

Interviews are conducted over the phone from Beaufort's dedicated CATI (Computer Aided Telephone Interviewing) centre in Cardiff. A bilingual questionnaire is used and all interviewers working on the survey are fluent in Welsh, therefore all respondents are offered the option of a Welsh or English language interview and can take part in the language of their choice.

Interviewing for this survey took place between 6 November and 7 December 2012 and was based on the structured questionnaire appended (see Appendix II).

Qualitative stage

Three components were devised for this part of the research to help us get the most out of the interactions with participants. The core component was an in-home interview with each participant and other members of the household where appropriate. Prior to the interviews, two earlier stages took place: the first focused on using a diary to capture examples of everyday behaviours in relation to language use; the second involved inviting participants to take part in an online forum to discuss the topics in a group environment and explore certain digital content.

The diagram below summarises these main stages:



Set-up and diary stage

Once recruited, the 30 participants were contacted by phone for a short, introductory conversation to get to know them, and to explain what involvement in the study would mean for them. They were all encouraged to keep a diary for three to four days (including a weekend day) describing aspects of their day to day lives and language usage. Emphasis was not placed on the Welsh language in order to minimise the influence of participation in the research on typical behaviours. 27 of the 30 participants completed the diary stage.

Online forum

The online forum took place over seven days, and allowed participants to compare experiences and feel part of a larger group. It also provided an environment for participants to discuss what the Welsh language means to them, and to report back their views on certain digital / media content. 23 of the 30 participants took part in the forum.

In-home interview

The in-home setting of this final stage helped us to obtain a fuller picture of each participant and, where appropriate, the family setting. The conversations were free-flowing but focused on behaviours, experiences and attitudes. They also covered outputs from the diary and online forum. All of the original 30 participants recruited took part in this stage.

The aim of the qualitative sample was to include a mix in terms of fluency, frequency of Welsh language usage, at what stage in their lives people had started speaking Welsh, life stage, location and socio-economic grouping. This mixture provided a wide range of examples of how, why and to what extent the Welsh language featured in Welsh speakers' day to day lives. The 30 interviews were spread evenly across Cardiff, Rhondda Cynon Taf, Ammanford, Aberaeron, Pwllheli and Ruthin. The table overleaf shows the breakdown of the qualitative sample.

At the recruitment stage, participants self-defined their level of fluency and frequency of use of Welsh, responding to the following questions:

Fluency: Which of these best describes your ability to speak Welsh?

- *I'm fluent in Welsh*
- *I can speak a fair amount of Welsh*
- *I can speak a little Welsh*
- *I can say a few words (not recruited)*

Frequency of use: On average, how often do you use the Welsh language? This can mean speaking, reading, writing, listening, watching, or learning in Welsh.

- *Daily*
- *Weekly*
- *Less often than weekly*
- *Rarely / never*

Spoken Welsh fluency, usage	Total	Started speaking Welsh at home	Educated through Welsh language	Learn Welsh as school subject	Adult learner
Fluent; use daily	8	6	1	1	
Fluent; use weekly	4	2		2	
Fluent; use less often than weekly	2		1	1	
Speak fair amount; use daily	2	1	1		
Speak fair amount; use weekly	4	1	1	1	1
Speak fair amount; use less often than weekly	5	1	3	1	
Speak a little; use daily	3			1	2
Speak a little; use weekly	0				
Speak a little; use less often than weekly	2			2	

The qualitative fieldwork took place January to March 2013.

Literature review

Dr Cynog Prys of Bangor University was responsible for the national and international literature review for this project. The findings from the review have been incorporated into the main body of the report where appropriate. A bibliography for the review content is given in Appendix IV.

8.2 Appendix II – Survey questionnaire

RQ1. Can I ask, do you speak Welsh?

IF YES, ASK IF FLUENT OR NOT FLUENT

- 1 YES, fluently
- 2 YES, not fluently
- 3 NO → THANK & CLOSE

Ga'i ofyn, ydych chi'n siarad Cymraeg?

OS YDW, HOLWCH OS YDYNT YN RHUGL NEU DDIM YN RHUGL

- 1 YDW, rhugl
- 2 YDW, ddim yn rhugl
- 3 NA – diolch a diwedd yr alwad

RQ2. I have the questions in English or in Welsh. Which language would you prefer to continue with the interview?

- 1 Prefer English
- 2 Prefer Welsh

Mae gen i'r cwestiynau yn Saesneg ac yn Gymraeg. Pa iaith fyddai orau gennych ar gyfer y cyfweiliad?

Mae'n well gen i Saesneg

Mae'n well gen i Gymraeg

**CONTINUE INTERVIEW IN PREFERRED LANGUAGE*

**PARHAU GYDA'R CYFWELIAD YN YR IAITH SY'N WELL GANDDYN NHW*

RQ3a. Just so that I can make sure that we interview a representative sample of people, can I ask for your age please?

RECORD EXACT AGE

Dim ond er mwyn gwneud yn siŵr ein bod yn cyfweld â sampl gynrychiadol o bobl, alla' i holi beth yw eich oedran os gwelwch yn dda?

COFNODWCH UNION OEDRAN

IF REFUSE EXACT AGE ASK RQ3b

RQ3b. Please could I ask which age bracket you fall into for sampling purposes.....

Allwch chi ddweud wrtha' i ym mha grŵp oedran ydych chi ynddo ar gyfer samplo.....

- 1 16-24
- 2 25-39
- 3 40-59
- 4 60+
- 5 Refused → THANK & CLOSE

Gwrthod – Diolch a diwedd yr alwad

RQ4. INTERVIEWER CODE GENDER FOR QUOTAS

- 1 Male
- 2 Female

*Gwryw
Benyw*

Q1. Which of the following best describes your ability in Welsh?
READ OUT

- I'm fluent in Welsh → CONTINUE
- I can speak a fair amount of Welsh → CONTINUE
- I can speak a little Welsh → CONTINUE

- I can say a few words → GO TO NEXT SECTION

C1. *Pa un o'r canlynol sydd yn disgrifio eich gallu yn y Gymraeg?*
DARLLENWCH YN UCHEL

*Rwy'n rhugl yn Gymraeg
Gallaf siarad cryn dipyn o Gymraeg
Gallaf siarad ychydig o Gymraeg*

Gallaf ddweud ychydig o eiriau – I'R ADRAN NESAF

Q2. Which of the following best describes when you started to speak Welsh?
READ OUT

- As a young child at home
- In nursery or primary school (age 4-10)
- In secondary school (age 11 upwards)
- In college or university
- After leaving full-time education

C2. Pa un o'r canlynol sydd orau i ddisgrifio pryd y dechreuoch chi siarad Cymraeg?
DARLLENWCH YN UCHEL

*Fel plentyn ifanc adref
Yn y feithrinfa neu ysgol gynradd (oed 4-10)
Yn yr ysgol uwchradd (oed 11 i fyny)
Yn y coleg neu'r brifysgol
Ar ôl gadael addysg llawn amser*

QE. How many of the following live in your household:
Faint o'r canlynol sy'n byw yn eich cartref?

WRITE IN NUMBER FOR EACH OF THE THREE CATEGORIES (WRITE IN "00" IF NONE).

YSGRIFENNWCH RIF AR GYFER Y TRI CHATEGORI (YSGRIFENNWCH "00" OS NAD OES UN)

1: Children aged 0-2

2: Children aged 3-15

3: Adults aged 16+

Plant oed 0-2

Plant oed 3-15

Oedolion 16+

Just to check, Including yourself there are [TOTAL IN HOUSEHOLD] people in your household. Is this correct?

I gadarnhau, gan gynnwys chi eich hun, mae yna [CYFANSWM YN Y CARTREF] o bobl yn eich cartref. Ydy hyn yn gywir?

SELECTING NO WILL GO BACK TO HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION QUESTION TO CORRECT THE ANSWERS THAT WERE GIVEN

1 Yes

2 No

BYDD DEWIS NA YN EICH CYFEIRIO YN ÔL AT Y CWESTIWN BLAENOROL I GYWIRO'R ATEBION

ASK IF CHILDREN 3 – 15 YRS OLD IN HOUSEHOLD:

QF. Can the children that are aged 3-15 years old in your household speak Welsh? IF YES; Is that fluently?

- 1 Yes - fluently
- 2 Yes - but not fluently
- 3 No
- 5 Refused

A yw'r plant sydd rhwng 3-15 oed yn eich cartref yn gallu siarad Cymraeg? Os ydynt; A ydynt yn rhugl?

Ydyn - yn rhugl

Ydyn - ond ddim yn rhugl

Na

Gwrthod ateb

ONLY ASK IF 2+ PERSON HOUSEHOLD:

Q3. And which of the following best describes the spoken language of your home?
READ OUT ALL [CODES 1 to 5 ROTATED]

- 1. Only English
- 2. Only Welsh
- 3. Mostly English
- 4. Mostly Welsh
- 5. Welsh and English equally
- 6. Mostly another language

GOFYNNWCH OS OES 2+ O BOBL YN Y CARTREF:

C3. *A pha un o'r canlynol sydd yn disgrifio iaith lafar eich cartref orau?*
DARLLENWCH POB OPSIWN YN UCHEL

- 1. *Saesneg yn unig*
- 2. *Cymraeg yn unig*
- 3. *Saesneg yn bennaf*
- 4. *Cymraeg yn bennaf*
- 5. *Y Gymraeg a'r Saesneg yn gyfartal*
- 6. *Iaith arall yn bennaf*

Q4. Next some questions about what you do and don't do in Welsh and English.
Have you done each of the following in the last month?
READ OUT

If 'yes (done in the last month) ask:
"And was that in the last week?"

C4. *Yn dilyn mae ambell gwestiwn ynghylch beth ydych chi, a beth nad ydych chi'n ei wneud yn y Gymraeg a'r Saesneg. Ydych chi wedi gwneud y canlynol o fewn y mis diwethaf?*
DARLLENWCH YN UCHEL

**Os mai 'ydw' yw'r ateb (ac maen nhw wedi gwneud yn y mis diwethaf)
gofynnwch:**
"Ac oedd hynny yn yr wythnos ddiwethaf?"

[ORDER ROTATED IN PAIRS, & ALTERNATED BETWEEN ASKING ABOUT ENGLISH/WELSH 1 st]	Yes (in last month) <i>Ydw (yn y mis diwethaf)</i>	Yes (in last week) <i>Ydw (yn yr wythnos ddiwethaf)</i>	No <i>Nac ydw</i>	Don't know / Not Applicable <i>Ddim yn gwybod/ ddim yn berthnasol</i>
Listened to Welsh Language radio <i>Gwranddo ar y radio yn Gymraeg</i>				
Listened to English Language radio <i>Gwranddo ar y radio yn Saesneg</i>				
Watched Welsh Language TV <i>Gwyllo'r teledu yn Gymraeg</i>				
Watched English Language TV <i>Gwyllo'r teledu yn Saesneg</i>				
Used Welsh language software on a computer (e.g. Welsh language Microsoft Office, Cysill or Cysgeir) <i>Defnyddio meddalwedd Gymraeg ar y cyfrifiadur (e.e. Microsoft Office Cymraeg, Cysill neu Cysgeir)</i>				
Used English language software on a computer <i>Defnyddio meddalwedd Saesneg ar y cyfrifiadur</i>				
Watched a Welsh language video online (such as on YouTube, S4C Clic or BBC iPlayer) <i>Gwyllo fideo yn Gymraeg ar-lein (fel YouTube, S4C Clic neu BBC iPlayer)</i>				
Watched an English language video online (such as on YouTube or BBC iPlayer) <i>Gwyllo fideo yn Saesneg ar-lein (fel YouTube neu BBC iPlayer)</i>				
Used a Welsh-language App <i>Defnyddio aps yn Gymraeg</i>				
Used an English-language App <i>Defnyddio aps yn Saesneg</i>				
Sent an e-mail in Welsh <i>Anfon e-bost yn Gymraeg</i>				
Sent an e-mail in English <i>Anfon e-bost yn Saesneg</i>				
Sent a text in Welsh <i>Anfon tecst yn Gymraeg</i>				
Sent a text in English <i>Anfon tecst yn Saesneg</i>				
Used Welsh on Twitter (e.g. tweeted or read Welsh tweets) <i>Defnyddio Cymraeg ar Twitter (e.e. wedi trydar neu wedi darllen tweets Cymraeg)</i>				
Used English on Twitter (e.g. tweeted or read				

English tweets) <i>Defnyddio Saesneg ar Twitter (e.e. wedi trydar neu wedi darllen tweets Saesneg)</i>				
Used Welsh on Facebook (e.g. reading, posting or messaging in Welsh) <i>Defnyddio Cymraeg ar Facebook (e.e. darllen, postio neu anfon negeseuon Cymraeg)</i>				
Used English on Facebook (e.g. reading, posting or messaging in English) <i>Defnyddio Saesneg ar Facebook (e.e. darllen, postio neu anfon negeseuon Saesneg)</i>				
Read a magazine or newspaper in Welsh <i>Darllen cylchgronau neu bapurau newydd yn Gymraeg</i>				
Read a magazine or newspaper in English <i>Darllen cylchgronau neu bapurau newydd yn Saesneg</i>				
Used or visited a website in Welsh <i>Defnyddio gwefannau yn Gymraeg</i>				
Used or visited a website in English <i>Defnyddio gwefannau Saesneg</i>				

Q5. Could you now please tell me if you ‘always’, ‘usually’, ‘sometimes’ or ‘never’ do each of the following...?
READ OUT

C5. *Nawr, allwch chi ddweud os ydych chi ‘bob amser’, ‘fel arfer’, ‘weithiau’, neu ‘byth’ yn gwneud y canlynol...?*
DARLLENWCH YN UCHEL

[ORDER ROTATED]	Always Bob amser	Usually Fel arfer	Some- times Weithia u	Never Byth	Don't know / Not Applicable Ddim yn gwybod/ ddim yn berthnasol
Speak Welsh at home <i>Siarad Cymraeg adref</i>					
Use Welsh on-line in any way, for web searches, social media, or e-mailing <i>Defnyddio'r Gymraeg ar-lein mewn unrhyw ffordd, ar gyfer chwilio'r we, cyfryngau cymdeithasol, neu e-bostio</i>					
Speak Welsh with friends <i>Siarad Cymraeg gyda ffrindiau</i>					
Speak Welsh when out and about in your local area <i>Siarad Cymraeg pan ydych allan yn eich ardal</i>					

<i>leol</i>					
Speak Welsh at work <i>Siarad Cymraeg yn y gweithle</i>					
Speak Welsh when dealing with organisations or with people other than family and friends (e.g. customers at work) <i>Siarad Cymraeg wrth ddelio gyda sefydliad neu â phobl ar wahân i'ch teulu a ffrindiau (e.e. cwsmeriaid yn y gwaith)</i>					
Fill in the Welsh Language version of official forms <i>Llenwi fersiwn Gymraeg ffurflenni swyddogol</i>					

Q6. Have you done each of the following in the last year?
READ OUT

C6. *A ydych wedi gwneud y canlynol yn y flwyddyn ddiwethaf?*
DARLLENWCH YN UCHEL

[ORDER ROTATED]	Yes Ydw	No Nac ydw	Don't know / Not Applicable Ddim yn gwybod/ ddim yn berthnasol
Attended or participated in an organised <u>social or cultural</u> event or activity through the medium of Welsh (e.g. concert, film, eisteddfod, club, choir or association) <i>Mynychu neu gymryd rhan mewn digwyddiad neu weithgaredd <u>gymdeithasol neu ddiwylliannol</u> wedi'i drefnu drwy gyfrwng y Gymraeg (e.e. cyngerdd, ffilm, eisteddfod, clwb, côr neu gymdeithas)</i>			
Attended or participated in an organised <u>social or cultural</u> event or activity through the medium of English (e.g. concert, film, arts festival, club, choir or association) <i>Mynychu neu gymryd rhan mewn digwyddiad neu weithgaredd <u>gymdeithasol neu ddiwylliannol</u> wedi'i drefnu drwy gyfrwng y Saesneg (e.e. cyngerdd, ffilm, eisteddfod, clwb, côr neu gymdeithas)</i>			
Attended or participated in an organised <u>sporting</u> event or activity through the medium of Welsh (e.g. sports club, association or course) <i>Mynychu neu gymryd rhan mewn digwyddiad neu weithgaredd <u>chwaraeon</u> wedi'i drefnu drwy gyfrwng y Gymraeg (e.e. clwb chwaraeon,</i>			

<i>gymdeithas neu gwrs</i>			
Attended or participated in an organised <u>sporting</u> event or activity through the medium of English (e.g. sports club, association or course) <i>Mynychu neu gymryd rhan mewn digwyddiad neu weithgaredd chwaraeon wedi'i drefnu drwy gyfrwng y Saesneg (e.e. clwb chwaraeon, gymdeithas neu gwrs)</i>			
Read a Welsh language printed book <i>Darllen llyfr yn y Gymraeg</i>			
Read an English language printed book <i>Darllen llyfr yn y Saesneg</i>			
Read an e-book in Welsh <i>Darllen e-lyfr yn y Gymraeg</i>			
Read an e-book in English <i>Darllen e-lyfr yn y Saesneg</i>			

Q7. And have you attended either of these eisteddfodau in the last two years...?
READ OUT

C7. *Ac ydych chi wedi mynychu un o'r eisteddfodau hyn yn ystod y ddwy flynedd ddiwethaf?*
DARLLENWCH YN UCHEL

[ORDER ROTATED]	Yes Ydw	No Nac ydw	Don't know / can't remember Ddim yn gwybod/ ddim yn cofio
The National Eisteddfod (held in the Vale of Glamorgan in 2012, and in Wrexham in 2011) <i>Eisteddfod Genedlaethol Cymru (a gynhaliwyd ym Mro Morgannwg yn 2012, ac yn Wrecsam yn 2011)</i>			
The Urdd Eisteddfod (held in Glynllifon, near Caernarfon in 2012, and in Swansea in 2011) <i>Eisteddfod yr Urdd (a gynhaliwyd yng Nglynllifon, ger Caernarfon yn 2012, ac yn Abertawe yn 2011)</i>			

Q8. I will now read out a number of statements other people have made about the Welsh language. Please tell me if whether you agree strongly, agree, neither agree nor disagree, disagree, or disagree strongly with each statement.
READ OUT

C8. *Rydw i nawr am ddarllen nifer o safbwyntiau mae pobl eraill wedi eu datgan ynghylch yr iaith Gymraeg. Nodwch os ydych chi un ai yn cytuno'n gryf, cytuno, ddim yn cytuno nac yn anghytuno, anghytuno neu anghytuno'n gryf gyda phob safbwynt.*

DARLLENWCH YN UCHEL

[ORDER ROTATED]	Agree strongly Cytuno'n gryf	Agree Cytuno	Neither agree nor disagree Ddim yn cytuno nac yn anghytuno	Disagree Anghytuno	Disagree strongly Anghytuno'n gryf	Don't know / not applicable Ddim yn gwybod/ ddim yn berthnasol
Welsh language culture can seem a bit irrelevant at times <i>Gall ddiwylliant iaith Gymraeg ymddangos ychydig yn amherthnasol ar adegau</i>						
I feel more comfortable speaking Welsh than English <i>Rwy'n teimlo'n fwy cyfforddus yn siarad Cymraeg na Saesneg</i>						
I'd welcome the opportunity to do more in Welsh <i>Byddwn yn croesawu'r cyfle i wneud mwy yn y Gymraeg</i>						
I wish I could speak better Welsh <i>Hoffwn allu siarad Cymraeg yn well</i>						

Q9. Now turning to your views on what's available in the Welsh language Please tell me how satisfied or dissatisfied you are with each of the following...?
If 'satisfied'/'dissatisfied' ask: "Is that 'very' or 'fairly' satisfied/dissatisfied?
 READ OUT

C9. *Nawr, gan roi eich barn ar beth sydd ar gael yn y Gymraeg. A fedwch nodi pa mor fodlon neu anfodlon ydych chi gyda phob un o'r canlynol....?*
Os yn fodlon/ anfodlon gofynnwch: "Ydi hynny'n fodlon/anfodlon 'iawn' neu yn 'weddol' fodlon/anfodlon?"
 DARLLENWCH YN UCHEL

[STATEMENT 'A' TO ALWAYS APPEAR FIRST (OTHERS ROTATED)]	Very satisfied <i>Bodlon iawn</i>	Fairly satisfied <i>Gweddol fodlon</i>	Neither satisfied not dissatisfied <i>Ddim yn fodlon nac anfodlon</i>	Fairly dissat'd <i>Gweddol anfodlon</i>	Very dissat'd <i>Anfodlon iawn</i>	Don't know / not applicable <i>Ddim yn gwybod/ ddim yn berthnasol</i>
a) The <u>amount</u> of information, material and services available in Welsh <u>generally</u> <i>Faint o wybodaeth, deunydd a gwasanaethau sydd ar gael yn y Gymraeg yn gyffredinol</i>						
b) How <u>easy</u> it is to find Welsh language information, material and services <u>online</u> <i>Pa mor hawdd yw dod o hyd i wybodaeth, deunydd a gwasanaethau ar-lein yn y Gymraeg</i>						
c) The <u>quality</u> of Welsh language information, material and services available <u>online</u> <i>Ansawdd gwybodaeth, deunydd a gwasanaethau ar-lein yn y Gymraeg</i>						
d) The <u>amount</u> of information, material and services available in Welsh <u>online</u> <i>Faint o wybodaeth, deunydd a gwasanaethau sydd ar gael ar-lein yn y Gymraeg</i>						

Now some questions about you...

QA. Were you yourself born in Wales?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No
- 3 Not sure
- 4 Refused

QB. Can you read Welsh...
READ OUT

- 1 Very well
- 2 Fairly well
- 3 A little
- 4 Not at all
- 5 Refused

QC. Can you write in Welsh...
READ OUT

- 1 Very well
- 2 Fairly well
- 3 A little
- 4 Not at all
- 5 Refused

QD. In your opinion, would you say that the use of the Welsh language in your area is increasing, decreasing or about the same?

- 1 Increasing
- 2 Decreasing
- 3 About the same
- 4 Don't know
- 5 Refused

QG. OCCUPATION OF CHIEF INCOME EARNER
(for Social Grade)

QH. Marital Status

- 1 Married or equivalent
- 2 Single, never married
- 3 Widowed\Divorced\Separated
- 4 Refused

QI. Working Status

- 1 Full time (over 30 hrs per week)
- 2 Part time (30 hrs or less per week)
- 3 Unemployed\seeking work
- 4 Full time student
- 5 Wholly retired\other permanently not working
- 6 Refused

QJ. Does your household rent or own your dwelling?

- 1 Rented\rent free
- 2 Owned\is buying
- 3 Not sure
- 4 Don't know
- 5 Refused

**QK. Could you tell me which Unitary Authority you live in?
READ OUT IF NECESSARY**

- 1 Anglesey
- 2 Blaenau Gwent
- 3 Bridgend
- 4 Caerphilly
- 5 Cardiff
- 6 Carmarthenshire
- 7 Ceredigion
- 8 Conwy
- 9 Denbighshire
- 10 Flintshire
- 11 Gwynedd
- 12 Merthyr Tydfil
- 13 Monmouthshire
- 14 Neath Port Talbot
- 15 Newport
- 16 Pembrokeshire
- 17 Powys
- 18 Rhondda Cynon Taf
- 19 Swansea
- 20 Torfaen
- 21 The Vale of Glamorgan
- 22 Wrexham
- 23 Don't know
- 24 Refused

QL. Can I ask for your postcode please?

PLEASE RECORD THE RESPONDENTS ENTIRE POSTCODE IF POSSIBLE. IF NOT

THEN RECORD JUST THE SECTOR CODE, THAT IS THE FIRST 4\5 LETTERS\DIGITS.

QM. Finally, over the next few months we might be conducting further research on some of the topics we have talked about today. Would you be willing for us to re-contact you at a later date to see if you would be interested in taking part? You would of course be able to refuse at this later stage.

Ac yn olaf, dros y misoedd nesaf mae'n bosib y byddwn ni'n cynnal ymchwil pellach ar ambell bwnc rydym wedi ei drafod â chi heddiw. A fuasech chi'n fodlon pe baem ni'n cysylltu â chi eto cyn bo hir i weld os oes gennych chi ddiddordeb cymryd rhan? Mae croeso i chi wrthod nes ymlaen, wrth gwrs.

Yes

No

Buaswn

Na fuaswn

8.3 Appendix III – In-home discussion guide

Introduction

1. *Re-introduce self, Beaufort Research*
2. *Explain MRS Code of Conduct, digital recorder, camcorder and any photos taken purely for analysis and to help bring findings to life*
3. *Remind participant of purpose of this stage of research:*
 - *To explore in more detail their everyday life and language use – including talking through their diary entries*
 - *(If appropriate) chat with other members of the family*
 - *A short guided tour downstairs*
 - *Look at some of their favourite websites*
 - *Obtain views on a couple of other sites*
 - *Understand what may encourage people to make Welsh (even) more a part of their daily lives*

Conversations, language use over time

4. *If possible, arrange for other family members / housemates to be available for this first question. Can we start by looking back over your diary? Let's begin with some of the **conversations** you've made a note of. Tell me about those. Establish for each example chosen:*
 - *Who the conversation was with, channel used, reason for contact*
 - *Where the participant was*
 - *An idea of what was discussed*
 - *Language used and why*
 - *If appropriate, what enabled / prevented them from using Welsh as part of the conversation, and why*
5. *What language is used among different family members / housemates?*
 - *How has this come about? How has it changed over time?*
 - *If Welsh language usage has increased / decreased in any way in the household, try to identify*
 - *Specific triggers that led to the change*
 - *If decreased: What would have prevented the change*

Draw timeline on pad

6. *Can we track your own language use over time and what the main prompts and issues you've come across which have affected your use of the Welsh language? Add life stages / events to timeline, probe in detail*

- Have there been any specific events or turning points in your life that have prompted you to think differently about the Welsh language and use it more / less? *Probe in detail*
- *If participant's use of the Welsh language has increased / decreased over time (especially post-school): when exactly did this happen?*
 - What exactly led to you using the Welsh language more / less?
 - How do you feel about this?
 - (As appropriate) How do you think this could have been prevented?
- *Ask those with children: What are the key factors you take into account when deciding on your children's playgroups, nurseries and schools?*
Then probe
 - Where if at all does the Welsh language feature in those decisions? Why?

TV and radio

Ask participant to remain online

7. Let's move on to your diary entries on **TV and radio**. *Explore couple of example responses in diary:*
 - *Where participant was when listening / watching*
 - *Device used – what affects choice of device used?*
 - *What language the station / programme was in*
 - *If online or used social media during TV programme, what was participant doing and why; ask if there is an example participant can show us online*
 - *Explore what difference it makes to participant to be able to do this*
 - *How participant felt during experience and why*
 - **What leads you to / prevents you from watching (more) TV programmes that include the Welsh language? Probe for examples**
 - **And what leads you to / prevents you from listening to (more) radio stations that include the Welsh language?**
8. *Ask participant if ever record TV programmes, and if so, if we can see examples of what they've recorded – look out for any Welsh language programmes, and probe what led them to record them.*
9. *And with radio stations, do you have any presets on the devices you use to listen to them? If appropriate, ask to see the presets and look out for any Welsh language stations, including if listen online. Probe what led them to set them as presets.*

Online focus

Ask participant to go online for this part of the conversation if possible

10. Let's turn to the diary questions which focused on your **online** activity. *Check for any patterns over the days covered in the diary and confirm for each example chosen:*
- *Device used to go online (Identify interface language of device (e.g. if using Microsoft Windows/Office, has the participant chosen the Welsh language interface option? Why / why not?)*
 - *Where participant was when on online*
 - *Reason for going online*
 - *Site visited – explore any possible Welsh language options available*
 - *Language used and why*
 - *How participant felt about the experience*
 - *If appropriate, what enabled / prevented them from using Welsh as part of the online activity, and why*
 - *Was the Welsh language something they thought about when online at that time? Why / why not?*
11. *Use speech bubble completion below if participant heavy online user: Imagine this person is online, how might she finish this sentence (read out first sentence)?*
- *What else might she say?*
 - *Which of these responses apply to you? Probe why*
 - *Repeat exercise for second sentence if time*
 - *How natural does it feel using Welsh online?*
 - *(As appropriate) When you do use it online / if you did, for example with social media, what do other people think about it? Probe who they are thinking of*
 - *How do you feel as a result?*
12. Can you think of any other examples of when you've been online and come across content in the Welsh language (writing, video, audio etc.) or where it was an option? *Probe*
- *How easy is it to do things online through the medium of Welsh? Probe*

Participants were asked to explore making a payment to a public service body or utility company online, through the medium of Welsh, where possible

13. *If not already mentioned: Do you ever visit the S4C website? Probe for motivators / barriers / expectations / experiences*
- *If we look at the site briefly now, tell me what you think in terms of the language it uses? Give participant choice of which language to use on the site, probe on choice made (Welsh - http://www.s4c.co.uk/hafan/c_index.shtml English - http://www.s4c.co.uk/hafan/e_index.shtml)*

Choose one of following to briefly discuss with participant; avoid participant focusing too much on detail of content / editorial

- If participant has young children, ask for views on Cyw:
 - Awareness
 - Motivations / barriers to using these kind of webpages in the Welsh language
 - If participant is into sport, ask for views on Sport pages:
 - Awareness
 - Motivations / barriers to using these kind of webpages in the Welsh language
 - If participant watches TV / listens to radio online/on demand, ask for views on Clic:
 - Awareness
 - Motivations / barriers to using this section of the site
14. Is it OK to have a look any sites you have bookmarked? *Explore examples available if not already covered, especially where there may be Welsh language options / alternatives. Probe as appropriate e.g.:*
- What prompted you to start using this site?
 - Tell me about your language choices with this site?
 - *Elicit motivators / barriers around any Welsh language use*
 - Do you have different sites bookmarked on different devices? *If so probe what, why*
15. *If social media user:* Let's focus on **social media** now; is it possible to have a look at some of the sites you use? *Ask to see examples of:*
- *Posts, tweets that the participant has written or received (who do they follow – any well-known Welsh people?) and explore language use – **including reasons for choices** (Facebook, Twitter, Reddit, etc.)*
 - *If Facebook user, and settings not in Welsh: were you aware you could change your settings to the Welsh language?*
 - *(Optional) Could we change your settings to the Welsh language, just to see what you think? Probe reactions, possible impact on language use*
 - *Any other content such as video (YouTube), photo (Pinterest, Flickr) and explore language use – **including reasons for choices***
 - *If low user of Welsh on social media: What would have to happen for you to make more use of the Welsh language when using social media?*
16. *Social media users only:* if we visit Twitter now, I'm interested in what you make of the tweets and language used by a few well-known Welsh people. Are you familiar with any of these people? They tweet in both languages. *Ask participant to choose one they might be interested in and explore tweets.*
- <https://twitter.com/gruffingtonpost> (Gruff Rhys)
<https://twitter.com/GlynWise> (Glyn Wise)

<https://twitter.com/Nigelrefowens> (Nigel Owens)

<https://twitter.com/VaughanRoderick> (Vaughan Roderick)

- How do you feel about using the Welsh language with social media in this way?
 - Does it encourage you to think about using it if people like this are using it? *Probe why / why not*
 - What's your view on using well-known people to get a message across about encouraging people to use the Welsh language / use it more?
 - *If low user of Welsh on social media*: What would have to happen for you start using the Welsh language (more) as part of your social media usage?

Other activities

17. If we move back to your diary, can we look back at any entries where we asked if we had **missed anything**? This was things like reading paper copies of books, newspapers, magazines; listening to music; watching DVDs; going to the theatre and so on.

Explore any entries of interest where language choice may have been relevant e.g.

- What prompted you to use the Welsh language here?
- Were you aware of any options here in terms of using the Welsh language
- How do you feel about using the Welsh language with these kinds of activities?
- *If low user of Welsh*: What do you think could be done to encourage (more) use of the Welsh language in this kind of scenario?

Guided tour (have audio recorder, camera to hand)

18. Before we look at a couple more websites, is it possible to have a quick guided tour downstairs? We're just interested in any further clues around how people use language in their daily lives.

In each room, look out for indicators of language use behaviour / influences that participant may not have mentioned, e.g.:

- *Letters from organisations (e.g. bills, marketing etc.)*
- *If parents, communications from the school*
- *Calendars / to do lists / shopping lists*
- *Books, magazines, CDs, greetings cards etc.*

For each relevant indicator establish as appropriate:

- *Motivators for language choice*
- *Whether or not alternative language options were available / considered*
- *If appropriate what would have encouraged the participant to use / consider Welsh language options*

19. If you're texting people, how does this work in terms of your language use? *Probe what encourages / discourages use of Welsh; and ask if they have any examples they can show us. If not, mention S4C's Cyw and Tywydd apps – probe interest*
- Do you use any apps that include the Welsh language?
 - *If low user of Welsh: How could apps help you and others make more use of the Welsh language?*
20. *Follow up on any of the participant's bulletin board responses that have not been covered during the interview in relation to language use – in particular their views on:*
- **The language campaigns tested** (refer to bulletin board questions if necessary)
 - *What using the Welsh language means to the participant?*
 - How do you feel when use it? Why?
 - How do you feel when you don't use it? Why?
21. *Sensecam participants: Let's look at some of the images captured by the sensecam – tell me about this first picture? Use probes as above depending on scenario e.g. online, conversation, TV / radio etc.*
- Did the Welsh language feature?
 - Could it have played a part here? Why / why not?

Other websites

- 22a. To finish, there are a couple more websites I'd like to look at with you, to get your views on.

If not fluent: Visit: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/cymru/cymraeg/>

This site is aimed at helping people with the Welsh language and also provides podcasts in simplified Welsh for learners. What's your initial view on this kind of idea? *Then probe*

- Are you aware of this site or other sites like these?
- How useful are they / could they be for you? Why?
- What would encourage you to use this kind of site?

- 22b. **If not fluent:** Let's look at another way of encouraging people to do more through the medium of Welsh:

<http://www.mentrauiath.org/cymraeg/index.php>

Ask participant to choose nearest region and explore

- Are you aware of this site or other sites like these?
- How useful are they / could they be for you? Why?
- What do you think of the BBC 'Vocab' button on the site?
- What would encourage you to use this kind of site?

23. **If fluent:** Visit and discuss <http://www.bbc.co.uk/wales>

- <http://www.bbc.co.uk/cymru>
- Before we look at these two sites, how do you expect the two sites to compare?
 - Looking at them both now, what do you make of how they compare?
 - What do you think about the fact that the sites are not direct replicas?
 - What would you think if the two sites were identical in terms of content?
 - What do you see as the role of each site here?
 - How do you feel about this approach?
24. Out of everything we've discussed across the different stages of this research, what if anything do you think has the most potential to encourage you / those who use Welsh less often to think differently about how and when you use the Welsh language?
- Who do you feel particularly influences you in what you do in your daily life? (E.g. specific family members, friends – which and why? Online sites, etc.)
 - *If low user of Welsh* What do you feel is the best route to reaching you with information on what's out there to encourage you to do (even) more through the medium of Welsh on a permanent basis?
25. Is it OK to get back in contact with you in case we need to clarify any points from the discussion? **Thank and close**

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Clic http://www.s4c.co.uk/hafan/c_index.shtml

LiteratIM <http://bit.ly/17DdO9Z>

Mae gen ti ddewis http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=k_lwl9KZ6N8

S4C Digital Media Fund http://www.s4c.co.uk/e_press_level2.shtml?id=675

Twf <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HxyOm689Fuc>