

Accommodation and resistance in the implementation of a minority language: A survey of headteacher attitudes across primary schools in Cornwall

Sarah Croome
293283@soas.ac.uk

1. Introduction

In 2002 the United Kingdom government specified the Cornish language under Part II of the Council of Europe's Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. A Strategy for the Cornish Language (CCC, 2004) was subsequently developed by local councillors and Cornish language organizations, aimed at significantly reviving Cornish, a language which fell into functional disuse during the 18th and 19th centuries, over a twenty-five year period. Maga, established in 2005, is the organization responsible for implementing the Strategy, of which education is a vital element.

What does Charter recognition mean? Its stated purpose is to protect and promote European regional or minority languages for the contribution they make to Europe's cultural diversity and historical traditions, and because many are in danger of extinction. The UK government is required to base its policies, legislation and practice on the objectives and principles detailed in Part II, Article 7, which include:

'f. the provision of appropriate forms and means for the teaching and study of Cornish at all appropriate stages'

Fishman (2001a: 478) accepts there is no conclusive evidence against which to evaluate the effectiveness of language policy at international or state level, but warns that 'a lack of priorities and linkages seems to characterize the entire legalistic approach' and Romaine (2002: 200) singles out the European Charter as an example of such 'weak linkages', asserting that:

'The effectiveness of any initiatives on the supranational level can always be undermined by individual states unless there is some way of guaranteeing the implementation of language-related measures on a supranational level'

UK implementation of Cornish in the education system typifies this position. Unlike Wales, Scotland or the Isle of Man, Cornwall relies on Westminster legislature, therefore responsibility for teaching lies with the local authority. The strategy for Cornish implementation is overseen by Maga whose *Vision 1* is 'the opportunity for all who wish to learn Cornish, at all levels of education', their stated target being 'An accessible education programme from pre-school to higher and adult education' (CCC, 2004). In reality, Maga are underfunded¹ and understaffed, with only two full-time

¹ Total income/expenditure £212,00 (2010/2011) (Maga Business Plan, 2008-2011)

Project Officers and two part-time Education Officers.² Outside this they are ‘wholly reliant on volunteer assistance’ (J. Lowe,³ pers. comm., 29th November 2011) which presents problems of availability and suitability. Education is severely affected by this lack of capacity, therefore much work involves ‘taster sessions’ rather than being ‘an integral part of the curriculum’, a minimum requirement in the Charter (Article 8.1.b.iii).

Although Maga distribute learning materials to schools and offer support with Cornish implementation, decisions regarding use and uptake are entirely at the discretion of schools themselves. In practice this means that neither declarations of policy from Strasbourg, nor local visions, can be effective without commitment from individuals. Due to the mechanisms by which Cornish is currently delivered, headteachers have become the final link in a fragile chain and their attitudes are critical to Cornish implementation in schools. There appears to be no research, however, which examines headteacher attitudes in Cornwall in this specific and relevant context. There is a need to clarify the factors underlying uptake levels, and to explore salient links between headteacher background, attitudes to Cornish and the decision to accommodate or resist the implementation of a language not used as a vernacular for many generations. Previous attitudinal research in Cornwall has been differently focussed in terms of sample and objectives (Camps, 2008; Carkeek, 2009; Dunmore, 2011; Hirner, 1999; MacKinnon, 2000; Willett, 2008; Wimmer, 2010). Comparatively little exists in the sphere of education and pedagogy and this study aimed to elicit responses within particular parameters to gain an understanding of low uptake of Cornish by schools, and to inform future approaches. Better understanding of decision-maker attitudes could facilitate more effective targeting of limited resources.

Objectives:

1. Identify drivers and barriers to Cornish implementation in primary schools
2. Evaluate critically any apparently significant correlations between headteacher background and attitudes towards Cornish
3. Provide information relevant for future approaches

2. Policy, Attitudes and Implementation

This study is not a discussion of whether a presence in the education system is sufficient to revive Cornish or any other language. Experience shows it is not (Fishman, 2001; Hinton, 2001; Hornberger, 2008; Romaine, 2006; Sallabank, 2010), however, as a revived language with no intergenerational transmission⁴, Cornish is necessarily reliant on teaching and learning. With this in mind, the following areas were reviewed in order to situate the research:

- The impact of European Charter ratification on Cornish
- Weak linkages between official policy and implementation
- Teacher attitudes, underlying factors and their impact on pedagogic practice
- Previous attitudinal research in Cornwall

² The Isle of Man has two Education Officers and several peripatetic and embedded Manx teachers for a population of 83,327. The population of Cornwall is 535,300. (UK Census 2011).

³ Maga Development Officer

⁴ MacKinnon (2005) and Renkó-Michelsén (2013) document several families using Cornish in the home.

Charter impact on the position of Cornish and on government language policy requires initial scrutiny. Prior to Scottish, Welsh and Northern Irish devolution in 1999, the Westminster Parliament had absolute legislative authority in all UK matters including those impacting on minority languages. London-based governmental power remains significant for Cornwall which has no devolved assembly, despite campaigns by a robust nationalist movement⁵. In addition, Cornish is among the more threatened and marginalized of Europe's minority languages⁶. Assessments of the Charter's wider effectiveness and the interpretation and implementation of its requirements by the UK vary, but clear areas of concern pervade the literature. Dunbar (2003) argues that 'the process and fact of ratification have thus far had a relatively limited impact on the languages covered by the Charter'. Assessing UK application of the Charter as 'minimalist' (2003: 41), and its attitude to language activists and NGO's as 'one of indifference', he nevertheless views ratification as a step forward in that Cornish has been officially recognized as a living language meriting 'positive measures of support', a notion endorsed by Gorter (2001: 220) who cites a 'positive *symbolic* effect' in his discussion of the Netherlands. Dunbar also argues that government institutions will be 'forced to explain and account for their policies and practices' at institutional and implementation levels (Dunbar 2003: 57). Evaluation of monitoring reports, recommendations and actual results, however, casts doubt on this.

While Part III of the Charter documents precise obligations, Part II, under which Cornish is specified, contains more general undertakings. Woehrling (2005: 253) characterizes these as a mode of 'evaluating policy' rather than 'verifying actual facts', describing as the Committee's approach as 'compliance management'. He also emphasizes that Committee language is rarely condemnatory, merely indicating 'shortcomings', but concludes that a growing body of reports will facilitate the refinement of good practice in implementation. Nevertheless, Grin (2003: 196) highlights the 'weak rationale' with which implementation itself is approached, noting the emphasis on formal provisions at the expense of actual outcomes (Grin 2003: 197), making it possible for reports to omit any mention of language vitality, focussing on 'supply' rather than results. Romaine (2002: 204) argues that 'without...a variety of other enabling factors, policy statements which merely permit, encourage or recommend the use of a language...cannot be very effective', highlighting the divergence between stated policy and actual practice. She cites Gardner-Chloros (1997: 217) in asserting it is 'pointless to think that "grand declarations of policy...would be effective if they are not tied to a...legal instrument with effective machinery for reinforcement"', but as she points out (Romaine 2002: 200), only the institutions of states themselves can regulate language policies and the EU avoids interference with such policies. Ultimately, technical compliances and the mere existence of policies or goals cannot ensure actual change which will contribute to effective language revitalization.

This is amply demonstrated by the example of Cornish. While the Charter sets out a clear requirement for Cornish to be provided in primary education *at the absolute minimum* as an 'integral part of the curriculum', Article 8 detailing arrangements for concrete action and Article 7.1.f involving an obligation to achieve the desired result (Woehrling 2005: 117), Cornish is still taught as a minimal, extra-curricular subject if at

⁵ *Mebyon Kernow* has 4 local council seats but no MP's.

⁶ There are approximately 557 fluent speakers (CCC, 2011).

all. Woehrling (2005: 150) interprets the Charter as requiring dedicated language teaching of ‘a certain number of hours per week’ and is clear that if the measure is not merely to be a pointless formality there should be a minimum level of intensiveness, suggesting at least three hours per week, however, Maga Education Officer, Mike Tresidder, (pers. comm., 7th August 2012) points out that Cornish is not prescribed in the curriculum; ‘We end up...working on the margins, on ‘out of hours’ and voluntary initiatives in schools.’ Teaching materials have been developed and distributed to primary schools by Maga and this is noted as an advance in the Committee’s third monitoring cycle (Article 93, p.16), as is the inclusion of Cornish in the Languages Ladder⁷ and the much-publicized ‘Sense of Place’ project in which 70 primary schools ‘got an introduction to the Cornish language’ (COE 3rd monitoring cycle report: Article 92, p.16). In reality, ‘Sense of Place’ fulfils a national curriculum requirement regarding regional distinctiveness and is not centred on language learning *per se*, while inclusion in the Languages Ladder or its successor is merely potential and arguably dependent on the very attitudes evaluated in this study. Likelihood of inclusion will reflect general frequency of uptake in schools, which remains voluntary and which Maga themselves describe as low. Tresidder (pers. comm., 7th August 2012) further points out that Maga are in the ironic position of having to persuade schools to adopt Cornish as a MFL, placing it in competition with, say, French or Spanish, and making it difficult to persuade schools of its utility. The Committee has frequently indicated that the provision of a minority language is ‘not a decision that should be left to the teachers’ (Woehrling 2005: 148), yet Cornish implementation relies entirely on the inclination of headteachers and staff.

Despite this scenario, Committee reports become less robust throughout the three Cornish monitoring cycles, implying that as new initiatives are documented, an appearance of compliance is constructed which may not reflect the true situation and there seems to be a lack of an evaluation culture where policies and initiatives are addressed in terms of whether they are expected to be *effective* in terms of specific criteria. This is the locus of Romaine’s ‘weak linkage’ (2002: 200) and what Grin (2003: 84) refers to as ‘the chink in the armour’ at policy outcome level. Fishman (1991: 178) observed a similar failure of delivery for Frisian; there have been few changes (Gorter in Fishman 2001: 226 ff.) and language policy plans have indeed been ‘public posturing and the adoption of well-meaning and good-sounding resolutions; implementation has turned out to be difficult’. In the case of Cornish, the production and dissemination of teaching materials does not in itself mean they will be used, or that this measure will be effective in increasing knowledge and use of Cornish. Success remains dependent on accommodation by existing school staff, particularly in light of Maga’s own ‘lack of capacity’ (J. Lowe, pers. comm., 18th December 2011) which emphasizes the critical role for headteachers at implementation level and the importance of their language attitudes.

There is considerable research in the area of teacher attitudes, much of which highlights classroom situations apparently inapplicable to Cornish in the UK. Nevertheless, there are recurrent themes which are relevant. Wider research (Cantoni, 1997; Lee & Oxelson, 2010) frequently reveals negative teacher attitudes towards minority

⁷ A former recognition scheme; part of a UK National Languages Strategy

languages. Studies also suggest there are likely to be correlations between particular variables in the background of headteachers and their attitudes towards minority languages (Byrnes, Kiger & Manning, 1997) and that these factors impact on pedagogic practices. Students spend a significant part of their lives in contact with teachers who can play an important role in shaping their attitudes towards their heritage languages (Corson, 2001; Nieto, 2002; Macias, 2004). Research by Clark (1988), Flores (2001), Nespore (1987) and Pajares (1992) has shown that teacher attitudes have a significant effect on both student attitudes and their own pedagogic practices. Furthermore, Wong-Fillmore (2000) has shown that a sociocultural environment which does not appear to value a minority language is likely to produce students who ultimately reject that language. Research by Franquiz & de la Luz Reyes (1998) refutes a common misconception among teachers that they must be proficient in a minority language in order to support it and the study demonstrated that positive effects were found when teachers showed an interest in the language and treated it as a resource. Similarly, Lee & Oxelson (2010) argue that positive attitudes to a heritage language and a 'willingness to value it publicly in the school space can reinforce students' desire to maintain their heritage language'. In addition, the research demonstrates that educational policies make it difficult for teachers to address student needs not directly related to standardized testing, a pressure cited by many teachers who answered my questionnaire. Strong attitudes were expressed in Lee & Oxelson's study by teachers who did not see a role for themselves in promoting heritage language maintenance, feeling it was not their responsibility. The researchers also identified a persistently negative general view of bilingualism among educators, despite many studies (Cummins, 1981; Hakuta, 1986; Krashen, 1998) which demonstrate its positive effects on the cognitive abilities of children and tendency to 'promote academic achievement' (Lee & Oxelson, 2010: 468). It is clear that teacher attitudes are of critical importance in cultivating and supporting positive attitudes to a language.

3. Methodology and data collection

Maga felt the lack of intergenerational transmission and opportunity to learn Cornish at a young age presented a strong case for targeting resources towards primary schools, but had sometimes experienced a disappointing response to their approaches. Anecdotal evidence suggests:

- Teachers avoid Cornish through lack of confidence
- Teachers struggle with a context for Cornish if they are unaware of Cornish history and culture
- Cornish is relegated to the status of 'heritage' subject and lacks 'currency'
- Teacher training institutions ignore or struggle to make a formal response to Cornish language and culture
- The attitudes of individual headteachers are highly influential

Maga wished to understand how they might improve uptake, whether teachers would prefer a different kind of support and whether they see a future for Cornish at all. They viewed an understanding of teacher attitudes to such issues as critical for planning.

The data collection method was influenced by a wish to compare resultant data, where appropriate, with that from earlier surveys and to obtain sufficient data to enable

generalization based on apparent relationships between variables. These factors, together with the need to obtain and analyze information from a large number of participants across the region, suggested a questionnaire would be the most effective and appropriate data collection method.

The questionnaire (see Appendix) consisted of 20 attitudinal statements requiring respondents to rank order of agreement on a five-point Likert scale, and a combination of 14 open and closed questions intended to elicit demographic, social and pedagogic information and allow additional remarks. Questionnaire development was informed by anecdotal evidence from Maga regarding possible reasons for poor uptake. Correlations evident in surveys of other groups within Cornwall (Carkeek, 2009; Dunmore, 2011; Willett, 2008; Wimmer, 2010) motivated the inclusion of particular questions and Likert items. Questionnaires were posted to 241 of 242⁸ state primary schools in Cornwall and it was stressed that the questionnaire should be completed by the headteacher or staff member responsible for languages.

3.1. Attitude

To meet the objectives of this study it was relevant to distinguish between three key attitudinal dimensions (Baker, 1992; 13); cognitive, affective and behavioural. The significance of this model is that the three dimensions do not always correspond, for example, a teacher might express a favourable attitude towards the value of preserving Cornish, but hold negative feelings towards its inclusion in the curriculum. It cannot be assumed that favourable attitudes will translate into active support for the language and the distinctions between these levels of language attitude are especially relevant for this research. At a general level teachers may value Cornish, perhaps as an identity marker, but broad principles may be negated or moderated by responses to particular manifestations of language maintenance which impact on individuals, for example, compulsion in education. It is at this level, where thoughts and feelings may or may not translate to behaviour, that barriers to implementation are likely to be located. Questionnaire content was therefore developed to reflect this.

3.2. Limitations

The closed nature of possible responses on a Likert scale may exert a negative impact on validity, particularly in the context of 'affective' variables, because choice of answer is relative to the respondent's own abstract perception of strength of choice. In addition, respondents may avoid using extreme response categories (*central tendency bias*) or attempt to position themselves in a favourable light (*social desirability bias*). It should be stressed that, inevitably, in a survey involving voluntary responses, a bias towards willingness to participate is also present; respondents cannot be described as truly random because they are necessarily self-selecting. Inferences about the population must be made with caution and it cannot be assumed that the respondents are representative of all primary school headteachers across Cornwall as there may have been an exaggeratedly high number of responses from Cornish supporters, although responses were received from 29.874% of the population⁹ and describe a variety of views. Nevertheless, it is a valid question whether there is some systematic, relevant

⁸ One is a respite facility for children with learning disabilities. When contacted, staff stated that the survey parameters were not appropriate to the school.

⁹ Headteachers in the Cornish primary sector.

way in which non-respondents differ from respondents. One hundred non-respondents were followed up by telephone prior to the deadline¹⁰, a process which produced many negative responses¹¹ towards Cornish and the survey, associated with lack of time, the low priority of Cornish and the dominance of other school activities.

3.3. Quantitative Data Analysis

Data were numerically coded for each variable and entered in SPSS (Pallant, 2007; Greasley, 2008) for statistical analysis. Responses to single Likert items are normally treated as ordinal data as the researcher cannot assume respondents perceive the difference between adjacent levels as equidistant. The data were therefore analyzed using the non-parametric significance test Spearman's rank correlation co-efficient or ρ , to assess the strength of relationships between variables. Of the 241 questionnaires distributed, 72 (29.875%) were returned. In a population of 241, this is shown on statistical reliability calculators to give an accuracy of 95% +/- 10%.¹² Nevertheless, this sample size, which appears robust and capable of providing data from which it is possible to generalize, can produce small returns in subdivisions when variables are crosstabulated, with some subdivisions showing no cases at all. This also made chi-square analysis problematic as it was not possible to maintain sufficient value in cells. Every Cornish primary school, however, was approached at the outset, so it was not possible to increase sampling to achieve a higher response. The significance of ρ is strongly influenced by sample size and moderate correlations may not reach statistical significance at $p < .05$ level.¹³ Spearman rho testing in SPSS did not flag a significant strength of relationship between any variable rankings, therefore the dataset is discussed as observed and represented using tables and bar charts.

4. Findings, analysis and discussion

The (abridged) data presented here originally formed the basis of an MA dissertation submitted at SOAS in 2012 and it is not possible to explore relationships between all variables in a paper of this length, therefore only those likely to be the most salient, informed by correlations observed in previous studies, are examined. Demographic and pedagogic questions are referred to as Q, attitudinal statements as AS.

4.1. Language attitudes

Univariate analysis revealed an overwhelmingly positive affective attitude with 90.2% of respondents agreeing that Cornish should be preserved, and 86.1% perceiving the language as a symbol of Cornish identity. In addition, 87.5% disagreed that there is no point keeping Cornish alive and 66.7% disagreed it is irrelevant to modern life. These results contrast sharply with the fact that no respondent spoke Cornish and only 56.9% believed schools should provide Cornish. In addition, opinion was evenly divided on whether there was space in the curriculum for the language and whether money could be better spent elsewhere. Significantly, despite positive levels of affective attitude, 83.4% agreed there were more useful languages to learn than Cornish, therefore it is somewhat surprising that 72% agreed they would like to implement Cornish in their schools. Clearly, a large number of people declare support but have no interest in learning

¹⁰ Pre-numbered returns were recorded on a coded list.

¹¹ Calls were answered by receptionists, rather than teachers.

¹² Source: www.greatbrook.com/survey_statistical_confidence.htm

¹³ p = probability. It is assumed that for 5% of the time, the null hypothesis is rejected when true.

Cornish themselves, despite apparently viewing preservation as important for Cornish identity. Language is an alluring identity marker, but Cornish has not been in vernacular use for 200 years, so there may also be an element of received rhetoric underlying affective attitudes, together with a restricted idea of what language maintenance might involve. Nevertheless, symbolic attachment appears to be tempered by attitudes concerning utility and resources. The possible influence of demographic and social variables on attitudes to Cornish and to implementation will be analyzed in the context of this.

Q1 What is your position in the school?

The results confirmed the responses were relevant to the research objectives.

Table 1. Position in School

Headteacher:	70
MFL Teacher	1
School Manager	1
<u>Total</u>	<u>72</u>

Q2 School Size

School size was coded as 'large' (251+), 'medium' (100-250) and small (<100).

Table 2. School Size

	Frequency	Percent
Large	11	15.3
Medium	29	40.3
Small	32	44.4

School size was crosstabulated with AS18 'I would like to incorporate some Cornish into the curriculum'. As teachers had frequently referred to lack of time and the pressure of other school activities, it seemed that small schools might find it easier to flex the curriculum to accommodate Cornish. In fact, the proportion of large schools who expressed overall agreement (81.80%) was significantly higher than that of medium or small schools. The proportion expressing neutrality was also much lower (9.1%) than that of medium (27.6%) and small (25.0%), which may indicate larger schools are more likely to have a languages teacher willing to consider implementation.

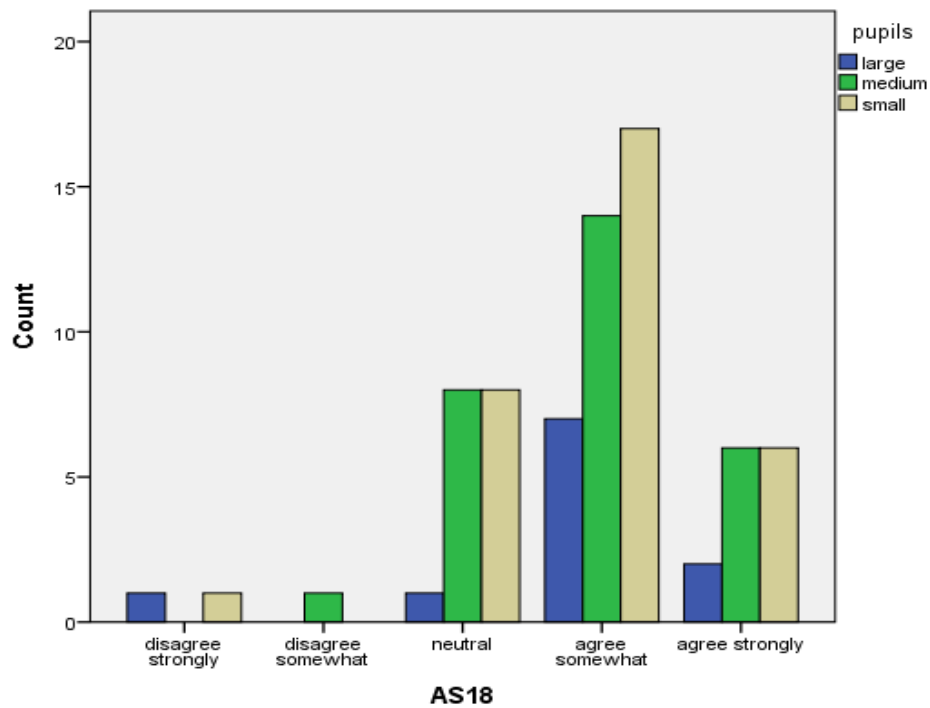


Figure 1. School Size X AS18 ‘I would like to incorporate some Cornish in to the curriculum’

72.2% of respondents agreed they would like to incorporate Cornish, with 23.6% remaining neutral and only 7% (3) disagreeing.

Table 3. AS18 ‘I would like to incorporate some Cornish in the curriculum’

	Frequency	Percent
Disagree strongly	2	2.8
Disagree somewhat	1	1.4
Neutral	17	23.6
Agree somewhat	38	52.8
Agree strongly	14	19.4
Total	72	100.0

These figures seem to indicate a more positive general attitude towards implementation than current uptake suggests, although the possibility of positive sample bias or lack of willingness to make an overt statement rejecting Cornish should be considered. In addition, statements indicating intended behaviour do not necessarily translate into

action. Nevertheless, when AS18 was crosstabulated with AS19 ‘I would welcome some support for this’, a greater number wished for support than wished to incorporate the language, indicating some neutral respondents were open to the idea of assistance.

Q3 Gender

Table 4. Responses by Gender

	Frequency	Percent	Percent in total population
Male	18	25.0	40.0
Female	54	75.0	60.0

Frequencies were compared to the ratio of male to female headteachers across all Cornish primary schools.¹⁴ Unsurprisingly in a female-dominated profession, female headteachers outnumber males (Thornton & Bricheno, 2006), but as Table 4 shows, a disproportionate number of respondents were female. This does not necessarily mean male heads are less supportive of Cornish. Studies show women respond at higher rates than men to surveys (Underwood et al., 2000) and that men respond better to internet surveys than to paper surveys (Kehoe & Pitkow 1996; Smith & Leigh 1997) so it may be that men were less receptive than women to the *questionnaire* rather than to Cornish. Cross tabulation of gender with AS18 supports this, with 83% of men expressing a wish to incorporate Cornish, contrasting with 68% of women, and a higher proportion of women (27.8%) were neutral to the idea than men (11.1%). These figures are somewhat unfortunate given the relative dearth of male headteachers.

¹⁴ Source: www.cornwall.gov.uk

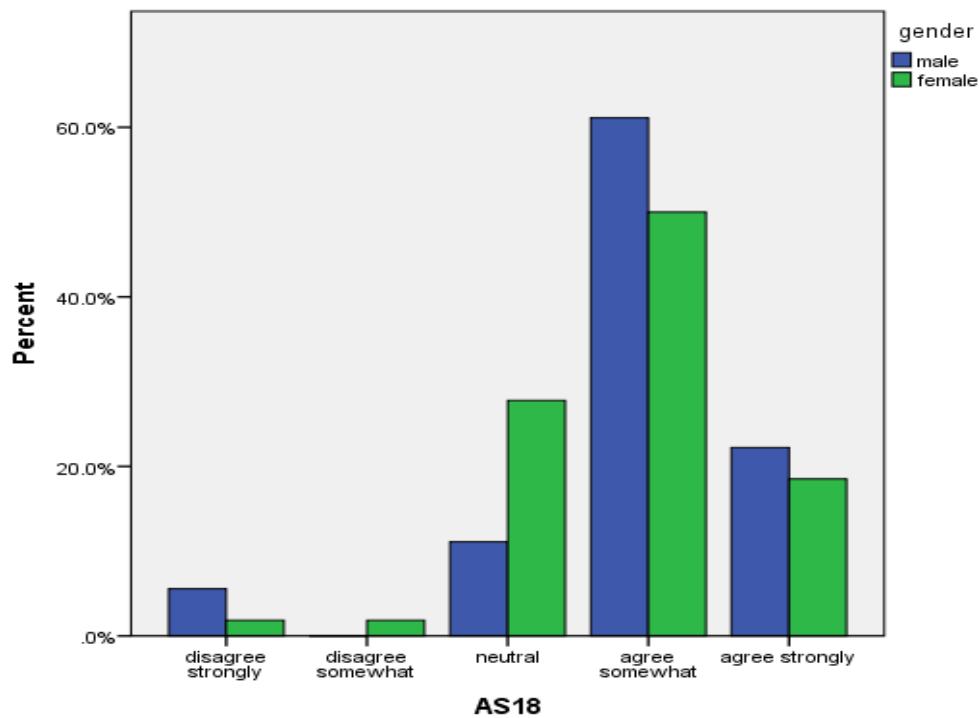


Figure 2. Gender X AS18 ‘I would like to incorporate some Cornish into the curriculum’

Carkeek (2009: 198), in a survey of the general adult population in Cornwall, found no gender-based difference in attitude to curriculum inclusion, but women were found to be more supportive generally of the revival than men. Extreme views were held more by men, mirroring her observations for boys.

Gender was cross tabulated with ‘affective’ AS2 ‘Cornish should be maintained because it is a symbol of Cornish identity’, but contrary to observations in young people (Carkeek, 2009: 139), where boys demonstrated more extreme views than girls, there was little gender-based statistical difference in overall attitude, but a higher proportion of women agreed strongly, contrasting with Carkeek’s findings in the general adult population.

Table 5. Gender X AS2 ‘Cornish should be maintained because it is a symbol of Cornish identity’

Percent within gender				
Gender	Disagree Strongly	Neutral	Agree Somewhat	Agree strongly
Male	0.0	11.1	61.1	27.8
Female	1.9	13.0	46.3	38.9
Total	1.4	12.5	50.0	36.1

Gender was then cross tabulated with ‘cognitive’ AS11 ‘Knowing Cornish is an intellectual advantage’. Similar percentages of men and women showed agreement, but a higher percentage of men (55.6) than women (33.3) were neutral. Disagreement showed the most notable divergence between the sexes; with only 6.7% of men showing overall disagreement, in contrast with 40.8% of women.

Q4 Age

Age was coded in four categories:

Table 6. Respondents by Age

Age	Frequency	Percent
Under 25	1	1.4
26-40	14	19.4
41-55	46	63.9
56+	11	15.3
Total	72	100.00

The highest proportion of respondents (63.9%) appeared in the 41-55 category, as expected for senior professionals. (The under 25, a MFL teacher, is an outlier). When age was crosstabulated with AS18, the 56+ category showed the highest proportions of strong and overall agreement, in line with Carkeek (2009: 202), but in contrast with the results from the youngest adults in that study the 26-40 category fell only marginally short of this. Those between 41-55 showed the least agreement, and high neutrality, although only 3 individuals in the study expressed disagreement. All were in this age group, however, it contains 63.9% of all respondents and Carkeek (2009: 201) observed that the mid-aged category in the general adult population were the *most* positive to curriculum inclusion. This may, however, reflect the fact that they themselves would not, in the main, be carrying it out. Teachers in this age group (neither newly qualified nor approaching retirement) may well have made a more cautious response to the work involved.

Table7. Age X AS18 ‘I would like to incorporate some Cornish into the curriculum’

Count/Percent within age

Age	Disagree Strongly	Disagree Somewhat	Neutral	Agree Somewhat	Agree Strongly
26-40	0 0.0	0 0.0	3 21.4	9 64.3	2 14.3
41-55	2 4.3	1 2.2	11 23.9	23 50.0	9 19.6
56+	0 0.0	0 0.0	2 18.2	6 54.5	3 27.3

Paradoxically, when age was crosstabulated with ‘affective’ AS1 ‘The Cornish language should be preserved’, overall agreement was *highest* in the 41-55 category. More remarkably, when age was crosstabulated with AS6 ‘Cornish is irrelevant to modern life in Cornwall’, the highest proportion of overall agreement (21.7%) was shown by this very group. It was also the only group in which *strong* agreement on irrelevance appeared.

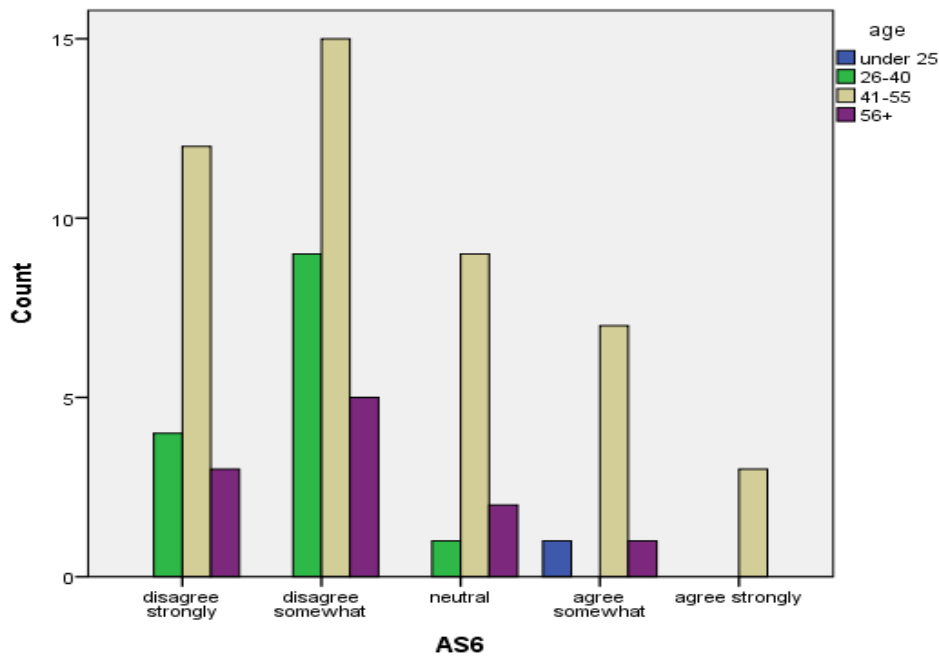


Figure 3. Age X AS6 ‘Cornish is irrelevant to modern life in Cornwall’ (Under 25 = a single outlier)

Strong agreement with preservation remained highest in the 56+ group, who correspondingly showed the highest proportion of strong agreement with ‘affective’ AS2 ‘Cornish should be maintained because it is a symbol of Cornish identity’. In fact, 86.1% of all respondents showed some agreement with this statement, but the lowest proportion of agreement and highest proportion of neutrality were shown by the 26-40 category, suggesting younger heads may place less importance on Cornish as a marker of identity than those aged 56+. It was also considered that younger heads may be more

likely to have moved to Cornwall from elsewhere and feel less affinity with the language as an identity marker, but in fact, crosstabulation of age with ‘Cornish’ showed that 26-40 held the highest percentage of Cornish self-identifiers (within age) of any category.

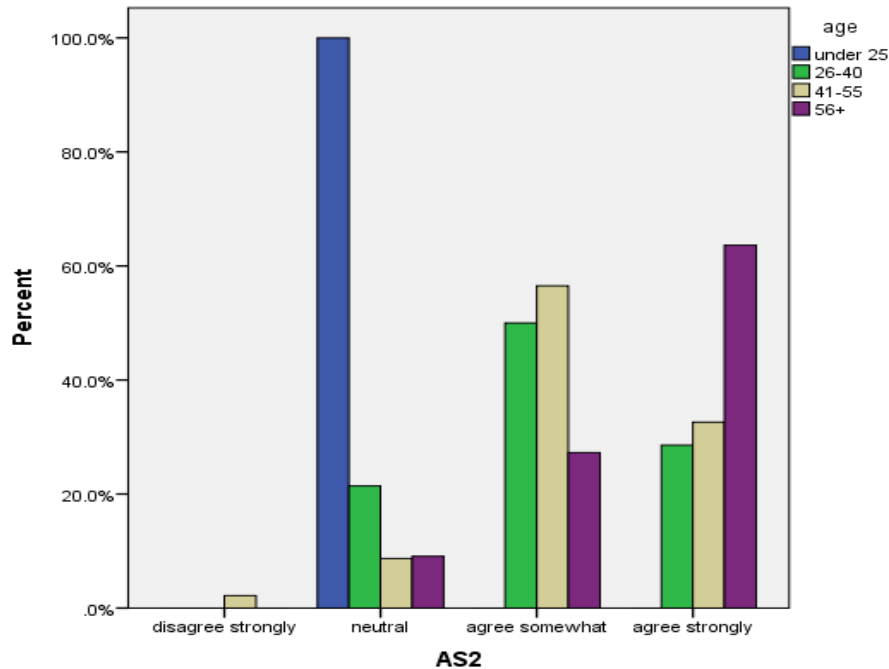


Figure 4. Age X AS2 ‘Cornish should be maintained because it is a symbol of Cornish identity’ (Under 25 = a single outlier)

More respondents between 26-40 felt the language should be preserved (85.7%) than expressed a wish to incorporate it themselves (78.6%), indicating again that favourable attitudes do not automatically translate into active support, however, this category showed the highest proportion of *disagreement* with AS6 regarding the irrelevance of Cornish in modern life (92.9%). This is particularly difficult to interpret as this group was also *least* likely to view it as symbolic of Cornish identity or to agree it is a language worth learning.

Q5 Self-identification as Cornish

Various studies (Carkeek, 2009; Dunmore, 2011; Willett, 2008) have evaluated the criteria deemed essential for ‘Cornishness’ by residents of Cornwall. Q5 was not intended to reflect these, rather, to record whether or not the respondent, by their own criteria, *felt* themselves to be ‘Cornish’. Respondents include people born in Cornwall, lifelong residents and some who have lived there a comparatively short time but who nevertheless self-describe as Cornish. It is self-identification itself which is relevant here, rather than the underlying criteria.

Table 8. Self-identification as Cornish

Cornish	Frequency	Percent
YES	19	26.4
NO	53	73.6
Total	72	100.0

Self-identification as Cornish indicated a correlation with AS18 ‘I would like to incorporate some Cornish into the curriculum’. No respondent who self-identified as Cornish disagreed with the statement and respondents who did disagree (3) self-identified as non-Cornish. Overall agreement that they would like to incorporate Cornish into the curriculum was expressed by 84.3% of Cornish self-identifiers, contrasting with 68% of those who self-identified as non-Cornish. Neutrality too, was indicated by only 15.8% of Cornish respondents, contrasting with 26.4% of non-Cornish respondents.

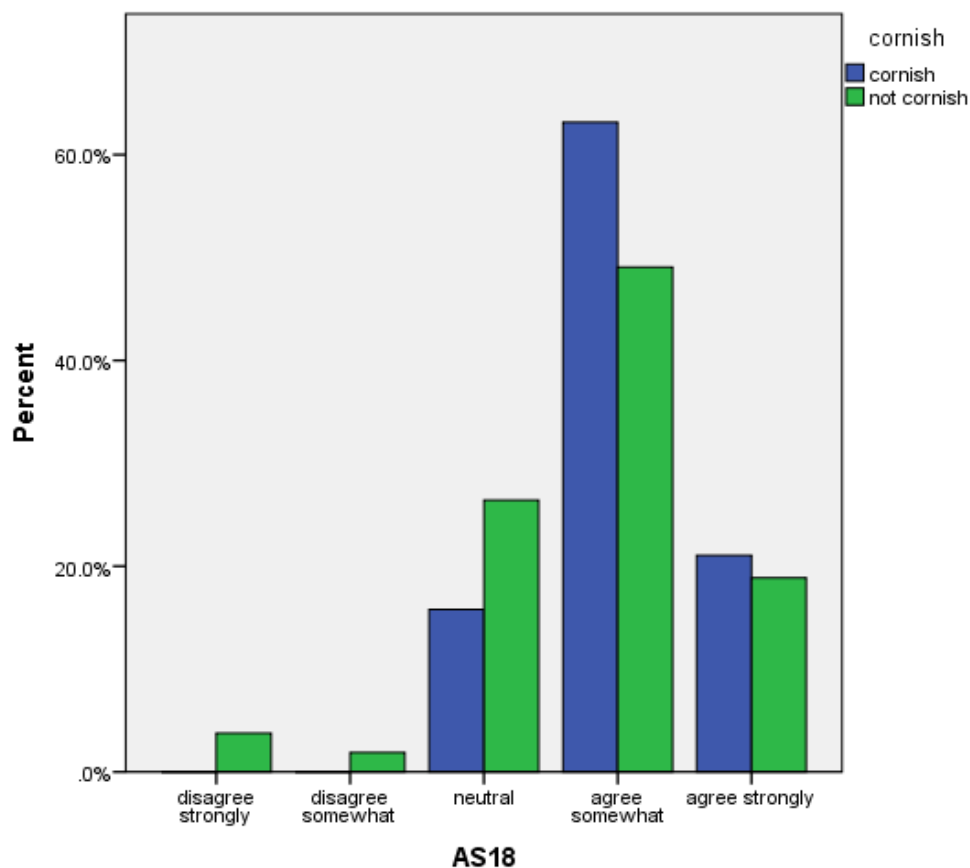


Figure 5. Self-identification as Cornish X AS18 ‘I would like to incorporate some Cornish into the curriculum’

Crosstabulation of self-identification as Cornish with AS12 ‘Schools should provide the opportunity for pupils to learn Cornish’ also showed divergence, with only 5.3% of Cornish respondents disagreeing, contrasting with 22.7% of non-Cornish respondents.

Non-Cornish respondents also showed greater neutrality. Overall agreement was shown by 73.7% of Cornish respondents in contrast with only 50.9% of non-Cornish respondents.

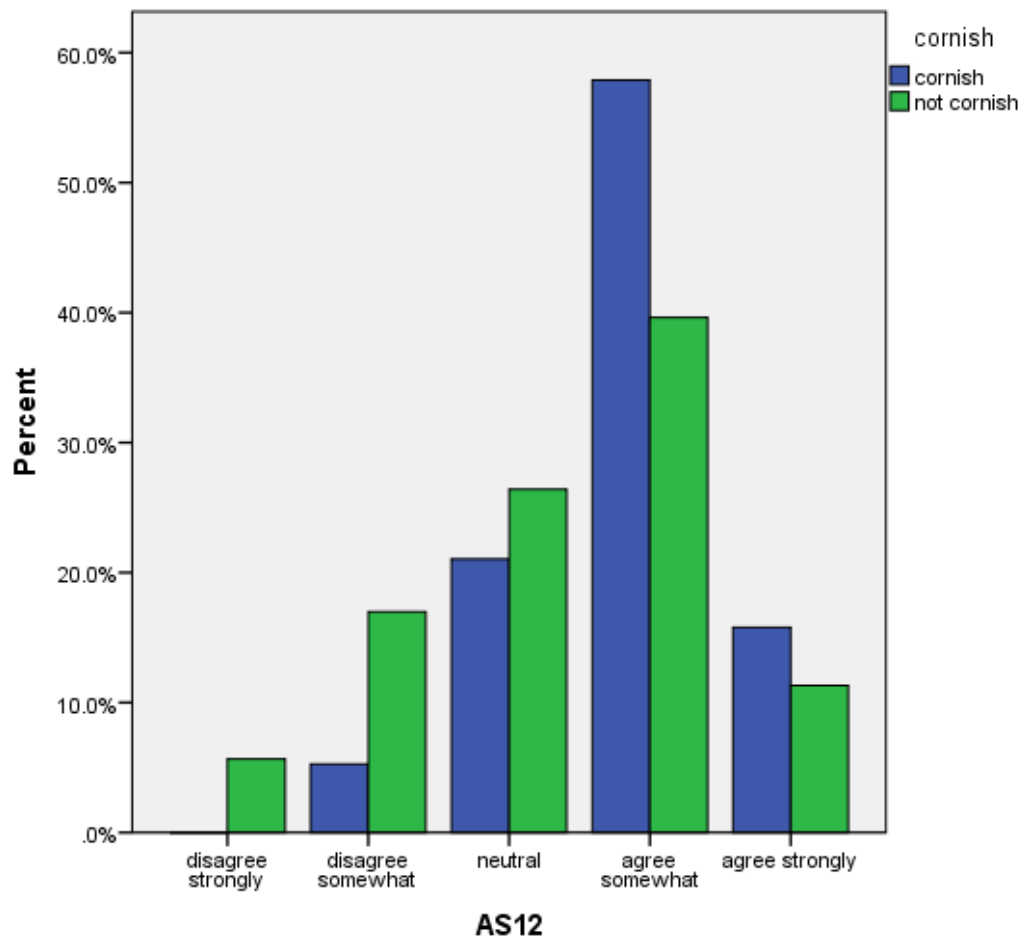


Figure 6. Self-identification as Cornish X AS12 'Schools should provide the opportunity for pupils to learn Cornish'

A higher proportion of Cornish respondents also registered strong agreement but despite this, when 'Cornishness' was crosstabulated with AS13 'Cornish should be compulsory in schools', strong disagreement was shown by similarly high proportions of Cornish and non-Cornish respondents (42.1% and 43.4%) and overall disagreement with compulsion was markedly *higher* for *Cornish* respondents (84.2% compared with 66%). A higher proportion of non-Cornish respondents remained neutral and the 3 individuals showing in the agreement categories were all *non-Cornish*, one registering strong agreement. The variable 'ethnicity' was similarly crosstabulated, having been coded to include a 'Celtic' category which included Cornish, Welsh, Scots and Irish, on the premise that respondents with such a heritage might demonstrate positive attitudes towards Cornish. Frequency of these inclusions were low, and the responses followed the same pattern as the 'Cornish' variable, with the exception of a Welsh respondent who agreed somewhat with compulsion, perhaps motivated by the positive impact of bold measures on Welsh revitalization.

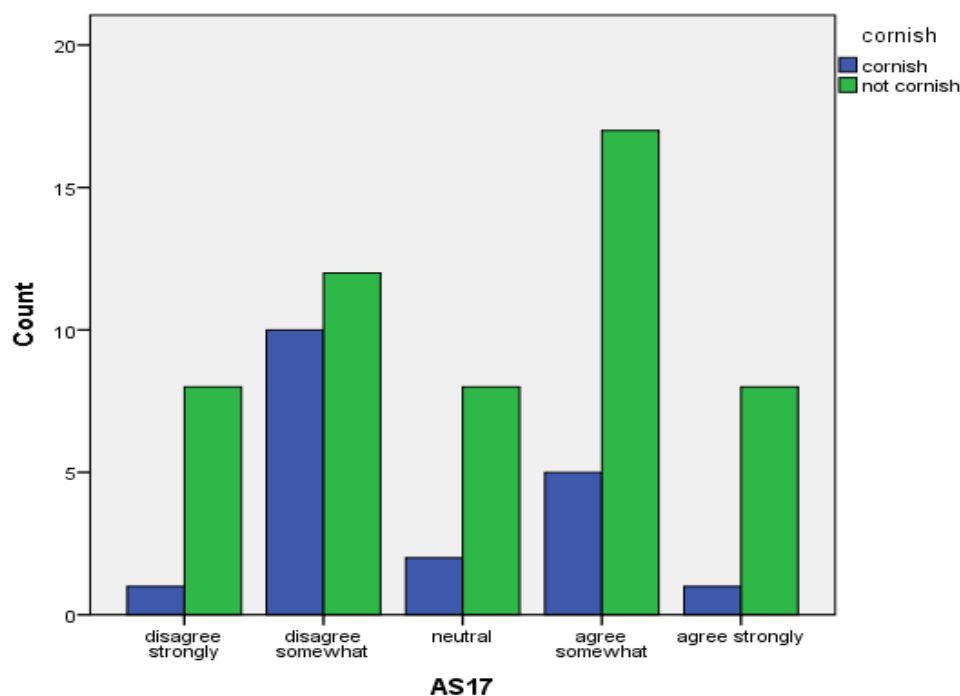


Figure 7. Self-identifying as Cornish X AS17 'There is no capacity in the curriculum for Cornish'.

The variable 'Cornish' was also crosstabulated with 'cognitive' AS17 'There is no capacity in the curriculum for Cornish', again showing marked divergence between Cornish and non-Cornish responses with 57.9% of Cornish respondents disagreeing, contrasting with only 39.6% of non-Cornish respondents. A higher proportion of non-Cornish respondents agreed with the statement, (32.1% compared with 26.3%) and this was especially marked for *strong* agreement where only one Cornish individual appeared. When crosstabulated with AS14 'There are more useful languages to learn than Cornish, overall agreement, and strong agreement in particular, was predictably highest among non-Cornish respondents, however, there was little overall disagreement from the sample, with similar low levels of neutrality and slight disagreement, and a single Cornish respondent showing strong disagreement. Even headteachers who support Cornish took a pragmatic view of its place in the scheme of things.

The notion of 'Cornishness', by whatever measure, has been identified by Willet (2008: 200) as a 'social fact' of 'strong significance' for a considerable majority of Cornwall's population and Dunmore (2011: 74) assesses the Cornish language as 'widely regarded as integral to Cornish identity'. Carkeek (2009: 224) found identification as 'Cornish' to be positively correlated with attitude and the reverse to be true for those identifying as 'English'¹⁵ and certainly, 'Cornishness', by whatever definition, demonstrated a marked relationship with positive language attitudes in this study.

¹⁵ Accompanying response data indicated that no lifelong resident had self-identified as being other than Cornish.

Q6 How long have you lived in Cornwall?

Table 9. Years resident in Cornwall

Years	Frequency	Percent
5 or less	5	6.9
6-10	11	15.3
11-20	21	29.2
20+	17	23.6
Always	15	20.8
N/A	3	4.2
Total	72	100.0

Just over one quarter of respondents self-identified as Cornish, however, the percentage of all respondents resident in Cornwall for a significant length of time was far greater. Only 6.9% (5) had been resident for five years or less, and only 15% (11) for 6-10 years. Almost 30% had been resident for 11-20 years and the remainder, just under 45%, for 20+ years (including lifelong residents). Three individuals did not live in Cornwall, commuting from Devon.

While Carkeek (2009: 206) found, surprisingly, that length of residency exerted little influence on the attitudes of adults in the general population, crosstabulation of Q6 data with 'affective' AS3 'Cornish is a language worth learning' produced a counterintuitive pattern whereby those who had lived in Cornwall all their lives showed the highest levels of strong agreement *and overall disagreement*. Overall agreement was highest among those in the 20+ years category, who also showed no disagreement. Agreement levels in other categories also showed counterintuitive patterns, with agreement falling as the number of years increased, before peaking at 70% for residents of 20+ years, then falling sharply *overall* for lifelong residents despite high *strong agreement*. Neutrality was markedly high for this variable, possibly indicating reluctance to make an overtly negative statement about the value of Cornish, while qualified agreement was lowest in the lifelong category.

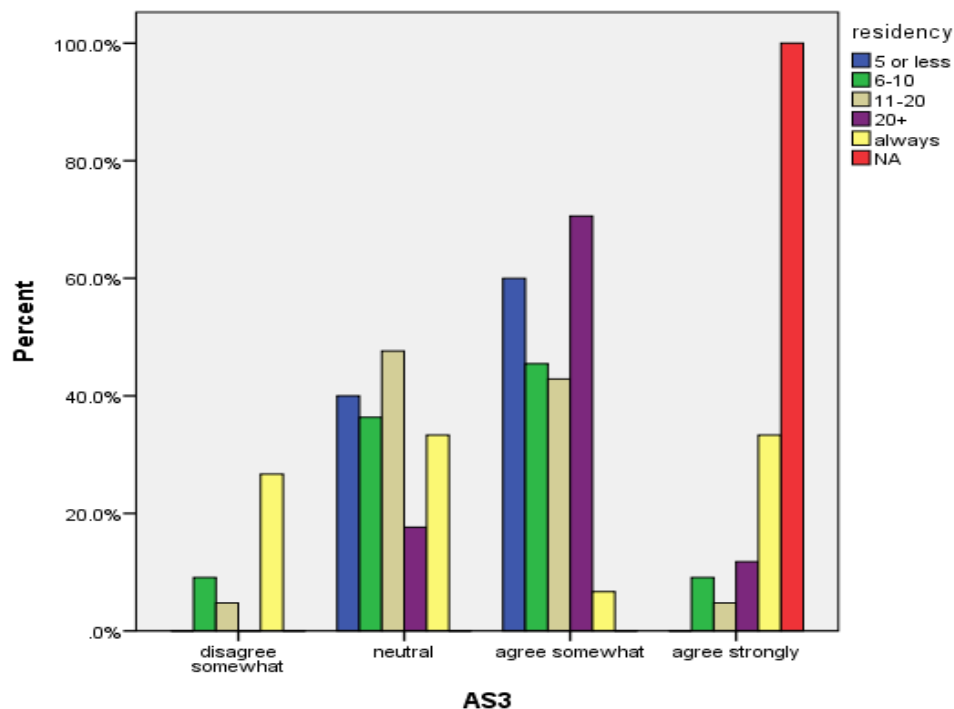


Figure 8. Years resident X AS3 'Cornish is a language worth learning'

Perhaps respondents in the lifelong category felt less inhibited about expressing a negative opinion, while high agreement in the 5 or less category might reflect the enthusiasm of the incomer in embracing all things Cornish. Indeed, Willet (2008: 197) observes 'sense of belonging' and 'love of place' as significant factors which 'bind the Cornish together', regardless of ethnicity.

Nevertheless, when the variable 'years resident' was crosstabulated with AS12 regarding provision in schools, lifelong respondents expressed the lowest overall disagreement (6.7%) and the second highest proportion of overall agreement (53.3%) and strong agreement (13.3%). Again, agreement was highest in the 20+ years category at 76.4%. Oddly, the 5 or less category who attached high value to learning Cornish in AS3 (60.0%) did not show equal enthusiasm for provision in schools, with agreement at only 40.0%. This represents a small number of individuals, but again demonstrates value judgments failing to translate into active expressions of supportive behaviour.

Q6 was then crosstabulated with AS17 'There is no capacity in the curriculum for Cornish', producing a slightly surprising result in that the 20+ years category showed the highest proportion of agreement (having also shown the highest proportion of agreement with the notion of provision in schools!) The highest levels of disagreement with AS17 (both at 60%) were shown by the lifelong residents (unsurprising as they are 'Cornish') and the 5 or less category. The latter is more difficult to explain. This group is composed of 2 respondents in the 26-40 age group and 3 in the 41-55 age group so age does not appear to be a factor. It was considered that headteachers new to a region and to a school may be more receptive to the idea of curriculum adaptation, however, crosstabulation with AS18 shows this is unlikely. The 5 or less category showed the lowest proportion of

agreement and the highest proportion of disagreement with the idea of implementing Cornish themselves, followed by the 6-10 years category. Yet again, the 20+ category showed the highest agreement, and no disagreement, but were closely followed by the 11-20 years category and the lifelong category. There was a high overall wish to incorporate Cornish, rising with number of years resident, falling slightly for the lifelong category, however, the sample may contain an exaggeratedly high number of Cornish supporters due to self-selection. Nevertheless, the actual number of heads expressing a wish to incorporate Cornish (52) must indicate a positive foundation for learning and teaching, together with the 17 individuals who remained neutral, some of whom said they would welcome support from Maga.

Q7 School Location

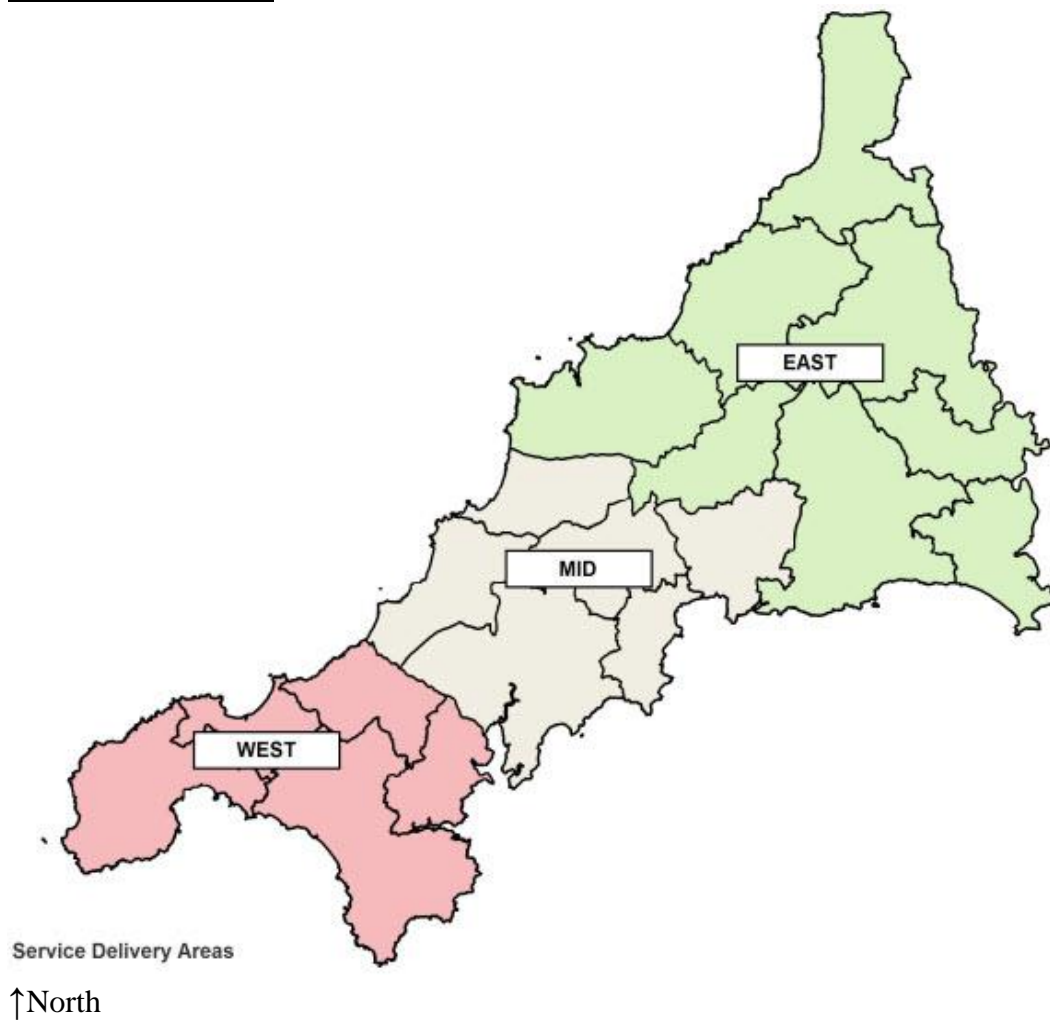


Figure 9. Map of Cornwall showing coding divisions West, Mid and East.

Table 10. Response by District

	Frequency	Percent	Percent in district
East	36	50.0	35.64
Mid	27	37.5	44.26
West	9	12.5	11.39

Historically, Cornish declined from east to west, with West Cornwall retaining vestiges of the language until the 18th century. It has been characterized as possessing a stronger sense of Cornish identity than East Cornwall (Aldous and Williams, 2001; Stoye, 2002) and was therefore expected to produce high response levels and favourable attitudes towards Cornish. As Table 18 shows, the reverse is true, with only 12.5% (9) of questionnaires being returned by schools in West Cornwall, (11.39% of schools in that district). Willet (2008: 199) also observed counterintuitive results, with Caradon (East) scoring highly in her district rankings for ‘Cornishness’, and while Carkeek (2009) observed no significant *overall* correlations between location and attitude, respondents in Mid Cornwall appeared significantly more favourable to the idea of curriculum inclusion. Willet (2008: 199) suggests support in the East might reflect resistance to cultural homogenization from neighbouring areas such as Plymouth, and the data from Mid Cornwall may reflect the impact of tourism and second home ownership on fashionable coastal margins, which has forced the indigenous population into the central uplands.

Cross tabulation, however, produced results more in line with conventional thinking, with the West showing the highest proportion of agreement with AS18 (77.8%) and no disagreement. The East showed greater agreement (72.2%) than Mid Cornwall (70.4) (although numbers are small), and while the highest proportion of survey responses did indeed come from Mid Cornwall, correlations with positive attitudes were strongest overall in the West, reflecting traditional notions regarding strength of identity.

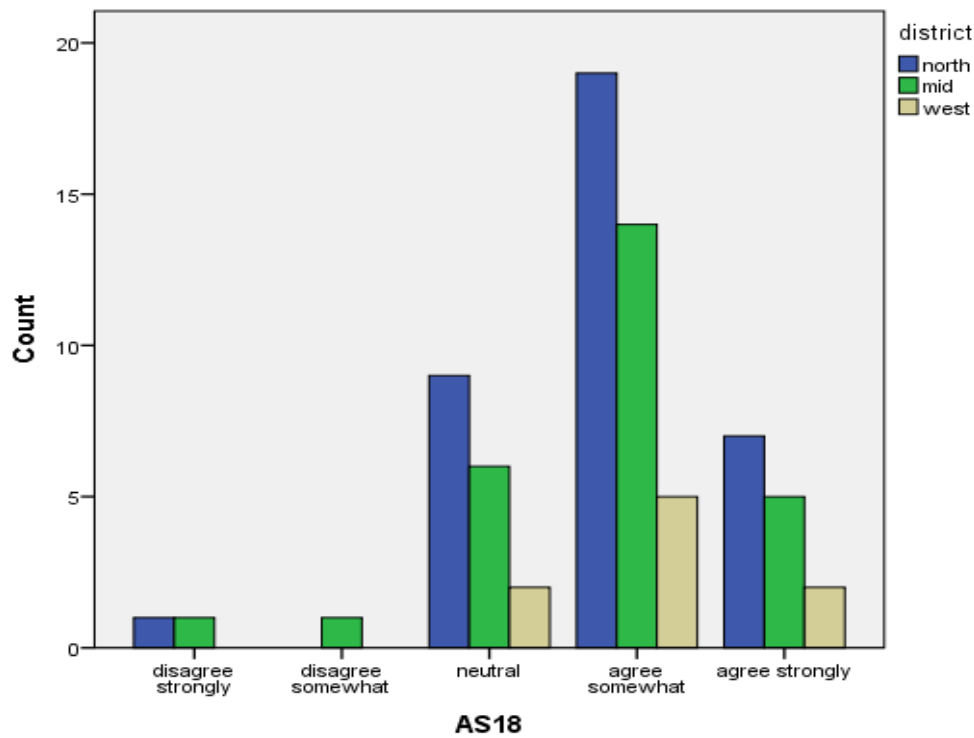


Figure 10. District X AS18 ‘I would like to incorporate some Cornish into the curriculum’

Location was also cross tabulated with Q10 and Q11 regarding receipt of teaching materials from Maga. Respondents from West Cornwall were clearest about whether they had received materials, showing 0.0% ‘not sure’ responses, however, they also showed the highest proportion of non-receipts (33.3%). The East showed the highest proportion of receipts (69.4%) and the lowest proportion of non-receipts (11.1%), however, this category also showed disproportionately high ‘not sure’ responses (19.4%). Overall, 68.1% of heads (49) reported receiving materials, and of these 89.8% said they had used them, although it may be that some respondents felt uncomfortable about saying they had received materials and not used them. Nevertheless, 10.2% of those who had received materials stated openly that they had not used them, citing lack of curriculum time, lack of staff interest, pressure to achieve in English and Maths and the greater utility of other European languages. Several respondents felt the materials were ‘no use without additional support’, indicating teaching assistance is vital, for initial implementation at least.

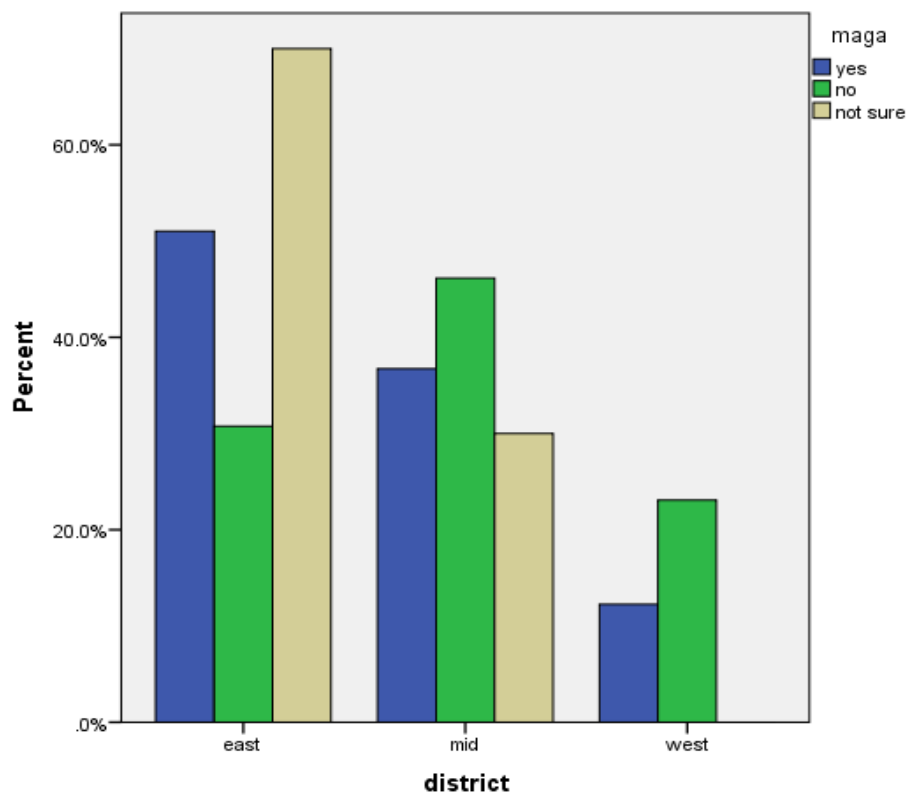


Figure 11. District X Receipt of Maga materials

Q9 What languages do you speak?

Q9 was included in an attempt to ascertain whether the linguistic background of headteachers impacts on their attitudes towards Cornish and its implementation. No respondent was proficient in Cornish although four said they spoke a few words. It was thought teachers proficient in languages other than English might display more positive attitudes towards Cornish and its inclusion in the curriculum than those with little or no language proficiency, due to an appreciation of the benefits of bilingualism or because they might feel less daunted by the idea of implementing an unfamiliar language. The variable was coded as below:

Table 11. Q9 Linguistic Proficiency

	Frequency	Percent
Bilingual/fluent	13	18.1
Basic	43	59.7
Few words	13	18.1
None	3	4.2
Total	72	100.0

In fact, cross tabulation with both AS18 and AS12 'Schools should provide the opportunity for pupils to learn Cornish' produced unexpected results. While it is true

that the number of categories generated here produced small numbers from which to generalize, both cross tabulations showed agreement and disagreement in inverse proportion to language proficiency. While more bilingual/fluent heads agreed than disagreed that schools should provide Cornish, this group also showed the highest proportion of overall disagreement with AS12. Non-linguists were the only group showing no disagreement. Bilinguals/fluent linguists and those with a basic grasp of a language other than English also showed less overall agreement with the idea of school provision than those with only a few words and non-linguists. Cross tabulation with AS18 produced similar inverse results, with the only disagreement and the lowest proportion of agreement recorded by linguists, while non-linguists and those who spoke only a few words showed the highest proportion of agreement and no disagreement.

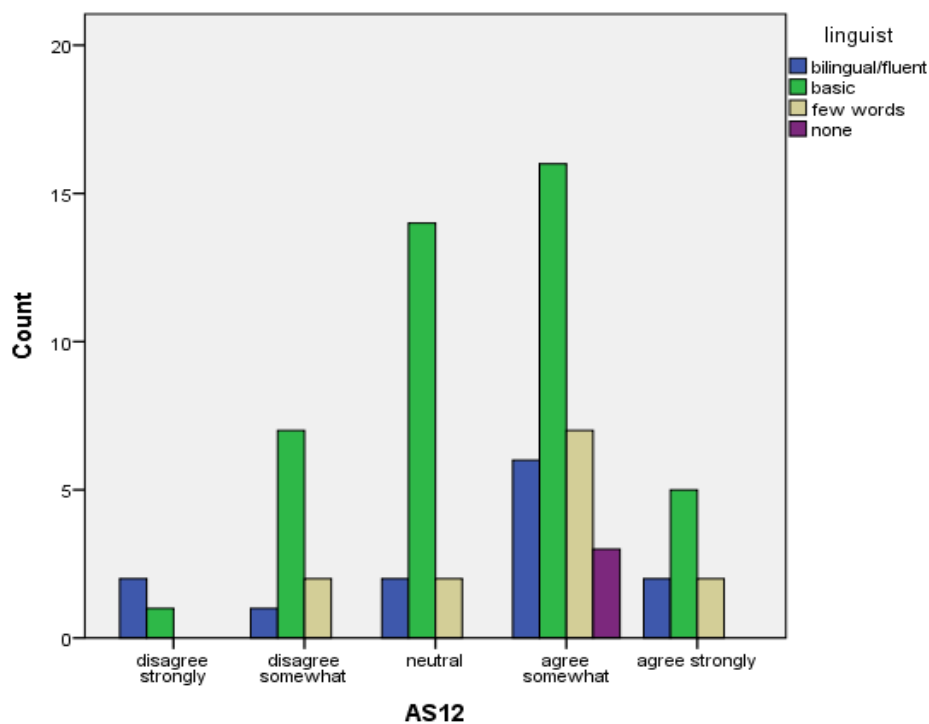


Figure 12. Linguistic proficiency X AS12 'Schools should provide the opportunity for pupils to learn Cornish' (NB 'none' = 3 respondents)

The reasons for this result are difficult to discern and no other Cornish studies have examined the impact of wider linguistic ability on attitudes to Cornish, therefore it is not possible to compare data, but in light of research elsewhere (Lee & Oxelson, 2010) this result seems entirely counterintuitive. Perhaps linguists have a more realistic view of how much effort is required to reach proficiency in a language and feel proficiency should be the ultimate goal, or believe such effort should be put into learning languages other than Cornish which are overtly functional. When linguistic proficiency was crosstabulated with AS14 'There are more useful languages to learn than Cornish' this appeared to be borne out. Despite broad overall agreement, the highest proportion of strong agreement was shown in the bilingual/fluent category and the lowest by non-linguists.

Time and Capacity

Where respondents explained why their school did not provide Cornish (Q12), this related to perceived lack of curriculum space, lack of time caused by pressure to achieve in key subjects linked to league tables, and lack of staff interest/capability.

Table 12. AS17 'There is no room in the curriculum for Cornish'

	Frequency	Percent
Disagree strongly	10	13.9
Disagree somewhat	22	30.6
Neutral	10	13.9
Agree somewhat	22	30.6
Agree strongly	8	11.1
Total	72	100.0

Overall opinion regarding lack of curriculum space was, in fact, more evenly divided than expected, given current levels of inclusion, with 44.5% of the sample (32) disagreeing, 41.7% (30) agreeing and 13.9% (10) remaining neutral, indicating a significant number of headteachers feel the curriculum could be interpreted to accommodate Cornish. Surprisingly for a non-affective statement, AS20 'Learning to deliver Cornish would assist the professional development of staff' prompted polarized responses, showing unusually high levels of strong agreement and strong disagreement in addition to a significant level of neutrality, suggesting respondents interpreted the statement in different ways, or that they were unable to make a judgment on whether this ability would enhance professional development. Some may have focussed on the language element itself rather than the wider benefits which can accrue from undertaking a new skill. AS20 was crosstabulated with Q8 'Where did you train as a teacher?' the variable having been coded as 'South West Britain' (including colleges as far north as Gloucestershire) and 'elsewhere'. Although the high level of neutrality persisted, disagreement, including strong disagreement, was proportionately higher (42.2%) in the 'elsewhere' category than in the SWB category (18.5%). Similarly, agreement was higher in the SWB category (29.6%) than in the 'elsewhere' category (10.56%) and strong agreement was significantly higher (22.2% contrasting with 8.9%).

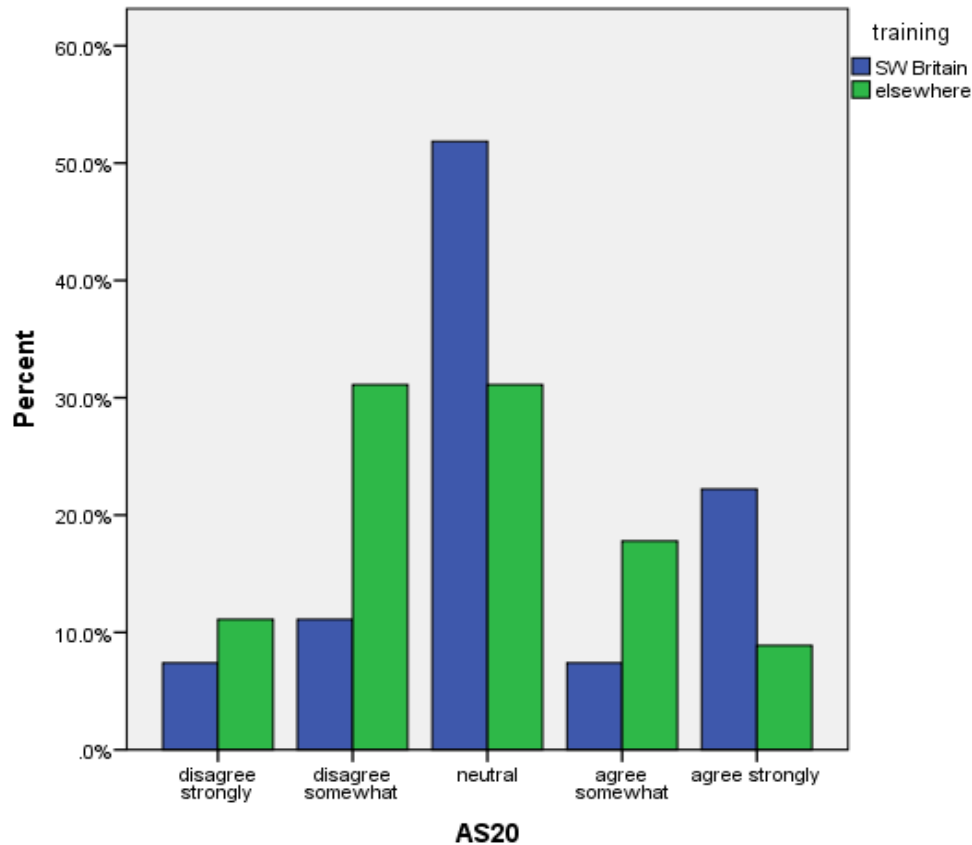


Figure 13. Training location X AS20 ‘Learning to deliver Cornish would assist the professional development of staff’

School centred training is now available in Cornwall, but was not available to current headteachers, therefore no respondent had trained in Cornwall itself. It was considered that the SWB category might contain a high proportion of teachers originating from Cornwall who might demonstrate positive attitudes to Cornish. This seemed more likely than training in SWB having had an effect on teacher attitudes, however, on examination, the SWB category was *not* overrepresented by Cornish self-identifiers. Overall, 62.5% (45) of respondents had trained elsewhere, only 37.5% (27) having trained in SWB. Of those who had trained in SWB, 44.4% (12) were Cornish, contrasting with 55.6% (15) self-identifying as non-Cornish, so it is possible there is a relationship between training in the South West and positive pedagogic attitudes to relating to Cornish. Nevertheless, overall frequencies show that 52.7% of headteachers who responded were not Cornish and did not train in SWB, which the statistical relationships observed in this study suggest has significance for Cornish implementation.

5. Conclusion

Analysis of headteacher attitudes to Cornish and its implementation in schools sought to identify variables which influence levels of support and to differentiate between the impact of affective, cognitive and behavioural attitudes. While affective attitudes to Cornish appear hugely positive, the majority supporting preservation and characterizing Cornish as a symbol of Cornish identity, cognitive and behavioural attitudes are

associated with more qualified support. Affective attitudes, modified by practical considerations and beliefs, fail to translate into behavioural practices - a significant barrier to successful implementation. Results appear to show that particular variables are influential, not only on affective attitudes, but on cognitive and behavioural attitudes. Although positive affective attitudes were high in the West, survey responses were markedly low from this area, similarly, a high proportion of women completed the survey, but men demonstrated greater enthusiasm for implementation. Linguistic background produced the most counterintuitive results as it had been surmised that linguists would be receptive to Cornish, but they appeared least supportive, citing the greater utility of modern languages. Younger heads appeared to place less importance on Cornish as an identity marker and were more likely to feel money could be better spent elsewhere, which may represent a generational shift detrimental to the language, as it was also widely agreed that the language is a powerful symbol of identity but has little instrumental use. One headteacher commented that Cornish learning could acquire more currency if provision were linked to wider schemes which endorse achievement, but unless pupils are encouraged to choose Cornish, potential links cannot be effective.

The most significant explanatory variable of positive attitudes, on all levels, was self-perceived ethnic identity. Self-identification as Cornish appeared to be the most influential overall factor in all aspects of support for Cornish, including curriculum inclusion and belief in adequate curriculum capacity, a phenomenon which has important implications for official policy and is worthy of further investigation. If teachers who self-define as Cornish have more favourable attitudes to the language, they are more likely to implement it in their schools. Carkeek (2009: 167) demonstrated that those who have taken lessons are more likely to self-define as Cornish and that young self-definers are less likely to move away from Cornwall. Language learning clearly impacts on self-identification; if Cornish is *not* provided then Cornish self-definers will presumably be less numerous, which has implications for regional distinctiveness and the local economy, again an area for future research. Teachers who trained in South West Britain and those who had lived in the region for a significant length of time also demonstrated more supportive attitudes towards Cornish. Now that school-centred training is available in Cornwall itself, an opportunity exists to build early relationships with those apparently most receptive to the notion of implementation. The widespread dissemination of teaching materials without initial support was criticized by several teachers and it may be that the cultivation of relationships with fewer, genuinely engaged schools who would capitalize on intensive help would be more effective in increasing learner numbers. Indeed, ten schools receiving strong Cornish provision would have greater impact than fifty schools receiving materials which remain unused. Schools likely to implement Cornish could be targeted over the long term, not merely for taster sessions, and a headteacher self-defining as Cornish appears to be the best predictor of likely support.

References

- Aldous, P. & Williams, M. (2001) A Question of Ethnic Identity. In: P. Payton (ed.), *Cornish Studies* 9, Redruth: Institute of Cornish Studies.
- Alim, S. H. (2005) Critical language awareness in the United States: Revisiting issues and revising pedagogies in a reseggregated society. *Educational Researcher*, 34, pp. 24-31.
- Baker, C. (1992) *Attitudes and Language*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

- Baugh, J. (2007) Plantation English in America: Nonstandard varieties and the quest for educational equity. *Research in the teaching of English*, 41 (4), pp. 465-472
- Byrnes, D. A., Kiger, G. & Manning, M. L. (1997) Teachers' attitudes about language diversity. *Teacher and Teacher Education*, 13, 637-644.
- Camps, C. (2008) *Attitudes to language and culture in the teaching profession in the South West of Britain*. Truro: DESKY Research.
- Cantoni, G. (1997) Keeping Minority Languages Alive: The School's Responsibility. In: J. Reyner (ed.), *Teaching Indigenous Languages*, Flagstaff: Northern Arizona University, pp. 1-9.
- Carkeek, A. (2009) *Cornish Language Revival: Attitudes, Behaviour and the Maintenance of an Ethnic Identity*. Unpublished thesis (PhD), University of East Anglia.
- Clark, C. M. (1988) Asking the right questions about teacher preparation: Contributions of research on teaching thinking. *Educational Researcher*, 17 (2), pp. 5-12.
- Corson, D. (2001) *Language diversity and education*. New Jersey: Erlbaum.
- Council of Europe, (2011) *Evaluation Reports of the Committee of Experts: Documents of the Monitoring Process*, 1st, 2nd and 3rd monitoring cycles, 2002-2010. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.
- Council of Europe, (1993) *The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages and Explanatory Report*. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing.
- Cummins, J. (1981) The role of primary language development in promoting educational success for minority language students. In: California State Department of Education (ed.) *Schooling and language minority students: A theoretical framework*, pp. 3-49. Los Angeles: Evaluation, Dissemination and Assessment Center, California State University.
- Dunbar, R. (2003) *The ratification by the United Kingdom of the European Charter for regional or minority languages*. Mercator Working Papers. Barcelona: Ciemen.
- Dunmore, S. (2011) Xians-via-Yish? Language attitudes and cultural identities on Britain's Celtic periphery. In: P. Payton (ed.), *Cornish Studies*, 19 (3), pp. 60-83.
- Fishman, J. A. (1991) *Reversing Language Shift: Theoretical and Empirical Foundations of Assistance to Threatened Languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Fishman, J. A. (2001) *Can Threatened Languages be Saved? Reversing Language Shift, Revisited - A 21st Century Perspective*. Multilingual Matters: Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Flores, B. (2001) Bilingual education teachers' beliefs and their relation to self-reported practices. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 25, pp. 275-299.
- Franquiz, M. E. & de la Luz Reyes, M. (1998) Creating inclusive learning communities through English language arts: From chanclas to canicas. *Language Arts*, 75, pp. 211-220.
- Gardner-Chloros, P. (1997) Vernacular literacy in new minority settings in Europe. In: Tabouret-Keller et al. (eds.), *Oxford Studies in Anthropological Linguistics*, 13, pp. 189-221.
- Garmon, M. A. (2004) Changing preservice teachers' attitudes/beliefs about diversity: what are the critical factors? *Journal of Teacher Education*, 55 (3), pp. 201-213.
- Görter, D. (2001) A Frisian Update of Reversing Language Shift. In: J. Fishman (ed.), *Can Threatened Languages Be Saved? Reversing Language Shift, Revisited: A 21st Century Perspective*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, pp. 215-233

- Greasley, P. (2008) *Quantitative Data Analysis using SPSS. An Introduction for Health and Social Science*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Grin, F. (2003) *Language Policy Evaluation and the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*. Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan
- Haig, Y. & Oliver, R. (2003a) Is it a case of mind over matter? Influences on teachers' judgments of student speech. *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics*, 26, pp. 55-70.
- Haig, Y. & Oliver, R. (2003b) Language variation and education: Teacher's perceptions. *Language Education*, 17 (4), pp. 266-280.
- Hakuta, K. (1986) *Mirror of language: The debate on bilingualism*. New York: Basic Books.
- Harrison, N. (2004) Self-recognition and well-being: Speaking Aboriginal English in healthy classrooms. *The Australian Journal of Indigenous Education* 33, pp. 7-13.
- Hinton, L. (2001) Sleeping Languages: Can They Be Awakened? In: L. Hinton & K. Hale (eds.), *The Green Book of Language Revival in Practice*. San Diego: Academic Press.
- Hirner, U. (1997) *Language Death and Revival: A Sociolinguistic Investigation of Cornish and Welsh*. Unpublished thesis (MA), University of Graz.
- Hornberger, N. (1996) Language and Education. In: S.L. McKay & N. Hornberger (eds.), *Sociolinguistics and Language Teaching*, pp. 449-73, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hornberger, N. (2008) Introduction. In: N. Hornberger (ed.), *Can Schools Save Indigenous Languages? Policy and Practice on Four Continents*, Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, pp. 1-11.
- Jones, R. G. (2003) The "Bad" American Dialects. In: *Second Language Learning and Teaching*, 3.
- Kehoe, C. M. & Pitkow, J. (1996) Emerging Trends in the WWW User Population. *Communications of the ACM*, 39 (6).
- Krashen, S. D. (1998) *Condemned without a trial: Bogus arguments against bilingual education*. Portsmouth: Heinemann.
- Lee, J. S. & Oxelson, E. (2010) "It's Not My Job": K-12 teacher Attitudes Toward Students' Heritage Language Maintenance. *Bilingual Research Journal of the National Association for Bilingual Education*, 30:2, pp. 453-477.
- Macias, R. (2004) The role of schools in language maintenance and shift. *Heritage Language Journal*, 1. Available online: <http://www.international.ucla.edu/lrc/hlj/article.asp?>
- MacKinnon, K. (2000) *The MacKinnon Report: An Independent Academic Study on Cornish*. GOSW available online: www.gosw.uk/publications/cornish.
- MacKinnon, K. (2010) Development of Cornish Language and Literature. In: D. O'Neill (ed), *Rebuilding the Celtic Languages*, Talybont: Y Lolfa Cyf.
- MAGA: The Cornish Language Partnership (2008) *Maga Business Plan 2009-2011 (no attribution)*. Truro: Cornwall County Council.
- Mantero, M. & McVicker, P. (2006) The Impact of Experience and Coursework: Perceptions of Second Language Learners in the Mainstream Classroom. *Radical Pedagogy*, ISSN: 1524-6345.
- McKinerney, V. (2003) Multiculturalism in Today's schools: Have Teachers' Attitudes Changed Over Two Decades? *Annual meeting of the Australian Association for Research in Education, Auckland, New Zealand, November 2003*. Available

- online: <http://www.aare.edu.au/03pap/mci03767.pdf>
- Nespor, J. (1987) The role of beliefs in the practice of teaching. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 19 (4), pp. 317-328.
- Nieto, S. (2002) *Language, Culture and Teaching*. New Jersey: Erlbaum.
- Oliver, R., Rochecouste, J., Vanderford, S. & Grote, E. (2011) Teacher Awareness and Understandings About Aboriginal English in Western Australia. *Australian Review of Applied Linguistics*, 34 (1), pp. 60-74.
- Pajares, M. F. (1992) Teachers' beliefs and educational research: Cleaning up a messy construct. *Review of Educational Research*, 62 (3), pp.307-332.
- Pallant, J. (2007) *SPSS Survival Manual. A Step by Step Guide to Data Analysis using SPSS for Windows*. 3rd ed. Maidenhead: Open University Press.
- Renkó-Michelsén, Z. (2013) Cornish in the Family: facilitating intergenerational transmission. University of Helsinki, Finland.
- Romaine, S. (2002) The Impact of Language Policy on Endangered Languages. *International Journal on Multicultural Societies (IJMS)*, 4, (2) pp. 194-212.
- Romaine, S. (2006) Planning for the survival of linguistic diversity. *Language Policy*, 5, pp. 441-73.
- Sallabank, J. (2010) What are the aims of language revitalization? A critical review of the situation in Guernsey (Channel Islands). In: H.G. Lewis & N. Ostler (eds.) *Reversing Language Shift. How to Re-awaken a Language Tradition. Proceedings of the Fourteenth FEL Conference, Carmarthen, Wales*. Bath: The Foundation for Endangered Languages.
- Sayers, D. (2012) Standardising Cornish: The politics of a new minority language. *Language Problems and Planning* 36 (2) pp. 99-119.
- SGRUD Research (See MacKinnon, K.): (2000) Transcription of an audio recording of a Cornish Language Focus Group meeting at the Church Rooms, Lostwithiel, led by Professor Kenneth MacKinnon. www.sgrud.or.uk/focus_groups/cornish_focus
- Smith, M. A. & Leigh, B. (1997) Using the internet as an alternative source of subjects and research environment. *Behaviour Research Methods, Instruments and Computers*, 29, pp. 496-505.
- Stoyle, M. (2002) *West Britons: Cornish identities and the early modern British state*. Exeter: Exeter University Press.
- Thornton, M. & Bricheno, P. (2000) Primary School Teachers [sic] Careers in England and Wales: the relationship between gender, role, position and promotion aspirations. *Pedagogy, Culture and Society*, 8 (2), pp. 187-206.
- Underwood, D., Maier, M. & Kim, H. (2000) To mail or to web: Comparison of survey response rates and respondent characteristics. *Paper presented at the 40th Annual Forum of the Association for Institutional Research, Cincinnati, OH, May 21-24, 2000*.
- Walker, A., Shafer, J. & Iiams, M. (2004) "Not In My Classroom": Teacher Attitudes Towards English Language Learners in the Mainstream Classroom. *NABE Journal of Research and Practice*, 2 (1) pp. 130-160.
- Willett, J. (2008) Cornish Identity. Vague Notion or Social Fact? In: P. Payton (ed.), *Cornish Studies* 16, Exeter: University of Exeter Press, pp. 183-205.
- Wimmer, U. (2010) *Reversing Language Shift: The Case of Cornish*. Published version of a PhD thesis, University of Graz (2006). Truro: Cornish Language Board.

- Woehrling, J. (2005) *The European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. A Critical Commentary*, (translation by Patricia Wheeler). Strasbourg: Council of Europe.
- Wong-Fillmore, L. (2000) Loss of family languages: Should educators be concerned? *Theory into Practice*, 39 (4), pp. 203-210.

Glossary, Abbreviations and Terms

AS	Attitudinal statement in survey (see Appendix)
CCC	Cornwall County Council
Charter:	The European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages
Committee:	The Committee of Experts appointed to monitor compliance with the Charter
COE	Council of Europe: an international organization which promotes co-operation human rights, democracy and cultural matters between European states.
Q	Background question in survey (see Appendix)
Maga:	The Cornish Language Partnership, established to implement the Strategy for the Cornish Language
MFL	Modern Foreign Language
SPSS	Statistical Package for the Social Sciences
SWB	South West Britain

Appendix: Questionnaire

1. What is your position in the school?.....
Email address if willing.....
2. Approx. number of pupils on roll.....
3. Are you
Male
Female
4. Please indicate which age bracket best describes you:
Up to 25
26 - 40
41 - 55
56 +
5. a) Do you consider yourself to be Cornish? Yes No
b) If not, how might you describe your nationality/ethnicity?
.....
6. How long have you lived in Cornwall?.....
7. In which district is your school?.....
8. Where did you train as a teacher?.....
9. Aside from English, what other languages, if any, do you speak?
Fluently.....
Basic understanding.....
A few words or phrases.....
None.....
10. Has your school received any Cornish language information or teaching materials in the past? Yes No Not sure
11. If so, have you felt able to make use of them? Yes No
12. If not, can you briefly describe why not?.....
13. Does your school have any policy regarding teaching Cornish? Yes No
14. Does your school have a staff member with responsibility for provision of Cornish?
Yes No

PLEASE SHADE ONE CIRCLE PER STATEMENT

	disagree strongly	disagree somewhat	neutral	agree somewhat	agree strongly
1. The Cornish language should be preserved	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
2. Cornish should be maintained because it is a symbol of Cornish identity	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
3. Cornish is a language worth learning	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
4. I like hearing Cornish spoken/seeing Cornish used	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
5. There is no point keeping the Cornish language alive	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
6. Cornish is irrelevant to modern life in Cornwall	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
7. Learning Cornish is unnecessary because Britain is predominantly English speaking	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
8. Both English and Cornish should be important in Cornwall	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
9. Cornish should be limited to use with friends and Family	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
10. Money spent on the promotion of Cornish could be better spent elsewhere	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
11. Knowing Cornish is an intellectual advantage	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
12. Schools should provide the opportunity for pupils to learn Cornish	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
13. Cornish should be compulsory in Cornish schools	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
14. There are more useful languages to learn than Cornish	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
15. Children would get confused learning Cornish	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
16. People only need to know one language	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
17. There is no capacity in the curriculum for Cornish	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
18. I would like to incorporate some Cornish into the curriculum	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
19. I would welcome provision and support for this	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
20. Learning to deliver Cornish would assist the professional development of staff	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>