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Changing Landscapes: Cathays in Cardiff

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1. Introduction

The aim of this report is to explore the dynamic relationship that exists between Cathays' past, present and future urban landscapes, and how they interact with and shape each other. The report feeds into the research project *Translation and Translanguaging* which investigates multilingualism in four wards in Leeds, Birmingham, London and Cardiff. More information about the project can be found here: https://www.birmingham.ac.uk/generic/tlang/index.aspx and https://tlangblog.wordpress.com//

In Cardiff, we look at the history of multiculturalism and multilingualism in Cathays. Originally built as a working-class area along the Taff Vale Railway during Cardiff's spectacular rise as the world's biggest coal port in the late 19th century, Cathays today is a superdiverse (Vertovec 2007; Blommaert and Rampton 2011) ward. The latest census shows that people from many parts of the world call Cathays their home and nearly 50 percent of Cathays' population are students, many of who came from other parts of the UK and from abroad. All these groups bring with them their languages and cultures, not without adapting them and changing them in the local context; a phenomenon which centrally involves translanguaging (García 2009; Creese and Blackledge 2010; Canagarajah 2013; García and Li Wei 2014, Jaspers and Madsen 2016; Jaspers 2017). In Wales, of course, the Welsh language is an important aspect of this translaguaging[1] and the report is interested to understand the many languages that exist in Cathays in relation to Welsh, as well as in relation to English.

In this report I draw on five types of data sources to make informed suggestions about the historical dimensions and the contemporary moment of Cathays' multiculturalism and multilingualism.

(1) I use <u>census data</u> and official statistics to provide readers with basic information such as numbers of population, ethnic identities, age and main languages spoken in Cathays.

(2) I also use <u>academic and popular histories</u> of Cardiff as well as <u>newspaper and online resources</u> to reconstruct the history of migration in Cathays and Cardiff.

(3) Apart from these documented sources I draw on my own ethnographic fieldwork in Cathays in summer 2017. I used <u>linguistic landscaping</u> methodologies to visually record some of the written languages in public spaces around Cathays.

(4) I also conducted <u>short interviews</u> with shop owners and other participants to get an idea of how they themselves think about their decisions of using particular languages. I did not audio-record these interviews but I kept written notes after each interview.

(5) Finally, I draw on <u>data elicited by other researchers</u>. I utilise a large-scale research report on integration and social cohesion in Cardiff, which includes sections on Cathays (Threadgold et al. 2008). I also draw on a few transcribed interviews conducted by Bdreah Mubarak F Alswais with shop owners, as well as Frances Rock and Amal Hallak's ethnographic fieldwork data, which were collected during the *Translation and Translanguaging* research project.

All these data sources are compiled in this research report. In the writing they merge with my own experiences as a resident of Cardiff. I moved to Cardiff six years ago, from the Rhein-Main area in Germany, where I was born and lived most of my life. In Cardiff I previously lived in Gabalfa and now in neighbouring Heath. Both wards are adjacent to Cathays. Almost daily I traverse through Cathays to get to University, where I recently completed my PhD, or to get to 'town' as Cardiffians usually call the city centre. On foot it takes me 20 minutes to get to University and another 10 minutes to get to town. I have many friends in Cathays and usually do all my shopping, eating out and social activities (such as yoga classes) there. When I was asked to produce this historical report I was excited to be in the unique position to research my own neighbourhood. Inspired by Blommaert's (2013) ethnographic linguistic-landscaping project of his own neighbourhood of Berchem in Antwerp, Belgium, which emphasises the

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[1] In fact, the English term 'translanguaging' is a translation of the Welsh term 'trawsiethu' introduced by Williams (1994) to discuss strategies for Welsh-English bilingual education in Wales.

historical dimensions of linguistic landscapes (see also Blommaert 2016), I set out to illustrate Cathays' multicultural history through a detailed discussion of the rich multilingual landscapes in the public sphere. Due to my training as a linguistic ethnographic researcher, I cannot resist implicating myself reflexively in this report. I hope that the effects of this ethnographic reflexivity make historical dimensions clearer and complexify their representation in this report.

2. Description of Cathays today

2.1. Cathays' boundaries: Official and lived

Cathays is both a 'ward', a particular official political-administrative unit, and an 'area', a loosely imagined socio-cultural urban metaphor meaningful for the lived-experience of its residents, in the Welsh capital of Cardiff. The two notions of Cathays do not always coincide. While there is a general consensus of where to find the core of Cathays – that is the University area and its adjacent student neighbourhoods – the fringes of Cathays are less well conceptualised. One can often hear the question, 'Is that still in Cathays?' when mentioning a particular street for example.

On the local community website www.yourcathays.org the question of Cathays' boundaries is highlighted as well: "A lot of our Cathays neighbours and local businesses are not entirely clear of the boundary to Cathays – so we have added a map to clarify where the Cathays electoral border is." The map provided there, as well as the official ward map (Figure 1), show the 'official' boundaries of Cathays with a blue line. We can see that Cathays as an official ward includes most of Cardiff's city centre. As the official administrative bodies and the National Office for Statistics work with this electoral boundary, all figures in this report include the city centre. However, when Cardiffians speak of Cathays, they usually do not mean the city centre. The 'heartland' of Cathays is the residential area that lies in between two train tracks, which I have marked with a red line in Figure 1. This area is sometimes called 'student-land' by locals. The broken line in Figure 1 demarcates another part of Cathays: the University's campuses and the Civic Centre, also called Cathays Park. Here monumental Victorian, modern and postmodern official buildings create an urban landscape that is markedly different from the residential heartland of Cathays. According to the 2011 census Cathays has a population of 19,840 people of which 9.031 (49.2%) are students. In 2011 Cardiff had a total population of 241,720.
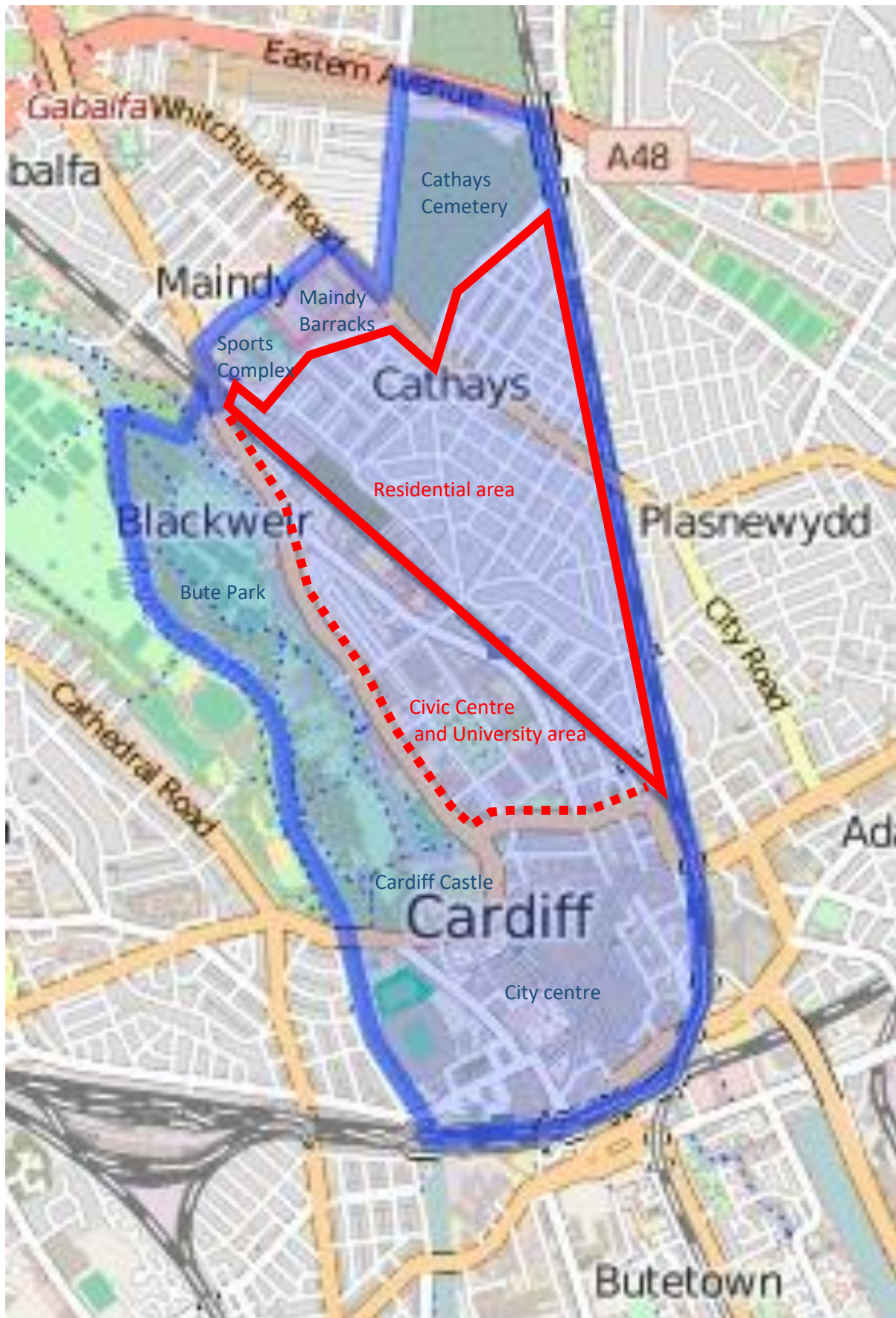
Figure 1: Map of Cathays. Electoral border (blue); residential 'heartland' (red); Civic Centre and University area (broken red line)

2.2 Cathays' built environment

According to the website www.cardiffians.co.uk, the name Cathays (pronounced /kəˈteɪz/) is possibly derived from Middle English catt (wildcats) + haga (enclosure). Other interpretations suggest that the name Cathays derives from Welsh cad (battle) + aes (shield) (Mortimer 2014: 89). Cathays lies north of Cardiff's old city centre. Cathays was built on old common land as a working-class residential area during Cardiff's phenomenal rise as the world's premier coal port in the late 19th century.

   While the late 19th century saw the development of the docklands to the south of the city centre, the north was characterised by large-scale residential housing developments. Cathays was officially made a suburb in 1875. The residential area of Cathays is wedged between two train-lines, the Taff Vale Railway (built in 1841) and the Rhymney Railway (built in 1871), fanning out from the city northwards and north-westwards, giving Cathays' residential 'heartland' its characteristically triangular shape (Figure 1). Cathays is a densely built-up area consisting mainly of terraced residential houses (Figure 2; Figure 3; Figure 4).

Figure 2: Cathays Terrace, view from the north. High-rise Cardiff University buildings can be seen in the background

Figure 3: Terraced houses, Hirwain Street, Cathays

Figure 4: Terraced houses, Monthermer Street, Cathays

Cathays' terraced houses usually have a small garden or backyard at the back of the houses. The backs of the houses are connected via byzantine networks of small alleyways, many of which have been gated by the council in the last five years in an effort to reduce antisocial behaviour, such as drinking, loitering, fly-tipping, vandalism and criminal activities such as burglary, drug-selling and mugging (Figure 5; for an official statement regarding the gating, see www.cardiff.gov.uk).

Figure 5: Gates, installed by Cardiff Council, in an alleyway between City Road and Richmond Road, Roath

Apart from this residential area there are three other types of areas in Cathays that can be distinguished by its built environments and its functions (see also Figure 1). First, Cathays' northern and western border is a green belt consisting of the Cathays Cemetery, the Maindy Army Barracks, the Maindy Sports Complex and Bute Park. Secondly, to the south, Cathays borders with the University area and Cardiff's Civic Centre, called Cathays Park, created in the early 20th century after Cardiff officially became a City in 1905, with several monumental buildings like City Hall, the Welsh National Museum, Glamorgan and Bute Buildings (both used by Cardiff University) positioned around the well-kept Alexandra Gardens with a classicist war memorial as its midpoint (for historic photographs, see WalesOnline, 19 March 2015). Thirdly, to the south of Cathays Park lies Cardiff Castle and the city centre, where several historic sites, representative Victorian-era buildings and arcades, utopian shopping centres and the gigantic Principality Stadium form complex historical urban landscapes used as (tourist) places for consumption. The Castle and the city centre both belong to the electoral ward of Cathays but are not usually recognised to belong to Cathays by Cardiffians.

On top of the monumental and representative Cardiff University buildings in the Civic Centre, such as Glamorgan Building, Bute Building and Main Building, most University buildings can be found along the western side of the Taff Vale Railway (TVR) tracks. During the gradual deindustrialisation in the latter half of the 20th century the TVR was greatly reduced and branches were closed. Derelict trackbeds and marshalling yards were transformed into roads or developed as housing areas (http://cardiffhistory.tumblr.com/post/145253980159). On

the western side of the TVR, Colum Drive Campus and several privately- and University-owned student halls have been constructed in the last 30 years. The Students' Union Building, close to Cathays Station, expands over both sides of the railway tracks. The latest additions to Cardiff University, the Maindy Road Campus (Figure 6; Figure 7), is located on the eastern side of the TVR tracks, interfacing with the older Victorian-era residential houses.

Figure 6: Cardiff University's CUBRIC Building, Hadyn Ellis Building, Optometry Building on the right hand side and older houses on left hand side, Maindy Road, Cathays

Figure 7: New Cardiff University developments along the Taff Vale Railway, Maindy Road, Cathays. Student halls can be seen in the background

2.3 Population characteristics: Ethnic identities and age structure in Cathays

The 2011 Census reports that Cathays' population is mainly White British (72.24%). This category includes people who identify as a Welsh, English, Scottish, Northern Irish or British. The White British population thus forms the majority of inhabitants of Cathays, although the figure is slightly lower than for the whole of Cardiff, where the White British population amounts to 80.3%. In comparison with other inner-city wards, Cathays' White British population is relative large. The White British populations are considerably smaller in Grangetown (55.58%), Butetown (58.29%), Riverside (59.46%), Adamsdown (63.21%), and neighbouring Plasnewydd, the official name for the district Cardiffians usually call Roath, (68.34%).

The next largest non-White ethnic groups in Cathays are Chinese Asian (4.53%), Arab (3.82%) and Indian Asian/British Indian (3.54%). Other large groups in Cathays are Pakistani Asian/British Pakistani, Black African, White Western European, White-Asian Mixed, White Irish, Asian Malaysian, Mixed European, Asian Bangladeshi/British Bangladeshi and White Polish and White Eastern European (for details, see Table 1). An interesting finding in the 2011 Census is that there are no members of the Somali community reported to reside in Cathays, whereas the Somalis are highly present in other wards; 1.02% in Grangetown and 1.88% in Butetown (for an account of Somali refugees in Cardiff and the 1999 Asylum Act in Wales, see Robinson 2003).

Table 1: Ethnic groups in Cathays, Census 2011 (incomplete data set)

Ethnic group	Population	%
All categories: Ethnic group	20,121	100.00
White: English/Welsh/Scottish/Northern Irish/British	14,535	72.24
Asian/Asian British: Chinese	912	4.53
Other ethnic group: Arab	769	3.82
Asian/Asian British: Indian or British Indian	712	3.54
Asian/Asian British: Pakistani or British Pakistani	403	2.00
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British: African	249	1.24
White: Other Western European	235	1.17
Mixed/multiple ethnic group: White and Asian	191	0.95
White: Irish	188	0.93
Asian/Asian British: Malaysian	150	0.75
White: European Mixed	145	0.72
White: Any other ethnic group	133	0.66
Asian/Asian British: Bangladeshi, British Bangladeshi	120	0.60
White: Polish	117	0.58
White: Other Eastern European	116	0.58
Mixed/multiple ethnic group: White and Black Caribbean	109	0.54
White: Greek	85	0.42
White: Italian	68	0.34
White: North American	62	0.31
Mixed/multiple ethnic group: White and Black African	71	0.35
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British: Caribbean	55	0.27
Mixed/multiple ethnic group: Any other ethnic group	54	0.27
Asian/Asian British: Sri Lankan	30	0.15
White: Baltic States	27	0.13
Asian/Asian British: Filipino	25	0.12
Other ethnic group: Kurdish	24	0.12
Other ethnic group: Any other ethnic group	24	0.12
Asian/Asian British: Any other ethnic group	23	0.11
Asian/Asian British: Afghan	20	0.10
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British: Black British	7	0.03
Black/African/Caribbean/Black British: Any other ethnic group	6	0.03
Other ethnic group: Somali	0	0.00

Whereas Table 1 gives us a taste of Cathays' superdiversity, the ethnic makeup of Cathays is not very different compared with other wards of Cardiff. The age structure in Cathays, on the other hand, is strikingly unlike all other wards of Cardiff.

Table 2: Age structure in Cathays in comparison to Cardiff, Census 2011

Age group	Cathays	Cardiff
0-4	2	6.5
5-9	1.3	5.2
10-14	1.2	5.4
15-19	12.7	7.5
20-24	52.8	11.2
25-29	11	8.8
30-44	9.2	20.2
45-59	4.5	17.3
60-64	1.2	4.8
65-74	1.7	6.6
75-84	1.5	4.6
85-89	0.5	1.4
90+	0.4	0.6

A remarkable 52.8% of Cathays' population belongs to the age group 20-24. The same age group for the whole of Cardiff is significantly smaller (11.2%). This dramatic difference is an indicator of the many students who live in the area, who are mostly in their early twenties or late teens. In Table 2 we can see that the three categories that span the ages 15-29 (marked in red) are larger in Cathays than they are in Cardiff overall. All other categories, are smaller in Cathays in comparison with the whole of Cardiff. This indicates that families with children as well as older generations are less represented in Cathays in comparison with the rest of Cardiff.

Spurred by the massification of Higher Education in Britain and the rapid expansion of Cardiff University, as well as other Higher Education Institutions (HEIs), such as the Royal Welsh College of Music and Drama, the University of South Wales, The Open University in Wales, Cardiff Metropolitan University and the University Hospital in Heath (which belongs to Cardiff University), the student population of Cathays increased dramatically in the last 20 to 30 years (Thayre 2005: 33-35; see also Munro and Livingston 2012). This has led to significant changes in house ownership and population characteristics. As more and more families move out, landlords and real-estate agents convert Cathays' terraced houses to rent them out as households with multiple occupiers (Thayre 2005). According to the 2011 Census, 64.2% of the 6,192 house tenures in Cathays are rented spaces, let by private landlords or letting agencies (the overall figure for Cardiff is significantly lower at 20.3%). This studentification (Smith 2002) leads to an increase of rents and house prices, while it is not – contrary to gentrification – associated with an upgrading of the structures.

The transitory student population often rents houses on ten-months contracts (September-June), reflecting the academic calendar. During the summer months, July and August, many houses are unoccupied and local shops and restaurants stay empty. During summer time many shopkeepers and business owners to which I spoke informally lament that turnovers are low and some even told me that they were forced to dismiss employees or send them on extended leaves (on this point, see also Threadgold et al. 2008: 166). In recent years, however, this economic dry spell during summer might partly be reduced due to the high number of foreign students, especially from China, who enrol on preparatory short-term summer courses (such as English for Academic Purposes) at the various HEIs in Cardiff.

3. Overview of the history of Cathays and Cardiff

3.1 Cardiff Castle

Most historical accounts of Cardiff begin with the establishment of the Roman fort in the 1st century CE (Bute 1871; Rees 1969; Mortimer 2014; Shepley 2014; Gonçalves 2017). Pre-Roman historical evidence of human cultures in the area is sparse. Archaeological evidence

suggests Celtic settlement in the area around present-day Cardiff since around 2000 BCE (Mortimer 2014: 9-10; Shepley 2014: 9-11). Cardiff (/ˈkɑːdɪf/), Caerdydd (/kærˈdiːð/) in Welsh, possibly derives its name from the Roman *Castrum* by the river *Taff*. Since medieval times, the castle marked the northern end of the town (Figure 9). The castle was rebuilt and changed throughout the centuries. In its current form (Figure 8) it was envisioned by the famous architect William Burges in collaboration with the Third Marquis of Bute in a playful gothic revival style between 1866 and 1928.

Figure 8: The Clock Tower on the south-western corner of Cardiff Castle

Figure 9: Cardiff Castle and the city centre, view from the north, during Pride Weekend, 2017

3.2 The Heath

The area north of Cardiff Castle, present-day Cathays, Roath and Heath, was mainly woodland criss-crossed by several ancient Roman and medieval roads and paths. This woodland acted as a "neutral buffer zone" (Mortimer 2014: 89) between the foreign rulers who resided in Cardiff Castle (the Romans, the Normans and later the landed gentry) and the Welsh natives in the mainland. Mortimer (ibid.) describes that in medieval and early-modern times, this woodland, called Great Heath (present-day Heath) and Little Heath (present-day Cathays and Roath), was a notoriously dangerous patch of land, where skirmishes between armies, gangs and clans often took place. Illegal activities and executions would be performed in this no-man's land and disenfranchised groups would build squats, so-called Tŷ Unnos (houses built overnight).

The Heath developed into South Wales' largest common. Here migratory groups, travellers, dispossessed peasants, renegades and outlaws would collect firewood, settle, farm, trade and graze their cattle. However, the several Enclosure Acts passed between 1750 and 1850 put an end to the commons in Britain. In 1799 the armies of Cardiff's recently installed new rulers, the Bute family, attacked the Heath common and destroyed many structures, despite the resolute defence of the commoners (Rees 1969: 246-247; Mortimer 2014: 90-91). In 1801 the Heath Enclosure Act was passed in Westminster and the land was transferred to the Bute family and other rich landowning families in the area (ibid.). The land was divided into plots, with most in possession of the Bute family, and three farms were established: Allen's Bank, Heath and Ton-yr-Ywen. Several other wealthy landowners are listed in Daunton (1977: 76-77). Tredegar, Charles Croft Williams, John Wood and E. P. Richards owned substantial parts of southern Cathays and Roath. But most of the land belonged to the Bute family.

The four Marquises of Bute who held Cardiff between 1776 and 1938 arguably most substantially shaped the urban landscapes of Cardiff as we know them today. The first Marquis was involved in the dispossession of commoners and was the main beneficent of the Heath Enclosure Act 1801. He also held huge estates on the coastal swamplands, to the south of Cardiff, which was to become the largest coal port in the world. Under his son, the second

Marquis, then, the city's phenomenal rise as a world-leading coal port was prepared. The second Marquis invested in the building of the docklands and Butetown, which was envisioned to accommodate sailors, dockworkers, administrative and financial officers and merchants. Soon, however, many white-collar residents of Butetown moved to other parts of the town, especially to the newly developed middle-class homes in southern Roath, on the Tredegar estate, leaving Butetown to the 'less respectable' classes (Daunton 1977: 74). In the first half of the 20th century Butetown became an epitome of working-class and immigrant cultures of British ports, as described below.

3.3 The coal industry

Over the last 200 years, the coal industry radically transformed South Wales. Canals and railway tracks were established in the 19th century to transport large amounts of coal and iron from the huge coalfields and many colliers in the South Wales Valleys, approximately 30 miles north of Cardiff, to the several ports on the Mouth of the Severn (also known as the Bristol Channel) such as Newport, Cardiff, Penarth, Barry and Swansea. Towards the end of the 19th century Cardiff became the largest port in the region, continuously expanding its networks of docks and transportation lines. In 1862 approximately 2 million tons of coal were shipped from Cardiff, in 1913 this figure mushroomed to 10.3 million tons, making Cardiff the largest coal-exporting port in the world (www.peoplescollection.wales).

The population during the last two decades of the 19th century almost doubled from 93,637 in 1881 to 172,629 in 1901 (Table 3), making Cardiff the largest urban settlement in Wales, which had previously been Merthyr Tydfil in the Valleys. Cardiff achieved City status in 1905 and was officially proclaimed Capital of Wales in 1955.

Table 3: Cardiff's population figures between 1801 and 2011

Year	Population	Increase/decrease in %
1801	6,342	---
1851	26,630	+319.9
1861	48,965	+83.9
1871	71,301	+45.6
1881	93,637	+31.3
1891	142,114	+51.8
1901	172,629	+21.5
1911	209,804	+21.5
1921	227,753	+8.6
1931	247,270	+8.6
1941 (estimated)	257,112	+4.0
1951	267,356	+4.0
1961	278,552	+4.2
1971	290,227	+4.2
1981	274,500	−5.4
1991	272,557	−0.7
2001	292,150	+7.2
2011	346,100	+18.5

Source: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Demography_of_Cardiff. Historical data was obtained from Vision of Britain. The figures for 2011 are taken from the census administered by the Office for National Statistics. Historical populations are calculated with the modern boundaries

The unprecedented expansion of Cardiff due its importance as one of Britain's major coal ports between the 1870s and 1910s created the need for large-scale planned working-class housing and transportation infrastructures. In the late 19th century, the third Marquis of Bute set up the northern expansion of the city. He held most estates of what is now Cathays, Gabalfa, Heath, Bute Park and Canton. When Cathays was officially made a suburb of Cardiff in 1875, these lands were sold off or leased for 99 years to developing corporations and private investors (Daunton 1977: 79-82). Terraced housing was quickly built in the following years to accommodate the many labourers and merchants coming to Cardiff from other areas of Wales, England and other parts of the world to participate in the booming industry. Most of Cathays' development took place between the 1870s and 1910s. No existing house in Cathays was built before the 19th century (Mortimer 2014: 89).

Cathays' residents in the late 19th and early 20th centuries were largely railway mechanics, engineers, as well as builders and artisans (Daunton 1977: 142). Daunton (ibid.) describes Cathays as "the centre of working-class Liberalism", and within Cardiff Liberalism, as the "main centre of Lib-Labism". It was also a "centre of railway unionism" and many meetings during the Taff Vale strike in 1900 took place in Cathays (ibid.). (On the details of the strike, its legal aftermath and its effects on trade unionism in Britain and the rise of the Labour Party, see *Encyclopædia Britannica* 'Taff Vale case'.)

3.4 After World War II

After decades of stagnation during and in-between the wars, Cardiff's economy and expansion sharply declined after World War II. The decline and the eventual end of Cardiff's coal and shipping industry in the latter half of the 20th century meant that the city's social structure changed fundamentally. The Coalminers Strike in the 1980s (Curtis 2013) and the subsequent closure of the docks brought to Cardiff the harsh realities of post-industrial abandonment. A decline in population (see Table 3), services and infrastructures, coupled with high unemployment rates made Cardiff a symbol of urban decay in post-industrial Britain. Especially the docklands and Butetown were affected by this, but the entire city and the region felt the economic and social strain caused by the closure of the heavy industries.

After World War II, building activity in Cathays dwindled as most parcels had already been developed. Of course, some buildings were amended and some were destroyed, for instance through bombardments by German air raids in the early 1940s (Morgan 1998). On my many walks through Cathays I noticed only a few houses interspersed here and there which I identified as built after World War II. On some street corners of Cathays we can see post World-War II and more recent developments alongside late-Victorian buildings (Figure 10; Figure 11).

Figure 10: Older and newer buildings in southern Cathays (Saint Andrew's Place), the Taff Vale Railway can be seen in the background

Figure 11: Older and newer buildings on Crwys Road, Cathays

3.5 The early 21st century

With the end of the large-scale heavy industries in the last 30 years, Cardiff has begun to reinvent itself as a city recognised for its media and education industries. Cardiff University has become one of the largest developers in Cathays. Numerous halls of residence and university buildings cluster alongside the TVR, which is now exclusively used to transport commuters rather than minerals. The latest additions to Cardiff University can be found on Maindy Road Campus on the eastern sides of the TVR (Figure 6; Figure 7). Cardiff University, as well as other HEIs have attracted a large number of national and international students in the last two decades. Reports of Cardiff being rated as 'the best city for young adults in the UK' (BBC News, 2 October 2013) and as 'the third best capital in Europe' (ITV News, 8 February 2016) only enhanced the attractiveness of the city for students, many of who choose to reside in and around Cathays. However, the appeal of Cardiff has been blemished by a series of sexual assaults in Cathays at the beginning of the academic year 2015/16. The assaults have sparked a public debate about the safety of Cathays especially for young female students who walk home from nights out (Gair Rhydd, 22 February 2016). A Safe Taxi Scheme has been negotiated between the Students' Union and taxi companies in Cardiff. Students can now use taxis to get home safely and delay their payment by presenting their student cards to drivers.

Apart from the expansion of Cardiff's HEIs, the other major development in the last 30 years was the transformation of the old derelict docklands to the south of the city into what is now called Cardiff Bay (BBC News, 13 August 2017; see also Gonçalves 2017). Here, an upgraded waterfront with cafes, bars and restaurants, edutainment facilities like The Doctor Who Experience and Techniquest, a science discovery centre, and the magnificent Millennium Centre which houses the Welsh National Opera, offer tourists and locals an array of opportunities for consumption and recreation. At Roath Lock, right next to the still active but greatly reduced Port of Cardiff, the BBC and other media institutions are currently building large-scale studios, offices and production infrastructures. The studios generate jobs in the creative industries. The area is still under development and will be called Porth Teigr which

conjures up the historical name for the old docklands that were once called Tiger Bay (www.porthteigr.com), not without Welshifying it to reflect the current stage of the revitalisation of Welsh in Wales.

In the post-coal era, Cardiff seeks to reimagine itself as a young, international education and media hub. In this reimagining, notions of culture, as well as newness and youthfulness, have become important factors in the attractiveness of the city. Gonçalves (2017) argues that culture, both formal and informal types, can buttress a type of urban renewal that is worldly while retaining its smallness. She traces how Cardiff seeks to imagine and market itself as city that is both worldly and small; and thus "more liveable, inclusive and humanised" (p. 5).

The cultural aspects of Cardiff are also highlighted due to its political importance as Capital of Wales. In the politically-devolved Wales (the Welsh Assembly was established in 1998) Cardiff takes on an ambiguous position. While it is widely recognised for its economic and urban importance for Wales, for some it is too Anglicised to represent Wales culturally (Shepley 2014: 221). Gonçalves (2017) shows how Cardiff tackles the stigma of Anglicisation that the city has in Wales and reinvents itself as legitimately Welsh through celebrating the Welsh language, history and culture. In the following sections I describe the patterns of migration and the linguistic landscapes of Cardiff and Cathays in relation to both English and Welsh, as well as in relation to a type of young urban renewal that emphasises worldliness and culture.

4. Migration patterns in Cathays and Cardiff

4.1 Cardiff's early multiculturalism

Due to its importance as an imperial harbour, the multicultural history of Cardiff is one of Britain's oldest. North African and Middle Eastern sailors and ship workers lived in Butetown close to the docks at least since the mid-19th century (for an account of Black servants and freemen living in Wales in the 18th century, see Morris 2008). By the end of the 19th century records suggest that perhaps 5000 Arab and Black seafarers lived in the city (Aithie 2005). A popular and very widespread legend has it that Yemini seafarers founded and registered a mosque in Cardiff in 1860. This mosque was said to be housed at 2 Glynrhondda Road in Cathays, the present-day Al-Manar Islamic Centre (Figure 12). This is, however, untrue (Gilliat-Ray 2010). Gilliat-Ray argues, nevertheless, that the myth of the 1860 mosque helps several stakeholders, including the Muslim community, to envision Cardiff as a uniquely early multicultural city and thereby valorise Cardiff's history as cosmopolitan and liberal. In fact, several publications still claim that the 1860 mosque existed (Shannahan 2014; Gonçalves 2017: 132). The myth of the 1860 mosque can be used as an example of Cardiff's history of positive integration and inclusion of religious and ethnic minorities, especially in the post-9/11 and post-7/7 era of the so-called war on terror which emphasises 'problems' with the migration from Muslim countries to Britain and the West in general.

Figure 12: Al-Manar Islamic Centre at 2 Glynrhondda Road, which was *not* the site of the 1860 Yemeni mosque

4.2 Racial, ethnic and religious conflict and integration

While searching for other – real – examples of Cardiff's multiculturalism in the 19th or 20th century, it proved difficult to find evidence of positive cosmopolitan inclusion. Most mentions of Other communities are connected to conflict. The violent appropriation and enclosure of the Heath common by the First Marquis of Bute and his entourage in the early 19th century that I described above (Section 3.2) suggests that the land on which Cathays was built has been characterised by complex and multiple patterns of migration and conflict. In this section I briefly describe Irish migration to Cardiff in the 19th century and a series of race riots in the early 20th century targeting Chinese, Black and Arab populations. These accounts of Cardiff's multicultural and multi-ethnic populations focus on Butetown, the residential area at the docks. In subsequent sections I focus on Cathays' patterns of migration.

   Irish migration to Cardiff and South Wales began in the early 19th century when the region started expanding the iron, steel and shipping industries. Layers of migration from Ireland throughout the 19th century, and especially the approximately 3000 Irish refugees who came to South Wales during the Great Famine in the 1840s and 1850s (Hickey 2004: 41), were met with concerns and hostility by both the local media and the local authorities. The Irish were accused of undercutting wages and taking away jobs. Several riots occurred from 1826 onwards in which local workers would attempt to expel Irish workers from jobs (Miskell 2004; Evans 2015: 130). In Cardiff, the Irish settled mainly southeast of the city centre, north of the docks, in Newtown, which was also called 'Little Ireland', and which was demolished in the 1960s to make space for a new flyover linking the city centre with Cardiff Bay (www.wearecardiff.co.uk). By the turn of the 20th century Irish immigrants seem to have integrated well into Cardiff's socioscapes. Evans (2004: 157) notes that many Irish migrants were among the rioters in the race riots the early 20th century, which suggests that their status changed from migrant or Other to local.

During the 1911 Seamen's Strike dockworkers and sailors attacked several Chinese homes and laundries (Evans 1980; 2015; Shepley 2014: 164-166). As strikers put down their work, corporations hired Chinese seamen, who were not allowed in the unions. The striking dockworkers and sailors regarded the Chinese as strike-breakers and attacked over thirty Chinese laundries around the city. The laundries were considered "centres of white slave traffic and many other accusations of immoral behaviour were tacked on to this, such as opium smoking and gambling" (Evans 2015: 133).

The 1919 South Wales race riots (Evans 1980), where White World War I veterans who returned from the trenches facing the challenges of unfulfilled promises and unemployment, scapegoated and attacked Black, Arab and other ethnic minorities in Cardiff, Newport and Swansea, also show that multiculturalism was never easily achieved. Three people lost their lives during these riots. Many were injured severely. The riots lasted for several days and were sparked by scuffles on the streets between White people on the one hand and Black and Arab people on the other. Black men were accused of seemingly misbehaving in the public sphere, for example they were accused of harassing White women. These accusations turned into violent fights and eventually into full-fledged riots in which Black and Arab homes were attacked and looted. Evans (1980) shows how such scapegoating of ethnic Others were fuelled by the socio-economic uncertainty of war returnees and the racist misrepresentation of Blacks and 'coloured' migrants in the local and national media.

It is especially the former docklands of Butetown, or 'Tiger Bay' as it was then popularly called, that is recognised by the wider public as the multicultural hub of Cardiff. Several accounts, both popular and academic, provide a kaleidoscopic image of the multicultural history of Butetown. The Butetown History & Arts Centre, for instance, has done important community-based documentation of Butetown's Black, Asian and Arab populations (see Jordan and Weedon 2015). The documentary *Tiger Brides: Memories of Love and War from the G.I. Brides of Tiger Bay* (Hill-Jackson, n.d.) shows how during and after World War II African-American soldiers, who were excluded from entering bars and restaurants in central Cardiff, began to go out with and marry women from Butetown, where there has been a tradition of local women marrying Arab and African seafarers (see also Gilliat-Ray and Mellor 2010). Also the popular film *Tiger Bay* (1959) provides an interesting, though fictional and perhaps stereotyped, view on the ethnic and classed realities of Butetown. The BBC television production *Tiger Bay* (1997) was not a success and was discontinued after one season. Starting with Little's (1942) early sociological community survey of Loudon Square, Butetown, there are also several academic works that describe and critically seek to understand Butetown's multiculturalism (e.g. O'Neill 2001; Aithie 2005; Gilliat-Ray and Mellor 2010; see also a forthcoming linguistic ethnographic PhD thesis by Al-Bundawi). Other areas that are becoming increasingly recognised for their multiculturalism are Grangetown and Roath, especially City Road, with its many Middle Eastern and Asian groceries and restaurants.

For Cathays, such medial, popular and academic interest is not existent. Cathays' multiculturalism, and indeed its general history, is not documented in any coherent way. The current report attempts to begin to fill this gap in the literature. As discussed above, Cathays population is mainly White British. About half of Cathays' residents are students aged 20-24. While in my experiences of living around Cathays for six years, most of my peers, many who are young British White students or former students, have very positive attitudes towards migration and subscribe to inclusive and non-essentialising ideas within multiculturalism, yet most only have little contact with migrants. Our 'bubble', it seems, takes a cosmopolitan and progressive political stance towards migration, while we have to admit to ourselves that our same-aged migrant peers are largely segregated from any of our social activities and socialising.

Threadgold et al. (2008: 44) who conducted focus groups in Cathays reported that "Members of the traditional white working (retired) class in Cathays/Roath are more resentful of their mainly Asian long-term neighbours than of the white students and white Eastern European migrant workers who also live among them." The Asians (i.e. Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, Nepalese and Indians) are seen as 'taking over' spaces that had previously

'belonged to' the locals. This 'taking over' seems to be perceived largely via Islam. Threadgold et al. cite one White British focus-group participant commenting on the conversion of St Monica's Church in Wales School into the Cardiff Muslim Primary School (Figure 13): "It is a shame for us that have been to the school to see it turned over like that … It's hard to see your school taken over, it does, it upsets me almost" (White citizen of Cathays, cited in Threadgold et al. 2008: 44).

Figure 13: Cardiff Muslim Primary School, previously St Monica Church in Wales School, Cathays

The conversion of previously Christian places of worship and social activity to Muslim ones was also mentioned by several shop owners to whom I spoke, not necessarily in negative terms though. For instance, one shop owner mentioned that the Shah Jalal Mosque on Crwys Road (Figure 14) has previously been a Welsh Calvinistic Methodist church. The Welsh-language church was established in 1900. When attendance dropped in the later 20th century the congregation moved into other premises on Richmond Road (Figure 23) and the building was converted into a mosque in 1990. One shop owner to whom I spoke welcomed the conversion as it offers Muslims living in the area an important point of social networking and social cohesion. The shop owner also said that it would be a shame to leave such beautiful historic buildings unused or turned into commercial spaces.

Figure 14: Entrance to the Shah Jalal Mosque, Crwys Road, previously Capel Heol y Crwys, Cathays

On Fridays one can see dozens of taxis parked in front of Shah Jalal Mosque, their drivers using their short breaks to pray. Many taxi drivers in Cardiff are Muslim and the city's infrastructure very much depends on their service labour. Later, on Friday night and on Saturday night many taxis line up to pick up and drop off party-goers in the city centre, who go out to drink in the pubs, dance in the clubs or attend live-gigs.

However, the Muslim community in Cardiff is not one homogenous group. Threadgold et al. (2008: 167) report that Shiites in Cathays were excluded from participating in services in Sunni mosques. On several occasions it was reported that Sunni imams spoke ill of Shiites in their sermons and called them infidels (ibid.). Furthermore, several layers of migration to Cardiff from different Muslim countries over the last 150 years have superdiversified the Muslim community along lines of culture, dialect and language. From Yemini seafarers who came in the late 19th century, to the post-World War II Commonwealth migration from Bangladesh, Pakistan and India, to Somali refugees in the 1990s and more recent refugees and migrants from the Middle East and eastern and northern Africa, Cardiff's Muslim community can certainly be called kaleidoscopic.

According to the website www.mosquedirectory.co.uk there are 21 registered mosques in Cardiff and four mosques in Cathays, each catering towards different national, linguistic and religious communities. The Al-Manar Islamic and Cultural Centre (Figure 12) is run by Saudi Arabian Salafis. The Shah Jalal Mosque & Islamic Culture Centre (Figure 14) is under Bangladeshi management. The Jamie Darul Isra Mosque has a Mauddodi following. Finally, the Madina Mosque is under Pakistani management.

The Madina Mosque, which used to be Wales' largest mosque housed in old warehouse buildings at Woodville Road, was destroyed in an arson attack in November 2006 (BBC News, 14 November 2006; on the details of the conviction of the arsonist, see www.thefreelibrary.com). After the fire, the mosque temporarily moved into a factory building on Bruce Street/Monthermer Street, previously owned by Cardiff's traditional curtain-makers Shaw's. When the old Shaw's factory was bulldozed and the site was rapidly developed into

residential houses (Figure 15) two years ago, the mosque moved back to its original site between Woodville Road and Lucas Road, where worshippers currently pray in a provisional structure, next to the slowly-progressing construction site (Figure 16; see also WalesOnline 11 April 2009; 7 July 2015). The Madina Mosque is currently collecting donations and negotiating with funders and the council to construct a new mosque within the next five years (www.madinamasjidwales.com).

Figure 15: New residential houses at Monthermer Street/Bruce Street, the site of the old Shaw's factory and later the Madina Mosque, Cathays

Figure 16: Provisional Madina Mosque and construction site between Lucas Street and Woodville Road, site of the original Madina Mosque which was set ablaze in 2006, Cathays

While the four mosques in Cathays features much in the local populist media as potentially dangerous places or breeding grounds for Islamic extremism as well as paedophilia, the majority of places of worship are Christian and they remain relatively invisible in the media. Nine active churches can be found in Cathays (excluding the city centre): Pentyrch Street (Baptist Union of Great Britain), St Andrew and St Teilos on Woodville Road, St Michael and All Angels (both Church in Wales), Cathays Methodist Church on Crwys Road (which can be seen in Figure 11), Salvation Army on May Street, Eglwys Minny Street (Union of Welsh Independents), Eglwys Efengylaidd Gymraeg Caerdydd (Evangelical), Highfields Church on Monthermer Road (independent) and International Church on Cathays Terrace (a church catering towards international students) (see www.wikipedia.com, for a list of churches in Cardiff). The many churches reflect the long establishment of Christianity in Cathays and Cardiff at large. According to the 2011 Census 36.6% of Cathays' population is Christian (51.4% in Cardiff at large). 8.5% of Cathays' population is Muslim (6.8% in Cardiff) and 2.3% is Hindu (1.4% in Cardiff). 44.2% of Cathays' residents claim to follow no religion (31.8% in Cardiff) and 6.1% did not state their religion (7.2% in Cardiff).

Non-Christian and non-Muslim places of worship are absent from Cathays. In other wards, however, we can find Hindu, Sikh and Jewish places of worship. There is a large Hindu Temple in Grangetown, the Shree Swaminarayan Temple, as well as the India Centre in Splott and the Sanatan Dharma Mandal in the city centre. There are three Sikh Gurdwaras in Cardiff, one in Riverside and two in Splott. Furthermore, there is a Jewish Reform Synagogue in Adamsdown and an Orthodox Synagogue in Cyncoed.

Finally, let me mention two further religious groups in Cardiff both whose members are predominantly White: British Hare-Krishnas and British Buddhists. The Hare Krishnas, particularly, are relatively visible in Cardiff. In the Tŷ Krishna Cymru in Cardiff Bay ('tŷ' is Welsh for 'house', 'Cymru' is Welsh for 'Wales'), Puja services as well as yoga, mindfulness and meditation classes are offered. One can see Hare-Krishnas almost every day on Cardiff city centre's highstreets distributing books and sharing information about their beliefs with

pedestrians. The popular vegetarian restaurant Café Atma in the city centre is also associated with the Hare Krishnas. On the annual Hindu festival of Ratha Yatra the Hare Krishnas organise a large parade with drummers, dancers and chanters pulling a large jugganath through the city centre (ITV News, 5 August 2017). There are two Buddhist centres in Cardiff offering puja services, yoga, meditation and spiritual courses, the Cardiff Kagyu Samye Dzong in Canton and the Cardiff Buddhist Centre in Roath which is run by members of the Triratna Order. These predominantly White groups of practitioners of Eastern religions surely contribute to the multicultural atmosphere of the city, not merely because they import foreign religious elements into their search for spirituality, but also because they advocate non-violence and togetherness.

5. Language communities in Cathays

5.1 Languages used in Cathays

According to the 2011 census, English is the predominant language used in Cathays. My own impressionistic experiences of living in Cardiff for six years and the linguistic landscaping documentation collected for this report confirm that English is widely used in Cathays, however, this English is not necessarily always a native British English. South and East Asian, Arabic and East-, South- and West-European accented Englishes can be heard everywhere and do not necessarily surprise native British speakers in Cathays. My own German-accented English hardly ever triggers the question 'Where are you from?' when I navigate through the city and have fleeting linguistic encounters with Cardiffians like buying groceries or ordering a coffee. When I speak to people for longer, however, this question will almost certainly be asked.

The 2011 census reports that the overwhelming majority of Cathays population (85.14%) uses English as their main language. I discuss Welsh language competences further down. In Table 1 above, we saw that the percentage of the White British population in Cathays is 72.4%. This suggests that approximately 10% of non-White British residents use English as their main language, even if we add to the 72.4% Irish and North American residents who live in Cathays and who are most likely to be inner-circle 'native' speakers of English.

The other main language groups with significant numbers of users are East Asian Languages (4.18%), Arabic (3.59%), Other European Union Languages (3.07%) and South Asian Languages (2.01%). Table 4 provides a detailed list of main languages used in Cathays.

Table 4: Main Languages in Cathays, Census 2011

Main language	Population	%
All usual residents aged 3 and over	**19,870**	**100**
English or Welsh	**16,918**	**85.14**
East Asian Language: Total	**831**	**4.18**
East Asian Language: All other Chinese	564	
East Asian Language: Malay	96	
East Asian Language: Cantonese Chinese	54	
East Asian Language: Mandarin Chinese	52	
East Asian Language: Thai	22	
East Asian Language: Japanese	15	
East Asian Language: Vietnamese	10	
East Asian Language: Korean	8	
East Asian Language: Tagalog/Filipino	6	
East Asian Language: Any other	4	
Arabic	**713**	**3.59**
Other European Language (EU): Total	**611**	**3.07**
Other European Language (EU): Polish	123	
Other European Language (EU): Greek	121	
Other European Language (EU): Italian	77	

Language	Count	%
Other European Language (EU): German	58	
Other European Language (EU): Bulgarian	45	
Other European Language (EU): Czech	41	
Other European Language (EU): Slovak	27	
Other European Language (EU): Lithuanian	22	
Other European Language (EU): Hungarian	20	
Other European Language (EU): Dutch	16	
Other European Language (EU): Swedish	16	
Other European Language (EU): Any other	8	
Other European Language (EU): Latvian	6	
Other European Language (EU): Danish	5	
Other European Language (EU): Estonian	5	
Other European Language (EU): Finnish	3	
South Asian Language: Total	**400**	**2.01**
South Asian Language: Hindi	90	
South Asian Language: Urdu	83	
South Asian Language: Bengali (with Sylheti, Chatgaya)	72	
South Asian Language: Punjabi	34	
South Asian Language: Malayalam	28	
South Asian Language: Any other	22	
South Asian Language: Telugu	19	
South Asian Language: Tamil	16	
South Asian Language: Nepalese	11	
South Asian Language: Gujarati	9	
South Asian Language: Sinhala	9	
South Asian Language: Marathi	7	
West/Central Asian Language: Total	**108**	**0.54**
West/Central Asian Language: Persian/Farsi	39	
West/Central Asian Language: Kurdish	38	
West/Central Asian Language: Pashto	19	
West/Central Asian Language: Any other	11	
West/Central Asian Language: Hebrew	1	
Spanish	**71**	**0.36**
French	**62**	**0.31**
Other UK Language: Gypsy/Traveller Languages	**62**	**0.31**
African Language: Total	**47**	**0.24**
African Language: Somali	18	
African Language: Any other	8	
African Language: Igbo	5	
African Language: Any other Nigerian Language	3	
African Language: Any other West African Language	3	
African Language: Swahili	3	
African Language: Amharic	2	
African Language: Shona	2	
African Language: Afrikaans	1	
Portuguese	**44**	**0.22**
Russian	**24**	**0.12**
Other European Language (non-national): Yiddish	**24**	**0.12**
All other languages	**17**	**0.09**
Other European Language (non-EU): Total	**15**	**0.08**
Turkish	**5**	**0.03**
Sign Language: Total	**3**	**0.02**

Note: In order to protect against disclosure of personal information, records have been swapped between different geographic areas. Some counts will be affected, particularly small counts at the lowest geographies.

When comparing Table 4 to Table 1, one can observe that the number of Chinese (i.e. Mandarin, Cantonese and All other Chinese) speakers (670 persons) is slightly lower than the number of people claiming Chinese ethnic identity (912 persons) (small discrepancies occur due to the different totals of population in Table 1 and Table 4, as Table 4 only records individuals aged 3 or above). The same can be said for the number of people who use Arabic as a main language (713 persons) and those who identify as ethnically Arab (769 persons). In contrast, the number of people who use South Asian Languages as a main language (400) is significantly lower than the number of people who identify as ethnically South Asian (i.e. Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Sri Lankan and Mixed) (1,265 persons). This might suggest that some South Asian families do not use South Asian Languages at home and rather use English as a main language. This interpretation would also explain the high number of non-White British people who use English as a main language as noted above, however, this interpretation would have to be validated and explored ethnographically.

We can also see that 18 residents of Cathays use Somali as a main language, which is not congruent with Table 1, in which no person in Cathays was reported to have identified as ethnically Somali. Perhaps this discrepancy is due to the fact that respondents chose to tick another box, such as 'Other African', or it is because of processes of random anonymisation.

Table 5 shows that approximately 14% of Cathays' residents have some knowledge of Welsh. 8.9% claim to be able to speak, read and write Welsh. These figures are roughly the same for the whole of Cardiff but dramatically different in other areas of Wales, especially in the north and in the west of the country, where knowledge of Welsh is significantly higher, for instance in Gwynedd (65.4%), Isle of Anglesey (57.2%), Ceredigion (47.3%) and Carmarthenshire (43.9%). For the whole of Wales the number of Welsh speaker is at 19% (see www.statswales.gov.wales).

Table 5: Usage of Welsh in Cathays, Census 2011

Knowledge of Welsh	%
All usual residents aged 3 and over	100
Speak, read and write Welsh	8.9
Understand spoken Welsh	2.2
Speak and read Welsh	0.6
Speak Welsh	0.6
Other combination	2.0
No knowledge	85.7

Welsh revitalisation policies have established and promoted Welsh-medium schools in the entire country. There are neither Welsh-medium schools nor dual-stream schools (Welsh and English medium) in Cathays. The nearest Welsh-medium primary school is Ysgol Mynydd Bychan in Heath, approximately half a mile north of Cathays Cemetery. The nearest Welsh-medium secondary schools are Ysgol Gyfun Gymraeg Glantaf in Llandaff, approximately two and half miles west of Cathays Cemetery, and Ysgol Gyfun Gymraeg Bro Ederen in Penylan, approximately one mile east of Cathays Cemetery. There are three English-medium primary schools in Cathays, Gladstone Primary, St Monica's Church in Wales Primary School and Cardiff Muslim Primary School. There is one English-medium secondary school, Cathays High School.

In Cathays Library (Figure 19; Figure 20; Figure 21), one of the main public libraries in Cardiff, there is a small section with resources (DVDs, books and magazines) in Urdu, Bengali and Chinese and a slightly larger section offering resources in Welsh. In an interview with a librarian I learnt that the library chose to include a section with resources in these three foreign languages based on the assumption that large numbers of Pakistanis, Bengalis and Chinese people live in Cathays. I asked if the library identified these communities by looking a census data. The librarian told me that census data was not consulted, rather the library based their decision to include Bengali and Urdu materials on the assumption that the large Bengali mosque, the Shah Jalal Mosque (Figure 14), and the Pakistani-dominant Cardiff Muslim

Primary School (Figure 13), are both situated nearby. However, the librarian also told me that many mosque-goers and pupils might come from other areas of Cardiff. She also said that pupils in Cardiff Muslim Primary School learn Arabic and that resources in Arabic might become accessible in the library in the future. Chinese was included to accommodate to the many Chinese students in the area. She told me that the library also derived information on which languages to include from small surveys and individual requests from library users.

5.2 The cultural indexicalities of the linguistic landscapes of Cathays

5.2.1 Banal nationalism, Welsh and unmarked English

On the four high streets of Cathays, Crwys Road, Cathays Terrace, Salisbury Road and Woodville Road, a multitude of commercial signs can be found on and in shops and other businesses that index in some way or another the area's multiculturalism. For instance, on the upper end of Crwys Road (Figure 15; Figure 16; Figure 17) we can see indexes of Welsh culture, American culture, Greek culture, Chinese culture and French culture. These indexicalities endow the shops which use them with particular styles which can (and are perhaps intended to) translate into desire for consumption and financial turnover. The main texts on the signs say the following: Pring Family Butchers, Cifrifiaduron Dinas Computers, New York's Pizza (Figure 15), The Hellenic Eatery, àmesœur Bistro, Key Cutting and Shoe Repairs, Uncle Sam's American Fast Food, George Thomas Hospice Care (Figure 16), eye 2 eye Opticians, Wok to Box, Pizza Time, Falafel Kitchen, Crwys Fish Bar (Figure 17).

Figure 15: Shops on Crwys Road, Cathays (1)

Figure 16: Shops on Crwys Road, Cathays (2)

Figure 17: Shops on Crwys Road, Cathays (3)

The cultural decoding of most of these texts should be quite straightforward. We get direct references to New York (New York's Pizza), America (Uncle Sam's American Fast Food) and

Greece (Hellenic Eatery). These three shop signs also incorporate national icons like the US and Greek flag and colours, as well as the head of the famous Statue of Liberty in New York, which makes it relatively easy for audiences to recognise the cultural (i.e. national) references these signs evoke. The reference to Uncle Sam as the United States' allegory operates on an equally banally national recognition (Billig 1995), as does perhaps the mention of 'Fast Food', which is a style of cooking and purchasing food that indexes the USA.

Less direct are the signs Wok to Box and àmesœur Bistro. Wok to Box appears in a font that is subtly reminiscent of Chinese calligraphy as well as comic scripts. The shopfront is all in red, the national colour of China, which adds to the indexicality of China. In smaller script the sign says *Pick & Mix Fresh Food from Asia* on the left hand side and *Chinese Takeaway Noodlebar & Peri Peri* on the right. The direct references to 'Asia' and 'China' clearly mark Wok to Box as an Asian and in particular as a Chinese restaurant. The reference to Peri Peri in contrast indexes the restaurant's worldliness. Peri Peri is a hot pepper sauce which was traditionally made with African peppers and was brought to India by Portuguese colonisers. Peri Peri is now a very popular marinate for chicken meat across the UK and perhaps across the world. It generally connotes a 'super-hot' Chilli sauce that takes some heroic daring to eat. It is perhaps this latter indexicality that the reference to Peri Peri on the shop sign evokes, rather than its colonial or African history. What is important is that Peri Peri is clearly *not* Chinese. In juxtaposition with the other elements on the sign that *do* evoke something Chinese, Peri Peri works to make the shop appear as worldly, contemporary, modern and up to date with the local eating styles of its would-be audiences. In this sense Wok to Box's shop sign is quite different from some of the other signs found on Chinese restaurants that cater specifically for a Chinese audience by using Chinese characters, as discussed below.

àmesœur Bistro evokes Frenchness directly through the use of the French word 'àmesœur', which means 'soulmate' in English, as well as less directly through the use of 'Bistro'; an English borrowing from French. Even if the literal meaning of àmesœur is not understood by passers-by the word might be construed as iconically French because it incorporates two letters that are recognisably French: <à> and <œ>. Blommaert (2010: 35) notes that the diacritic accents in French can travel across the globe's spaces of mobility to index Frenchness and, by ideological extension, elegance, chic, finesse as well as liberalism and modernity. Through the use of the French letters <à> and <œ>, as well as the sign's 'elegant', deco-inspired fonts and colouring in mauve and gold, àmesœur Bistro enters such indexical ideologies and therefore marks itself as distinctively French on this stretch of the road.

A number of shops on Crwys Road do not seem to index any particular culture. They seem culturally unmarked and they achieve this indexicality through English monolingualism. Pring Family Butchers, for example, does not use any marked (i.e. foreign) linguistic or semiotic devices. The name 'Pring' is held in a simple though elegant font, whereas 'Family Butchers' is written in an intricately curved font that resembles historical hand writing and traditions of local calligraphy, and by extension might evoke the longevity and trustworthiness of the enterprise. On the left-hand side of the sign we can see a logo of the business (a stylised cow and sheep) which resembles a seal, stamp or hallmark that evokes quality control. On the right-hand side of the sign we find 'Your Friendly Local Butcher Delivers to Most Areas' and a local, landline telephone number. This presents the shop as local with local knowledge of the area. The absence of Welsh to mark localness on this sign evidences imaginations of Cardiff to be primarily an English-speaking city (for discussions see Coupland 2010; Durham and Morris 2017; Campbell, forthcoming). It seems that Pring Family Butchers are able to circumvent the Welsh language in their marking of unmarked localness as a traditional Cardiff (but not necessarily Welsh) business.

This is fundamentally different in the adjacent computer shop Cifrifiaduron Dinas Computers (Figure 18). 'Cifrifiaduron' is the Welsh word for 'computers'. 'Dinas' is the Welsh word for 'city'. The name of the shop iconically plays with the difference in the word order of the two languages English and Welsh (see also Coupland 2010: 92; Rock and Hallak 2017: 285). While English prefers classifier nouns before head nouns, Welsh prefers head nouns before classifier nouns. The same arrangement of creative double voicing can be found

throughout the city to mark its bilingual identity, for instance on official signage in Bute Park, where one can read *Parc Bute Park*. Interestingly, in such resourceful arrangements of translation the conventional nature of the word orders in the two languages position Welsh first and English second, which I will further explore below.

Figure 18: Cifrifiaduron Dinas Computers, Crwys Road, Cathays

'Cifrifiaduron' in Welsh thus exactly translates to 'computers' in English. The design of the sign economises this translation by not translating 'Dinas' into 'city'. The Welsh word 'dinas', according to the shop owner with whom I spoke about the sign, is quite commonly used in Cardiff, for instance on bilingual road signs, busses and in the official logo of the City of Cardiff, Dinas Caerdydd. We could assume therefore that the Welsh word 'dinas' is commonly understood by Cardiffians, even by those who are not Welsh speakers. The sign can thus be read in two ways: from the left to the middle, in which case it is recognised as Welsh, and from the middle to the right, in which case it is recognised as English. Importantly, 'dinas' geo-semiotically occupies the 'middle ground' that is necessary for both readings. The fact that this middle ground is an untranslated element could be read as a subtle penetration of Welsh into habitual English reading practices, and in turn, it challenges the one-to-one translations between Welsh and English, where every element in one language has an equivalent in the other, what Coupland (2012) calls a frame of parallel-text bilingualism.

On the shop window of Cifrifiaduron Dinas Computers we can find two further translations between English and Welsh ('Computer & Office Supplies / Nyweddau Cifrifiadur a Swyddfa' and 'Ar agor / Open'). Apart from these, English dominates and most details about the shop's services and products are given only in English. In the shop, the shop owner said, there was no Welsh monolingual sign. He confirmed my guess that the Welsh used on the shop front attracts Welsh-speaking customers. He said that people who spoke Welsh would perhaps be encouraged to use Welsh in this shop with him, who is a native speaker of Welsh. He further mentioned that there are a few Welsh shops around the area and that the Welsh-speaking community in Cardiff is small enough to form a relatively close-knit network but also big

enough to be partly anonymous. He also observed a clear increase in the numbers of Welsh speakers in the last 30 years in Cardiff.

5.2.2 Welsh revitalisation

English monolingualism seemed to have been the norm in Cardiff in the past and was only challenged by efforts made by formal language planning initiatives by the Welsh government to revitalise the ethnolinguistic vitality of the Welsh language in Wales. The Welsh Language Acts 1967 and 1993 and the subsequent establishment of the Bwrdd yr Iaith Gymraeg (The Welsh Language Board) 1993-2012 and the Comisiynydd y Gymraeg (the Welsh Language Commissioner), currently Meri Huws, have introduced and expanded Welsh-medium instruction and immersion programmes in schools and made English-Welsh bilingualism the norm for all official matters. The policies try to foster a "vision […] of a Wales where the Welsh language is central to public life, where Welsh speakers have the confidence to use Welsh, and trust in the law to right any injustice they may suffer from using the Welsh language" (Huws 2012). Most official signage in Cardiff and throughout Wales is bilingual, what Coupland (2012) calls the frame of parallel-text bilingualism. Litterbins (Litter/Sbwriel) or signs on road surfaces (Slow/Araf), for example, show the same information in both English and Welsh. Most shops in Cathays, however, do not follow this pattern and use only English; Cifrifiaduron Dinas Computers is an exception. In contrast, public buildings are now legally required by Welsh language revitalisation planning initiatives to follow the bilingual orientation.

On Cathays Library we can historically trace how English-Welsh bilingualism supplanted English monolingualism. The library was built in 1906, funded by the Scottish-American businessman and philanthropist Andrew Carnegie. An English-only inscription can be found above the main entrance gate: 'Carnegie Library Free to the Public' (Figure 19).

Figure 19: English-only inscription on the entrance to Cathays Library, Cathays

When the library's forecourt was refurbished in 2009, a new metal railing was installed which uses the frame of parallel-text bilingualism. On the right-hand side of the entrance we can read 'Cathays Library' (Figure 20), on the left-hand side we can see the exact same information in Welsh: 'Llyfrgell Cathays' (Figure 21).

Figure 20: 'Cathays Library', forecourt railing (right), Cathays

Figure 21: 'Llyfergell Cathays', forecourt railing (left), Cathays

We can see the same frame of parallel-text bilingualism replicated in (almost) all writing in the library. In an interview a member of staff told me that the library, as a public institution, is now required by law to have parallel-text bilingualism, with Welsh first and English second, on every sign or poster they put up. Also, their computer search engine is bilingual, Welsh on the left and English on the right. The library staff are trained to be able to use at least some basic Welsh with library users, for instance when picking up the phone, such as bore da (good morning) or prynhawn da (good afternoon), even if they are not Welsh speakers themselves. She also recounted a story in which an English-speaking library user complained that the printer's default language was Welsh and that he found this to be rather ridiculous and a waste of resources. She herself, however, although not a Welsh speaker, enjoys her bilingual work environment. The example of Cathays Library shows very clearly how Welsh-English parallel-text bilingualism is gradually reversing a previously monolingual English orientation. Coupland (2012: 2) notes that parallel-text bilingualism in Wales "is the currently dominant institutional frame whose displayed texts have, sometimes literally, overwritten earlier ones that presumed English cultural dominance."

I discovered an interesting instance of this overwriting in one of the Cardiff University toilets in Cathays (Figure 22).

Figure 22: Note and sticker on hand dryer, men's toilets, John Percival Building, Cardiff University, Cathays

Here an English-only note had been fixed on a hand dryer. The note informs users how to use the hand dryer and provides a telephone number in case the device is not operating correctly. To this mundane notice someone has added a sticker with the Welsh word 'Cymraeg' ('Welsh') and an exclamation mark, most probably to protest that the frame of parallel-text bilingualism has not been adhered to in this sign. The addition of the sticker can be understood as form of soft vandalism that challenges English dominance in Wales. The sticker can thus be thought of as part of what Coupland (2012: 13-15) calls a frame of nationalist resistance. The exclamation mark surely indexes an oppositional, even aggressive, stance through which Welsh nationalism confronts English dominance in Wales. The geosemiotic emplacement (Scollon and Scollon 2003) of the sticker on the all-English sign lets us understand that the demand is directly targeted towards this particular sign. The sticker can thus be read as a heteroglossic linguistic-ideological battle challenging linguistic hegemony of English in Cardiff University.

That the sticker is understood as confrontational and belligerent finds some substantiation in the fact that someone (else) has apparently attempted to scratch off the sticker. The edges of the sticker show marks of this attempted removal. Whether the scratching off of the sticker is a counter-resistance against Welsh nationalism or against vandalism more generally is hard to determine with certainty. Yet, in the momentarily anonymous space of gentlemen's toilets explicit discursive battles are possible, as research on graffiti in toilets also suggests (Green 2003). Interestingly, if we accept that both the adding of the sticker and the scratching off of the sticker are meaningful acts within the frame of nationalist resistance, the person who scratched off the sticker was able to understand the Welsh term for 'Welsh' ('Cymraeg') on the Welsh monolingual sticker and interpret it as a confrontational response to the all-English note.

A more playful usage of Welsh is present in some businesses in Cathays. This type of usage could be subsumed under what Coupland (2012: 17-20) calls a frame of laconic metacultural celebration. Just outside Cardiff University's Colum Drive Campus, a coffee shop with the

name Hoffi Coffi opened in 2013 (Figure 23). There was previously a coffee shop on close-by Woodville Road bearing the same name, however, spelled slightly different: Hoffi Coffee.

Figure 23: Hoffi Coffi coffee shop on Corbett Road/Colum Road, Cathays

The coffee shop's name Hoffi Coffi evokes a version of Welsh that is partly accessible to non-Welsh speakers through the phonological resemblance between the Welsh word 'coffi' and its English equivalent 'coffee'. The word 'hoffi', which means 'like' in English, of course rhymes with 'coffi' and this gives the name its playful twist. Some of my linguistics undergraduate students, with whom I discussed the shop's name, told me that they did not initially knew what 'hoffi' meant but soon found out by asking other students or by using online translation devices. Upon discussing the topic further they did, however, also recognise that the Welsh used on Hoffi Coffi did not mark the shop as a Welsh-speaking place. Hoffi Coffi uses only English on all other signs in and on the shop. Perhaps different from Cifrifiaduron Dinas Computers and the 'Cymraeg!' sticker, discussed above, Hoffi Coffi uses Welsh as a playful and accessible index of young, urban Welshness, rather than as part of a creative parallel-text bilingualism or a linguistic-ideological Welsh nationalist position that confronts English-only dominance. Culturally, however, rather than nationally, Hoffi Coffi can be said to revitalise Welsh usage in Cardiff informally, not least because some students developed an interest in translating the unknown part of the shop's name ('hoffi') so they can make sense of the shop's name. The same informal revitalising of Welsh, they said, occurred when they first encountered the name of a famous music venue and club on Womanby Street in the old city centre, Clwb Ifor Bach, which was named after Ifor Bach, Ivor the Small, the 12th century Welsh Lord of Senghenydd, who contested Norman domination. Even though Clwb Ifor Bach usually goes by the name of 'Welsh Club' with non-Welsh speaking Cardiffians, Welsh language signs within a frame of laconic metacultural celebration can raise awareness of the Welsh language, history and culture among students and young people in Cardiff.

Welsh almost always occurs together with English in Cardiff. However, the Eglwys Bresbyteriadd Cymru y Crwys (the church that has previously been housed in the building that was converted into the Shah Jalal Mosque) and its adjacent premises are an exception. Here,

only Welsh can be seen (Figure 24). Also the adjacent Theatr y Crwys, which is associated with the church, only uses Welsh (Figure 25).

Figure 24: The entrance to the Eglwys Bresbyteriadd Cymru y Crwys, Richmond Road, Roath

Figure 25: The entrance to the Theatr Y Crwys, Richmond Road, Roath

The only English that is used on this block of houses can be found at the back of the building. Here two sings are put up that use Welsh first and English second: Maes parcio preifat. Private car park (Figure 26).

Figure 26: Signs on a private car park, Richmond Road, Roath

Placing Welsh above English is not yet the norm in Cardiff. In some counties of Wales, such as Gwynedd or Ceredigion, Welsh is usually used before or above English on official signage. In the counties of Cardiff, Glamorganshire and Monmouthshire, English was until recently always used before Welsh. This will, however, change in the near future due to new legislations that standardise Welsh primacy over English on official signage for the whole of Wales (WalesOnline, 2 June 2014).

5.2.3 Multiple languages and Arabic

Welsh can also be found on the shop window of Makkah Continental and International Food on Woodville Road (Figure 27). Here the term 'Croeso' and the English equivalent 'Welcome' are placed alongside a number of similar greetings in other languages: Witamy (Polish) and Vitame vás (Czech/Slovakian), bexeir bein (Kurdish), mærhæbæn bekom (Arabic) and xosh amædid (Farsi).[2] Here Welsh enters a multilingual landscape that welcomes customers from various linguistic communities. This multinational welcoming culture is also indexed through the various national flags on the top of shop sign. The prominent position of 'Croeso' on the top left corner, emplaces the shop within Welsh culture, even though for Arabic readers, who read from right to left, English 'Welcome' would gain this prominent position. The shop furthermore caters also specifically for Muslims as the large Halal sign on the top right corner suggests.

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[2] I thank Mina Kheirkhah for transliterations of Kurdish, Arabic and Farsi.

Figure 27: Makkah shop, Woodville Road, Cathays

In an interview conducted by Bdreah Mubarak F Alswais with the shop owner, he explains that the various scripts and flags attract customers from the Middle East and Eastern Europe. He and his colleague are Kurdish, but they also both speak Persian and Turkish. His colleague spent some time in the Czech Republic where he learnt to speak Czech and so brought his personal language competences into his business in Cardiff. In the interview, the shop owner also suggests that Arabic, Persian and Kurdish speakers sometimes come in to ask for advice or directions, rather than only to buy things.

Interview with Makkah shop owner (adapted from Alswais)

Interviewer: and is it working to attract the customers?
Shop owner: I think yeah I think so yeah
Interviewer: uh huh
Shop owner: because sometime the people they don't know was (what's?) the shop they walk they see like Kurdish language or Arabic language they came in to us ask some questions
Interviewer: uh huh
Shop owner: where's this one where's this one yeah

Makkah shop's many languages on their front windows seem to facilitate some kind of audience design (Bell 1984) in which different audiences that are associated with specific languages are addressed simultaneously. In the case of the range of welcome greetings on Makkah shop, Coupland's (2012) parallel-text multilingualism is practiced. However, on other shops different information is captured in the various languages displayed (for an example, see Rock and Hallak 2017). The many languages displayed on Makkah shop are also understood to attract specific linguistic communities to feel comfortable to speak their own language in the shop, ask for advice and directions, fulfilling an important social function of helping migrants to navigate city life.

The inclusiveness that many languages promote is also recognised in another interview conducted by Alswais with a local woman who works in a fish and chips takeaway in Cathays.

Interviewer: is there any particular language used here at your business to attract the
                      customers (.) whether written or spoken =
Shop assistant: = um (.) I think we might have ha- halal signs around and stuff like that
                      I hope we're using halal meat [laughs]
Interviewer: uh huh [laughs]
Shop assistant: because obviously we just- want to attract everybody and not (.) single
                      out anyone (.) so- so yeah halal signs mostly

The halal sign is used in this fish and chips takeaway as a signifier of inclusiveness; or rather against exclusiveness ("not (.) single out anyone"). The shop assistant therefore recognises the importance halal practices have for Muslims, even though she also shows some unawareness of the products offered in relation to halal practices ("I hope we're using halal meat [laughs]"). The halal sign is thus not merely a mundane piece of information that tells customers something about a specific slaughtering practice but it is a cultural signifier that can entail notions of inclusiveness and multicultural awareness.

Arabic scripts can be found throughout Cathays, mostly on food shops, restaurants and barber shops. According to one shop owner of a corner shop, who wishes to stay anonymous, Arabic is used to attract Arabic-speaking audiences from many countries. Arabic is of course a lingua franca across Northern Africa and the Middle East and is also used as a language that indexes Islam. I noticed in this particular corner shop that the Arabic writing was prevalent inside the shop but that the Arabic writing on the shop front had been removed over the course of the one month in which I conducted fieldwork in Cathays. I asked the shop owner why they decided to remove the Arabic writing on the shop front, but they seemed hesitant to provide an answer. I sensed some discomfort when talking about this removal of Arabic and I did not inquire on the topic any further. At the time I noted down in my field diary that Arabic was perhaps seen as a 'problematic' language in the current socio-political climate and disclosure about its usage or non-usage was not readily shared with me; a non-Arabic-speaking outsider. Whether or not this interpretation is correct is difficult to tell, but the shop owner's subsequent request to stay anonymous and their rejection of my request for taking photographs of the shop front might substantiate my reading.

Arabic never occurs alone and is always situated next to English. Even though the Arabic is not always a translation of the English (for an example, see Rock and Hallak 2017), the juxtaposition of the two languages includes people who cannot read Arabic. For those people, the Arabic perhaps becomes an index of 'Middle Eastern' authenticity or perhaps also of 'Islamic' practice in certain contexts, such as the Arabic used to indicate that a shop or restaurants offers halal products (see Figure 27) or when it is positioned on places of religious worship (Figure 14).

5.2.4 Chinese characters

While mapping out the linguistic landscapes of Cathays, I found several businesses that advertise their services and products in East Asian languages, such as Mandarin Chinese. I was not aware of the ubiquity of East Asian languages while living in and around Cathays for the past six years. Only when I consciously started looking for multilingual signs, camera at hand, did I notice that many businesses advertise in East Asian languages. These ethnographic observations substantiate the idea of 'parallel cities' (discussed in Rock and Hallak 2017), where the various audiences engage with the linguistic landscapes in different ways. Cardiff's HEIs attract a large number of East Asian students. Especially during the summer months, at a time when this research was conducted, many young East Asians can be seen in Cathays and on campus. Perhaps as a consequence of this, many shops and businesses cater their services and products to East Asian students.

For instance, in, on and in front of Oriental Supermarket, we can see a large number of Chinese characters. According to the shop assistant this attracts many Chinese people who can trust that they can buy authentic products here. Apart from the English 'Oriental Supermarket' no English can be found on the shop front (see Figure 28).

Figure 28: Oriental Supermarket, Woodville Road, Cathays

Different from Arabic, East Asian languages can occur on their own in Cathays. For instance, the Chinese restaurant Lucky Chef posted a menu on its window which is entirely written in Chinese, apart from the restaurant's name Lucky Chef, which is written in English (Figure 29).

Figure 29: Monolingual Mandarin sign, Lucky Chef, Crwys Road, Cathays

While this sign is produced by the restaurant's owners or managers, Figure 30 shows a professionally-printed poster which advertises a karaoke night. Apart from the bits of information about the venue's address and name of the bar (KJV & BAR), this poster is written entirely in Chinese characters, using traditional and simplified characters.[3]

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[3] I thank Li Wei and Rachel Hu for providing this information.

Figure 30: Monolingual Chinese poster, Lucky Chef, Crwys Road, Cathays

On a note posted in the window of the restaurant Zi's Café (In Figure 31), we can find an instance of Chinese and English parallel-text bilingualism. The note informs customers, first in English then in Chinese, about the re-opening of the restaurant after the summer holidays. Right next to this bilingual note, I found a monolingual Chinese job advert recruiting a waiter/waitress[4] (Figure 32). While the bilingual note can be read by both Chinese and non-Chinese (English speaking) patrons, the monolingualism on the second note clearly excludes non-Chinese readers. Interestingly, the monolingual job advert specifies that the waiter/waitress is required to speak English and write Chinese[5] and thereby fully engage in the bilingualism of the restaurant. The juxtaposition of these notes with different intended audiences provides some empirical evidence to substantiate the idea of parallel cities.

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[4] Again, I thank Li Wei and Rachel Hu for translating this note for me.
[5] I am grateful to Rachel Hu for providing these details.

Figure 31: Bilingual note on Zi's Café, Woodville Road, Cathays

Figure 32: Monolingual note on Zi's Café, Woodville Road, Cathays

Apart from East Asian supermarkets and restaurants, Chinese characters can be found on letting agencies. For example Rooms Property Services (Figure 33) advertises its services in English and in Chinese.

Figure 33: Rooms Property Services, Salisbury Road, Cathays

As I walked into the agency to ask the staff for a brief interview regarding their use of Chinese characters, I was somewhat surprised to encounter two ladies who did not look East Asian to me. I identified one as ethnically White British and the other one as ethnically South Asian. After explaining the aims of my project I asked them why they chose to use Chinese characters on their shop front. To my further surprise they both said that they spoke Mandarin and therefore decided that it would be an asset for their business to utilise their personal language skills. They explained that many students from China have come to Cardiff recently and that their English is often not very good and that they would feel more comfortable to negotiate with estate agents who are able to speak Mandarin than with ones who do not. They explained that the shop front had previously used only English and that the Chinese characters were added at a later stage. They decided to go bilingual to make Chinese students feel more welcome. I asked them if they thought that the Chinese characters could also have negative effects, such as alienating non-Chinese would-be customers. One of the ladies said that she did in fact have that concern, but she felt that Britain is ultimately a multicultural country and that British customers would respect and welcome the use of many languages. She also told me that since their addition of Chinese characters other letting agencies have started to add Chinese characters as well in order to tap into the growing market of renting out to Chinese students.

Also LucKey Letting advertises to-let flats and houses in Chinese (Figure 34 and Figure 35).

Figure 34: LucKey Letting, Woodville Road, Cathays

Figure 35: Descriptions of to-let flats and houses, LucKey Letting, Woodville Road, Cathays

I spoke to the owner of LucKey Letting. She is Chinese and has been living and working in Cardiff for several years. Upon asking her about the usage of Chinese characters on her shop window, she told me that most of her clients are Chinese students and that the Chinese writing accommodates to them. She brought up a comparison with the Arab shops of Cardiff and said that they would not use Arabic on their windows because Arabs all knew English very well. In contrast, Chinese students who come to Cardiff, she said, often had very low levels of English and would therefore feel more comfortable with using Chinese. Without me prompting her, she reflected on the Chinese characters on the front of her shop and mentioned that this could prevent 'natives' (as she called British people) from coming into the shop. She laughed and said that it was a dilemma: Chinese writing excludes natives but makes students from China feel more welcome. She wondered if she will decide to remove the Chinese characters from her shop window in the future and try out the effects that this will have on attracting both Chinese and non-Chinese customers.

As I thanked her for the illuminating interview, she pointed me to a restaurant on the opposite side of the road and said that nowadays even non-Chinese businesses are using Chinese characters. The restaurant Wiwo Noodle Bar uses Chinese, alongside English, to advertise its Lunch Deal (Figure 36). They also have menus written in Chinese. The observation that this non-Chinese-owned but Asian-themed takeaway engages in bilingual audience design to attract Chinese students is certainly telling for the economic impact Chinese students have in Cathays.

Figure 36: Chinese characters on Wiwo Noodle Bar, Woodville Road, Cathays

6. Conclusion: Students as migrants?

In this report I have traced the histories of a few linguistic and cultural communities in Cathays. I have also noted that the numerically largest age group in Cathays are residents aged 15-29 and that close to half of the Cathays population are students. Cathays' superdiversity has to be conceptualised not only in ethnic terms but also particularly in terms of age and lifestyle. Of course, the student population is in itself ethnically diverse, as evidenced for instance by the relative high number of Chinese students in the area (see also Threadgold et al. 2008: 3; 84-88), but the category of students seems to play at least some importance in shaping the urban landscapes of Cathays.

All shop owners that have been consulted in the preparation of this report, mention students and student lifestyles. Most of them, however, were not students themselves. It seems therefore, that many businesses in Cathays are to some degree aware of the students as a type of customer category. Also other residents of Cardiff who are not students and who I got to know in my six years of living here, seem to recognise 'the students' as some kind of category that is often depicted as 'taking over' Cardiff, while it is also true that students are seen as a good source of economic income and generally as rejuvenating the cultural vitality of the city.

My impressionistic findings are supported by looking at the ways the local media and local historians represent students. Mortimer (2013: 106) for instance explains that the massification of higher education under the Blair government doubled student numbers studying at Cardiff University in the early 2000s, and that "the University had become a qualification sausage-machine for the English middle-classes". The studentification of Cathays is thus also ethnically/nationally loaded with an opposition of 'Welsh' vs. 'English' as many White British students were born in England. In the context of the history of Cardiff's industrial decline, this ethnic/national distinction intersects with class in complex historical ways. The many students who come to Cardiff from England represent yet another level of Anglicisation of Cardiff, a transient one, which might lead to further complication in the devolution of Wales in the future.

Mortimer chooses to paint a rather negative picture of the students' impact on Cathays:

> Cathays was annexed by people who care nothing for the area and its community and wouldn't dream of living there. Cardiffians were expelled from the core of their own town. Now it is a place where nobody but transient students would want to live; shops, pubs and schools have shut, toxic takeaways and here-today-and-gone-tomorrow themed bars abound, and the housing stock ideal for families, has become a rundown slum, unmaintained, vacant outside term time, converted for multiple occupancy and beset by litter, noise and anti-social behaviour.
>
> Mortimer (2014: 106)

It seems that students in Cathays are nowadays depicted with similar attributes as other incoming groups have been depicted ever since: transience, urban deterioration, intoxication, dirt, noise and in some ways in opposition to the 'locals'; a classic we-and-they scenario.

However, I do not attempt to intimate here that Cathays' White (and English) students are subject to the same kinds of discrimination that ethnic minorities have suffered from in the past and continue to do in the present. The privilege of being a student is of course structured around other privileges within categories of race, ethnicity, class, sociolinguistic competence, lifestyle and others that prevent them from becoming victims of overt discrimination. Ethnic minority students, however, do not necessarily enjoy these same privileges as their British counterparts, or their privileges are not recognised as such in the local context, due to processes of reallocations of semiotic value that come with mobility and scale (Blommaert 2010).

I would argue that it is fair to identify the students of Cathays, both domestic British students and international students, as the main engine of the ward's superdiversity. The changing urban landscapes are increasingly shaped by the consumption potentials that students offer for the local economy. Due to the transient nature of their residence in Cathays, the students are placed in some opposition to the locals, the shop owners, the residents, the families, the elderly, but also to the migrants who settled in Cathays.

I plan to stay in Cardiff. I came here as a Masters student in 2011 and fell in love with the city and its people. Since 2011 I have been living in Victorian-era houses that had several problems but that were affordable for me and my housemates. Currently I live with four young people, all previous students, unmarried, no children, British and EU nationals, working several low-paid jobs at a time. We keep our house tidy and functional as well as we can and we care about our local community. We shop locally and recycle conscientiously. We have very good relations with our neighbours, an Asian family, a retired couple, a house shared by five 'white-collar' professionals and a young Welsh family. Our dog made friends with another dog down the road. The integration of students and ex-students in Cathays and Cardiff can thus only be achieved if the city stays culturally and linguistically diverse and affordable for young people. If enough former students decide to stay in Cardiff, the studentification of Cathays might feel less of a problem or might even disappear as a public concern in the future and better integration and chances for young people might follow. I am almost certain that in that future, the former students and residents will remember, historicise and hopefully think positively, though not uncritically, about a time when student-life established itself firmly in the urban landscapes of Cathays at the beginning of the 21st century.

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