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MANIFESTATION OF WELSH NATIONALISM AND

IDENTITY IN CONTEMPORARY

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Prohlašuji, že jsem práci vypracoval/a samostatně s použitím uvedené literatury a zdrojů

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ABSTRACT

The intention of this thesis is the endeavour to approach the issue of the specific Welsh nationalism and related manifestations of Welsh identity in contemporary Wales. The theoretical background is inspired by sociological theories, which define nationalism as a social phenomenon, and afterwards applied to nationalism and its manifestations in Welsh society through defined criteria. The first part therefore concerns terms: nation, identity and nationalism. The next three chapters are trying to capture and describe the national identity, which is rooted in the historical development of the last two hundred years. During this period there was a shift in the perception of Welshness and the manifestations of the identity changed. Some manifestations, such as religion, which played an important role in course of self-determination of the Welsh in the past recede into the background. There appear another manifestations instead, such as affiliation to the European Union.

Keywords: Wales, Welsh nationalism, Welsh identity, nation

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1. INTRODUCTION

Although Wales is regarded as a natural and integral part of the UK (which can be proved, for example, by the absence of the Welsh symbol on the Union flag), it is possible to follow the growth of nationalist tendencies in the modern history of this region. During its development, this movement has endeavoured to establish the Welsh nation therefore it has been seeking and creating the Welsh identity. Additionally, in context of the rise of nationalism in general the Welsh nationalism seems to be interesting for its openness [or inclusiveness] that makes it specific.

The aim of this work is to evaluate the nature of nationalism in Wales and to answer the question of how does the Welsh identity manifest itself in contemporary Wales. Defined criteria will be used for this purpose. The work will examine whether and how race, language, religion, shared interests and geography manifests within the context of Welsh identity as well as Welsh nationalism.

The Introduction approaches the theme and asks the question above. Furthermore, the structure is divided into three main chapters - Theoretical Background, History of Modern Wales, and Welsh Criteria of Identity and Nationalism in Contemporary Wales. In the first chapter, there is clarified the term 'nationalism' and some theories which describes it. There are also presented the criteria mentioned above, through which nationalism tries to find and determine national identity. The subsequent defining of the concept of 'nation' then precedes a general description of Wales. The second chapter reflects the modern history of Wales that is the most significant with regard to the phenomenon of identity and nationalism. The third chapter attempts to use the criteria to approach the character of Welsh nationalism and national identity. Finally, the Conclusion introduces the summary that answers to the question outlined in the introduction.

2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

A General Description of Nationalism

Many historians and sociologists agree that nationality and nationalism are significant political and social phenomena of modern human history that, however, raise various disputations. The terminology is problematic and analytically difficult to grasp. One such author is Hobsbawm (as cited in Hroch, 2003), who says that all definitions in this respect are "partial and insufficient" (p. 109). According to him, the problem lies in the lack of truly objective criteria of nationality. Similarly, Hroch (2003) argues that no set of objective criteria is applicable equally to all nations. In contrast, nationalism uses these criteria as objective tools to determine nationality. According to Renan (cited in Hroch, 2003) the most common criteria are: race, language, religion, shared interests and geography.

The term *nationalism* and its meaning is derived from the Latin word *natio, -onis*, which is used figuratively to describe *nation*, *clan* or *tribe* (Pražák, 1955). However, what modifies and specifies its meaning is the suffix *-ism*, which "is forming nouns of action, state, condition, doctrine" (Harper, 2001). This, in fact, refers to the term 'nationalism' as a doctrine. According to Gellner (1983), it is also possible to define this term as a political principle "which holds that the political and the national unit should be congruent" (p. 1).

The scale of division among national theories is very broad but it can be generally divided into two main opposing directions - primordialism and modernism and into other 'smaller' national theories, according to their origin. As described by Hirt on Antropoweb (2007), primordialism is based on a belief that nationality is universal, personal and a natural part of human being, as natural as sight, hearing and touch. He further claims that this universality confirms indisputable antiquity of a given nation. Modernists hold the

opposite opinion; sociologist Smith (cited in Zuelow, 2009) argues that nationalism is artificial. He says:

For the modernists, in contrast, the past is largely irrelevant. The nation is a modern phenomenon, the product of nationalist ideologies, which themselves are the expression of modern, industrial society. The nationalist is free to use ethnic heritages, but nation-building can proceed without the aid of an ethnic past. Hence, nations are phenomena of a particular stage of history, and embedded in purely modern conditions. (para. 4)

An example of a nationalist standing outside those two main directions is James Kellas (1998), who believes that nationalism should be treated according to its origin. The Open University (2011) reflects similarly and says, "it has proven to be highly adaptable and effective as the basis for popular political mobilisation in many different contexts" (para. 6.1.3).

Kellas (as cited in the OU, 2011) positions himself against the widespread concept of primordial and modern nationalisms and establishes another scale of division. He divides it primarily into 'western' and 'eastern' or 'social' and 'ethnic', according to its origin. Western nationalism is briefly described as socially inclusive, based on "common citizenship of those sharing that [same] culture" (para 6.3.1). This means that the given culture is open to new incomers opposed to the eastern nationalism - 'ethnic' – that is socially exclusive because it is based on the common life, fate, religion etc. of its members. These members are mainly of the same ethnic. Kellas (1998) emphasizes that exclusivist tendencies may lead to authoritarian regimes (pp. 65-66).

With respect to Welsh nationalism, Kellas (1998) introduces another five subdivisions that are applicable for national movements in Europe during the 19th century. This classification is drawn from *Essays on Nationalism* written by Carlton Hayes and it is divided into unification movements, national secession movements, integral nationalism,

colonial nationalism and anti-colonial nationalism, as listed in the OU (2011). Wales is described as a national secession movement whose trait predominantly is to "break up the existing states not their joining together in one large 'nation-state'" (the OU, 2011, para. 6.3.1).

Finally, it is worth saying that there is a certain "degree of overlap between categories" (the OU, 2011, para. 6.3.2); both in the division of national theories as well as in the criteria which are constituents of nationalisms. It would be a mistake to put either Welsh or other nationalisms into a single class. This overlap creates a thin border between classes and makes nationalism complex. As a good example, the OU (2011) examines the criterion of culture, noting that "shared culture is important for both civic and ethnic nationalism" (para. 6.3.2).

The overlap could even cause paradox situations: for example, it provokes exclusivist tendencies within inclusive secession of nationalism in Wales. An eloquent illustration of this fact is part of a foreword for a booklet published by the Cymuned Community Pressure Group (2003), which states: "Cymuned does not welcome colonisation in Wales; the huge movement of people to Welsh-speaking communities by those who want to push our language and culture to one side, and then replace it" (p. 3).

Criteria of Nationalism and National Identity

Criteria of nationalism are, in fact, tools. In other words, they are elements of national theories. Nationalism uses these elements to derive its legitimacy, to reveal its identity and to define the concept of nation (Hroch, 2003, pp. 28-35). Despite the fact that there can be found various elements in different researches, the most frequent are described by Renan in Hroch´s (2003) collection of essays, as mentioned above.

As constituents, all these elements might or might not be involved in any national theory. What is, however, stressed in the concept of nationalism written by Otto Bauer

(cited in Hroch, 2003) is that there can never be one element to dominate others; they must be in mutual relation and dependence (pp. 36-45). Renan (cited in Hroch, 2003) adds that clinging excessively to one sole criterion of nationalism led to serious mistakes in the past and concludes his essay with words: "man is not the slave neither of his race nor of his language nor of his religion nor of the flow of rivers and nor of the orientation of mountain ridges" (p. 35).

<center>Race</center>

The element of race was initially the fundamental aspect of nationalism especially for primordial nationalists. They substantiated their strong conviction about the credibility of this element by description of its historical roots. Many of them therefore argued that the primordial race was the only permanent entity that remained unlike artificially established orders created by feudalism, diplomatic ties etc. Primordialists considered nation a consequence of kinship or ethnicity. As a result, the element of race establishes a very strong legitimising force for the political goals of nationalism. On the other hand, according to Renan (cited in Hroch, 2003, pp. 28-29), such a pure kinship deduced from family structure could be relevant only for ancient societies like Athens that were limited by a relatively small territory.

There does not exist any single nation or state based on pure kinship in modern European history. England, for example consists of many ethnic groups, hence to seek a racially pure Englishman would be like looking for a needle in a haystack (Hroch, 2003, p. 29). In Wales there were almost no signs of any national feeling – regarding race - until recent years because the population of this country is so mixed that no one can proclaim Welsh inhabitants 'pure Celts' (The OU, 2011, para. 4.1.1). In fact, neither the Roman Empire nor the barbarian kingdoms just after followed territorial borders of any single ethnic in Europe (Hroch, 2003). Consequently, to build a national feeling on the sole

element of race would be a 'fallacy'. Nevertheless, such experiments are evident in the recent past – Nazi Germany or Fascist Italy (p. 30).

Language

As well as race, the element of language is treated ambiguously. On one hand, for many societies the element of language has always played a very important role in the formation of the state or at least national feeling. For example, language was the medium of identification for so called 'stateless nations' from the 18th and 19th century onwards in all conquered or colonised regions of the greatest European colonial-states (The Open University, 2011, para 6). On the other hand, there are examples of other nations for which the language was not such an important item of identification. One for all Anglo-American states – mainly USA and UK – where one language is being used [English] and understood by many nations (Renan in Hroch, 2003, p. 31).

As regards identification, language could also be considered as a medium of social communication important for sharing a common fate (cited in Hroch, 2003, p. 38). Firstly, language significantly denotes personal identity through which it is possible, subsequently, to identify a member of a social class or characterise people by their language manners. According to the OU (2011), "it is a powerful expression of our individuality" (para 6.1.1). Secondly, through this ability of language [to denote personal identities] there are flourishing "supporting feelings of solidarity...with various social groups" (para. 6.1.2). These feelings determine members of a particular community who want to share a common fate – in other words – culture. Furthermore, the element of language grants legitimacy to the processes that shape nations and national political units (Renan in Hroch, 2003, p. 31-38).

Religion

The element of religion has immensely decreased in its importance as a substantial factor for forming a nation in recent times. According to Benedict Anderson (cited in Hirt, 2007), the significant influence in this case was the fall of feudalism with its traditional order. Anderson sees 'the sunset' of feudalism as the dissolution of giant structures like feudal systems or church systems. Such fundamental changes, furthermore, had considerable impact primarily on the decay of old orders in society, symbol-frameworks as well as the life certainty of common people, who had to face new challenges in the increase of individualism, market economy and rationality. In this situation they were looking for some linking power which was modified in nationalism.

On the other hand, it is not true that religion should be denigrated as a medium of identification and even seen as merely a historical phenomenon. Even in modern times this criterion plays a crucial role in forming states and nations, for instance, in middle-eastern regions or serves as one element of personal identification that is important for the rise of national feeling even in the European context, refers Renan (cited in Hroch, 2003, p. 24 - 35). Briefly, religion functions as a means of sharing common spiritual values.

Shared Interests

Shared interests are also one of the criteria of nationalism. To be able to arise and strive for national self-determination, it needs a wider consensus and involvement of many supporters. Renan, however, (as cited in Hroch, 2003) asks whether such an interest is sufficient for the development of the nation and suggests it is not: he claims it has just a weak influence and denotes shared interests as important especially for business affairs but not so important for building a nation or rising of national feeling, identity, etc. (p. 32). But the situation in Wales is in complete contradiction, because shared interests represent one

of the most significant and powerful agents for Welshness: for example the promotion of language and cultural heritage or just to beat English in rugby (Cejnková, 2008).

In respect to Welsh nationalism it is worth noting that there is a substantial shared interest in Wales, namely the effort to consolidate Welsh identity (the OU, 2011, para. 1). There are many expressions of this effort: firstly, the foundation of S4C Sianel Pedwar Cymru in 1982 which launched pure Welsh broadcasting to promote the Welsh language and culture; secondly, it is the opening of the Millennium Stadium in 1999, accompanied by a very fundamental transformation of the entire city of Cardiff. Furthermore, the Millennium Centre serves as the National [Welsh] Opera House or the election of the first members of the National Assembly for Wales in 1999 and many others; such as the involvement in the process of European regionalism (Mertl, 2012, p.528) or strengthening of Welsh 'home rule'. Finally, all of these are real proof of the common need of self-determination (the OU, 2011, para. 1).

Geography

The last and very often discussed element of nationalism is geography - territorial demand of particular nations and states which, however, could not be ratified in every case. In one of its publications, The Association of International Affairs in Prague (2003), closely connected with the UN, discusses the right of every nation to self-determination, namely expressed by the demand of their own territory. This request is described as legitimate because every nation wants to provide security for all its members and briefly, the best way to provide the security is to control its own territory (Affairs, 2003, pp. 3-4). On the other hand this matter is seriously problematic if such a nation or ethnic is a part of another nation-state because legitimate condition of safety cannot be fulfilled. Extortion of this right might lead to the rise of animosity or escalation of violence (Renan in Hroch, 2003, p. 33).

Jenkins (1992) states that the problem of the territorial demarcation of Wales is that it had not been done by the residents themselves. Regional differences in any part of the territory were so different that there had never been created any greater homogenous structure which would resemble a national unit. The only demarcation which defined the area was Offa's Dyke built by King Offa in the second half of the 8th century to protect the English against threats from the Welsh. The dyke with a ditch which streches across the border between the two countries is from five to seven meters deep and is located mainly on the Welsh side of the border. The English used the dyke to define the land which was behind it, because they needed to protect themselves from the inhabitants there (Cejnková, 2008). According to Jenkins (1992), an otherwise geographically fragmented country "lacked most of the characteristic features of nationhood" (p. 3). Consequently, he asks: "Can we speak of Wales as anything more than an expression of geographical convenience?" (p. 2).

A Nation

What Is a Nation?

Many writers say that a clear definition of the concept of nation is complex and not absolutely evident. The definition is therefore the subject of constant debate which gives rise to different opinions on the issue. For example, the nation can be understood as a shared identity seeking common interests and political objectives (Renan in Hroch, 2003). Renan sees the characteristics of the nation rather in the relationship between individuals in society (Hroch, 2003). Primordial concept of nationalism considers a different opinion, namely it understands the nation as an ever existing and valid entity (the OU, 2011, para. 6.3). Gellner (1983), however, clearly argues against this theory: like Renan, he sees the nation as an artificial construct seeking to define a certain relationship. In addition, he says that it is nationalism that creates the concept of a nation (p. 55).

<center>What Is Not a Nation?</center>

Another way to come closer to the concept of a nation is a negative definition of the term. With regard to the previous statement, some theorists say that it is easier to start with the question of what a nation is not. According to Cenker (2010), if somebody wants to answer the question of what a nation is, he will probably explain what a nation is not. In this regard, he describes how the concept of a nation very often converts into a state or ethnicity. A state, however, is a political entity with its own institutions, area and relatively stable population (Barrington, 1997). It is not therefore synonymous with the concept of a nation. A similar problem arises with differences in the terms *nation* and *ethnicity*. It is possible to build on ethnicity in the process of forming a nation because it can be understood as a kind of primary community from which the nation arises. However, it is not the nation itself (Cenker, 2010).

2. A GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF WALES

Geography

Wales is situated on the middle-west coast of the British Isles and is constitutionally part of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland. Wales has an area of 20, 780 km^2, and according to the last census in 2011, has a population of just above 3 million people. The only land border, which is 294 km long, is shared with England (Statistical Directorate, 2013). Geographically, Wales's boundaries are mainly coastal and its surface is covered with green hills, deep valleys and mountains. The highest mountain is Snowdon (1085 m) in the Cambrian Mountains in the district called Snowdonia, which is one of three national parks (Snowdonia, Brecon Beacons and Pembrokeshire Coast). National parks cover 20% of the Welsh land area (National Parks UK, 2014).

Language

The official language in Wales is English as well as Welsh. According to the census held in 2011, the number of Welsh speakers is decreasing from 20.8% in 2001 to 19% in 2011 (Statistical Directorate, 2013). Welsh people are very proud of being Welsh, therefore, there is a national revival proceeding which is trying to raise the number of Welsh speakers as well as promote culture and overall the Welsh identity. The majority of Welsh speakers live in the rural North, whereas the Southern regions are mostly industrial. This is the result of a massive migration of English speakers into the Southern part of Wales during the 19th and the first half of the 20th century. A further consequence was the large population growth in southern cities like Swansea, Newport and Cardiff the capital of Wales during the 19th century (BBC , 2008).

Politics

Wales has its own political body which consists of 60 elected members. These members are called AMs and they gather in the National Assembly for Wales constituted since 1999. Another official representation of Wales consists of 40 elected members to the UK Parliament and 4 representatives to the European Parliament. Due to governmental separation and a "YES" vote in referendum in 2011 Wales gained greater legislative autonomy that took effect under the Government of Wales Act in 2006 (Welsh Government, 2014). Strong growth of national revival in the 19th century supported the idea of devolution. The call for a Welsh identity is getting increasingly stronger and some achievements of political representation are beginning to be seen (National Assembly for Wales, 2014).

3. HISTORY OF MODERN WALES

History is the foundation which inspires a national identity. Awareness of ancestors who fought and died to gain territory and build a nation evokes the consciousness of belonging to the national identity. In the case of Wales, where does Morgan report, history, derived traditions, literature and social culture is what organically links people together (Morgan, 1982). But although the history of Wales is colourful and interesting in many aspects, especially the modern history of this region will be taken into account here. The period from the second half of the 18th century is important and reveals most the development of Welsh nationalism the most.

Early modern period

Wales, originally a traditional agricultural country, had fundamentally changed during the late 18th and especially the 19th century. The hills and valleys mainly in South Wales proved to be full of coal, iron ore and limestone. This finding led to the emergence of many ironworks and coal mines and to a large migration of people into Southern region. It should be noted that a large proportion of these economic immigrants were not of Welsh origin. This development was further supported by the fact that traditional agriculture was in very poor condition and due to this decline there were also miserable living conditions. The agriculture at this time could be described as primitive, according to Jones (1998), who also notes that a gradual revitalization and renewal occurred during the agricultural revolution in the second half of the 19th century (pp. 96-97).

A large industrial boom and subsequent increase in population caused by immigration had several effects on people in Wales: firstly, serious health problems of workers who were working in all sectors of heavy industry; secondly, a lack of subsistence for an increasingly growing population. This was also due to the almost non-functional

agriculture. Thirdly, the effect of growing social pressure generated by still greater inequalities, in combination with the previous factors. Finally, immigration had tripled the population in southern cities and doubled the population of entire country. In this 'new' Wales it was not possible to maintain a true Welsh identity. This, in fact, later supported the formation of nationalist movements (Jenkins, 1992, pp. 235-250).

Deprivation of workers, farmers and all common people led to open protests, which often escalated into violent riots. The reason was a famine that occured in Wales in the 18th century due to high prices of food. The aforementioned lack of food was to the great extent caused by maladministration of the country because the lands were purchaised by wealthy English landlords who were working hard to achieve the highest profits. This is how an uncontrolled competition emerged, in the shadow of which a high level of corruption and injustice began to flourish. New fees and taxes were being announced there and prices rose very significantly. One of the most unpopular fees were the tolls for the local turnpikes which were considerably high and consequently led to riots and even to the emigration of native Welsh inhabitants. Other riots were for instance the Rebecca Riots in 1840s against the tolls or the Merthyr Riots in June 1831 in reaction to deepening poverty (Jones, 1998, p. 99-109).

At the end of the 19th century groups seeking less violent changes became more apparent in the promotion of Welsh values. This period was mainly about rising the influence of political nonconformity and an era of strengthening political ambitions in Wales. In 1844 there was the Liberation Society which expanded throughout Wales and linked nonconformist´s groups together and "provided them with a coherent programme and an effective organisation" (Jones, 1998, p. 112). Furthermore, its objectives covered the disestablishment of the Anglican Church and many other reforms including for example the franchise that succeeded in 1884 according to the Reform Act. The

development in this era is described by Jenkins (1992) who states that the Westminster government discussed the Welsh questions "in an atmosphere of much greater respect towards Welsh national aspirations than prevailed in 1847" (p. 312).

Many events occurred as a result of the socio-political influences; for instance, the emergence of a Welsh periodical press that confirmed the growing awareness of Welshness (Jones, 1998, p. 112). According to Jenkins (1992), it was apparent in the Aberdare committee statement that "recognized Wales as a distinctive nation with its own religious traditions, a proud cultural heritage, and a language that was emphatically worth retaining" (p. 313). In 1880, this committee was sent to Wales to study the level of Welsh education. Incidentally, the great contribution to Welsh education also brought the opening of the University College of Wales in 1872 in Aberystwyth and the foundation of another two colleges in Cardiff in 1883 and Bangor in 1884. In fact, the opening as well as the foundation was based on the recommendation of the Aberdare committee.

The turn of the century brought other political and cultural achievements, when the goals of non-conformist and nationalist groups began to be fulfilled. One of the very important successes was the foundation of Cymru Fydd (Young Wales) in 1886. This movement, which later transformed into Plaid Cymru (the National Party of Wales), endeavoured to ensure self-government for Wales. The next was the reform under the Welsh Church Act in 1914 whereby the Church of England was disestablished (Jones, 1998, pp. 124-134). Furthermore, there were other substantial foundations initiated in addition to previously mentioned Universities. For example, The National Library in Aberystwyth in 1907 or the National Museum in Cardiff in 1912 and also the foundation of the Welsh Department by the Board of Education in 1907 "which led to [much needed] educational reform in Wales, in particular, encouraging Welsh language teaching" (Cardiff University, 2014, para. 2).

The 20thcentury

At the beginning of the 20th century, the First World War had a considerable impact on the formation of Welsh nationalism. The consequences of these effects had a negative impact on the demography of Wales and the rise of social issues. Jones (1998) describes this era as a period of post-war 'Depression' (p. 140). The situation slightly changed between 1918 and 1924 (Davies, 2007, p. 532). The population increased and the social issues improved due to the expansion of coal-mining. This situation, however, was not sustainable because there was soon a decline of industry, deepening poverty and the emigration of the Welsh population. Jones (1998) describes the results of this development as calamitous:

Shops and entertainments declined, community life especially that of the chapels, shrank, there was large-scale migration. Dire poverty and hardship were rife, local authority finances collapsed, working-class housing decayed still further, the state of public health was alarming" (p. 141).

WW I also changed many aspects influencing Welsh nationalism. One of the most remarkable was the rise of socialism and class consciousness which led "to the move to the left" (Jones, 1998, p.150). This resulted in the advent of the recently formed Labour Party. This political movement replaced the Liberal Party as one of the two main political parties in the United Kingdom. The last significant person of Liberals in that time was radical Welshman David Lloyd George, former prime minister of the British parliament and Welsh hero (Culturenet Cymru Ltd , 2004). The Labour Party was established with the aim of protecting workers and their trade unions. Another party Cymru Fydd, which was the original Welsh party, unfortunately, lost its supporters. It was eventually transformed into Plaid Cymru, which has continued since 1925 until the present day. G. Jones (1998)

describes it as "a fiercely autonomous, nationalist political party, which sought, first and foremost, to defend the Welsh language" (p. 139).

With the onset of the World War II, changes in society throughout the United Kingdom were again in motion. On one hand, living standards rose and class differences were mitigating because in such a large conflict every individual was needed to support the war industry and unemployment almost disappeared in the region of Wales. Furthermore, women were also fully involved in the workforce, Winston Churchill (cited in The Churchill Centre, 2008) described this situation by saying: "The whole of the warring nations are engaged, not only soldiers, but the entire population, men, women, and children". On the other hand, unfortunately a large amount of the workforce perished due to the German bombing of factories (Jones, 1998, p. 144).

The consequences of World War II were unpleasant for Wales. With the reduced need for production in the war industries there was also a lower demand for coal on a global scale. Consequently, mass coal production had to be reduced; mines were closed, unemployment increased dramatically and living standards were falling. Another very significant result was the devastation of agriculture and thus a food shortage. Simultaneously, there was an influx of many peoples and children from England and also an outflow of native Welsh (Davies, 2007, p. 596). As Jones (1998) says, this helped the long-lasting success of the Labour Party in the fifties: "The Second World War confirmed the move to the left initiated during the twenties and thirties" (p. 150).

The migration caused damage to the ideas of Welsh nationalism, which was forced into another unforeseen transformation. Initial attempts of radical nationalists and separatists were "hastily swept aside" says Jones (1998, str. 154), who describes the nature of the Welsh national movement thus:

The Welsh renaissance was, first and foremost, cultural, literary and educational, rather than separatist. The Welsh sought equality and recognition within the British system of government, not exclusion from it (str. 135).

It was the more educated class which gained dominance and which tried to promote mainly a political solution in Welsh issues. After initial failures, Plaid Cymru succeeded in achieving progress in the late 1950s and 60s. The first great success was the foundation of the Council of Wales in 1948 which was followed by others; for instance, the recognition of Cardiff as the capital of Wales in 1955 and the establishment of the position of the Secretary of State for Wales in 1964 (Jones, 1998, p. 152).

The emigration of the Welsh-speaking population, which continued for the following decades of the 20th century, caused considerable difficulties to the nationalist movement. Despite their many efforts the depopulation continued. Then there was their crushing defeat in 1979, when a general referendum on the foundation of the Welsh Assembly was first announced. This assembly was to have the authority to create laws and to decide autonomously on Welsh issues. The referendum resulted in ratio of 4:1 for the dissenting standpoint. Disillusion followed when "devolution seemed to disappear from the political agenda" (Jones, 1998, p. 154). It became possible to change this standpoint in the second vote, for which, however, the Welsh had to wait until 1997. In this referendum, a majority voted 'YES'

The 21st century

After the unsuccessful attempt in 1979, Welsh nationalism began to show itself more significantly at the turn of the century. The issue of 'Welshness' started to come to life again in 1997, mainly as a result of the Labour Party's return to power; however, it should be noted that there were several other influences at this time. In July of this year a White Paper, *A Voice for Wales*, was published. This manifesto appealed to the UK Parliament

for a referendum on the establishment of the Welsh Assembly. Based on the results of the referendum, the UK Parliament passed the Government of Wales Act 1998, which "established the National Assembly as a corporate body - with the executive [the government] and the legislature [the Assembly itself] operating as one" (National Assembly for Wales, 2014). Finally, R. Davies (cited in BBC, 1999) described Welsh devolution of the day as "a process not an event" (para. 2).

After the initial joy of success, people began to realize some imperfections of the newly created Assembly and its legal status. As reported by the National Assembly for Wales (2014) on its website: "While there were many positives, the single corporate body structure proved to be problematic". This web proceeds to describe that unlike the Scottish Parliament, for instance, the assembly could accept only secondary legislation approved by the UK Parliament. It was also problematic that it could not operate continuously and could not own any property, which greatly restricted its operations. Not even the administration of the executive and legislature proved very effective. For these reasons, there was a need of change and in 2002 a resolution on the distribution of competences was published and also a commission to review the functioning of the Welsh Assembly was established.

In 2004 the Richard Commission released an extensive report, in which they evaluated the present development, pointed out the drawbacks and suggested some changes. These changes were mainly related to the efficiency of the National Assembly of Wales. The report (Richard Commission, 2004) says that there is "a feeling that effective policy was hampered by a daunting maze of government agencies, each possessing narrow responsibilities and operating from separated and uncoordinated offices" (p. 7). Subsequently, the Commission issued a recommendation that was implemented by the Government of Wales Act 2006, to wit: a separation and clarification of the role of each

body. Thereby the corporate body became an institution and competencies of The Welsh Government and the National Assembly were clearly defined. Briefly, legislative and executive powers were separated.

In 2007, political parties Plaid Cymru and the Labour Party in Wales joined together in a coalition and concluded an agreement called 'One Wales'. In this Agreement, both sides committed, inter alia, to create a strong government that would be able to build a strong and confident Welsh nation (Welsh Assembly Government, 2007, pp. 5-6). The further aim of this coalition was to achieve a new referendum and also to extend powers for the Welsh Assembly. After four years they finally succeeded and on 3rd March 2011 the latest referendum was declared and concluded with a margin of two to one for 'YES' vote (National Assembly for Wales, 2014). Finally, with its decision to seek equality and recognition from the British government rather than to escape from its influence Wales managed to obtain partial self-governing authority (Jones, 1998, p. 135).

4. CRITERIA OF NATIONALISM AND OTHER MANIFESTIATIONS OF WELSH IDENTITY IN CONTEMPORARY WALES

Celtic Wales?

Celts arrived on the territory of contemporary Wales from central Europe (Dodd, 1998, p. 6). They were bearers of La Tene culture that developed primarily in the area of contemporary Switzerland, but also of Spain, Germany and Bohemia. 'The Celts' is actually a summarization for a number of the barbarian tribes that showed signs of a similar culture (way of life, social order, processing iron etc.). These tribes were often fighting among each other and therefore there was not much cohesion among them. Due to these tribes wild nature they often migrated and occupied almost the whole Europe and later also the British Isles (Čižmářová, 2004, pp. 9-11).

As stated on the web Wales.com (2014): "The story of Wales begins with the Celts". However, were the original inhabitants of Wales really the Celts? As is clear from various sources, Celtic settlers were arriving at the same time as Roman conquerors, which partly dislodged them from Europe (Ancient History Encyclopedia, 2011). On the territory of Wales, they were mingling with other tribes, such as Silurians, Ordovicians, Iberians and later Brittons, that were flowing in from almost all directions. Consequently, it was almost impossible to establish any significant union and one homogeneous culture or nation. Although there were some efforts to unify the tribes in Wales into one nation, they were never entirely successful (Jenkins, 1992, pp. 1-2). Even the name Wales was given to them by neighbouring Germanic tribes which occupied the territory of England (Williams, 1991, p. 3).

Such an inhomogeneous society lingered there even during the rise of national movements. In the 19th century it was still possible to mark Wales as just an agglomeration of various communities without a clear national determination (Jenkins 1992, p. 3). Not even in course of several centuries did there develop tight relationships or some deeper kinship in higher social classes, as is usual within racially homogeneous cultures: "Early modern Wales therefore lacked most of the characteristic features of nationhood; even those of a nation in subjection" (p. 3). Instead, trade ties and regional differences were more emphasised. Gwyn A. Williams (1991) states that, "Wales is impossible", that it exists only because Welshmen have had to invent it (p. 2). Accordingly, it is clear that race does not constitute a very significant element of the Welsh nationalism.

The Welsh Language

The Welsh language belongs to the group of Indo-European languages which are divided, amongst others, into Celtic languages and further to variations of Goidelic and Brittonic. These variations have evolved in Britain, settled by Celtic tribes due to the Roman expansion, and underpinned the languages of Scotland, Ireland and Wales. The Celts in Wales used the Brittonic dialect, later Welsh, which had been significantly influenced by elements of Latin and Greek (Blazek, 2014). He further specifies that the Celts speaking the Welsh language have always called themselves 'Cymru', in other words 'countrymen', unlike Englishmen, who have called them Welsh from the Anglo-Saxon word 'vealh', meaning 'strange, foreign' (Cejnkova, 2008).

According to Jenkins (1992), due to the historical development, the only strong bond was the language, which "gave the country what unity it possessed" (p. 2). The Welsh language was the only connection among tribes in Wales which were almost never able to achieve a unity leading to any statehood. According to the Open University (2011), it is

therefore possible to identify Welsh with the term 'stateless nation'. Awareness of the importance of language led (between the 1970s and 80s) to a revolutionary turnaround in the perception of nationalist issues of Wales. At first, the nationalist movement was not different from other nationalisms in Europe; however, after unsuccessful attempts to achieve a political independence, it concentrated its efforts on promoting cultural distinctiveness and mainly the language.

Multiple sources agree on the fact that the Welsh language has a significant impact on nationalism in Wales. For example, Jenkins (1992) states that almost the only determining factor between areas in Wales that are "more Welsh" and those that are "anglicised lowlands" is the language (p. 1). He further indicates that the language is a unifying element of Welsh identity and nationalism. The OU (2011) reflects similarly, saying, "We can see that the [Welsh] language played a much more extensive role in the nationalist movement than simply as an inspiration for activists" (para. 6.2.2). Furthermore, it identifies the Welsh language as the basis of Welsh identity and adds that "[a]lthough the percentage of Welsh speakers declined through most of the 20th century, the language became an even more important basis for the [national] movement" (para. 6.2).

A large decrease in the number of Welsh speakers can be traced from the turn of the 20th century onwards. In this respect, the two World Wars had a great influence; they caused an overall decrease in population as well as the migration of a large amount of Welsh speakers away from agricultural areas in the north of Wales as a result of the lack of work. A further key point was the shift of English speakers into Wales due to the bombing of London or the emergence of industrial areas in the southern parts (Jones, 1998). The trend of immigrants continued even in the following period of the late 20th century when mostly the older English-speaking generation was moving to holiday homes in Wales

(Jenkins, 1992, p. 403). Consequently, there was a sustained decline in the number of mature and middle aged Welsh speakers during the 20th century according to the Office for National Statistics (2012).

„The Welsh language and culture were visibly under threat by the third quarter of the twentieth century" (Jones, 1998, p. 164). It resulted in the emergence of a great movement focused on promotion of the Welsh language. Initially, there was Saunders Lewis in the forefront of this significant movement; co-founder and president of Plaid Cymru. He gave a speech in 1962 in which he "called for the energies of the nationalist movements to be concentrated entirely on rescuing a culture in crisis" (Jenkins, 1992, p. 400). Consequently, the Welsh Language Association originated with the aim to put pressure on political representatives to do some steps to promote welsh affairs. Afterwards, United Kingdom parliament approved three acts in 1993, 1998 and 2012, which "provide that the Welsh and English languages should be treated equally" (Welsh Government, 2013).

Significant achievements in the promotion of the language lay also in the field of education and the media. Welsh, which had been prohibited within education in 1847 on the basis of the report 'The Treachery of the Blue Books', began to be implemented again in primary and later in secondary schools. The pressure on the reintroduction of the language into teaching caused a significant increase in the number of young Welsh-speakers since the end of World War II (the OU, 2011). Another very significant success was the emergence of the fourth television channel, broadcasting purely in Welsh. As described by Jenkins (1992) the S4C channel was launched in 1982 and was even free of charge after protests and hunger strikes against the broadcasting fees. To emphasize the importance of promotion of the language, Jenkins (1992) also quotes from a letter of an imprisoned nationalist: "Cymraeg (Welsh) must be seen to be the language of the social revolution, not the discourse of a folk museum" (p. 403).

In conclusion, all the efforts seemed to be effective because on the basis of the data from the censuses held in 1991, 2001 and 2011, there has been a noticeable increase in the youths able to use the Welsh language (The Office for National Statistics, 2012). The current government has followed all the previous steps to encourage the development of language and issued a document A Living Language: A Language for Living, which is an action plan for the period between 2013 and 2014. It should further enhance the promotion and expansion of the Welsh language and associated culture. At the same time, the action plan is part of a long-term strategy that has been outlined until 2017 (Welsh Assembly Government, 2013).

When considering the language, it is worth mentioning the annually organized Eisteddfod which some perceive as a new found and established tradition (Jones, 1998), and others as a traditional and original feast of the Welsh language and Welshness. As stated on the website of Eisteddfod organization (2012), "[t]he Eisteddfod is a celebration of Welshness, of our culture, of the concept of belonging to a community and of priding ourselves on our country and its achievements" (para. 5). In the course of this European largest festival, there are organized competitions of poets, singers, dancers as well as Welsh language courses. The aim is to "encourage people to learn Welsh and develop their language skills" (National Eisteddfod of Wales, 2012, para. 1). As a result, the majority of the programme is organised in Welsh, which is also the main means of communication at the festival. However, the Eisteddfod is also open to those who do not speak the language. Organisers provide various informative materials and translation equipment for those who are not familiar with the language (National Eisteddfod of Wales,,2012).

Finally, some authors write about paradoxes in perception of the language as a means of identification. According to Jenkins (1992), one of these is, for example, the fact that although the Welsh language is considered the basis of Welsh nationalism, "the modern

history in Wales was not simply 'Welsh'" (p. 12). He also emphasises that since the 1980s the number of Welsh speakers has decreased to less than a fifth. Another paradox is the exclusive tendency within inclusive 'civic' nationalism. The problematic aspect here is precisely the language. Clearly, the Welsh language is considered to be the main sign of Welsh identity that is open to anyone who wants to be a part of the Welsh nation. This, however, induces exclusive tendencies, because it determines who is and who is not Welsh (the OU, 2011).

The 'paradox' is underlined by other examples. Firstly, there are people who call themselves 'proud Welsh' although they are not Welsh speakers. Despite this fact they indicate Wales as their home on the basis of Welsh road signs. The OU (2011) cites such two Welsh citizens. The first one says, "When I come over the Severn Bridge and I see the signs in Welsh, I'm happy" (para. 6.2.1). And the second one claims that, "As soon as you see that Welsh sign you're home" (para. 6.2.1). Many non-Welsh speakers regard this public display of the Welsh language as a confirmation of their Welshness. Secondly, it is a specific usage of the bilingual approach. Political elites promote the Welsh language as at least equivalent to the English language while trying not to mention the English language or emphasise it. However, this approach is used only in tourism and for domestic audience. On the other hand, they prefer purely the use of the English language in the economic field and in relation to foreign investment (Ross Bond, 2003).

Religion

As describes in Renan (as cited in Hroch, 2003), religion has almost definitely ceased to be a reason for border delineation between nations and so it is today in the case of Wales (p. 32). The strong affiliation to faith was firstly the crucial element of Welsh identity and being a Welshman were virtually synonymous with being a Christian (Pope, 2001, p. 158). By today, however, the situation has considerably changed and although, according to

official statistics (2012), the majority of the population subscribes to Christian denominations, there is no single religion as a distinct element of Welsh identity. This fact is confirmed by Pope (2001), who speaks of "pluralist Wales" (p. 159); or the BBC (2013), which describes the presence of all world religions in Wales. It must be noted, however, that religion has played an important role in the Welsh movement until the recent past (Pope, 2001). Pope describes Welsh identity and religious affiliation as "totally intertwined" (p. 139).

During the 18th century, changes began to occur in traditional confession in Wales, which was mainly Catholic. As BBC (2014) reports, "the Christian religion was the defining characteristic of the Welsh". The change which was fully manifested at the turn of the 19th century was especially caused by anglicizing pressure (Jones, 1998). Finally, it was so significant that almost no parish served people in their native language. Moreover, they were very impoverished and sometimes corrupt which subsequently resulted in believers turning away from traditional Christian denominations. The shift of traditional confession led to a huge nonconformist movement and although the Church then introduced a number of measures to support the Welsh, the movement created a strong Methodist current. In chapels, there gathered a community which aimed to educate people of lower classes in the Welsh language. Afterwards, they began to be taught even political consciousness which led consequently to the emergence of political radicalism beside the achievements in education or spirituality (Pope, 2001, pp. 189-209).

The perception of Welsh identity through faith began to change greatly once more during the late 20th century (Pope, 2001). Significant influence on these changes had gradually both World Wars and the later expansion of socialism. These facts helped to destruct traditional values and symbol frameworks within the large structures (Hirt, 2007) and people were seeking certitude and self-determination elsewhere than in faith. In Wales,

there was added the growth of political radicalism, which is subsequently attenuated by the advent of new liberal currents. The traditional religious dimension in Wales is disappearing and thus pluralism with inclusiveness is more emphasised instead (Pope, 2001).

Shared Interests

Perhaps the most eloquent and the most recent result of a found common interest is the referendum of 2011. Welsh nationalism managed to repeat the success from 1997 which further developed the process of devolution and "granted the National Assembly for Wales further powers for making laws in Wales" (National Assembly for Wales, 2011). 63.5% of all respondents vote YES (it means 517,132 voters). Against was the least number of voters in history, 35.4% of all voters (BBC, 2011). According to the BBC (2011), there were reduced regional differences in Wales and unity prevailed, during this referendum.

<div align="center">Rugby</div>

Another example of a shared interest mentioned herein is undoubtedly rugby. According to the OU (2011), it is a powerful example of how to identify nationality through a sporting event. The OU (2011) further describes that "rugby in Wales in many ways defines what Wales is and what people in Wales share" (para. 1). Similarly reflects the manager of the Millennium Stadium Gerald Toms: "It's a Welsh sport; it's the way we are. We were brought up to play rugby" (Cejnková, 2008). The home for this national sport is the Millennium Stadium built in 1999. It hosts annually 1.3 million spectators at various events (Welsh Rugby Union, 2014). During large events, such as rugby games, the stadium becomes the center of all happenings and the most important point in Wales, as described by Bill O'Keefe (Cejnková, 2008).

<div align="center">The Relationship with the European Union</div>

The involvement within the structure of the European Union might be also regarded as a current manifestation of sharing interests. Wales uses the EU to build its own regional exclusivity, to which it endeavours to refer and consequently trying to obtain a greater degree of legitimacy. According to Mertl (2012), three options are opened to the Welsh representation, through which it is possible to construct a Welsh identity and exclusivity. They are defined as political, economic and cultural possibilities, of which Wales deftly uses to promote its interests among European regions, and also at home. In addition, Mertl indicates the representatives of Wales as agents who are current bearers of Welsh nationalism.

In conclusion of the article, Mertl (2012) summarizes that contemporary Wales uses extensively the EU structures. However, although officially limited by the British government which unites common approach towards the EU, Wales bypasses these mechanisms and seeks to promote their interests directly, but not at all costs and in any situation. At the political level, the Welsh representatives are successful in communication with the EU institutions, which helps to strengthen the legitimacy of Welsh identity. The economic aspect is probably the most developed from all, because, as Hemilton (2004) stated up to "Seventy per cent of Welsh exports go to the EU" (p.677). Furthermore, Wales successfully benefits from the EU funds to finance projects promoting the Welsh culture. With regard to cultural possibilities, Wales uses the idea of European integration to define their position against the English scepticism, which takes as part of its identity. Finally, it uses the EU tendencies to preserve the linguistic and cultural diversity of the regions (Mertl, 2012).

<div align="center">Region</div>

The region also affects the perception of Welsh identity. According to the OU (2011) one of the Welsh characteristics is regional distinctiveness within Wales. Briefly, social as well

as cultural differences are evident among individual counties. "These social geographic differences provide a basis on which it can be argued that there are different kinds of Welsh people, or different kinds of Welshness, made visible in attitudes and behaviour" (the OU, para. 2.2). Jenkins (1992) reflects similarly pointing to rugged terrain, which caused the rise of smaller communities with slightly different cultural developments rather than big agglomerations (p. 3). Even though there are such differences, the people of Welsh regions have much in common. Their distinctive characteristic is for instance "the attachment to place and a strong sense of local belonging", describes the OU (2011, para. 2.1.1).

"Exceptional importance of locality and community" (the OU, 2011, para. 2.1.1) can be found especially in central Wales. It has long been an agricultural region that connects a local identity especially with unspoiled natural beauty and also with tourism, which is directly attached to this (Mertl, 2012). The land of Wales is also important, for example, for so-called 'heartland communities', seeking the true nature of Welshness, as denoted by the OU (2011). These groups are building their arguments on a strong connection among identity, history and homeland which reflects even in the national anthem of Wales 'Land of My Fathers' (the OU, para. 2.2). Finally, the preservation of local communities is an important basis of the Welsh rural identity.

5. CONCLUSION

The aim of this work was to approach the nature of Welsh nationalism and to describe manifestations of Welsh identity. Both are relatively young phenomena, which differ from traditional European nationalist currents. One of these differences is for example openness (inclusivity). Even though nationalism in Wales is trying to build an exclusivity of Welsh identity within the integration processes, it does not do so at the social level but at the cultural level. Subsequently, it creates quite successfully its place within social structures of modern Europe, over the course of time.

The following method was chosen to describe the aforementioned phenomena; firstly, the definition of general criteria of nationalism, that are forming the identity of a given group. Secondly, the outline of a concept of 'nation', which is the neccessary consequence of nationalism and premise of national identity. Thirdly, a general description of Wales and its modern development has been chosen as a transition from the general to the particular. Finally, it was described how contemporary Welsh identity manifests through defined criteria.

The current character of Welsh nationalism was shaped by the history of about two hundred years. An important precondition for its emergence was the industrial growth in the 19th century and the associated migration of Welsh and English population in Wales. Additional factors were: social imbalance between rich English landowners and poor Welsh workers, repression of the Welsh language, diseases, hunger, and the decrease in number of indigenous peoples as a result of two world wars. These effects led firstly to an increase of radical and later to moderate nationalist tendencies.

The predominance of the moderate nationalist currents came in the early 20th century when Welsh nationalism started to focus mainly on the development of cultural distinction

and education. After some time, however, this growth was stopped by result of the referendum in 1979. In short, most of the population voted against devolution. Welsh nationalism consequently had to wait for a new impetus a little longer. The springboard for this start was the second referendum in 1997, when the majority voted YES for devolution. After ten years of development and formation of political culture, two big political parties united together. Plaid Cymru and the Labour party signed an agreement in 1997 in order to create a politically strong and united Wales. The evidence of this coalition´s success was still visible in the recent referendum in 2011, which further extended the powers of the Welsh Assembly.

Nationalism is a current socio-political theme in Wales as ensued from aforementioned facts. Its characteristic feature is the effort to define itself against the British Parliament, that is visible for example in the political involvement within the EU structures or in a repeatedly held referendum on the issue of devolution. This referendum has on two occasions resulted in the transference of powers from Westminster to Cardiff and in political strengthening of the Welsh Assembly.

The following criteria affect Welsh identity in different intensity: Celtic race, the Welsh language, the disestablishment of traditional Catholicism and Anglicanism, shared interests and a strong connection to the place. The most influential criterion is undoubtedly the language, which is the main element of identification. Other influential factors are shared interest. The first one is, for example, building exclusivity through involvement in wider European structures. Point two is the form of identification through sports and other cultural events. Less significant, but still noticeable is the relationship with place and community. In contrast, the criterion of race and religion do not play too significant a role in manifestations of the contemporary Welsh identity.

In conclusion, I would like to highlight possible directions for further exploration in the field of Welsh nationalism. Firstly, a deeper study would discover a significant relationship between language and identity which is crucial for Welsh nationalism. Secondly, it is the question of the British euroscepticism and its impact on the development of Welsh devolution.

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Summary in Czech

Záměrem této práce je snaha o přiblížení problematiky specifického velšského nacionalismu a s ním spojených projevů velšské identity v současném Walesu. Teoretický základ je inspirován sociologickými teoriemi definujícími nacionalismus jako společenský jev a následně je aplikován skrze definovaná kritéria na nacionalismus a jeho projevy ve Velšské společnosti. První část se tedy dotýká termínů národ, identita a nacionalismus. Další tři kapitoly se snaží zachytit a popsat národní identitu, která je zakotvena v historickém vývoji posledních dvou set let. Během této doby došlo k posunu ve vnímání velšnosti a ke změně projevů dané identity. Některé projevy, jako třeba náboženství, které v minulosti sehrály významnou roli v sebeurčení Velšanů ustupují do pozadí. Místo nich se objevují jiné, například afiliace k Evropské unii.