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‘Cymru am byth’ – Die (Re-)Konstruktion walisischer
Identität im Post-Devolution Wales

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Welsh History

We were a people taut for war; the hills
Were no harder, the thin grass
Clothed them more warmly than the coarse
Shirts our small bones.
We fought, and were always in retreat,
Like snow thawing upon the slopes
Of Mynydd Mawr; and yet the stranger
Never found our ultimate stand
In the thick woods, declaiming verse
To the sharp prompting of the harp.
Our kings died, or they were slain
By the old treachery at the ford.
Our bards perished, driven from the halls
Of nobles by the thorn and bramble.
We were a people bred on legends,
Warming our hands at the red past.
The great were ashamed of our loose rags
Clinging stubbornly to the proud tree
Of blood and birth, our lean bellies
And mud houses were a proof
Of our ineptitude for life.
We were a people wasting ourselves
In fruitless battles for our masters,
In lands to which we had no claim,
With men for whom we felt no hatred.
We were a people, and are so yet.
When we have finished quarrelling for crumbs
Under the table, or gnawing the bones
Of a dead culture, we will arise
And greet each other in a new dawn
Armed, but not in the old way.

R.S. Thomas, *An Acre of Land* (1952)

Er cof annwyl am

Alex Baldock

Ynghanol ein bywyd, yr ydym yn angau

(In the midst of life we are in death)

Ich danke...

...meinen Eltern, für ihre Liebe, ihr Verständnis und ihre Geduld

...meinen Großeltern, für die schönste Kindheit die man sich wünschen kann

... meiner Schwester Marlies, für all die Zeit, die sie für die Korrektur dieser Arbeit
geopfert hat

...Theresa, für all ihre Hilfe, ihre konstruktive Kritik und weil sie einfach immer da ist
wenn ich sie brauche

...Alex, der sehr dazu beigetragen hat, dass sich das kleine Häuschen in Wales wie ein
Zuhause angefühlt hat

...all den lieben Menschen in Aber, die durch ihre Hilfe einen wesentlichen Beitrag an
der Entstehung dieser Arbeit geleistet haben

... meinem Onkel, für die vielen tausend Kilometer

... allen meinen Freunden, einfach weil sie so sind wie sie sind

DANKE!!

Persönliche Erklärung

Ich erkläre hiermit, dass ich die vorliegende schriftliche Arbeit selbstständig verfasst habe und dass die verwendete Literatur bzw. die verwendeten Quellen von mir korrekt und in nachprüfbarer Weise zitiert worden sind.

Katharina Kirisits

Wien, am 20. 12. 2010

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Einleitung

Die Konstruktion von nationalen Identitäten ist nicht mit der Formierung von Nationalstaaten abgeschlossen, ganz im Gegenteil – die weltweiten Entwicklungen im Zuge der Globalisierung führten zur Herausbildung neuer Verbindungen und Identitäten. Heute haben wir es, anstatt der „einfachen“ staatlichen Kategorien, mit einer Vielzahl von neuen, zum Teil neuen-alten Kategorien zu tun, die sich aufgrund von kulturellen Praktiken, Regionalismen, und einem Wiedererscheinen von fast schon verschwundenen Sprachen – wie es etwa das Walisische darstellt – entwickeln.

Auch innerhalb der Europäischen Union hat sich anstelle einer europäischen Identität ein neuer Regionalismus durchgesetzt. Die „Region“ als administrative Einheit hat innerhalb der europäischen Staatenwelt zunehmend an Bedeutung gewonnen. Hinsichtlich der vorliegenden Arbeit ist gerade die Errichtung von Regionalparteien in Schottland, Nordirland und Wales ein Beispiel hierfür. Gerade in Großbritannien wurde seit der General Election vom 1. Mai 1997 und dem Wahlsieg der Labour Partei von der neuen Regierung ein Identitätswandel mit unvergleichlichen Bemühungen vorangetrieben.

Eines der bedeutendsten Projekte der britischen Regierung war das *Branding Britain* (oftmals auch als Re-Branding bezeichnet): Wie die aufwendige Vermarktung eines wirtschaftlichen Produkts (Brand) wird dabei das erfolgreiche Marketing nationaler Symbole angestrebt. Diese Strategie hat ihren Ursprung nicht nur in der Wirtschaft, sondern beim *Branding Britain* handelt es sich in erster Linie auch um Unternehmen, deren äußeres Erscheinungsbild Assoziationen mit ‚Cool Britannia‘¹ hervorrufen und auf diese Weise identitätsstiftend wirken sollen. Die Phrase ‚Rule, Britannia‘², welche seit dem Ende des Commonwealth stark an Identitätskraft verloren hat, sollte also durch ‚Cool Britannia‘ ersetzt werden. Britain – cool, stylish, hip. Die häufigste und stärkste Kritik am Re-Branding ist demgemäß auch die Reduzierung von Identität auf ein ökonomisches Produkt.

¹ Hierbei handelt es sich um ein von den Medien geprägtes Wortspiel mit dem Titel des patriotischen Liedes ‚Rule, Britannia!‘ Der Begriff ist eng verbunden mit den frühen Jahren von New Labour unter Tony Blair.

² Lied von Thomas Augustine Arne. Inoffizielle Nationalhymne des Vereinigten Königreichs

Das Thema der Identität und vor allem die Neudefinition einer solchen spielte seither immer wieder eine Rolle in der politischen und gesellschaftlichen Debatte innerhalb des Vereinigten Königreichs. Dabei war nicht nur das *labelling* der sogenannten ‚*Britishness*‘ von Bedeutung, sondern auch auf regionaler Ebene wurde das Thema Identität bedeutend. Neben dem Versuch eines kommerziellen Imagewandels hin zu einem modernen Britannien, war Tony Blairs Vision ‚*the biggest constitutional programme of change to democracy ever proposed*‘³. Eine der wichtigsten politischen Reformen von Blairs Regierungsprogramm war die Durchsetzung der Devolution: Die Übertragung von Teilen der Macht von der Zentralregierung in Westminster an regionale und nationale Institutionen im gesamten Vereinigte Königreich. Dies stellte nicht nur die Einheit Großbritanniens und des Konzepts Britishness in Frage, sondern rückte vielmehr die einzelnen Kulturnationen innerhalb des multinationalen Königreichs erstmals konkret in den Vordergrund. Ein Beispiel demokratischer Selbstbestimmung der einzelnen Nationen.

Die Meinungen bezüglich Devolution waren und sind zum Teil nach wie vor geteilt. Es wurde befürchtet, dass die Durchführung zu einer verstärkten Betonung der (ethno-) nationalen Gefühle führen könnte und dies den Beginn einer Aufspaltung des Vereinigten Königreichs einleiten würde. Auf der anderen Seite lautet die Argumentation, dass gerade dieser Schritt der nationalen Einheit den Rücken stärke, indem es Raum für die Artikulierung der unterschiedlichen politischen Bedürfnisse schafft.

In der Zwischenzeit haben die Welsh Assembly und das Schottische Parlament die erste Dekade ihrer Existenz erfolgreich hinter sich gebracht und erfahren, wie sich in der vorliegenden Arbeit noch zeigen wird, steigende Akzeptanz in der britischen Bevölkerung. Diese Diplomarbeit wird sich mit den gesellschaftlichen Auswirkungen der Devolution in Wales auseinandersetzen, wobei vor allem die Frage geklärt werden soll, welchen Einfluss die politischen Entwicklungen auf die walisische Identität in Post-Devolution Wales genommen haben.

Das parallele Studium der Kultur- und Sozialanthropologie, sowie der Politikwissenschaft, motivierte mich schon seit längerem diese beide Themenbereiche

³ Rede von Tony Blair, Labour Party Conference 1994; Blackpool, England

zu verbinden und so ergab sich auch die Idee, eine interdisziplinäre Arbeit für den Abschluss meines Masterstudiums vorzulegen. Infolge mehrerer Aufenthalte in Wales und dank aufschlussreicher und interessanter Konversationen mit Waliser/innen konkretisierte sich dieser Wunsch schließlich in einem Thema. Identität war oftmals der Inhalt von Gesprächen, aber vor allem auch der Inhalt von alltäglichen Situationen, wodurch sich die Bedeutung dieses Themas für die Betroffenen nur verdeutlichte.

Kulturelle Identitäten folgen keinen starren Strukturen, sondern haben einen flexiblen und situationsbedingten Charakter, welcher einem ständigen Prozess der Veränderung unterliegt. Gerade politische Systeme stehen oft in einem engen Wechselverhältnis zur kulturellen Identität. Es stellte sich mir daher die Frage inwieweit die politischen Veränderungen der letzten Jahre – insbesondere die Schaffung einer walisischen Nationalversammlung – Einfluss auf die Identität der Waliser/innen genommen haben. Dennoch soll der kulturelle Aspekt und nicht der politische im Vordergrund stehen, denn immerhin drücken Waliser/innen ihre Identität auch in kulturellen und weniger in politischen Gesichtspunkten aus. Zudem spielt die Thematik der Nationalität und Identität in der Politikwissenschaft eine vergleichsweise geringe Rolle⁴, anders als in der Kultur- und Sozialanthropologie.

Folgenden Fragen soll in der vorliegenden Arbeit nachgegangen werden:

- Wie genau definiert sich eine walisische Identität? Gibt es eine solche für die ganze walisische Nation oder sind markante Differenzierungen innerhalb dieser Identität vorhanden? In welcher Beziehung steht eine walisische Identität zur Identität des Nationalstaates?
- Des Weiteren soll untersucht werden, ob und inwieweit die *National Assembly for Wales*, sowie die politische Situation generell, über einen Anteil an der Konstruktion walisischer Identität verfügt und inwieweit sich diese Identität durch die politischen Neuerungen der letzten Dekade verändert hat.
- Wales besitzt eine eigene Sprache, welche sich von jener des Nationalstaates unterscheidet. Auch wenn die Sprache nicht von allen Waliser/innen gesprochen wird, spielt die kymrische Sprache eine zentrale Rolle bei der Identifikation mit der walisischen Nation und durch die besondere Symbolkraft wird der Sprache

⁴ Vgl.: King (2003): S. 313ff

auch von der Welsh Assembly große Aufmerksamkeit gewidmet. Es stellt sich daher auch die Frage welche Auswirkungen dies auf Nicht-Sprecher hat.

Um diese Fragen zu beantworten, wurden neben der Recherche der Primär- und Sekundärliteratur, auch empirische Daten im Zuge eines viermonatigen Forschungsaufenthalts in Wales gesammelt. Nach einigen vorhergehenden Aufenthalten in Cardiff, Swansea und anderen Orten im anglierten Südosten des Landes wurde für den Forschungsaufenthalt Aberystwyth, im sogenannten ‚*Welsh Heartland*‘, gewählt. Die Kleinstadt, mit etwa 12.000 Einwohnern, beheimatet neben einer der wichtigsten Universitäten in Wales auch die *National Library of Wales*, wodurch der Zugang zu jeglicher Publikation über Wales gewährleistet war. Diese ist in Österreich nur bedingt vorhanden und vor allem Veröffentlichungen zum Thema Devolution sind fast nicht existent. Daher war ein Forschungsaufenthalt schon allein für die Literaturrecherche unumgänglich.

Für die Sammlung empirischer Daten wurde einerseits die Methode der teilnehmenden Beobachtung angewandt, andererseits wurden im Laufe des Aufenthalts 9 narrative Interviews mit Waliser/innen unterschiedlichen Alters durchgeführt. Es handelte sich dabei um unstrukturierte Interviews auf der Basis eines Gesprächsleitfadens. Ziel dabei war es, das Thema der walisischen Identität möglichst breit abzudecken und mit dem biografischen und regionalen Hintergrund der Interviewpersonen in Beziehung zu setzen. Des Weiteren sollte herausgefunden werden, ob der politische Prozess der Devolution auf das persönliche Empfinden der Informantinnen und Informanten ihrer walisischen Identität gegenüber Einfluss genommen hat. Dieser Eindruck war bei ersten Kontakten mit Walisern entstanden und war auch die Intention für diese Arbeit. Und trotz der Vielzahl an Studien und Publikationen, die in den letzten Jahren über Wales und Devolution erschienen sind, ist dies bis jetzt ein Bereich dem wenig Beachtung geschenkt wurde.

1. Walisische Identität in der wissenschaftlichen Debatte

Die Diskussion über Identität in Wales hat zwar in den letzten Jahren zugenommen – nicht zuletzt durch die politischen Entwicklungen im Vereinigten Königreich – dennoch ist die Debatte nicht neu. Sie reicht von romantisch verklärten Vorstellungen einer historisch ununterbrochenen Identität, die sich in der kymrischen Sprache manifestiert, hin zu einer wissenschaftlichen Auseinandersetzung mit Konzepten von Identität und ‚Welshness‘. Die Charakteristiken des dahinterliegenden sozialen Prozesses sind weitreichend und so gehen unterschiedliche Analysen etwa von einer ‚erfundenen‘ (Kedourie, 1960; Gellner, 1983), einer ‚imaginierten‘ (Anderson, 1983, 1991) oder einer ‚rekonstruierten‘ (Smith, 1991) Zusammengehörigkeit aus.⁵

1.1. Historischer Abriss der wissenschaftlichen Auseinandersetzung mit Wales

Das wachsende wissenschaftliche Interesse an Wales reicht bis in die Mitte der 1970er Jahre zurück – eine notwendige Antwort auf die ‚centralist ethnocentrism‘ des Mainstreams in der britischen Soziologie. Es galt Wissenslücken zu füllen, sowie die Entmystifizierung der walisischen Gesellschaft voranzutreiben, welche durch frühere Arbeiten entstanden war.⁶

“[...] [S]ome of the early social anthropological research on Wales, as developed, for example, in the writings of Frankenberg (1957) and Emmet (1964), portrayed Welsh rural society as a ‘somewhat endangered, primitive form of social organisation which must yield to the larger, more complex forms of British society’ (G. Williams (1980): 169).⁷”

⁵ Vgl.: Housley / Moles / Smith (2009): S. 196f

⁶ Vgl.: Fevre / Thompson (1999): S. 5f.

⁷ Fevre / Thompson (1999): S.6

Bei den angesprochenen Werken handelt es sich um:
Frankenberg (1957): Village on the Border- A Sociological Study of Religion, Politics and Football.
Emmet (1964): A North Wales Village – A Social Anthropological Study.

Zwar war ein Korrektiv der früheren Darstellungen des ‘Welsh Way of Life’ ein wichtiger Punkt für ein verstärktes Interesse an der walisischen Gesellschaft Mitte der 1970er Jahre, zentraler allerdings dürften die politischen Entwicklungen gewesen sein. Plaid Cymru – *the Party of Wales* – konnte zu jener Zeit bedeutende Wahlsiege einfahren und auch die Frage der Devolution spielte zum ersten Mal eine konkrete Rolle. Nachdem die Labour Partei bei den landesweiten Wahlen 1974 den Sieg davontragen konnte, verschrieb sie sich der Idee einer Devolution und schloss sich damit dem Urteil der *Royal Commission on the Constitution* unter der Leitung von Lord Kilbrandon (daher auch ‘Kilbrandon Commission’ beziehungsweise ‘Kilbrandon Report’) an. Ziel dieser Kommission war es, die Strukturen der Verfassung des Vereinigten Königreichs und der britischen Inseln zu prüfen und etwaige Veränderungen ins Auge zu fassen. Devolution, Föderalismus und Konföderalismus wurden in Erwägung gezogen, sowie eine Teilung des Königreichs in separate souveräne Staaten. Hauptaugenmerk der Prüfung waren Schottland und Wales, deren wachsende Forderungen nach Unabhängigkeit letztlich auch ausschlaggebend für die Gründung der Kommission waren. Das Ergebnis des Gremiums war der Vorschlag der Devolution, allerdings scheiterten erste Versuche einer Umsetzung an der Zustimmung von Seiten der Bevölkerung. Die ersten Referenden in Wales und Schottland gingen letztlich mit einer Entscheidung gegen die Durchführung der Devolution aus.⁸

Abgesehen von diesem Rückschlag für die walisische Nation war in den 1970er Jahren generell ein Anstieg des walisischen Nationalbewusstseins spürbar. Die kymrische Sprache war seit den 60er Jahren ein Politikum und mit zivilem Ungehorsam (Übermalung oder Entfernung englischsprachiger Straßenschilder, Ignorierung offizieller Schreiben und Rechnungen in englischer Sprache, etc.) konnte letztlich sogar ein Erfolg verzeichnet werden. Aber nicht nur die Umsetzung der Forderungen wurde damit erwirkt, sondern auch ein breiteres öffentliches Bewusstsein, bezüglich einer spezifischen walisischen nationalen Identität, wurde geweckt sowie das wissenschaftliche Interesse an der Thematik.⁹

In den späten 1970er und frühen 1980er Jahren begann sich der Fokus der Forschung auf die Verbindung von walisischen Klassenstrukturen und dem Aufstieg des

⁸ Vgl.: Phillips, M. (1997): S. 117f
sowie: Deacon / Sandry (2007): S.5

⁹ Vgl.: http://www.bbc.co.uk/wales/history/sites/themes/society/language_civildisobedience.shtml

Nationalismus zu konzentrieren. Den Anstoß dazu gaben vor allem die Arbeiten von Michael Hechter und Tom Nairn. In seiner Theorie des ‚Internen Kolonialismus‘¹⁰ geht Hechter davon aus, dass der Aufstieg des Nationalismus in Wales eine Antwort auf die periphere wirtschaftliche Lage in Bezug auf das englische Kernland ist. Diese Theorie der internen Kolonie steht in direktem Zusammenhang zu marxistischen Theorien der Unterentwicklung, in welchen die Peripherie in einem Abhängigkeitsverhältnis zum Zentrum gehalten wird.¹¹

Michael Hechters Theorie ist umstritten. Zwar ist dieses Konzept in der Lage ungleiche Entwicklungen in unterschiedlichen Regionen und Territorien aufzuzeigen, allerdings werden Fragen bezüglich Kultur und der kulturellen Vermischung – eine Folge der kolonialen Erfahrung – nicht eingeschlossen. Ganz abgesehen von der sozialen Realität geht Hechter ohnehin von einer kulturellen Homogenität der Einheimischen aus:¹²

“[...] [P]ut simply, Hechter’s thesis centres on the cultural domination of ‘the Welsh’ by ‘the English’.”¹³

Werden allerdings die tatsächlichen sozialen Gegebenheiten des späten 19. und frühen 20. Jahrhunderts betrachtet, so kann festgestellt werden, dass liberale walisische Nonkonformisten vielfach Elitepositionen innerhalb der walisischen Gesellschaft einnahmen oder wie das Beispiel von David Lloyd George – britischer Premierminister von 1916 bis 1922 – zeigt sogar darüber hinaus.¹⁴

Tom Nairn greift ebenso wie Hechter die marxistische Theorie auf, allerdings geht er davon aus, dass Nationalismus als Versuch der peripheren Eliten gesehen werden soll, dem Einfluss der ungleichen Entwicklung entgegenzuwirken.¹⁵

David Adamson hält dem allerdings entgegen, dass Nairns Nationalismus-Konzept es als bourgeoise Ideologie verfehlt, die Klassenneutralität der nationalistischen Ideologie in Wales zu erklären:

“[...] [N]ationalismus provides an ideological cement which binds classes together in ‘historical blocs’ providing the common ground for a synthesis and

¹⁰ Vgl.: Hechter (1975): The Internal Colonialism

¹¹ Vgl.: Fevre / Thompson (1999): S.6f

¹² Vgl.: Fevre / Thompson (1999): S.7

¹³ Fevre / Thompson (1999): S.7

¹⁴ Vgl.: Fevre / Thompson (1999): S. 7

¹⁵ Vgl.: Fevre / Thompson (1999): S.8

*transcendence of particularistic class interests. The class neutrality of nationalist ideology gives it a 'free floating' quality which permits its appropriation by any class, class fraction or combination of classes. [...] Nationalism has to be recognized as a class-independent and neutral ideology which is given its class significance by a process of articulation with class practices and ideologies. Nationalism can equally be an element of bourgeois or of proletarian ideology.*¹⁶”

Adamson zeigt dies anhand der Entstehung des walisischen Nationalismus im 19. Jahrhundert und seines Wiederauflebens im 20. Jahrhundert auf.

Im 19. Jahrhundert wird die Klassenneutralität deutlich in der politischen Praxis zwischen Landpächtern und der walisischen, städtischen Bourgeoisie. Diese zwei Klassen waren durch den gemeinsamen Angriff auf die Klasse der Landbesitzer im landwirtschaftlichen Sektor verbunden und bereiteten die Basis einer bourgeoisen Hegemonie im industriellen Sektor. Im Wales des 20. Jahrhunderts wurde die Klassenneutralität durch die Mobilisierung der ländlichen Mittelschicht sowie eines Teils der industriellen Arbeiterschicht demonstriert. Das Resultat ist eine Verbindung und Synthese der jeweiligen partikularen Klasseninteressen unter der moralischen und intellektuellen Führung einer urbanen ‚New Working Class‘.¹⁷

Ein anderer Kritikpunkt, welcher von Ralph Fevre und Andrew Thompson aufgezeigt wird, und sowohl Hechter als auch Nairn betrifft, liegt in der Tatsache, dass ‚Kultur‘ und ‚Ethnizität‘ abgetrennt von den strukturellen Beziehungen, in denen sie sich befinden, betrachtet werden. Daher bieten sie wenig Potenzial die Gründe für die Entstehung unterschiedlicher und konkurrierender Konstruktionen von nationaler walisischer Identität zu ergründen. Aber die wesentlich stärkere Problematik wird darin gesehen, dass abgesehen von der Vernachlässigung der Vielfalt nationaler Identität, offensichtlich angenommen wird, dass es die Aufgabe der Theoretiker ist, zu versuchen *richtige* von *falschen* Identitäten zu unterscheiden.¹⁸

Im britischen Kontext kann demgemäß die Untersuchung von Identitäten als ein Problem betrachtet werden: Die *falsche* (britische) Identität wurde lange Zeit Menschen, welche diese nicht eigen hatten, aufgezwungen und gerade deswegen bestehen jetzt

¹⁶ Adamson (1991): S. 177

¹⁷ Siehe: Adamson (1991)

¹⁸ Vgl.: Fevre / Thompson (1999): S. 8

zwingende Gründe warum diese falsche Identität abgelegt wird und zwar zugunsten der nationalen Identitäten des ‚Celtic Fringe‘.¹⁹

Gemäß dem marxistischen Einfluss der Theorien bei Hechter und Nairn darf natürlich auch auf die Rolle des Kapitals, auch in Bezug auf Identität, nicht vergessen werden:

“In Nairn’s terms identity is problematic because the idea of a British identity has operated only as a smokescreen to obscure the self-interested operation of capital which is now, at the end of the empire, more easily unmasked to be the ideological device it has always been, even when none but the very wise could see it.”²⁰

Bei all der Kritik, die den Arbeiten von Hechter und Nairn entgegengebracht werden kann, darf laut Adamson aber auch ihr primärer Wert nicht vergessen werden, ganz abgesehen von dem ideologischen Wert auf den walisischen Nationalismus selbst. Vor allem Hechters Analyse war von großer Bedeutung für die Förderung einer selbstbewussten Soziologie in Bezug auf Wales, welche es anstrebt, walisische Themen in einen größeren Rahmen zu stellen und mit soziologischen und politischen Perspektiven zu verbinden. Von besonderer Bedeutung dabei ist die Arbeit der *British Sociological Association, Sociology of Wales Study Group*²¹, welche ihre Arbeit vor allem auf die Bereiche Wirtschaft und Klassenrestrukturierung fokussierte.²²

Bei den Arbeiten von Hechter und Nairn handelt es sich im Wesentlichen um theoretische Studien. Empirische Daten, wie etwa die Erhebung der öffentlichen Meinung der britischen und dabei insbesondere der Bevölkerung des ‚Celtic Fringe‘, waren weniger zentral. Aber selbst bei empirischen Arbeiten und Diskursen über die öffentliche Meinung in Bezug auf nationale Identität, durchgeführt und erörtert im spezifischen walisischen Kontext, spielte die Grundidee einer *richtigen* und *falschen*

¹⁹ Vgl.: Fevre / Thompson (1999): S. 8f

²⁰ Fevre / Thompson (1999): S. 9

²¹ 3 große Bände erschienen aus der Arbeit der BSA Study Group:

- Williams, Glyn (Ed.) (1978): Social and Cultural Change in Contemporary Wales.
- Rees, G. & T. (Eds.) (1980): Poverty and Social Inequality in Wales.
- Williams, Glyn (Ed.) (1983): Crisis of Economy and Ideology – Essays on Welsh Society, 1840-1980.

²² Vgl.: Adamson (1991): S. 2

Identität eine wesentliche Rolle, insbesondere die Notwendigkeit des Schutzes der ‚richtigen‘ Identität vor der ‚falschen‘.²³

Hierbei wäre die Arbeit des amerikanischen Soziologen Bud Khleif²⁴ zu erwähnen, welcher zum Zeitpunkt der ersten Devolution-Debatte im Jahre 1979 eine detaillierte Untersuchung durchführte, allerdings mit der bereits oben erwähnten Intention:

“[...] [F]or Khleif the whole point of the investigation is to allow him to describe the ‘right’ national identity for Wales and to estimate the chances of this identity being more commonly adopted in the future.”²⁵

Im Gegensatz zu Nairn und Hechter unterscheidet Khleif zwischen den unterschiedlichen walisischen Identitäten, die er im Zuge seiner Forschung antrifft. Allerdings nimmt er auch hier eine Einteilung in *richtig* und *falsch* vor. Die *richtige* Identität ist für ihn jene, welche die Sprache ins Zentrum der nationalen Frage stellt und so spricht er von einer ‚pro-Welsh identity‘ (in erster Instanz wird dabei die Sprachkompetenz angesprochen, die Bezeichnung hat aber auch Implikationen zu einer walisischen Nation), und auf der anderen Seite von einer ‚anti-Welsh identity‘:

“In looking for an overall principle to interpret diverse phenomena, in seeing the whole of which a given phenomenon may be only a part, one has to go beyond persons to the objective or larger situation in which they are enmeshed. When one meets anti-Welsh Welshmen, especially those of an upper-middle socioeconomic standing, one perhaps cannot but think of what Macaulay had said about India: We will create a class of people as intermediaries between us and the natives we govern – ‘a class of persons Indian in blood ... but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and intellect’ (Worsley 1973:52). [...] When one meets pro-Welsh Welshman, especially those of middle socioeconomic status, one cannot but think of rising elites in the Third World, of cultural nationalism in both the Third World proper and its equivalent regions in the First World. In terms of the sociological

²³ Vgl.: Fevre / Thompson (1999): S. 9

²⁴ Siehe: Khleif, B.B (1978): Ethnic awakening in the first world: the case of Wales.
sowie: Khleif, B.B (1980): Language, Ethnicity and Education in Wales.

²⁵ Fevre / Thompson (1999): S. 9

perspective discussed earlier [Anm.: Hechter's], both the anti-Welsh Welsh and the pro-Welsh Welsh are two sides of the same 'Internal Colonialism' coin.²⁶”

Die oben besprochenen theoretischen Ansätze, angeführt von jenen von Hechter und Nairn und später übernommen, etwa von Khleif, sind heute revidiert durch neuere Werke über Nationalismus in der sozialwissenschaftlichen Theorie. Im Besonderen durch die Einflüsse der Werke von Benedict Anderson und Ernest Gellner. Der Unterscheidung in *richtig* und *falsch* wird heute in der Regel mit Ablehnung begegnet. Schließlich liegt es nicht in der Aufgabe der Wissenschaft zu werten, es gilt soziale Realitäten und ihre dahinterliegenden Strukturen aufzudecken, in einen größeren Kontext zu stellen und zu interpretieren. Dies alles in einer wertfreien Art und Weise. Ein Eingreifen in die zu untersuchenden Strukturen, diese zu werten oder gar zu verändern, liegt außerhalb des Aufgabenbereichs der Wissenschaft und ist nicht akzeptabel. Zudem hilft eine solche Trennung in eine erwünschte und unerwünschte Grundhaltung auch nicht die ganze Komplexität der Realität zu erfassen, in diesem Fall eine *Welsh-British-English* Hybridität. Spätestens seit Mitte der 1980er Jahre ist die sozialwissenschaftliche Theorie in und über Wales weniger dominiert von der Notwendigkeit über die Problematik von Hechter und Nairn zu debattieren und schaffte es den Fokus auf andere Aspekte der Forschung zu legen.

Einige Autoren gingen dazu über, den aufsteigenden Erfolg der nationalistischen Bewegungen in Wales innerhalb der größeren Rahmenbedingung des britischen Staates und seiner wandelnden Dynamik zu erklären. Charlotte A. Davies etwa argumentiert, dass die Entwicklung einer bürokratischen Infrastruktur zentral für den wachsenden öffentlichen Zuspruch der nationalistischen Bewegung in Wales während des 20. Jahrhunderts war. Beginnend mit der Einführung von *Welsh Departments* als Teil der Sozialreformen, sowie die Gründung des *Welsh Office* [seit 1999: *Wales Office*²⁷] im Jahre 1964, wurde eine administrative Realität einer separaten walisischen Identität geschaffen und somit eine lebendige Unterstützung der nationalen Bewegung geboten.²⁸

²⁶ Khleif (1980): S. 54

²⁷ Siehe: <http://www.walesoffice.gov.uk/>

²⁸ Vgl.: Davies (1983): S. 211f

Neuere Arbeiten wandten sich schließlich den sozialen Strukturen in Wales zu und in dem Sinne wiederum auch der sozialen Identität an sich. Jene davon, welche sich dem Thema der ungleichen Entwicklung widmeten, betonten die Effekte einer räumlichen Variation der ökonomischen Entwicklung und dem damit zusammenhängenden Auftreten unterschiedlicher Formen der Arbeitsteilung. Diese späteren Studien weisen demzufolge auch ein komplexeres Bild der walisischen Gesellschaft auf, als dies noch bei Hechter oder Nairn möglich gewesen wäre.²⁹

Aber auch Fragen betreffend Diversität sowie Aspekte wie Gender und Ethnizität haben die Art, wie walisische Identität betrachtet wird transformiert. Durch Charlotte Williams Autobiografisches Werk *„Sugar and Slate“*³⁰ wurde bewusst: *„there are many ways of being Welsh“*. Williams, Tochter einer walisischen Mutter und eines guyanischen Vaters, setzte mit ihrer Geschichte einen wichtigen Beitrag bei der Auseinandersetzung mit der multikulturellen Identität in Wales dar. Auch diese Fragen bezüglich Diversität und Ethnizität wurden durch Devolution neu belebt.³¹ Besonderen Stellenwert hat dabei auch die Auseinandersetzung mit der Geschichte von Cardiff Bay. Besser bekannt unter dem Namen *Tiger Bay* war dies Cardiffs Melting Pot, in welchem sich ab der Mitte des 19. Jahrhunderts Menschen aus rund 45 Nationen ansiedelten und so zu einem wesentlichen Teil der Stadt und der walisischen Gesellschaft wurden. Butetown, ein Teil von Cardiff Bay, stellt nach wie vor eine aktive, multikulturelle Community dar.³²

Im Gegensatz zu früheren theoretischen Konzepten, in welchen Konformität und Uniformität der Vorzug gegeben wurde, stehen heute Ansätze im Vordergrund, welche Differenz und Diversität in den Mittelpunkt stellen. Das zentrale Charakteristikum der sozialwissenschaftlichen Arbeiten über Wales ist der Wunsch nach einem Verständnis der Vielfältigkeit.

*“More particularly, they were starting to think it was necessary to consider the **diversity** of Welsh experiences, the **differing** ways ‘imaging’ Wales.”³³*

Für die Forschung stellt sich heute vor allem die Frage wie die Menschen dieses Gefühl von nationaler Identität wahrnehmen. Inzwischen hat Benedict Andersons Ansatz einer

²⁹ Vgl.: Fevre & Thompson (1999): S. 12

³⁰ http://www.walesliterature.org/books.cfm?lan=e&switch=book_info&book_id=61

³¹ Siehe: Housley / Moles / Smith (2009): S. 170f

³² Siehe: [butetown.org](http://www.butetown.org)

sowie: <http://www.bhac.org/index.html>

³³ Fevre / Thompson (1999): S. 12

Interpretation der Nation als ‚*imagined community*‘ eine zentrale Stelle in der Auseinandersetzung mit nationaler Identität eingenommen. Bei aktuellen Arbeiten bezüglich walischer Identität wird immer wieder auf Andersons Ansatz zurückgegriffen. Aber auch Homi Bhabha und Michael Billig haben einen wesentlichen Einfluss auf die Ergründung kollektiver Identitätsbildung genommen und sind für die Auseinandersetzung mit Wales von Bedeutung. Für die vorliegende Arbeit sind vor allem die theoretischen Zugänge von Benedict Anderson und Michael Billig von Bedeutung. Daher soll nun kurz auf diese zwei Autoren und ihre Konzepte näher eingegangen werden.

1.2. Aktuelle Strömungen

1.2.1. Benedict Anderson: Imagined Communities

Benedict Andersons versuchte in seinem Werk ‚*Imagined Communities*‘ der ‚*Anomalie*‘ des Nationalismus³⁴ eine neue Interpretation zu geben. Ausgangspunkt für ihn war dabei die Theorie, dass Nationalität und Nationalismus kulturelle Artefakte einer besonderen Art sind. Um diese Konzepte besser verstehen zu können ist es notwendig zu überlegen wie sie historisch entstanden sind, wie sie sich im Lauf der Zeit verändert haben und vor allem warum sie heute solch profunde emotionale Legitimation erfahren.

“In an anthropological spirit, then, I propose the following definition of the nation: it is an imagined political community – and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.

*It is **imagined** because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the mind of each lives the image of their communion.*³⁵”

Benedict Anderson ist der Meinung, dass alle Gemeinschaften imaginiert sind und daher auch durch den Stil, wie diese Imagination erfolgt, unterschieden werden müssen.

³⁴ Anderson (1991): S. 4

³⁵ Anderson (1991): S. 5f

Die Imagination der Nation ist dabei limitiert, weil selbst die größten Nationen Grenzen besitzen, hinter denen andere Nationen liegen. Keine Nation stellt sich selbst deckungsgleich mit der ganzen Menschheit vor.

Die Nation ist des Weiteren imaginiert als Souverän. Das Konzept des Nationalismus entstand in einer Zeit in welcher durch Aufklärung und Revolutionen die Legitimierung dynastischer Herrschaft durch die göttliche Bestimmung in Frage gestellt und zerstört wurde. Der Traum der neu entstandenen Nationen war die Freiheit und das Sinnbild dieser Freiheit ist der souveräne Staat.

Die Nation ist auch imaginiert als eine Gemeinschaft. Ganz gleich der realen Ungleichheiten wird die Nation immer als eine tiefe, horizontale Kameradschaft gesehen. Für Anderson liegt genau in dieser Bruderschaft die Erklärung dessen, warum Menschen für eine limitierte Imaginationen willentlich in den Tod zu gehen.

1.2.2. Michael Billig: Banal Nationalism

Michael Billig geht in seiner Annahme einen Schritt weiter. Er versucht den Terminus ‚Nationalismus‘ zu strecken. und ihn damit auch wegzuführen von der Konnotation mit extremistischen Tendenzen und der Lokalisierung des ‚Problems‘ Nationalismus in der Peripherie.

“In established nations, it seems ‚natural‘ to suppose that nationalism is an over-heated reaction, which typically is the property of others. The assumption enables ‘us’ to forget ‘our’ nationalism. If our nationalism is to be remembered, then we must step beyond what seems to be common sense.”³⁶

In jenen Nationalstaaten, in denen sich das Thema nicht durch separatistische und nationalistische Bewegungen erkennbar macht, wird Nationalismus nicht als wichtige Angelegenheit betrachtet. Um das Konzept des Nationalismus dennoch auf gerade jene Bereiche der alltäglichen Reproduktion etablierter Nationalstaaten durch ideologische Hilfsmittel zu erweitern, prägte Billig die Phrase ‚banaler Nationalismus‘.

³⁶ Billig (1995): S. 37

Bezüglich der Beurteilung der politischen Konsequenzen nationaler Identität meint er:

“[N]ational identity is more than an inner psychological state, or an individual self-definition: it is a form of life which is daily lived in the world of nation states.”³⁷

Aus diesem Grund gibt es für Billig auch keine distinktive Unterscheidung zwischen nationaler Identität und banalem Nationalismus und daher schließt er auch, dass die Studie nationaler Identität die alltäglichen Anschauungen und die Art des Gesprächs über Nationalität einschließen sollten.

Billigs Ansatz transformiert unser Verständnis von nationaler Identität und seine Beziehung zu Nationalismus, insbesondere erweitert er die traditionellen Parameter der Debatte. Sein Zugang fokussiert die Aufmerksamkeit weg von ‚nationalistischen‘ Gruppen um auch die täglichen, subtilen Manifestationen von Nationalismus zu erfassen.

Dieser Ansatz ist bei der Analyse von Wales von besonderer Bedeutung, da sich hier zwei Identitäten überlagern: die walisische Identität und der britische. Nationalismus in Wales kann daher auch nicht darauf reduziert werden, dass ein walisischer Nationalismus gegen eine nicht-nationalistische Alternative konkurrieren muss. Vielmehr gibt es zwei Nationalismen. Der britische Nationalismus gibt die staatlichen Praktiken und jene, welche in Bezug zur Gesellschaft stehen wieder und ist demnach ‚banal‘. Demgegenüber wird der walisische Nationalismus durch andere Faktoren und Institutionen untermauert. Billigs Beschreibung des banalen Nationalismus als ein Charakteristikum des täglichen Lebens innerhalb des Nationalstaates ist daher ein gutes Werkzeug um den britischen Nationalismus und die britische nationale Identität in Wales zu erklären.³⁸

³⁷ Billig (1995): S. 69

³⁸ Davies, R. (2006): S. 110

2. Wales: Region oder Nation?

Schon bereits zu Beginn der Auseinandersetzung mit dem Thema stellte sich die Frage nach der korrekten Begrifflichkeit hinter der Forschung. Handelt es sich in Bezug auf Wales um eine Region oder eine Nation innerhalb Großbritanniens? In diesem Sinne scheint eine Auseinandersetzung mit den Begriffen unumgänglich, bevor eine Hinwendung zum Thema ‚walisische Identität‘ möglich ist.

2.1. Region

In dem Band ‚Regionen und Regionalismus in Westeuropa‘ wird eine Region folgendermaßen definiert:

“Unter Regionen verstehen wir historisch gewachsene territoriale Einheiten unterhalb der Ebene des Nationalstaates, deren Hauptmerkmal das Zugehörigkeits- und Zusammengehörigkeitsbewusstsein ihrer Bewohner ist. Kristallisationspunkte eines solchen Bewusstseins können eine gemeinsame Sprache, eine gemeinsame Volkszugehörigkeit, eine gemeinsame Kultur und insbesondere eine gemeinsame Geschichte sein, die eine Region von ihren Nachbarn abhebt und innerhalb eines Staatsganzen deutlich heraushebt. Regionen weisen also feste Grenzen auf, die im Bewusstsein ihrer Bewohner existieren und Reflex früherer politischer Grenzen sind. Regionen sind keine Manifestationen von Stammeszugehörigkeit oder gar blutsmäßiger Bindungen und damit nichts Statisches, sondern etwas historisch Gewordenes und damit durchaus Veränderbares. Unterhalb eines großräumigeren regionalen Bewusstseins kann es durchaus kleinräumigere, ja lokale Zugehörigkeiten geben wie eben aber auch darunterliegend ein nationales Zugehörigkeitsbewusstsein, das nur im Extremfall nicht existiert.”³⁹

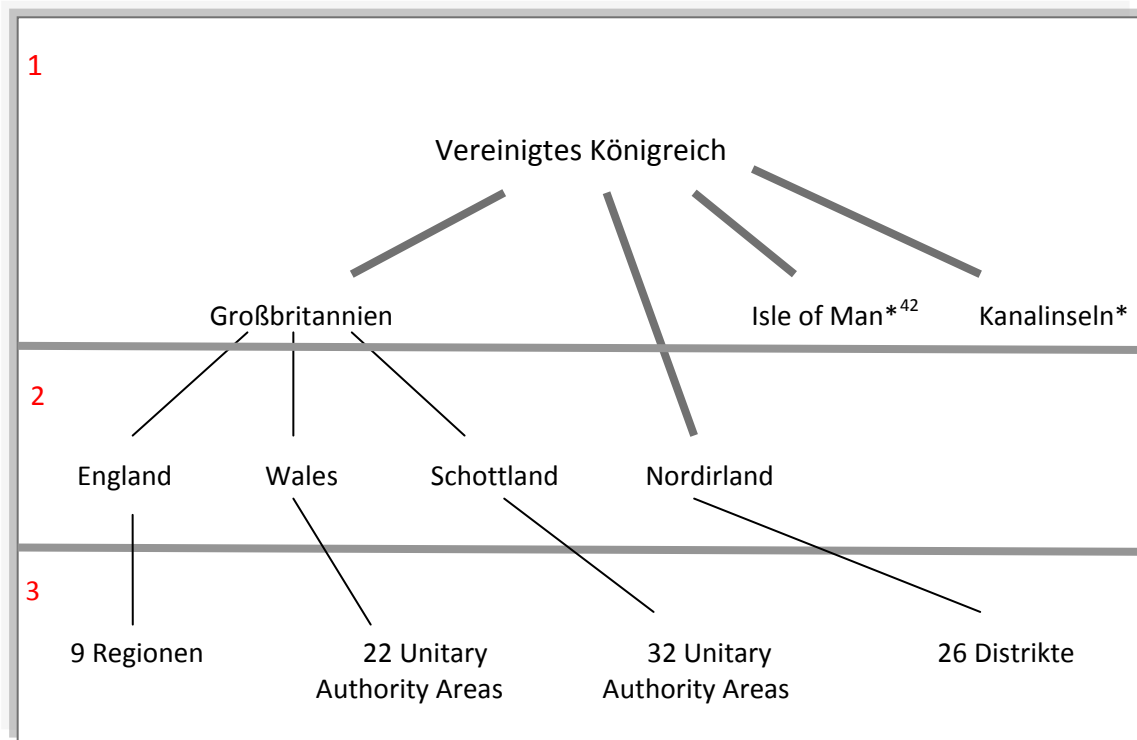
Diese Punkte treffen in Bezug auf Wales, wie auch im Laufe der Arbeit noch ausführlich festgestellt werden kann, eindeutig zu. Dennoch ist es nicht damit getan

³⁹ Wehling (1987): S. 7

Wales lediglich als eine Region zu verstehen. In der Literatur wird Wales, so wie Schottland und Nordirland, immer wieder auch als Nation angeführt. Grund dafür ist nicht zuletzt auch die Verwendung der Begrifflichkeiten innerhalb des Vereinigten Königreichs:

“Der Begriff des Regionalismus ist im britischen Fall für den Verwaltungsregionalismus verbraucht: so wird Regionalismus im Vereinigten Königreich verstanden, und so wird dieser Terminus in der Alltagssprache benutzt.”⁴⁰

Graphik Nr. 1: Territoriale Gliederung des Vereinigten Königreichs⁴¹



1. Ebene: Staat (Staatsangehörigkeit: britisch)
2. Ebene: Nationen (Identität: englisch/walisisch/schottisch/irisch bzw. nordirisch (Ulster) und britisch)
3. Ebene: Verwaltungseinheiten/Regionen⁴³

Für die komparative Analyse mit anderen europäischen Regionalismen wurde der Begriff Regionalismus von außen an den britischen Fall herangetragen und auf

⁴⁰ Sturm (1987): S. 24

⁴¹ Sturm (1987): S. 23

⁴² *Die Isle of Man und die Kanalinseln sind als autonomer Kronbesitz (engl. crown dependency) direkt der britischen Krone unterstellt, jedoch weder Teil des Vereinigten Königreichs noch eine Kronkolonie.

⁴³ Die 3. Ebene der ursprünglichen Graphik wurde entsprechend der letzten Reformen adaptiert.

Schottland, Wales und Nordirland angewendet. Dennoch ist es auch für diese Überlegungen bedeutend, im Falle des Vereinigten Königreichs zwischen einem regionen- und nationenbezogenen ‚Regionalismus‘ zu unterscheiden. Der Bezugspunkt des nationenbezogenen Regionalismus (kurz: Nationalismus) sind die nationalen Einheiten England, Schottland, Wales und Nordirland, während für den regionenbezogenen Regionalismus die unterschiedlichen Entwicklungen innerhalb der einzelnen Kulturnationen analysiert werden. Beispiel dafür wäre etwa im Falle Englands, genauer gesagt im Falle Cornwalls, die politischen Aktionen zur Wiederbelebung der cornischen Sprache. Gruppen, wie etwa die cornischen Miniparteien sehen sich selbst auch als Nationalisten.⁴⁴

2.2. Nation

Nationalismus im klassischen Sinne besteht auf die Tatsache, dass die Nation und der Staat von Natur aus kongruent sind. So formulierte zum Beispiel Max Weber:

“[...] [A] nation is a community of sentiment which would adequately manifest itself in a state of its own; hence a nation is a community which normally tends to produce a state of its own.”⁴⁵

Die Verbindung zwischen Nation und Staat wird trotz der unterschiedlichen ideologischen Standpunkte in der theoretischen Debatte über Nationalismus wenig diskutiert. Bei der Betrachtung des walisischen „Nationalismus“ fällt auf, dass die Bildung nationaler Institutionen, welche Kultur und Identität im Vordergrund haben und die Stärkung der kulturellen Traditionen begünstigen, energischer von Nationalisten gefordert wurde, als die Schaffung eines Nationalstaates:

“Indeed, on occasions, it has been argued by Welsh ‘nationalists’ that the creation of a strong Welsh cultural, religious or linguistic framework is more

⁴⁴ Vgl.: Sturm (1987): S. 24

⁴⁵ Weber (1991): S. 176

*important to the defence of the Welsh nation than a legal or political nation-state.*⁴⁶”

Für die Mehrzahl der Waliser war Wales als Nation mit der Schaffung greifbarer Symbole, etwa der *University of Wales*, dem *National Museum Wales* und der *National Library of Wales* im 19. Jahrhundert offiziell anerkannt. Die Ziele der Nationalisten waren damit erreicht.⁴⁷

Die Auseinandersetzung mit der Nation ist zu einem der umstrittensten Themen unserer Zeit geworden. Den facettenreichen Begriffsdefinitionen unterliegen unterschiedliche kulturelle, politische, psychologische, territoriale, ethnische und soziologische Prinzipien. Die Schlüsselstelle der Frage liegt sicherlich nahe an der Verbindung, welche sich zwischen ‚Nation‘ und ‚Staat‘ etabliert hat, sowie der allgemeinen Praxis die Nation als Quelle der politischen Legitimität zu gebrauchen.

*“To be or not to be recognized as a nation entails different rights for the community which claims to be one, since being a nation usually implies the attachment to a particular territory, a shared culture and history and the assertion of the right to self-determination. To define a specific community as a nation involves the more or less explicit acceptance of the legitimacy of the state which claims to represent it, or if the nation does not possess a state of its own, it then implicitly acknowledges the nation’s right to self-government involving some degree of political autonomy which may or may not lead to a claim for independence.”*⁴⁸

Es wird bereits deutlich, dass die Nation nicht isoliert betrachtet werden kann. Montserrat Guibernau argumentiert, dass eine klare Unterscheidung zwischen den drei Konzepten Nation, Staat und Nationalismus gezogen werden muss.

Laut Webers Definition handelt es sich bei einem ‚Staat‘ um eine menschliche Gemeinschaft, welche (erfolgreich) das Gewaltmonopol innerhalb eines gegebenen

⁴⁶ Fowler (2001): S. 1

⁴⁷ Vgl.: Glaser (1999): S. 183

⁴⁸ Guibernau (1999): S. 13

Territoriums beansprucht. Es muss allerdings angemerkt werden, dass diese Definition nicht auf alle Staaten angewendet werden kann.⁴⁹

Als eine ‚Nation‘ sieht Guibernau eine menschliche Gruppe mit dem Bewusstsein eine Gemeinschaft zu bilden, mit einer gemeinsamen Kultur, verknüpft mit einem klar abgegrenzten Territorium, einer geteilten Geschichte, sowie einem gemeinsamen Projekt für die Zukunft.⁵⁰

Unter ‚Nationalismus‘ wird das Bewusstsein einer Nation definiert, Teil einer solchen zu sein. Die Mitglieder identifizieren sich mit einem Set von Symbolen, Denk- und Lebensweisen und besitzen darüber hinaus den Willen über ihr gemeinsames politisches Schicksal zu entscheiden.⁵¹

Ein solcher Wille ist in Wales definitiv vorhanden, andernfalls wären die politischen Veränderungen der letzten Jahre nicht möglich gewesen. Die Schaffung und Durchführung politischer Autonomie war nur durch die mehrheitliche Zustimmung beim Referendum von 1997 zustande gekommen. Dennoch gibt es Stimmen, welche diesen politischen Prozess nicht direkt mit Nationalismus betiteln würden:

“The idea of Wales and Welsh has been transformed during the 1980s and 1990s, a process with significant implications for the British constitutional settlement. Such transformations depend upon the ability of social and political actors to define, redefine, produce and reproduce identity in the course of interaction. Nationalism is not an adequate descriptor for this process.”⁵²

Die Notwendigkeit politischer Partizipation und Selbstbestimmung innerhalb des britischen Systems wurde von der Bevölkerung lange angezweifelt. Selbst 1997 war kaum mehr als die Hälfte von einem solchen Schritt überzeugt. Es ist daher auch nicht verwunderlich, dass die wenigen Fälle von nationalem Extremismus nur wenige Sympathien in der Bevölkerung fanden. Das Auftreten extremistischer nationalistischer Gruppen, etwa der *Meibion Glyndŵr* (auch bekannt als *Sons of Glyndŵr*), stand vor allem für einen gewalttätigen Widerstand gegen den drohenden Sprach- und Kulturverlust, welcher sich in Brandanschlägen gegenüber englischen Ferienhäusern in

⁴⁹ Vgl.: Weber (1991): S. 78

⁵⁰ Vgl.: Guibernau (1999): S.13f

⁵¹ Vgl.: Guibernau (1999): S. 14

⁵² Snicker (1998): S.140

Wales in den 1970er und 80er Jahren entlud und war weniger ein Auftreten für die Loslösung vom Königreich. Andere Gruppen, etwa die *Free Wales Army*, welche eine Revolution mit dem Ziel einer walisischen Unabhängigkeit beabsichtigten, galten in der Bevölkerung als Fantasten und erreichten nie große Mitgliedszahlen. So dürfte es sich bei den Anhängern der *Free Wales Army* nie um mehr als 20 Personen gehandelt haben.⁵³

Die Eigendefinition eines Staates als unitaristischer, föderalistischer oder multinationaler Staat hat signifikante Konsequenzen für die Menschen die innerhalb seiner Grenzen leben. Der britische Staat definiert sich selbst als multinationale politische Institution. Solch eine Position zieht eine automatische Unterscheidung zwischen Nation und Staat mit sich, was die gemeinhin akzeptierte Koinzidenz der beiden herausfordert.

“A multinational state explicitly acknowledges its internal diversity and, in doing so, it influences the diverse definitions of nationalism that may emerge within its territory. First, in these cases, the nationalism instilled by the state will necessarily involve the acceptance of the diverse nations included within its borders. This type of nationalism tends to focus on shared constitutional rights and principles as elements able to hold together an otherwise diverse citizenry. Second, the nationalism emerging from some of the national minorities included within the state is strongly influenced by the state’s recognition of their status as nations. The minorities’ nationalism is bound to focus upon demands for greater power and resources which will allow them to further the degree of self-government they enjoy – assuming that they are already entitled to some political autonomy.”⁵⁴

Der multinationale Charakter des britischen Staates hat auch Auswirkungen auf die Identität seiner Bürger, welche sich sowohl dem britischen Staat, als auch ihrer jeweiligen Nation zuordnen. Die führt zum Vorhandensein multipler Identitäten, einerseits einer britischen Identität und andererseits einer

⁵³ Vgl.: http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/wales/4354723.stm

⁵⁴ Guibernau (1999): S.15

englischen/schottischen/walisischen oder nord-irischen Identität. Was dies im Besonderen für Wales bedeutet, soll im folgenden Kapitel näher erläutert werden.

3. **Britishness versus Welshness**

“This is a remarkable development and sometimes I pinch myself to prove that it is not a dream. When I was a child during the Second World War it would be fair to say that, however the identity of Wales was measured, the relevant characteristics would have shown a steady decline throughout the twentieth century: the proportion of the population born in Wales, the proportion speaking Welsh, the proportion who were members of a Welsh church and probably – though there are a few measurements of this – the proportion regarding themselves as Welsh rather than British. If my memory serves me right, in the public celebrations at the end of the war there were far more Union Jacks than Red Dragons.”⁵⁵

Nicht nur Professor Phil Williams, Plaid Cymru AM (Assembly Member) während der ersten Legislaturperiode der National Assembly for Wales (1999-2003), sieht im Wehen der britischen Flagge während des Zweiten Weltkriegs ein Zeichen der höheren Bedeutung der britischen Identität gegenüber der walisischen. Vielfach wird gerade die gemeinsame Erfahrung des Zweiten Weltkriegs als Höhepunkt des geteilten Gefühls der Britishness gesehen. Das bedeutet allerdings nicht, dass nicht auch gleichzeitig eine Empfindung von Welshness existierte. Gerade in sehr ländlichen Gebieten sprachen damals immerhin noch 40.000 Waliser/innen kein Englisch und vielerorts waren auch noch keine Radios vorhanden, um die BBC – welche als Kommunikator einer vereinten britischen Nation eine zentrale Rolle einnahm – zu empfangen.⁵⁶

Nationale Identität wird oftmals als ein emotionaler ‚Klebstoff‘ verstanden, welcher einerseits dafür verantwortlich ist, dass Menschen ein Gefühl der Zugehörigkeit zu einer Nation besitzen, aber auch ein Maß an Pflichtgefühl gegenüber dieser aufbauen. Die Identität hilft zu versichern, dass Menschen den Institutionen, welche ‚ihre‘ Nation symbolisieren und/oder organisieren positiv gegenüber stehen. Dort wo die territorialen Grenzen jener, welche das Gefühl haben zur selben ‚Nation‘ zu gehören, mit jenen

⁵⁵ Williams, P. (2003): S. 1

⁵⁶ Vgl.: http://www.bbc.co.uk/wales/history/sites/themes/periods/ww2_welsh_identity.shtml

Grenzen des ‚Staates‘ übereinstimmen, dessen Jurisdiktion diese Menschen unterstehen, dort kann der Staat als ein Objekt solch einer emotionalen Bindung angenommen werden. In der Konsequenz wird der Staat legitimiert durch seine Bürger/innen.

Britannien ist allerdings kein Nationalstaat, das Vereinigte Königreich inkludiert neben England noch die historischen Nationen Schottland und Wales, sowie einen Teil Irlands. Nichtsdestotrotz hat das Vereinigte Königreich eine gemeinsame nationale Identität ausgebildet, welche die Bürger/innen der vier Kulturnationen durch das geteilte Gefühl einer Einheit verbindet. Dies wiederum versichert den Institutionen der Regierung ihre Legitimation.

Gemeinsam mit der Debatte um Devolution tauchte auch die Frage auf, wie ein konstitutioneller Wandel sich auf dieses geteilte Gefühl nationaler Identität auswirken würde und vor allem ob es zum Aufbrechen des gesamten Königreichs kommen könnte. Eine Prognose welche Gegner/innen des Devolutionsprozesses durchaus aufstellten. Demgegenüber zeigt sich heute, dass Devolution vielmehr das Produkt einer Abnahme des Gefühls von ‚Britishness‘ darstellte, als dass es einen Rückgang beeinflussen würde.⁵⁷

Bei der folgenden Tabelle wird die Präferenz von Befragten aufgezeigt, wenn diese aus einer Liste von etwa einem Dutzend verschiedener Identitäten jene auswählen müssen, welche sie am besten beschreibt. Es wird die Prozentzahl jener angeführt, welche ‚Britisch‘ als Präferenz angaben, sowie die Prozentzahl jener, welche ‚Walisisch‘ gewählt haben. Nur eine kleine Minderheit wählte andere Optionen und wird an dieser Stelle nicht berücksichtigt.⁵⁸

Tabelle Nr. 1: Trend in Forced Choice National Identity, Wales 1979-2003⁵⁹

Wales	1979	1997	1999	2001	2003
Walisisch	59%	63%	57%	57%	60%
Britisch	34%	26%	31%	31%	27%

Quelle: Election and Referendum Studies, Wales Life and Times Surveys 2001, 2003

⁵⁷ Devolution and Constitutional Change: Briefing Paper Nr. 35: S.1f

⁵⁸ Devolution and Constitutional Change: Briefing Paper Nr. 35: S. 2

⁵⁹ Devolution and Constitutional Change: Briefing Paper Nr. 35: S. 3;
sowie: Devolution and Constitutional Change: Final Report: Kapitel Devolution, Public Attitudes and National Identity

Die in der Tabelle gezeigten Daten basieren auf der problematischen Annahme, dass nationale Identität exklusiv ist und sich Individuen zwischen einer der beiden Identitäten entscheiden. Untersuchungen der letzten Jahre ergaben aber vielmehr, dass gewissermaßen duale Identitäten die Regel darstellen. In Schottland und Wales gaben bei einer Untersuchung im Jahr 2003 mindestens drei von fünf Befragten an, dass sie sich selbst als eine Mischung aus Britisch und Schottisch beziehungsweise Walisisch verstehen.⁶⁰ Auch bei den durchgeführten narrativen Interviews wurde immer wieder diese Dualität der Identität angesprochen. Somit zeigen die Daten nur auf, welche der beiden Identitäten bei lediglich einer Wahlmöglichkeit die stärkere Präferenz aufweist, allerdings nicht ob und wie stark auch die andere Identität gefühlt wird.

Um diesbezüglich exaktere Daten zu erhalten, wurde im Jahre 1988 von Luis Moreno, einem spanischen Soziologen, eine Fragestellung entwickelt, ursprünglich um duale nationale Identität in Schottland und Katalonien zu messen. Die sich aus der Befragung ergebende Skala ist besonders hilfreich, da sie es erlaubt die Walisische/Schottische/Englische Identität mit der britischen Identität in Beziehung zu setzen. Die genaue Formulierung der Befragung zur Erstellung der Skala nach Moreno lautet folgendermaßen:⁶¹

‘Which, if any, of the following best describes how you see yourself?’

- *Scottish/Welsh/English not British*
- *More Scottish/Welsh/English than British*
- *Equally Scottish/Welsh/English and British*
- *More British than Scottish/Welsh/English*
- *British not Scottish/Welsh/English*

⁶⁰ Devolution and Constitutional Change: Briefing Paper Nr. 35: S. 6

⁶¹ Andersen (2001): S.6

Tabelle Nr. 2: 'Moreno Skala' Nationale Identität 1997-2003

	1997	1999	2001	2003
<i>England</i>				
English not British	7	17	17	17
More English than British	17	15	13	19
Equally English and British	45	34	42	31
More British than English	14	11	9	13
British not English	9	14	11	10
<i>Scotland</i>				
Scottish not British	23	32	36	31
More Scottish than British	38	35	30	34
Equally Scottish and British	27	22	24	22
More British than Scottish	4	3	3	4
British not Scottish	4	4	3	4
<i>Wales</i>				
Welsh not British	17	17	24	21
More Welsh than British	26	19	23	17
Equally Welsh and British	34	37	28	29
More British than Welsh	10	8	11	8
British not Welsh	12	14	11	9

Quelle: British Social Attitudes Survey, Scottish Social Attitudes Survey, Wales Life and Times Survey, ESRC surveys.

Die Tabelle verdeutlicht, dass jene Britinnen und Briten, welche in den zwei Teilen Großbritanniens leben, in denen Devolution umgesetzt wurde, weniger dazu geneigt sind, sich als ‚British‘ zu bezeichnen als jene in England. Dennoch kann diese Ermangelung an Britishness in Schottland und Wales nicht mit der Realisierung von Devolution in Verbindung gebracht werden. Vielmehr ist Devolution ein Resultat und die Resonanz auf den bereits davor bestehenden Rückgang einer britischen Identität. Dies zeigt sich vor allem darin, dass sich seit der Durchführung der Devolution-Referenden nur eine marginale Veränderung der Zahlen ergab. Ein markanter Umschwung ist allerdings bei den Befragungen bezüglich einer ‚Forced Choice National Identity‘ in England zu verzeichnen, welche nur eine Antwortmöglichkeit – also entweder ‚British‘ oder ‚Englisch‘ – erlaubt. Dies lässt darauf schließen, dass sich nach den Referenden in Schottland und Wales das Bewusstsein einer Unterscheidung

zwischen ‚Britisch‘ und ‚Englisch‘ gestärkt hat und dies in einer Reduktion der manifestierten Identifikation mit Britishness resultierte.⁶²

In Wales ist eine Veränderung zwar nicht besonders markant, dennoch lässt sich ein leichter Anstieg zu einer gesteigerten Identifizierung mit Wales interpretieren. Bei der Analyse der narrativen Interviews ist dies ein wesentlicher Punkt. Fast in jedem Interview war von einem gesteigerten Selbstbewusstsein die Rede, welches in Verbindung mit Devolution steht. Diese Veränderung im Selbstbewusstsein der Waliser/innen wird deutlich im folgenden Interviewauszug:

“When I was in school I was just dismissive with Welsh and I had no time for Wales. In school I used to say ‘Wales is a third world country’ and that was our mantra. We thought of Wales as small, backward and effectively poor with not much prospects, with a few job prospects and most people would go to England to get a job. [...] But there is no doubt at all that Devolution has been a huge change to people’s attitudes. Ahm (.) it goes to the heart of the greatest problem in Wales which is self-confidence. Welsh people have no self-confidence (.) as I have been just explaining. The way we talked about Wales when we went to school is (.) an illustration of how (.) kind of strange self-loading, which is still very common in Wales, especially with Non-welsh speakers. And there is a huge inferiority complex opposite to England. And there is no doubt that the yes vote in the referendum had a tremendous transformative effect on that because it was a decision made in Wales by Welsh people and it was accepted in London, which is probably the first time that happened ever. (lacht)⁶³”

An dieser Stelle muss ein anderer Aspekt des Labels ‘Britishness’ erwähnt werden, nämlich jener welche die Theorie des Postkolonialismus vertritt. Wales mag zwar vordergründig nicht als koloniales oder post-koloniales Land erkannt werden, dennoch kann in Hinblick auf die walisische Geschichte von einer internen Kolonie gesprochen werden, inklusive kultureller Assimilation und politischer Kooptation und dem anhaltenden, selbstdefinierten Gefühl einer kulturellen Differenz, sowie dem Gefühl einer eigenen nationalen Identität.

⁶² Devolution and Constitutional Change: Briefing Paper Nr. 35: S. 3ff

⁶³ Interview Nr. 3: Zeile 105-130

In Bezug auf Postkolonialismus wird 'Britishness' als eine irreführende Bezeichnung betrachtet, welche die dahinterliegende Assimilierung verschleiert. So legt Robert Young dar, dass der Begriff ‚*Britain*‘ viel eher dazu gedacht ist, die anglozentrische Hegemonie zu verschleiern, als diese aufzudecken oder zu untergraben.

“‘*British*’ is the name imposed by the English on the non-English.”⁶⁴

J.R. Jones unterstreicht 1966 in *Prydeindod* (Britishness) die Wichtigkeit dessen, Britishness als eine Ideologie zu betrachten. Diese Ideologie hat folgenden Effekt:

*“It tempts the Welsh to believe they can participate on equal terms within the framework of Britishness, and yet they are also aware of the unreality of this hope.”*⁶⁵

Dieses Bewusstsein ist es laut Jones auch, welches jene Spannungen und Verbitterung in Wales hervorruft, die im oben zitierten Interviewausschnitt ausgedrückt wurde.⁶⁶

Bei der Betrachtung von Wales als Label darf aber auch nicht vergessen werden, dass ‚British‘ nicht nur ‚aufgezwungen‘ sein muss, wie es etwa Robert Young formulierte, sondern, dass es explizit gewählt sein kann, etwa von jenen, die sich wünschen als Teil der Insel anerkannt zu werden, ohne sich dafür als ‚Englisch‘ deklarieren zu müssen.⁶⁷

Denn natürlich war auch ein walisisches Selbstbewusstseins vorhanden, welches durch den britischen Kontext des *Empires* geprägt war. Und so war es auch ein Waliser – Dr. John Dee – der den Begriff ‚*British Empire*‘ ins Leben rief.⁶⁸

Wie die gelebte Praxis zeigt, ist es durchaus möglich sich in beiden Identitäten, sowohl der walisischen, als auch der britischen wiederzufinden. Waliser sehen sich sehr wohl auch als Teil der britischen Insel, drücken aber gleichzeitig auch ihren Stolz aus, sich von ‚den Engländern‘ abzugrenzen. Mag der Begriff ‚British‘ in einem kolonialen Kontext entstanden sein, in einer Zeit, an der sich die einzelnen britischen Kulturnationen immer mehr ihrer selbst bewusst werden und dies durch Devolution auch politisch ausdrücken können, ist diese koloniale ideologische Konnotation nur noch im historischen Kontext zu verstehen.

⁶⁴ Young (1995): S. 3

⁶⁵ Phillips, Dewi Z.; zitiert in: Bohata (2004): S. 6

⁶⁶ Vgl.: Bohata (2004): S. 6

⁶⁷ Vgl.: Bohata (2004): S. 6

⁶⁸ Vgl.: Davies, R. (2006): S. 114

4. Where is Wales?

Der Anspruch von Wales auf eine eigene, separate Identität beruht auf der Existenz einer territorialen Einheit, einer geteilten Geschichte, sowie der walisischen Sprache mit einer lang existierenden linguistischen und kulturellen Tradition.

Obwohl das Gefühl von Identität in Wales genauso stark ausgeprägt ist wie in Schottland, ist diese in Wales wesentlich diffuser. Tatsächlich gibt es viele verschiedene Arten von ‚*Welshness*‘, zumeist symbolisiert durch die Sprache oder die Herkunftsregion. In der Vergangenheit war es oftmals schwer, für viele sogar unmöglich, sich Wales als eine institutionelle Einheit vorzustellen. Kommunikationen verlaufen vor allem von West nach Ost, entlang der nördlichen beziehungsweise südlichen Küste und es herrschen nur wenige Verbindungen zwischen Nord und Süd. Viele Menschen aus dem Süden waren nie im Norden und umgekehrt. Waliser/innen identifizieren sich primär mit ihrer Lokalität: dem Tal, dem Dorf oder dem *bro* (‚*one’s native region*‘), wie es die walisische Sprache wesentlich klarer ausdrückt.⁶⁹ Dieses Wort besitzt keine adäquate Übersetzung, vor allem auch durch den Umstand, dass das Wort Emotionen hervorruft, ähnlich etwa dem Wort ‚Heimat‘. Dies macht die Bedeutung der Lokalität deutlich.

Durch die lange Abwesenheit eigener walisischer Institutionen – das *Welsh Office*⁷⁰ wurde etwa erst 1964 ins Leben gerufen – war die Lokalität in der Vergangenheit mehr von Bedeutung und gemeinsam mit dem seltenen Kontakt zwischen Nord und Süd entwickelte sich so etwas wie eine psychische Barriere innerhalb des Landes. Somit wird häufig von der Nord-Süd Trennung von Wales gesprochen. Allerdings finden sich in der Literatur auch andere Beispiele einer Differenzierung der walisischen Identität. Manche Modelle, wie etwa das ‚Three-Wales Modell‘ nach Balsom, wurden in der Zwischenzeit auch schon widerlegt, allerdings spielen diese Modelle sowohl in der Fachliteratur als auch in der Meinung der Waliser/innen selber nach wie vor eine tragende Rolle und müssen daher erwähnt werden. Bei den geführten Interviews

⁶⁹ Vgl.: Osmond (2002): S. 72

⁷⁰ Siehe: <http://www.walesoffice.gov.uk/>

während der Recherche an dieser Arbeit wurde immer wieder auf die Unterschiede innerhalb Wales hingewiesen und es zeigte sich wie sehr diese wahrgenommen Differenzen in der öffentlichen Meinung eine Rolle spielen. Im Folgenden sollen daher die verschiedenen Konzepte kurz dargestellt werden.

4.1. Trennung nach Sprachkompetenz

Laut Rebecca Jones und Elin Royles kann in Bezug auf Wales nicht von einer homogenen ethnopolitischen Gruppe gesprochen werden, sondern vielmehr existieren zwei distinkte ethnopolitische Gruppen nebeneinander: jene, welche eine walisische Identität haben und die kymrische Sprache beherrschen, und jene, welche eine walisische Identität besitzen aber nicht die Sprachkompetenz über die walisische Sprache haben.⁷¹

“According to the 1991 census, 18.7 per cent of the population of Wales could speak Welsh. However, a variety of survey data since the late 1960s testifies to the existence of a widespread sense of Welsh national identity in Wales, with anything between two-thirds and three-quarters of respondents describing themselves as Welsh at any given time.”⁷²

4.1. Nord-Süd Trennung

Wie bereits oben angesprochen wurde, wird häufig von einer Zweiteilung von Wales gesprochen, wobei von einer Differenz zwischen dem Norden und Süden ausgegangen wird. Diese vorherrschende Distanz lässt sich vor allem auf den Aspekt der geographischen Hindernisse zurückführen. So entstand laut Phil Williams aufgrund des seltenen Kontakts zwischen Nord und Süd über die Jahrhunderte eine psychologisch wahrgenommene Differenz, welche in der Realität gar nicht wirklich gegeben ist:

⁷¹ Vgl.: Jones / Royles (2004): S.215

⁷² Jones / Royles (2004): S.215

“The similarities are so marked that it is a remarkable achievement of ignorance and indoctrination that so many people imagine profound differences between north and south.”⁷³

Für Phil Williams herrschen nur zwei bedeutende kulturelle und soziale Differenzen zwischen dem Norden und dem Süden vor:

Zum einen gibt es den Unterschied in der walisischen Sprache, welcher über reine Dialektunterschiede hinaus reicht und nicht nur die gesprochene Sprache, sondern zum Teil auch die Schreibweise betrifft: Durch die Abwesenheit einer zentralen Autorität, welche den Standard der Sprache festgelegt hätte, divergierte diese in den einzelnen Regionen und bildete unterschiedliche Formen aus. Zwar gibt es eine Bibelübersetzung ins Kymrische aus dem Jahr 1588, allerdings bestand schon immer ein Unterschied zwischen dem geschriebenen Walisisch der Bibel und den gesprochenen Dialekten.⁷⁴

Es muss allerdings revidiert werden, denn die Unterscheidung zwischen Nordwalisisch und Südwalisisch wird zumeist überbewertet, *„usually out of sheer ignorance or hostility”*⁷⁵. Zudem hat sich in den letzten 40 Jahren auch viel verändert. Einerseits wurde versucht mit *Cymraeg Byw* (gelebtes Walisisch) eine Standardform des Walisischen zu entwickeln. Andererseits konnten durch den Zugang zu bilingualen Dokumenten, der Erschaffung des walisischsprachigen Fernsehsenders *Sianel 4 Cymru* (S4C) und vor allem durch die erhöhte Mobilität junger Menschen heute wesentliche Sprachbarrieren abgebaut und vor allem die Barrieren zwischen Nord und Süd, überwunden werden.⁷⁶ Dennoch lässt sich bei informellen Gesprächen mit Jugendlichen und jungen Erwachsenen feststellen, wie sehr die Überzeugung einer Differenz zwischen dem Norden und Süden noch immer in der Meinung der Menschen verwurzelt ist.

Die zweite Differenz, laut Williams, liegt in der Bedeutung der kommerziellen Zentren. Wales besitzt erst seit 1955 eine Hauptstadt: Cardiff. Cardiff, mit seinem Hafen, welcher eine besondere Rolle in der Verschiffung der südwalisischen Kohle darstellte, war das Zentrum des Südens. Im Norden nahm diese Rolle Liverpool ein. Der Unterschied lag allerdings darin, dass Liverpool bereits in England liegt. Es muss aber

⁷³ Williams, P. (2003): S. 6

⁷⁴ Vgl.: Williams, P. (2003): S. 6

⁷⁵ Griffiths / Glyn Jones (2006): S. X

⁷⁶ Vgl.: Williams, P. (2003): S. 7

auch hier revidiert werden, denn diese Bedeutung ist heute nicht mehr wirklich gegeben. Beide Städte verloren zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhunderts an Einfluss, allerdings konnte Cardiff als neue Hauptstadt von Wales wieder an Format gewinnen. Der Bedeutungsverlust von Liverpool für Nordwales zeigt sich symbolisch in der Umwandlung der *Liverpool Daily Post* in *Daily Post*, heute herausgegeben in Llandudno Junction in Nordwales.⁷⁷

Entgegen aller wirtschaftlichen und sozialen Beweise wurde Wales bis in die späten 1990er Jahre auch von politischen Entscheidungsträgern – nicht zuletzt vom *Welsh Office* – als ein zweigeteiltes Land gesehen. Zwar war die Trennung nicht genau definiert, allerdings wurde die Linie etwa in Höhe von Aberystwyth gezogen. Erst mit dem Erhalt des *Ziel 1* Förderstatus der Europäischen Union im Jahre 1998 wurde diese Einteilung zugunsten der korrekteren Ost-West Teilung, welche für den Erhalt der Förderung essentiell war, aufgegeben. Diese neue Unterteilung war nicht nur wirtschaftlich, sondern auch in kultureller Hinsicht von Bedeutung, da der östliche Teil des Landes, durch die Angrenzungen an England, immer anders geprägt wurde als der westliche Teil.⁷⁸

“In the case of the east/west division of Wales, it was not just a matter of reflecting more accurately relative wealth and poverty; it was a question of more accurately describing the underlying cultural and historic experience of the two sides of the country than the more simplistic division between northern and southern Wales.”⁷⁹

4.2. Three-Wales Modell

Ein anderes Konzept der Differenzierung der walisischen Kultur geht von einer wesentlich komplexeren Dreiteilung aus. Dieses Modell wurde bereits in den 1980er Jahren entwickelt und obwohl längst kritisiert, stellt es nach wie vor das mit Abstand einflussreichste Modell in der Debatte um walisische Identität dar.

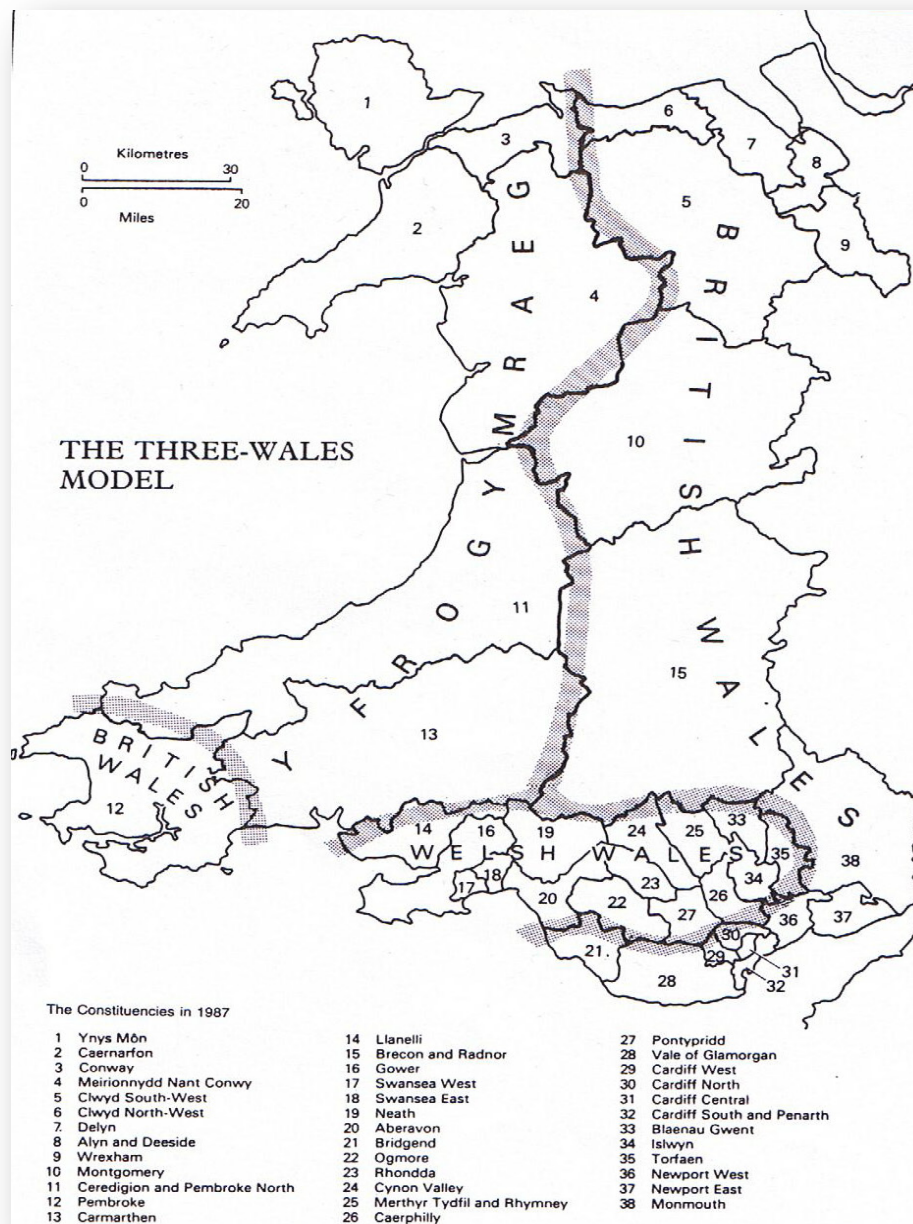
⁷⁷ Vgl.: Williams, P. (2003): S. 7f

⁷⁸ Vgl.: Osmond (2003): S. 7

⁷⁹ Osmond (2003): S.10

Dieses ‚Three-Wales model‘, konzipiert vom Politologen Dennis Balsom geht, wie der Name schon sagt, von drei sozio-linguistischen Gruppen aus⁸⁰:

- a) Y Fro Gymraeg
- b) Welsh Wales
- c) British Wales



Graphik Nr. 2: Three-Wales Modell nach Balsom

Quelle: Osmond, John (Ed.): *The National Question Again*. Gomer Press, 1985.

⁸⁰ Vgl.: Balsom (1985): S. 6

Durch die gegenseitige historische Durchdringung von Wales und England, sowie durch die wirtschaftlichen Krisen im 20. Jahrhundert, vor allem durch den Niedergang der Landwirtschaft sowie der Kohle- und Stahlindustrie, kam es zur Herausbildung dieser drei distinktiven Gebiete innerhalb von Wales.⁸¹

Die Scheidelinien wurden vor allem nach dem Referendum des Jahres 1979 zum ersten Mal signifikant erkennbar und gerieten in den Fokus der wissenschaftlichen Debatte. Das Ergebnis der Abstimmung zeigte deutlich eine distinktive Geographie für die Unterstützung beziehungsweise Opposition der Devolution. Diese aufgedeckte innerwalisische Spaltung stellte auch die Frage nach einer homogenen walisischen Identität in Frage.⁸²

Auf der Basis einer Stichprobenanalyse, gesammelt im Rahmen der Welsh Election Study (WES) im Sommer 1979, entwickelte Dennis Balsom 1985 das ‚*Three-Wales model*‘, welches in den 1980er und 1990er Jahre wesentlich die politischen und kulturellen Analysen bezüglich Wales prägten.

Die Einteilung erfolgte anhand der Antworten auf zwei gestellte Fragen, betreffend die Identität sowie die Sprachkompetenz der Untersuchungseinheit:

- 1) *Do you normally consider yourself to be Welsh, British, English or something else?*
- 2) *Do you speak Welsh?*⁸³

Im Folgenden sollen die drei Gebiete im Einzelnen näher dargestellt werden.

4.2.1. Y Fro Gymraeg: ‘*The Welsh-speaking, Welsh identifying group*’⁸⁴

‚*Y Fro Gymraeg*‘ (‚das walisischsprachige Gebiet‘) wird auch als das ‚*Welsh Heartland*‘ bezeichnet und schließt vor allem die nordwestlichen und zentralwestlichen Gebiete von Wales ein. In diesen Gebieten ist die kymrische Sprache noch stark existent und eine große Anzahl der Bevölkerung identifiziert sich selbst als Walisisch. Im Gebiet

⁸¹ Vgl.: Osmond (1988): S. 129

⁸² Vgl.: Osmond (2002): S. 80

⁸³ Vgl.: Osmond (2003): S. 3

⁸⁴ Balsom (1985): S. 6

der Y Fro Gymraeg findet *Plaid Cymru – the Party of Wales* – die größte Unterstützung in der Bevölkerung.⁸⁵

In der Bezeichnung ‚*Y Fro Gymraeg*‘ findet sich auch der Begriff *Bro* (‘*one’s native region*’) wieder, welcher bereits zu Beginn dieses Kapitels erwähnt wurde und welcher eine emotionale Beziehung zu der Heimatregion ausdrückt. *Fro* ist eine für die walisische Sprache übliche Mutation des Wortes *Bro*.

4.2.2. Welsh Wales: ‘*The Welsh-identifying, non-Welsh speaking group*’⁸⁶

Als ‚*Welsh Wales*‘ bezeichnet Balsom die industriell geprägten Täler im Süden des Landes, das südwalisische Kohlerevier. Durch die starke Migration in die Region, eine Folge des gesteigerten Arbeitskräftebedarfs in den Kohleminen, ist diese Gegend vorwiegend englischsprachig, aber zumeist leidenschaftlich ‚*Welsh*‘. Dementsprechend fühlen sich die Einwohner/innen auch eher als Waliser/innen, denn als Britinnen und Briten. Als eine Arbeiterhochburg stellen die Valleys auch das Zentrum der Labour Party in Wales dar.⁸⁷

John Osmond betont die Besonderheit der *Valleys*:

*“The integrity of Wales is most threatened – if I can put it that way – by the Valleys. Here is a culture, that is so distinctive, and in some senses so distanced from the rest of the country, that it comes close to constituting a separate society on its own account.”*⁸⁸

Die Kultur und die Tradition der Valleys ist zutiefst geprägt von der Kohle. Sie war der Grund für das Entstehen dieser Communities und das Nichtvorhandensein der Kohle heute ist ein bestimmender Faktor für die Gegenwart und Zukunft dieser Gemeinden. Es war auch die Kohle, in dieser von Migration geprägten Umgebung, welche für die Verbindung zwischen den Einwohner/innen und ihrem Walisischsein prägend war:

⁸⁵ Vgl.: Osmond (2002): S. 80

⁸⁶ Balsom (1985): S. 6

⁸⁷ Vgl.: Williams, P. (2003): S. 9

⁸⁸ Osmond (2003): S.11

“It is noteworthy, therefore, that at the most acute and painful moment of the decline of coal – during the 1984-85 miners’ strike – the Valleys began to connect with Wales as a Nation.⁸⁹”

4.2.3. British Wales: ‘The British-identifying, non-Welsh-speaking group’⁹⁰

British Wales ist der Restbereich des Landes: der nordöstliche und südöstliche Küstenbereich, Pembrokeshire („Little England beyond Wales“), sowie die Region von Mid-Wales, welche an England grenzt.⁹¹

Obwohl eine gewisse Trennung zwischen den drei soziolinguistischen Gruppen feststellbar ist, so ist diese Scheidelinie zwischen Y Fro Gymraeg und Welsh Wales nicht so groß, als jene zwischen diesen ersten beiden und British Wales:

“In many ways ethnic identity, that is, a sense of being Welsh, is a stronger discriminator than language. All those considering themselves to be Welsh have more in common with each other than all those not speaking Welsh. In terms of class composition for example, both Welsh-identifying groups had a similar make up of middle and working classes. Both too, showed a similar ratio between the sexes with women being the predominant carriers of Welsh identity. Perhaps the most important pre-determinant of Welsh identity, birthplace, is also of similar distribution in both Welsh-identifying groups. Only in terms of age profiles of the two groups is there a significant difference [...]. On all these demographic and social measures Welsh identifiers are more akin to each other than to their British identifying neighbours.⁹²”

Dieser Splitt zeigte sich auch beim Ergebnis des Referendums im Jahre 1997: während sich die Befürworter/innen der Devolution vor allem aus Y Fro Gymraeg und Welsh Wales zusammensetzten, stimmte die Mehrheit der Bewohner von British Wales

⁸⁹ Osmond (2003): S. 11

⁹⁰ Balsom (1985): S. 6

⁹¹ Vgl.: Osmond (1988): S. 129

⁹² Balsom (1985): S. 6f

dagegen. Im Gegensatz dazu, kann beim Grad der Unterstützung zwischen Y Fro Gymraeg und Welsh Wales keine Unterscheidung getroffen werden.⁹³

Die Trennung von Wales darf allerdings auch nicht überbewertet werden. Vor allem in den letzten Jahren werden die Gegensätze immer geringer. John Osmond beschrieb bereits 1988, dass durch den stetigen Rückgang der Identität Y Fro Gymraeg und Welsh Wales gefordert sind, neue Allianzen einzugehen. Beide haben das Gefühl des Verlusts der ‚Heimat‘ gemeinsam – die einen durch den Rückgang der Sprache und der Kultur, die anderen durch die fortschreitende De-Industrialisierung und dem damit einhergehenden Verlust der vertrauten Strukturen. J. R. Jones beschrieb dieses Gefühl 1970 folgendermaßen:

“It is said of one experience that it is one of the most agonizing possible ... that of having to leave the soil of your own country forever, of turning your back on your heritage, being torn away from the roots of your familiar land. I have not suffered that experience. But I know of an experience equally agonizing and more irreversible (for you could return to your home), and that is the experience of knowing, not that you are leaving your country, but that your country is leaving you, is ceasing to exist under your very feet, being sucked away from you, as it were by a consuming, swallowing wind, into the hands and the possession of another country and civilization.”⁹⁴

John Osmond nennt Verbindungen zwischen den ländlichen Gemeinden in Y Fro Gymraeg und den kohlefördernden Tälern, die vor allem während des Streiks der Mienenarbeiter 1984-85 entstanden sind und aufzeigen, dass eine tiefere Einheit gegeben ist als weitläufig angenommen wird.⁹⁵ Zudem kam es in der jüngeren Vergangenheit auch zu deutlichen Verschiebungen: Durch die Zunahme der *Welsh Medium Education* steigt vor allem in den *Valleys* die Zahl jener, welche die walisische Sprache beherrschen. Demgegenüber sinkt diese Zahl in Y Fro Gymraeg, in der walisischen Hochburg, beständig. Auf der Suche nach besseren Jobmöglichkeiten verlassen viele junge Waliser/innen diese Gegend, während gleichzeitig, aufgrund günstiger Immobilienpreise, Engländer/innen in die Gegend ziehen, um hier ihren

⁹³ Vgl.: Williams, P. (2003): S.10

⁹⁴ J.R. Jones: Gwaedd yng Nghymru (A Cry from Wales), Cyhoeddiadau Modern, 1970; zitiert in: Osmond (1988): S. 140

⁹⁵ Vgl.: Osmond (2003): S. 12

Lebensabend zu verbringen. Dies bedeutet nicht nur einen demographischen Wandel in Bezug auf das Alter, sondern auch in Bezug auf den Erhalt der Sprache. Diese Verschiebungen wurden bei der letzten Volkszählung deutlich:

“The summary results of the recent Census confirm this trend. The eight counties that in 1991 recorded less than 10 per cent of the population aged three-plus able to speak Welsh showed an average increase of 4.5 per cent. On the other hand the eight counties with more than 20 per cent Welsh-speaking showed an average decrease of 4.0 per cent.”⁹⁶

Die Situation der Sprache wird weiter unten (siehe Kapitel 7 ‚Die walisische Sprache‘) näher ausgeführt. Der kurze Exkurs über die sprachlichen Veränderungen sollte allerdings helfen aufzuzeigen, dass das von Balsom aufgezeigte Modell in Auflösung begriffen ist. Einer der Gründe dafür liegt sicherlich auch an der Entstehung einer politischen Nation im Zuge der Devolution.

Das ‚Three-Wales model‘ nach Balsom ist bis heute das einflussreichste Modell in der Debatte über walisische Diversität, auch wenn die Daten aus einer Zeit stammen, welche sich, laut Balsom selbst, auszeichnet durch ‚a relative low point in Welsh self-assertion and self confidence‘⁹⁷.

Trotz der nach wie vor einflussreichen Stellung des Modells in der aktuellen Literatur gibt es auch Kritikpunkte:

“In addition to the long time-lag between Balsom’s original research and the present, there are substantial methodological weaknesses in Balsom’s analysis. In particular, information on people’s preferred, self-ascribed ethnic labels is a crude and undifferentiated measure of social identity. [...] The summation of data on Welsh-language competence/use and ethnic self-labelling does not allow for potentially complex relationships between variables of this sort. Again, Balsom’s geographical zones [Anm.: siehe Graphik Nr. 2: S.36] are informally sketched, with boundaries necessarily cutting through some culturally complex and shifting communities. Above all, the model prioritizes geographical zoning, without adequate consideration of whether other social factors may explain different

⁹⁶ Williams, P. (2003): S. 11

⁹⁷ Balsom (1985): S.3

intensities of Welsh identification better or more richly. Even if a geographical model can predict Welsh identity, there is no reason to assume that it will be based on contiguous zones of the sort shown [in the figure]. The 'three-Wales model' has continued to be cited because it lends a measure of empirical support for cultural categories which are, we think, still quite widely imagined in Wales and which reach into many areas of social life, present and past.⁹⁸”

4.3. Multi-Modell

Ausgehend von der oben erwähnten Kritik am ‚Three-Wales Modell‘ machten sich Nikolas Coupland, Hywel Bishop und Peter Garrett an die empirische Überprüfung des Modells und konnten es anhand ihrer quantitativen Studie letztlich auch widerlegen. Bei dieser Studie wurden zwischen September 2002 und Jänner 2004 777 Erwachsene in Wales in Form eines Fragebogens befragt und diese Daten wurden anschließend anhand quantitativer Datenanalyse ausgewertet.⁹⁹

Bei der Untersuchung wurde ausgegangen, dass alternative Typen von ‚Welshness‘ existieren und dass ethnische und nationale Identitäten unterschiedlich von Menschen empfunden werden, welche – sofern dies jemals möglich sein kann – unumstritten *Welsh* sind. Dabei wurde auf die Theorien von Benedict Anderson (1983), sowie Hobsbawm und Ranger (1983) zurückgegriffen:

“Wales is therefore taken to be plural by being imagined differently at different times and different contexts.”¹⁰⁰”

Zentrale Idee der ‚Multi-Modell‘ Debatte lag in der Frage wie walisische Identität konzeptioniert wird. Der Fragebogen, welcher der Untersuchung zugrunde lag, war entworfen um Informationen über die Auffassungen bezüglich *Welshness* und Gefühle gegenüber Wales in fünf Abschnitten zu erfassen. Es wurde gefragt was die Informanten (1) über Wales wissen (faktische Fragen über Wales); (2) welche Gefühle gegenüber Wales bestehen (Fragen über Gefühle bezüglich walisischer Identität und über Zugehörigkeit); (3) was gegenüber der walisischen Sprache gefühlt wird; (4)

⁹⁸ Coupland / Bishop / Garrett (2006): S. 6f

⁹⁹ Vgl.: Coupland / Bishop / Garrett (2006): S. 7

¹⁰⁰ Coupland / Bishop / Garrett (2006): S. 3

welche walisischen Elemente ausgeübt werden (Fragen über das Engagement des Befragten bei Veranstaltungen und Praktiken des kulturellen Lebens welche mit Wales in Verbindung stehen); sowie (5) Informationen über den Befragten selbst. Somit entfernt sich dieses Modell vom geografischen/regionalen Bezug anderer Modelle. Um die alten geografischen Modelle zu hinterfragen, wurde bei der Auswertung dennoch auf die Lokalität der Befragten Bezug genommen.¹⁰¹

Das Ergebnis zeigt ganz deutlich, dass die alten Modelle nicht mehr der sozialen Realität entsprechen. Die Untersuchung konnte lediglich eine geringe Varianz zwischen den regionalen ‚Zonen‘ in Bezug auf ein Gefühl von *Welshness* nachweisen. Verdeutlicht wird dies anhand der folgenden Tabelle, in welcher der Durchschnittswert von vier subjektiven Variablen mit Balsom’s ‚Three-Wales‘ Kategorie gekreuzt wurde. Geantwortet wurde auf die Fragen anhand einer Skala von 1 bis 7, wobei 7 die höchste Zustimmung bedeutete. Es ist zu beachten, dass in keiner ‚Region‘ der Wert 4, also der Median der Skala, unterschritten wurde. Dies weist auf eine überdurchschnittlich positive subjektive Orientierung gegenüber Wales und Welshness in ganz Wales hin.¹⁰²

Tabelle Nr. 3: Durchschnittswert von vier subjektiven Variablen, gekreuzt mit Balsom’s ‚Three-Wales‘ Kategorien¹⁰³

	‘Y Fro Gymraeg’ (n=235)	‘Welsh Wales’ (n=135)	‘British Wales’ (n=407)	All Wales (n=777)
<i>How Welsh do you feel</i>	5.52	5.43	4.91	5.19
<i>Feel Wales is real home</i>	6.23	6.13	5.81	5.99
<i>Feel proud to be Welsh</i>	5.94	6.02	5.66	5.81
<i>Important to let other people know you’re Welsh</i>	5.54	5.32	4.73	5.07

¹⁰¹ Vgl.: Coupland / Bishop / Garrett (2006): S. 7

¹⁰² Vgl.: Coupland / Bishop / Garrett (2006): S. 13f

¹⁰³ Coupland / Bishop / Garrett (2006): S. 13

Mit Beispielen wie diesen versuchen die Autoren der Studie aufzuzeigen, dass die rein beziehungsweise hauptsächlich geographisch orientierten Modelle über *Welshness* und walisische Identität, nicht haltbar sind. Um diese Theorie weiter zu vertiefen und um festzustellen, welche Faktoren letztlich für die Informantinnen und Informanten von Bedeutung sind, um sich mit Wales zu identifizieren, wurde eine multiple Regressionsanalyse durchgeführt. Dabei zeigte sich, dass Faktoren wie Unterstützung der kymrischen Sprache, Geburtsland sowie das Alter von erheblicher Signifikanz sind. Im Gegensatz dazu konnte keine direkte Verbindung von Geschlecht und sozialer Klasse zu *Welshness* festgestellt werden. Damit wird einem weiteren Punkt der Theorie von Balsom widersprochen, welcher 1985 davon ausging, dass Frauen *the predominant carriers of Welsh identity*¹⁰⁴ wären. Überraschender allerdings ist, dass höhere/niedere Stufen von *Welshness* nicht anhand der Sprachkompetenz des Informanten/der Informantin vorausgesagt werden können.¹⁰⁵

Das Resultat der Studie von Nikolas Coupland, Hywel Bishop und Peter Garrett zeigt also auf, dass die geographische Herkunft nichts über den Gehalt der gefühlten Zugehörigkeit zu Wales aussagt. Das Kartographieren von *Welshness* führt zu einer Überbewertung der Rolle der Region, vor allem bei der Produktion subjektiver Gefühle der sozialen Kategorie ‚Wales‘ gegenüber. Demgegenüber zeigt sich allerdings in der Realität eine Hinwendung zu einer größeren Einigkeit.¹⁰⁶

“Welsh social institutions (relating to the arts, sport, tourism and so on) do seem to be moving towards greater inclusivity. A devolved Welsh Assembly Government is of course committed to reducing regional inequalities in Wales and to an inclusive, all-Wales framing of social policy generally. Without at all minimizing the extent of the political and economic challenges implied in this, we find it in many ways reassuring that virtually the whole of Wales is, our data suggest, already very well-disposed to the project of Wales, with which they affiliate strongly.”¹⁰⁷

Aufgrund der aktuellen Profilierung der walisischen Sprache, ihrer gegenwärtigen Vitalität und der steigenden Zahl an sprachkompetenten Walisern, gehen die Autoren

¹⁰⁴ Balsom (1985): S. 6

¹⁰⁵ Vgl.: Coupland / Bishop / Garrett (2006): S. 19f

¹⁰⁶ Vgl.: Coupland / Bishop / Garrett (2006): S. 21f

¹⁰⁷ Coupland / Bishop / Garrett (2006): S. 21

der Studie sogar so weit, dass sie ganz Wales als ‚Y Fro Gymraeg‘, also als ‚Welsh Heartland‘ bezeichnen würden:

“As regards the expression of Welsh identity in our data, all of Wales can plausibly be described as ‘Y Fro Gymraeg’, which might be to say that ‘all of Wales is the real Wales’.¹⁰⁸”

¹⁰⁸ Coupland / Bishop / Garrett (2006): S. 22

5. Die historische Fundierung walischer Identität

„*There is no present in Wales and no future. There is only the past*“. So drückt es der Dichter R.S.Thomas in seinem Gedicht „Welsh Landscapes“ aus. Und auch der Historiker Gwyn A. Williams stellte sich die Frage: *When was Wales?* Und es gab Zeiten in seiner Geschichte, in denen angenommen werden konnte, dass es auch wirklich keine Zukunft gebe für Wales als eine Nation.

Die Vergangenheit ist nach wie vor von großer Bedeutung, weil sie die Menschen mit ihrem Land verbindet und ein Gefühl der Zugehörigkeit gibt. Die Empfindung einer Kontinuität, einer geteilten Geschichte spielt eine wesentliche Rolle um eins zu sein mit einer Gemeinschaft, einer Nation. Geschichte ist wichtig, weil es eine gemeinsame Erinnerungskultur schafft. Aus diesem Grund soll im Folgenden ein Blick auf die Geschichte von Wales geworfen werden; auf die Entstehung seiner Grenzen und die historischen Fundamente seiner nationalen Identität. Manche dieser historischen Ereignisse mögen tausende Jahre zurück liegen, sind aber nach wie vor für die Menschen von Bedeutung und sollen wegen ihrer Relevanz für die Entstehung eines modernen Wales auch erwähnt werden. Die Geschichte eines Landes sollte aber immer auch durch seine Geografie verstanden werden. Daher soll vor einer Hinwendung an die Geschichte des Landes zuerst ein kurzer Exkurs über die geografischen Gegebenheiten gegeben werden.

5.1. Der Einfluss der geografischen Gegebenheiten

Wer sich Wales des Landwegs von Osten her nähert oder über die irische See vom Westen her, der erreicht ein Land, das bestimmt wird durch seine Berge. Obwohl es Berge auch im Rest der britischen Insel gibt, so sind diese nirgends so zentral für die Geschichte und die Identität ihrer Bevölkerung wie in Wales. Während sich die Bevölkerung in England oder Schottland in den flachen und fruchtbaren Gebieten ansiedeln konnte und sich von dort ausbreitete, so blieb das Flachland in Wales bis heute eher peripher.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁹ Vgl.: Black (2000): S. 1f

“The peripheral character of the lowlands and the central position of the mountainous watershed ensured that Wales lacked a natural political centre.”¹¹⁰

Die gebirgige Lage hatte auch entscheidenden Einfluss auf die Kommunikation zwischen den Gebieten, vor allem zwischen dem Norden und dem Süden. Erst die technischen Neuerungen des 19. Jahrhunderts konnten diesem Problem zum Teil Abhilfe verschaffen.¹¹¹

Die Bedingungen der Landschaft hatten aber auch Einfluss auf seine Wirtbarmachung und Bewirtschaftung. Landwirtschaftlich nutzbares Terrain war und ist limitiert. Zu diesen bereits erschwerten Bedingungen kommt noch das Wetter hinzu:

“The combination of heavy rainfall and high run-off from steep slopes ensured that valley bottoms were often affected by rivers and streams in spate.”¹¹²

Die Kombination aus nährstoffarmen Böden, steilen Hängen und einer kurzen Vegetationszeit förderte die Abhängigkeit von der Viehzucht: in steilen Gebieten Schafe, in flacheren Rinder. Das Resultat waren Streusiedlungen, häufig in der Form von isolierten Gehöften.¹¹³ Dies hinderte die Bildung von Städten und kommerziellen Zentren und diese Lebensweise in der Peripherie hatte auch Auswirkungen auf die Mentalität der Menschen und auf ihre Identität, welche durch die Geschichte des Landes noch weiter geprägt wurde.

5.2. Kelten, Römer und Normannen

Es kann nicht genau gesagt werden, wann sich die ersten Kelten im Gebiet des heutigen Wales ansiedelten. Fest steht, dass sich im ersten Jahrhundert, bei der ersten Invasion der Römer, die keltische Bevölkerung bereits in eine Vielzahl von Stämmen aufteilte und in Konföderationen zusammenschloss: die Deceangli im Nordosten, die Ordovizier im Nordwesten, die Demeter im Südwesten, die Silurer im Südosten und die Cornovii im zentralen Grenzgebiet zum heutigen England.¹¹⁴ Zwar darf Wales zu diesem

¹¹⁰ Black (2000): S. 2

¹¹¹ Vgl.: Black (2000): S. 2

¹¹² Black (2000): S. 4

¹¹³ Vgl.: Black (2000): S. 5

¹¹⁴ Vgl.: Black (2000): S. 10

Zeitpunkt nicht als eigenständiges Gebiet verstanden werden, weil derselbe ethnische Ursprung und die keltische Sprache allen Bewohnern Britanniens zu eigen war spielt dieser Ursprung in Wales allerdings noch bis heute eine Rolle:

“While there is no certainty about the way in which much of Britain became Celtic-speaking, the fact that it did is of central importance in the history of Wales. Brythonic evolved into Welsh, and the existence of the Welsh language would be, for fifteen hundred years and more, one of the defining features of the experience of the people of Wales.”¹¹⁵

Unter der römischen Herrschaft Britanniens wurde Wales vollständig besetzt und von einem Netz von Straßen und Foren durchzogen. Allerdings war ein Interesse an dem Land aufgrund seiner Kargheit nur bedingt vorhanden und so entwickelten sich auf der Halbinsel auch nur zwei römische Siedlungen, Caerwent und Carmarthen. Die restlichen Niederlassungen waren rein militärischer Natur. Die fehlende Zivilisierung, sowie die generell geringe römische Präsenz erlaubte es der keltischen Sprache, mit einigen lateinischen Ergänzungen, zu überleben.¹¹⁶

Das Erbe der Römer, war trotz ihres geringen Interesses an der Gegend, auch nach ihrem Verschwinden spürbar:

“By the fifth century Roman control had collapsed, replaced by the re-emergence of tribal chiefdoms. For several generations these chiefs used proud Latin titles to describe themselves, endowed Christian churches, and spoke a much-changed British language with many borrowed Latin words [...].”¹¹⁷

Das Ende der römischen Vorherrschaft war verbunden mit dem Eindringen germanischer Stämme, vor allem der Angeln und der Sachsen. Jener Punkt der Völkerwanderung dürfte auch die Geburtsstunde der walisischen, sowie der englischen und schottischen Nation darstellen.

“The conflict with the Anglo-Saxons defined Wales culturally, ethnically and politically; a frequent situation in post-Roman Europe, as peoples defined themselves following the collapse of the concept of unity under Roman rule. Wales

¹¹⁵ http://www.bbc.co.uk/wales/history/sites/themes/guide/ch1_part2_prehistoric_wales.shtml

¹¹⁶ Vgl.: Morgan, G. (2008): S. 13

¹¹⁷ Morgan, G. (2008): S. 13

*was given identity by the conquerors in terms of otherness: the Saxons used Walas or Wealas to describe the Britons, and it meant both serfs and foreigners. As the Angles and Saxons advanced westward from the North Sea coasts, links between the surviving Romano-British communities were broken. Strathclyde [Anm.: heute eine Region in Schottland], Wales and Cornwall failed to offer effective long-term resistance and were thus separated, at least by land.*¹¹⁸”

Bei der Ausdehnung ihrer Expansion erkannten auch die Angel-Sachsen die Schwierigkeiten der walisischen Berge. Vermutlich auch um Angriffen der Briten entgegenzuwirken, ließ der Angelsachse Offa, König von Mercia, um circa 780 nach Christus, den Bau eines Grenzdammes anordnen. Der noch bis heute erhaltene „Offas Dyke“ formte damals das Territorium von Wales und verläuft auch heute noch annähernd entlang der Grenze zwischen Wales und England. Der Wall ist nicht nur ein Zeichen der Leistung im Hinblick auf seine Konstruktion, sondern auch ein fühlbares Symbol, welches zum Erkennen des divergierenden walisischen Selbst und somit letztlich zur Herausbildung einer eigenen walisischen Identität führte.¹¹⁹

Das territoriale Gebilde hinter dem Grenzwall von König Offa blieb allerdings zu einem wesentlichen Teil weiterhin in einzelne Königreiche unterteilt.

*“The subjugation of Wales was no doubt aided by the fact that, despite a common language, common customs, and a common legal system, the country was ‘politically fragmented and dynastically divided’ (Davies 1984: 55).*¹²⁰“

Nur wenige Herrscher schafften es Wales geeinigt unter ihre Herrschaft zu bringen, nach deren Tod zerfiel die kurzfristige territoriale Einheit allerdings schnell wieder in seine einzelnen Teile. Gerade diese Zersplitterung kann aber auch als eine gewisse Stärke betrachtet werden, durch welche Wales es schaffte zu überleben.

Sowohl den Angriffen der Saxonen, der Pikten und selbst der Wikinger konnte Wales standhalten. Das Interesse an diesem unwirtlichen Territorium dürfte für jene aber auch nicht wirklich groß gewesen sein. Eine Herausforderung war allerdings die Abwehr der Normannen. Um 1100 bekräftigte Wilhelm der Eroberer (1066-87) seinen Anspruch auf Wales und begann mit dem Bau von Festungen in den fruchtbaren Gebieten entlang der

¹¹⁸ Black (2000): S. 21

¹¹⁹ Vgl.: http://www.bbc.co.uk/wales/history/sites/themes/periods/dark_ages02.shtml

¹²⁰ Paterson / Wyn Jones (1999): S. 172

existierenden Grenze, der March. Der restliche, britonische Teil von Wales, das sogenannte Wallia Pura blieb zumeist weiterhin in einzelne Königreiche unterteilt, welche sich gelegentlich in kämpfende Einheiten zusammenschlossen, um sich den Invasoren entgegenzustellen.¹²¹

Trotz dieser Zersplitterung wurde beim Einzug der Normannen 1066 die Existenz von Wales als distinktives geographisches Territorium weitreichend anerkannt:

*“Thanks to the poets and other transmitters of the historical past, the Britons had retained their historic identity. Cambro-Latin writers spoke of Wales as **Britannia** and the Welsh as **Britones**, and not until the twelfth century were these appellations replaced by the incoming Normans with the terms **Wales** and **Welsh**, which derived from the old English **Walh** or **Wealh** – derogatory nouns meaning ‘foreign land’ and ‘foreigners’. As early as the seventh century, however, the noun **Cymry** (later changed orthographically to **Cymru**), a word which derives from the Celtic **Cambrogi** (people of the same district or country), had been used in a praise poem to Caswallon (d. 643), king of Gwynedd, and the early tenth-century poem **Armes Prydein**, the most overtly political verse of its day, referred to the Welsh people as **Cymry**. Among the **Cymry**, a sense of regional consciousness was inevitably stronger than the concept of nationhood, but nevertheless they had their own tongue, their own literature and their own laws. Their admiration for the saints, their endless curiosity about their cults and their readiness to embrace the essentials of the Christian faith which had been bestowed upon their forbears by God were also powerful spurs to greater pride in their identity.*¹²²”

Den größten Erfolg als Herrscher der Cymry konnte Llywelyn I, ‚Der Große‘ (c. 1173-1240) verzeichnen, indem er es schaffte das Königreich Gwynedd auf den Großteil von Wales auszudehnen. Als Zeichen seiner Macht und seiner Anerkennung von Seiten Englands wurde ihm zugestanden den Titel Prince of Wales tragen. Mit dem Tod seines Sohnes, welcher es nicht schaffte einen Erben zu hinterlassen, wurde die Einheit wieder geschwächt, Llywelin ap Gruffudd, ein Enkel Llywelins, konnte die politische und militärische Einheit allerdings wieder herstellen. Wie auch sein Großvater trug er den

¹²¹ Vgl.: Phillips, M. (1997): S. 22f

¹²² Jenkins (2007): S. 61f

Titel Prince of Wales, was er dem geschwächten Henry III per Dekret abringen konnte. Mit der Krönung von Edward I sah sich Llywelin allerdings mit einem stärkeren Herrscher konfrontiert und als er sich weigerte dem König die Ehre zu erweisen und seinen Tribut zu zahlen, sah sich Wales einer massiven Invasion unter der Führung des normannischen Königs konfrontiert. Mit der *Statue of Rhuddlan* 1284 ging Wales, das zuvor lediglich in Subordination zum englischen König stand, völlig in englischen Besitz über.¹²³

“Even with the claimed subordination of Wales by Edward I, it was left culturally separate and Welsh law remained in force for more than a century. It was a policy of accommodation that was broken only by Owain Glyndŵr’s rebellion in 1400, and the repression that followed his defeat.”¹²⁴

Mit der *Statue of Rhuddlan* war Wales geteilt, einerseits in das Fürstentum, welches der Krone unterstand, andererseits blieben die Lordschaften der March erhalten und standen unter der Führung untereinander rivalisierender Grenzfürsten (*Marcher Lords*). Neben dieser ohnehin bereits komplexen Unterteilung gab es noch die Unterscheidung zwischen Eroberten und Eroberern. Das walisische Gewohnheitsrecht blieb zwar erhalten, allerdings war es geschwächt und kam meist in diskriminierender Form zur Anwendung. Die Deklassierung der Einheimischen war es auch, die letztlich eine Revolte auslöste.¹²⁵

Owain Glyndŵr nimmt bis heute die Rolle eines Nationalhelden ein und war zu jener Zeit der lang erwartete Erlöser, wie er in einer Prophezeiung vorhergesagt wurde.

“It is unclear how far the Welsh saw themselves as a conquered people. There was resentment at the dominance of administration and Church by Englishmen, and also at the commercial privileges granted to the inhabitants of the new towns. The Welsh remained overwhelmingly rural as well as relatively poor compared to the population in England. The political, administrative and legal system worked to the benefit of the English, who had the necessary patrons at court, and this was crucial in the administration of justice. More generally, the Welsh had to pay both

¹²³ Vgl.: Morgan, G. (2008): S. 33ff

¹²⁴ Phillips, M. (1997): S. 23

¹²⁵ Vgl.: Paterson / Wyn Jones (1999): S. 172

*for the Principality [Anm: das frühere Pura Wallia] and for the Marcher lordships, with judicial fees, fines and communal subsidies.*¹²⁶”

Was zunächst als territorialer Disput begann, sollte sich zu einer ganz Wales übergreifende Revolte ausdehnen mit Owain Glyndŵr als deren Anführer. Es ist sowohl ein Indiz über die Unzufriedenheit in der Bevölkerung, als auch für das Vorhandensein separatistischer Tendenzen. Das 14. Jahrhundert war in ganz Europa von Revolten geprägt, eine Reaktion auf sukzessive Krisen, inklusive der Pest, welche auch Wales stark getroffen hatte. Gerade in solchen Zeiten wiegen die Lasten einer harten Besteuerung und der Vernachlässigung von Seiten der politischen Führung doppelt schwer.¹²⁷

Die Figur des Owain Glyndŵr ist mit Legenden umrankt und als Nationalheld ist sie bis heute von Bedeutung. Dies ist nicht zuletzt bedingt durch sein ungewisses Schicksal: Nach Jahren des Guerillakampfes verschwand Owain Glyndŵr und gab Anlass zu Spekulationen. So ist er angeblich auch nicht tot, sondern schlafe nur in einer Höhle, auf den Ruf seiner Leute wartend, um dann zurückzukehren und die walisische Unabhängigkeit wiederherzustellen. Owain Glyndŵr blieb ein nationaler Held und hinterließ eine Nation, welche sich ihrem Ideal und ihrer verdienten Würde bewusst war.¹²⁸

5.3. Acts of Union

Erneut wurde angenommen, dass eine Prophezeiung erfüllt wurde, als Henry Tudor 1485 den englischen Thron bestieg. Henry, der nur äußerst vage Ansprüche auf den Thron hatte, hatte verwandtschaftliche Verbindungen zu walisischen Herrscherhäusern, verbrachte einen Teil seiner Kindheit und Jugend in Wales und war der walisischen Sprache mächtig. Aus diesem Grunde konnte sich Henry auch eine große Unterstützung bei der walisischen Bevölkerung sichern. Diese Unterstützer spielten eine essentielle

¹²⁶ Black (2000): S. 71

¹²⁷ Vgl.: Morgan, G. (2008): S. 41ff

¹²⁸ Vgl.: Morgan, G. (2008): S. 46

Rolle bei den Rosenkriegen, welche für Henry letztlich den Sieg und somit den Thron bedeuteten.¹²⁹

*“His victory over Richard III at Bosworth led to the general belief in Wales that the ancient prophecies of recapture of the old Britain by the Welsh had been fulfilled and that Henry had come to ‘tame the Saxon’.”*¹³⁰

Henry VII konnte mit der Unterstützung seiner walisischen Landsleute rechnen und belohnte dies auch. Nicht nur mit Stellungen am englischen Hofe, sondern auch mit dem Versprechen Wales aus seiner ‚miserablen Knechtschaft‘ zu befreien. Auch symbolisch brachte er seinen walisischen Unterstützern Gesten dar: So fügte er den roten Drachen dem königlichen Wappen hinzu und ließ 1489 auch den Titel ‚Prince of Wales‘ wieder aufleben. Dieser Titel war nun für seinen erstgeborenen Sohn, den er signifikanter Weise Arthur nannte, bestimmt.¹³¹

Trotz dieser symbolischen Gesten blieb Wales dennoch eine Anomalie; vor allem durch die Existenz jener Fürstentümer, die von England getrennt waren und von den Grenzfürsten (*Marcher Lords*) regiert wurden. Dies sollte sich durch die *Acts of Union* ändern, welche Henrys Sohn, Henry VIII, nicht zuletzt auf das Ersuchen von walisischen Fürsten durchführte. Mit diesen *Acts of Union*, zunächst 1536 und einem weiteren 1542, war die Integration von Wales an England nun tatsächlich vollzogen.¹³²

“The Acts of Union did not join England and Wales. The annexation was assumed to have taken place in 1284 or before and the Tudor Acts dealt with the acceptance of Wales as part of the new Tudor nation as well as such consequential matters as the creation of the new counties, the drawing of the boundaries, the administration of the courts, the application of English law, the right to representation in Westminster, and the appointment of justices of the peace. [...] The Tudors may not have taken England for the Welsh cause, but Henry VII legitimated the Union because he was Welsh, had Welsh support and

¹²⁹ Vgl.: Black (2000): S. 84

¹³⁰ Phillips, M. (1997): S. 24

¹³¹ Vgl.: Black (2000): S. 88f

¹³² Vgl.: Morgan, G. (2008): S. 48

*he and his son, Henry VIII, gave the Welsh what their leaders then most wanted: equality with the English.*¹³³”

Im Prinzip ist die Bezeichnung ‚Act of Union‘ irreführend, der tatsächliche Titel des Rechtsdokuments lautet *‚An Act for laws and justice to be ministered in Wales in like form as it is in this realm‘* und erhebt den Anspruch, dass Wales bereits *‚a very member and joint of the English realm‘* sei, *‚as it rightfully is and ever hath been‘*.¹³⁴

In der Periode der Tudor-Regentschaft wurde die Eingliederung von Wales an England demnach nicht geschaffen, sondern nur vollendet. Es ist auch wichtig zu beachten, dass mit jenem Schritt und der damit einhergehenden verstärkten zentralen Administration von London aus nicht jegliche Eigenständigkeit aufgegeben wurde:

*“Although the Tudors established a strong central administration, they were content for this to remain in the hands of local Welsh élites, and separate Welsh courts were to survive until 1830. It has indeed been the characteristic technique of the state to insist upon political unity but to rely upon local interlocutors and the mechanism of indirect rule for the administration of the peripheries. This meant, in the case of Wales, that union was not incompatible with the retention of Welsh cultural identity and a sense of Welshness.*¹³⁵”

Ungeachtet dessen, war die Periode nach der Union mit England durch die gesellschaftliche Kluft zwischen der walisischen Elite auf der einen Seite, welche die größtmögliche Assimilation mit England favorisierte und der walisischsprachigen Bevölkerung auf der anderen Seite geprägt. Die Gesellschaft war nicht nur gespalten durch die Unterschiede in der politischen und wirtschaftlichen Macht, sondern der Graben betraf auch die Sprache und die Kultur - und ab dem 19. Jahrhundert vor allem auch die Religion, denn während die Elite dem anglikanischen Glauben angehörte, suchte die walisischsprachige Bevölkerung ihr Seelenheil vorrangig in den nonkonformistischen *Chapels*.¹³⁶ (auf die besondere Bedeutung der Religion wird im Kapitel 5.5.2 näher eingegangen)

¹³³ Phillips, M. (1997): S.24f

¹³⁴ Vgl.: Bogdanor (2001): S. 6;
sowie: Davies (1993): S. 232

¹³⁵ Bogdanor (2001): S. 7

¹³⁶ Vgl.: Paterson / Wyn Jones (1999): S. 173f

5.4. Das industrielle Zeitalter

Von besonderer Bedeutung für die historische Entwicklung von Wales und vor allem für die walisische Identität war die Entstehung des industriellen Kapitalismus. Bis dahin war die Bevölkerung von Wales minimal (um die 400.000, meist aber auch weniger). Im frühen 19. Jahrhundert hatte sich diese Zahl allerdings verfünffacht und Wales war nach den USA das zweitbedeutendste Land im Bereich der Immigration¹³⁷:

“What these statistics mean is that modern Wales is largely a creation of the industrial revolution concentrated between the years 1870 and 1911. In 1851 Wales had a population of slightly over one million, with two-thirds living in the countryside. Just sixty years later this population had doubled and two-thirds of it was now concentrated in urban areas. The pell-mell expansion of coal-mining in the southern valleys brought a migration of some 400,000 people out of rural into urban Wales. These people, incidentally, were overwhelmingly Welsh-speaking, so that until the 1920s Welsh was the majority language in large areas of industrial Wales. This migration was quickly followed by an influx from outside Wales. In the decade 1901-11 the South Wales coalfield attracted 129,000 people, most of whom came from England. In this period Wales was drawing immigrants at a rate almost as high as that of the United States – an annual rate of 4.5 per 1,000, against the USA’s 6.3 per 1,000.”¹³⁸

Die ökonomischen Veränderungen des 19. Jahrhunderts und der damit einhergehende soziale Wandel brachten auch eine Änderung des Mächtigkeitsgleichgewichts mit sich. Die Anliegen der erstarkten, nonkonformistischen Mittelschicht wurden zu wichtigen politischen Angelegenheiten. Die Schaffung unzähliger Einrichtungen, etwa der Einrichtung der *University of Wales* 1893 oder der *National Library of Wales* 1907, führte auch zu einem Wachsen der Zivilgesellschaft. Ein wichtiges Ziel des walisischen Nationalismus, nämlich die Selbstdarstellung und die Anerkennung der walisischen Eigenheit, wurde damit zum Ausdruck gebracht.¹³⁹

¹³⁷ Vgl.: Jones / Royles (1999): S. 216

¹³⁸ Osmond (1988): S. 124

¹³⁹ Vgl.: Paterson / Wyn Jones (1999): S. 174

Religiöser Nonkonformismus sowie politischer Liberalismus waren zentrale Elemente der walisischen Identität im 19. Jahrhundert:

“The Welsh language and religious Nonconformity distinguished the Welsh from their English neighbours for a significant period of time, and during the nineteenth century Wales became associated with political Liberalism. These attributes were key features of Welsh national identity, so much so that at the turn of the nineteenth century Gladstone described Wales as ‘a nation of nonconformists’.”¹⁴⁰

Allerdings muss an dieser Stelle auch erwähnt werden, dass dies nicht die Charakteristiken einer homogenen Identität waren. Zur selben Zeit gab es auch einen anderen Typus eines walisischen Selbstbewusstseins, welcher stärker in den britischen Kontext eingebunden war. Diese Identität drückte sich im Stolz gegenüber dem walisischen Beitrag zum Erfolg und zur Expansion des britischen Empires aus. Es war Dr. John Dee, ein Waliser, welcher den Begriff ‚British Empire‘ prägte. David Lloyd George, britischer Premierminister von 1916 bis 1922, war ein selbstbewusster Waliser und verkörperte den Stolz, den viele Waliser/innen innerhalb Britanniens und seiner Institutionen fühlten.¹⁴¹

“Being British was not an alien imposition, but a complimentary identity to one’s nationality, and, above all, one with strong imperial connotations in which people took pride and confidence.”¹⁴²

Auf der Ebene der Politik lässt sich zu jener Zeit auch eine Bewegung von Wales nach England beobachten. Britische Politik war damals von der Liberal Party dominiert, welche stark von walisischen, nonkonformistischen Elementen beeinflusst wurde. So war es auch ein Waliser, David Lloyd George, der als Schatzkanzler 1909 die Fundamente für den britischen Wohlfahrtsstaat legte.¹⁴³

Lloyd George war von besonderer psychologischer Bedeutung für walisische Politik. Vor seiner Karriere in London war er Führer der *Cymru Fydd* (Junges Wales) Bewegung, einem Vorläufer des modernen walisischen Nationalismus. Eines der

¹⁴⁰ Jones / Royles (1999): S. 217

¹⁴¹ Vgl.: Davies, R. (2006): S. 114

¹⁴² McCrone, D (2002): S. 182; zitiert in Davies, R. (2006): S. 11

¹⁴³ Vgl.: Osmond (1988): S. 124

primären Ziele der Bewegung war die gleichberechtigte Partizipation für Waliser in der britischen Politik. Es war letztlich der 1. Weltkrieg, der die größtmögliche egalitäre Teilhabe einrichtete: 280.000, zwei Drittel der männlichen Bevölkerung zwischen 20 und 40 Jahren, meldeten sich freiwillig und kämpften gleichbedeutend an der Seite anderer britischer Kameraden.¹⁴⁴

“The experience marked the end of nineteen-century Wales and the certainties that went with it. It marked the end of Cymru Fydd nationalism, defined as collaborating Liberalism in league with suffocating Nonconformism. And it provided the opening for the politics of hard nationalism: the founding of Plaid Cymru in 1925 and the confrontation with the British State that ensued.”¹⁴⁵

Neben den 40.000 walisischen Kriegsgefallenen brachte der 1. Weltkrieg noch weitere Verluste. Die Kohleproduktion hatte ihren Höhepunkt schon vor dem Krieg überschritten, jedoch verlangte der Krieg nach Ressourcen und eine einsichtige Neubewertung der Produktion kam nicht in Frage. Der Boom kollabierte schließlich 1921, kurz vor Ausbruch der Weltwirtschaftskrise.¹⁴⁶

Die Rezession hatte massive Auswirkungen auf die soziale Struktur des Landes. Die Emigration in der Zwischenkriegszeit war gewaltig, eine von fünf Personen verließ Wales, meist in Richtung England.¹⁴⁷ Und dies hatte natürlich merkbaren Einfluss auf das Fortbestehen der Communities, vor allem auch durch die zunehmende Immigration:

“A counter trend of increasing immigration into Wales from England has also been experienced. While this has been continuous since nineteenth-century industrialization, its effects have been more apparent during some periods, such as the end of the 1970s and the beginning of the 1980s. During previous phases of immigration, it had been possible to assimilate newcomers into Welsh society and in predominantly Welsh-speaking areas the language was learned by incomers. However, high volumes of immigration have been concentrated in particular areas and this has made assimilation increasingly difficult. In the Welsh-speaking rural heartlands, communities have been hard hit by problems of second home ownership resulting in high house prices. This compounded economic fragility

¹⁴⁴ Vgl.: Osmond (1988): S. 125

¹⁴⁵ Osmond (1988): S. 125

¹⁴⁶ Davies, John: http://www.bbc.co.uk/wales/history/sites/themes/periods/ww1_background.shtml

¹⁴⁷ Vgl.: Jones / Royles (1999): S. 216

*has led to the continuing outward migration of young people. The 1991 census results starkly illustrate the extent of immigration into Wales, as nearly 30 per cent of the population were born outside Wales. There has been a parallel decline in the numbers of those who can speak Welsh.*¹⁴⁸”

Die folgende Tabelle zeigt die Ergebnisse der Volkszählungen zwischen den Jahren 1901 und 2001. Dem Rückgang der Sprachkompetenz, welche sich durch das ganze 20. Jahrhundert zieht, konnte erst vor der letzten Volkszählung 2001 Einhalt geboten werden.

Tabelle Nr. 4: Anzahl der Walisisch Sprecher/innen zwischen 1901 und 2001 (Alter: 3+)¹⁴⁹

1901	1911	19231	1951	1961	1971	1981	1991	2001
50%	43%	36,8%	28,9%	26,0%	20,8%	18,9%	18,7%	20,5%

Zwar scheint der Trend gestoppt und die Anzahl der Walisischsprecher/innen ist wieder im Steigen, gleichzeitig sinkt aber die Zahl der *Welsh Communities*. Die Humangeografen Aitchison und Carter sammelten zwischen 1961 und 1991 Daten um den Sprachgebrauch des Kymrischen zu Kartographieren. Als ‚Heartland Communities‘ wurden jene Communities bezeichnet, in denen mehr als 75% der Bevölkerung sprachkompetent ist, denn: „*Once you drop below it, Welsh stops being the natural language of choice for a community*“. Und das bedeutet auf lange Sicht gesehen das Ende der Sprache.¹⁵⁰

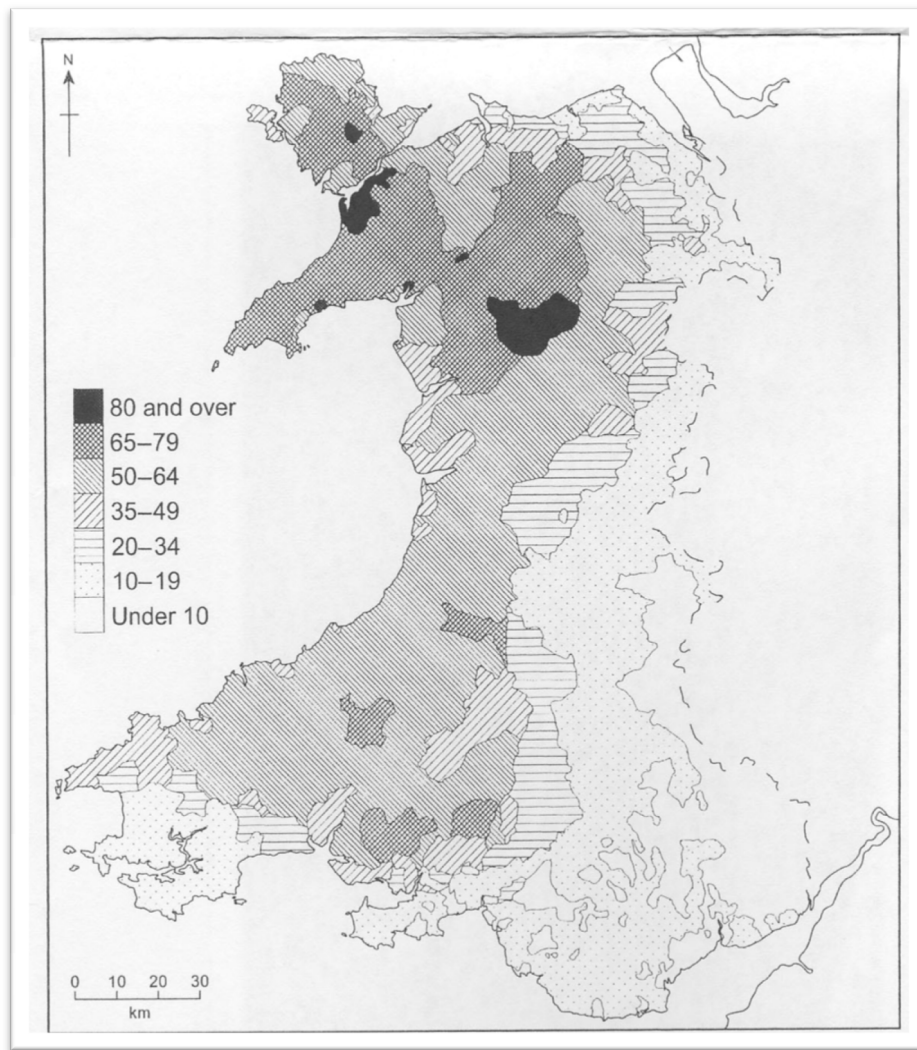
*“Speaking Welsh is one thing, having a Welsh speaking culture is a quite a different thing.*¹⁵¹”

¹⁴⁸ Jones / Royles (1999): S. 216

¹⁴⁹ Office for National Statistics

¹⁵⁰ Vgl.: BBC, A Broken Heart

¹⁵¹ Prof Colin Williams (Cardiff University), in: BBC, ‘A Broken Heart’



Graphik Nr. 3: Anzahl der walisischsprachigen Bevölkerung in Prozent 2001

Quelle: Jenkins, Geraint: *A Concise History of Wales*. Cambridge University Press, 2007

“In 1981 there were 151 Welsh-speaking communities spread across Gwynedd, Anglesey, Ceredigion, Carmarthenshire and North Pembrokeshire. By 1991 this figure has reduced to dramatically to just 53 communities with just one heartland area left in Pembrokeshire. This drop can be partly explained by boundary changes. But the 2001 census showed the downward trend continued, with only 41 communities, including just one in Carmarthenshire. There were no Welsh-speaking communities in Ceredigion at all.¹⁵²”

¹⁵² BBC: ‘A Broken Heart’ (2010); Daten entnommen dem *Office of National Statistics*

Der anhaltende Verlust der Sprache und die Furcht vor dem Schaden für eine dezidierte walisische Kultur war einer der wesentlichen Gründe, welcher 1925 zur Gründung der walisischen Nationalpartei *Plaid Cymru* führte.

“The existence of Plaid Cymru provided a momentum for the development of national politics in Wales during the twentieth century and has influenced the agenda of other political parties.”¹⁵³

Allerdings blieb die Partei bis in die 1980er Jahre eine wesentlich unbedeutende Partei, die niemals mehr als 10% bei den Wahlen erreichen konnte. Die walisische Bevölkerungsmehrheit in den industrialisierten Gebieten konnte nur wenig mit dem Hauptanliegen der akademischen Parteispitze anfangen, nämlich dem Erhalt der walisischen Sprache und Kultur als zentrale Merkmale walisischer Identität und auch ihre walisische Identität stand für jene Arbeiter niemals außer Frage, auch wenn sie englischsprachig waren. Ihre Sorgen waren eher sozialpolitischer Natur und die Partei, die hierbei am ehesten Unterstützung zu versprechen schien, war und blieb die Labour Party.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵³ Jones / Royles (1999): S. 217

¹⁵⁴ http://www.deutschlandundeuropa.de/34_97/duer34l.htm

5.5. Die historischen Grundpfeiler walisischer Identität

Beim Vergleich von Wales mit Schottland wird immer wieder darauf verwiesen, dass Schottland auf eine Geschichte existierender Institutionen zurückblicken kann, welche auch nach der Union mit England im Jahre 1707 weiterhin existieren konnten. Dazu gehört eine eigenständige Rechtsordnung, eine separate Struktur im Bildungswesen, sowie die *Kirk*, die schottische Kirche. Später folgten zudem das *Scottish Office*, sowie eine hoch entwickelte Presse und Medien¹⁵⁵:

“To a great extent Scottish identity revolved around these institutions. They provided Scots with a civic, and because of that a unified sense of their nationality.”¹⁵⁶

In Wales liegt die Situation etwas anders, die Walisische Identität beruht eher auf der Sprache, der Kultur, sowie der Lokalität. Wie weiter oben (siehe Kapitel 4 ‚Where is Wales‘) bereits näher ausgeführt wurde, konnte sich ein gemeinsames Gefühl einer nationalen Einheit lange Zeit nur bedingt durchsetzen. Daraus erklärt sich auch, warum im 20. Jahrhundert die Frage der Devolution eine derartige Kontroverse in Wales auslöste.

“[...] [I]n contrast to the situation in Scotland, civil society in Wales developed within a British context with no significant administrative structures or institutions surviving from a pre-conquest or pre-‘union’ era. Therefore, as civil society developed in Wales, its ‘Welshness’ – the extent to which the prefix Welsh could be meaningfully attached to the institutions and practices of civil society – has remained a matter of doubt.”¹⁵⁷

Es mag scheinen, als wären diese vereinenden Institutionen in Wales nicht vorhanden gewesen, dennoch konnte Wales in den oben beschriebenen Jahrhunderten seiner Geschichte die Grundlagen einer gemeinsamen Identität entwickeln. Zwar nicht in dem Ausmaß wie Schottland – bis 1707 war Schottland ein eigenständiger Staat und auch nach der Union mit der britischen Krone konnten viele eigenständige schottische

¹⁵⁵ Vgl.: Osmond (2007): S.6

¹⁵⁶ Osmond (2007): S. 6

¹⁵⁷ Paterson / Wyn Jones (1999): S. 173

Institutionen beibehalten werden – dennoch entwickelte Wales vereinende Elemente heraus, welche für ein walisisches Bewusstsein von Bedeutung waren. Laut Mervyn Phillips lässt sich dieses historische Fundament der walisischen Identität auf drei Pfeiler zurückführen: Das Gesetz, den Glauben und die Sprache.¹⁵⁸

5.5.1. Das walisische Gesetz

Bis zum Act of Union unter Henry VIII besaß Wales ein eigenes, separates Rechtswesen, welches sich von jenem in England unterschied. Die Kodifizierung dieses Rechts lässt sich auf Hywel Dda (929-950) - ‚Der Gute‘ - zurückführen. Die besondere Bedeutung dieses Rechts lag darin, dass es ein Regelwerk über die Struktur der Gesellschaft bereitstellte, vor allem aber betrachteten sich die einzelnen Stämme von nun an als ein geeintes Volk.¹⁵⁹

“The Laws had been important in forming the nation and continued to remain as a part of the collective history of the people. They had bound the tribes together, created an agreed constitution, and provided an emphasis upon the family which was not adequately matched by English Law in some respects until the present century.”¹⁶⁰

Gesellschaftlicher und wirtschaftlicher Wandel machte letztlich allerdings einen radikalen Bruch notwendig, denn walisische Gesetze gaben dem Respekt gegenüber der Familie Vorrang und dieses Recht war nicht mehr ausreichend, als die Gesellschaft begann vom Handel zu profitieren. So war unter anderem im walisischen Gewohnheitsrecht nicht vorgesehen, Verträge in Bezug auf Landbesitz abzuschließen, wodurch das englische Gewohnheitsrecht zunehmend an Attraktivität gewann und die Tudors bereiteten die Legislative, um den bereits begonnenen Prozess des Wandels abzuschließen. Nach dem Act of Union gab es keine gesonderte Gesetzgebung in Wales mehr, jedwede gesetzliche Regelung war von nun an eine Angelegenheit in Westminster.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁸ Vgl.: Phillips, M. (1997): S. 26ff

¹⁵⁹ Vgl.: Jenkins (2007): S. 41

¹⁶⁰ Phillips, M. (1997): S. 30

¹⁶¹ Vgl.: Phillips, M. (1997): S. 30

Ein weiterer Teil der Jurisprudenz eines Landes ist die Administration des Justizwesens. Hier bereitete der Act of Union von 1536 ein neues Gerichtssystem für Wales basierend auf einem distinktiven und gesonderten Gericht, dem *Court of Great Sessions*. Obwohl es englisches Recht vertrat und die Mehrheit der Richter englischsprachig war, so spricht Mervin Phillips dennoch von Beweisen die belegen, dass Walisisch genauso in den Gerichten gehört wurde. Damit widerspricht er anderen Autoren, wie etwa Gwyn A. Williams, die davon ausgehen, dass Waliser/innen zu Fremden in den eigenen Gerichten wurden. Der *Court of Great Sessions* wurde letztlich 1830 abgeschafft, als durch die verbesserten Verkehrsbedingungen ein separates Gericht nicht mehr nötig war. Aber auch danach blieb der Administration der Justiz ein distinktiver walisischer Charakter erhalten. Unter den Bedingungen des *Welsh Language Act* von 1967¹⁶², in welchem die egalitäre Stellung der walisischen und der englischen Sprache festgeschrieben wurde, markierte eine weitere unverwechselbare prozedurale Form für die walisischen Gerichte.¹⁶³

“These administrative provisions have helped to maintain some Welsh identity in the law in Wales [...]. Substantive Welsh Law, unlike the Scottish legal provisions, is a matter of history but its existence in the past has helped shape Wales and may still be relevant in determining Wales’s status as a nation rather than a region.”¹⁶⁴

Die Existenz eines charakteristischen walisischen Rechtswesens alleine wäre allerdings nicht ausreichend gewesen, um den Erhalt der walisischen Identität zu gewährleisten. Es waren vor allem die Religion und die Sprache, welche sich für das Fortbestehen von Wales als separatem Land als bedeutungsvoll erwiesen haben.

5.5.2. Die Religion

“[...] [R]eligion [...] has been a major contributor to the creation of Welsh consciousness in both the earliest and most recent periods and each period has continuing impact upon the country today.”¹⁶⁵

¹⁶² Siehe: <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1967/66/enacted>

¹⁶³ Vgl.: Phillips, M. (1997): S. 30f

¹⁶⁴ Phillips, M. (1997): S. 31

¹⁶⁵ Phillips, M. (1997): S. 31

Bereits die frühe keltische Kirche, die sich in Wales bis in die Zeit der römischen Besatzung zurückverfolgen lässt, hatte bestimmenden Effekt auf die Selbstwahrnehmung ihrer Gläubigen:

“Indeed, there are strong grounds for believing that the spread of Christianity helped to develop a distinctive Welsh identity. The Welsh began to see themselves as largely Christian people who, set apart from the ruffianly Anglo-Saxon pagans, were therefore culturally superior.”¹⁶⁶

Die kulturelle Besonderheit kam auch zum Ausdruck indem es keine geschlossene ‚keltische Kirche‘ gab. Dieser Ausdruck ist irreführend. Zwar gab es eine Verbindung zwischen den keltischen Ländern und auch regen Austausch, allerdings fehlte eine zentrale Institution und somit gab es praktische, institutionelle sowie kulturelle Differenzierungen innerhalb dieses Kontexts. Dennoch gab es über den Seeweg starke Verbindungen und einen regen Austausch, vor allem von pilgernden Heiligen, welche eine zentrale Rolle in der Verbreitung des Glaubens und auch im Bereich der Identität der Gläubigen spielten.¹⁶⁷

“The age of the Welsh Saints – David, Illtud, Cadog, Deiniol, and others who are still remembered in Wales – is significant in any consideration of Welsh identity. They brought in a monastic form of worship based on the llan [...]. Here everything was held in common in a community headed by the abbot, sometimes called the bishop. He was chosen either by the community itself or by the local chieftain who supported the monastery, and generally, the religious community reflected the local tribal community.”¹⁶⁸

Als St. Augustine, der Gründer der englischen Kirche, 597 in Kent landete, waren bereits walisische Bischöfe vorhanden. Bestrebungen die keltische Kirche und die englische Kirche zu verbinden, wurden unterbunden und die walisische Kirche hielt an ihren eigenen Praktiken, der Taufe sowie ihres Kirchenkalenders, der bis ins 8. Jahrhundert Gültigkeit hatte, fest.¹⁶⁹

¹⁶⁶ Jenkins (2007): S. 55

¹⁶⁷ Vgl.: Jenkins (2007): S. 49ff

¹⁶⁸ Phillips, M. (1997): S. 32

¹⁶⁹ Vgl.: Morgan, P. (2005): S. 62

“The Welsh church moreover was so linked to its tribal community that it was unwilling to accept a further request to develop a mission to the pagan outside Wales. The Church identified with the native society’s resistance to the Anglo-Saxon invaders and the need was seen to be to preserve what was Welsh rather than convert the enemy.”¹⁷⁰

Mit der Eroberung durch die Normannen wurde die keltische Kirche stärker unter päpstliche Autorität, sowie der Kontrolle von Canterbury, gestellt. Allerdings bedeutete dies nicht nur neue religiöse, sondern auch kulturelle Einflüsse, wie etwa die Möglichkeit einer Vervielfältigung von Dokumenten. Die neuen Abteien und deren Bibliotheken bereiteten die Mittel, um die walisischen Gesetze sowie das *Mabinogion*, eine Sammlung walisischer Erzählungen, zu reproduzieren, sowie walisische Literatur und Legenden ins Lateinische und Französische zu übertragen.¹⁷¹

Unter der Tudor-Herrschaft wurde Englisch zur Sprache der reformierten Kirche, allerdings wurde eine Übersetzung der Bibel ins Walisische von Königin Elisabeth I befürwortet. Dies wurde als Möglichkeit gesehen, um zum Gebrauch des reformierten, englischen Gebetsbuchs zu ermutigen und somit die Gläubigen auch zur Unterstützung des Protestantismus zu bestärken. Im Irland wurde im Gegensatz dazu der Protestantismus in Englisch propagiert und hatte somit von Beginn an den Beigeschmack des Kolonialismus und stieß somit auch auf Ablehnung. Die Präsenz von Bibel und Gebetsbüchern in der Landessprache verhinderte den fremdartigen Charakter in Wales und demgemäß wurde der Reformation auch mit weniger Ablehnung begegnet.¹⁷²

Dennoch verhalf die Reformation nicht zu einer Wiederbelebung des religiösen Lebens in Wales. Dies geschah erst wieder im 18. Jahrhundert durch die neu aufkommenden nonkonformistischen Kirchen. Und obwohl bis dahin die englische Kirche vorherrschend blieb, wurde Wales innerhalb des Commonwealth in religiösen Angelegenheiten immer als gesonderte Nation gehandelt.¹⁷³

Das nonkonformistische Religionsrevival begann zunächst innerhalb der konventionellen Kirche in Form einer Bildungskampagne. Griffith Jones, ein

¹⁷⁰ Phillips, M. (1997): S. 33

¹⁷¹ Vgl.: Phillips, M. (1997): S. 33

¹⁷² Vgl.: Jenkins (2007): S. 154

¹⁷³ Vgl.: Phillips, M. (1997): S. 35

anglikanischer Vikar kombinierte die Verbreitung der Bibel mit der Etablierung einer speziellen Art von Wohltätigkeitsschulen, den sogenannten *circulating schools*, in welchen sowohl Kindern als auch einigen Erwachsenen beigebracht wurde, Walisisch zu lesen. Diese neue Alphabetisierung, in Verbindung mit dem Gebrauch der walisischen Bibel, bereitete die Basis einer neuen Religiosität. Die Folge war die Entstehung einer religiösen Bewegung, welche am Ende des 18. Jahrhunderts zur Abspaltung von der anglikanischen Kirche gezwungen war. So entstand 1811 die Calvinistisch Methodistische Kirche, heute vor allem *Presbyterian Church of Wales* genannt, jene Kirche, der im 19. Jahrhundert die Mehrheit der Waliser/innen folgten.¹⁷⁴

“It was an enthusiastic hymn-singing religion, and, without becoming or seeking to become the established church of Wales, it also spoke for the conscience of the country.”¹⁷⁵

In der zweiten Hälfte des 19. Jahrhunderts hatten die Calvinistisch Methodistische Kirche und andere nonkonformistische Glaubensgemeinschaften Anteil an politischen Aktionen und trugen somit zu einem Wiedererstarken des walisischen Nationalismus bei. Ausschlaggebend dafür war vor allem die Kritik einer Regierungskommission am walisischen Bildungssystem, wobei vor allem die walisische Sprache, sowie der Nonkonformismus, für das schlechte Bildungssystem verantwortlich gemacht wurden. Ein weiterer Punkt, welcher das politische Auftreten der Kirchen notwendig machte, war die Bezahlung eines Zehent der Landpächter an die anglikanische Kirche, auch wenn diese sich der etablierten Kirche nicht zugehörig fühlten. Damit wurde *Disestablishment* zu einer politisch partikulär wichtigen Sache für Nonkonformisten. Nonkonformistisch geprägter Liberalismus war eine bedeutende politische Kraft in Wales und diese erreichte 1914 letztlich die Durchsetzung des *Disestablishment Act*, wodurch es zur Gründung der anglikanischen *Church in Wales* kam. Demnach steht die episkopale Kirche in Wales frei von der staatlichen Bindung der *Church of England*.¹⁷⁶

Religion spielt im Wales des 21. Jahrhunderts nur noch bedingt eine Rolle, dennoch zählen nonkonformistische Kirchen nach wie vor die Mehrheit der Gläubigen in ihren Reihen und die nonkonformistische Tradition stellt nach wie vor Teil der distinktiven walisischen Kultur dar.

¹⁷⁴ Vgl.: Jenkins (2007): S. 160ff

¹⁷⁵ Phillips, M. (1997): S. 35

¹⁷⁶ Vgl.: Phillips, M. (1997): S. 36f

5.5.3. Die Sprache

Das dritte historische Fundament der walisischen Identität ist die Sprache, welche eng verbunden mit der Religion war. Noch im 19. Jahrhundert wurde Kymrisch von der Mehrheit der walisischen Bevölkerung gesprochen, aber durch zunehmende Immigration, sozialen Wandel und den Niedergang des Nonkonformismus wurde die Position der Sprache wesentlich geschwächt. Am Ende des 19. Jahrhunderts war die Zahl der walisischsprachigen Bevölkerung auf die Hälfte der Population zurückgegangen, bis sie letztlich im 20. Jahrhundert ihren Tiefststand mit 20% erreichte.¹⁷⁷

Obwohl sich die mittelalterliche walisische Gesellschaft aus unterschiedlichen und oftmals sich bekriegenden Stämmen zusammensetzte, teilten diese doch alle dieselbe Sprache sowie dieselbe bardische Tradition. Dies schuf einen starken Sinn einer Einheit innerhalb einer hoch partikularisierten, lokalen Identität. Die Präsenz einer fremden Sprache nach der Invasion der Normannen und das Gefühl der Assimilierung verstärkte die Empfindung über das Vorhandensein einer eigenen, gesonderten Sprache.¹⁷⁸

Nach dem Act of Union und der damit vollzogenen Anbindung an England wurde die Sprache zwar geschwächt, aber nicht, wie oftmals angenommen, verboten. Walisisch behielt einen semi-offiziellen Status bei, allerdings wurde Englisch zur Sprache der Administration, des Rechts, sowie des Handels. Englisch wurde zur Sprache der landbesitzenden Klasse und in der Folge zeigte sich die Klassentrennung in Wales auch an der Sprache. Die Elite wurde anglisiert und Englisch wurde zur Sprache der gesellschaftlich Privilegierten.¹⁷⁹

“During the two centuries following the Act of Union, the life of the majority in Wales remained simple, poor, illiterate and non-English speaking and when the people of Wales became literate, they did so in the Native Welsh language, and

¹⁷⁷ Vgl.: Jones / Royles (1999): S. 216

¹⁷⁸ Vgl.: Phillips, M. (1997): S. 38f

¹⁷⁹ Vgl.: Glaser (1999): S. 85

*then mainly because of the existence of the Welsh Bible and the advent of the Welsh Methodist Revival.*¹⁸⁰“

Die Wiederbelebung des walisischen Methodismus war zu gleichen Teilen eine Erneuerung der Sprache, wie auch der Religion selbst und trug einen wesentlichen Anteil zum Erhalt der Landessprache bei. Aber auch die Wiedererweckung der alten walisischen Poesie, das Interesse an den alten Kulturen der Druiden und die damit einhergehende Erneuerung des nahezu vergessenen Kulturfestivals *Eisteddfod* in der Romantik, trug einen wesentlichen Anteil zum Erhalt der Sprache bei. Hierbei ist Edward Williams, besser bekannt als Iolo Morganwg (1747-1826), mit seinem antiquarischen Interesse von besonderer Wichtigkeit. Mit diesem Interesse versuchte er den Kult der Druiden wieder zu erwecken. Er führte den *Gorsedd*¹⁸¹, die Vereinigung der Bardeng, beim *Eisteddfod* des Jahres 1819 ein und trug damit wesentlich zur Wiederbelebung und zur Wichtigkeit dieses Kultur- und Literaturfestes bei. Das neu angereicherte kulturelle Leben zog sich durch das gesamte 19. Jahrhundert und spiegelte sich in einer regen poetischen Aktivität, der Bildung einschlägiger kultureller Vereine, sowie im Erscheinen einer Vielzahl walisischsprachiger Zeitungen wieder. Bis heute ist der *Eisteddfod* ein wesentlicher Teil des kulturellen Lebens in Wales und die Einführung der ‚the all Welsh rule‘ im Jahre 1951 war essentiell in der Aufrechterhaltung der Standards der Sprache. Heute gibt es auch einen eigenen *Eisteddfod* für Kinder und Jugendliche, den *Eisteddfod yr Urdd*, organisiert von der *Urdd Gobaith Cymru (Welsh League of Youth)*. Dies soll das Erleben des *Eisteddfods* und seiner Traditionen für Kinder und Jugendliche möglich machen und somit auch zum Weiterbestand der Tradition sowie der Sprache beitragen.¹⁸²

Im 19. Jahrhundert kam es durch die rasch voranschreitende Industrialisierung allerdings zu einem wesentlichen sozialen Wandel, der zu einem bedeutenden Teil auch die Sprache betraf. Es kam zu einem raschen Anwachsen der Bevölkerung durch Migration, was sich natürlich auch auf die Sprache auswirkte. Zunächst in eine positive Richtung, denn die Industrialisierung verhinderte die Abwanderung und im Gegensatz

¹⁸⁰ Phillips, M. (1997): S. 40

¹⁸¹ Eigentlich *Gorsedd Beirdd Ynys Prydain*: Eine Vereinigung von Dichtern, Literaten, Musikern, Künstlern und Individuellen, welche einen signifikanten und bedeutenden Beitrag zur Walisischen Sprache, Literatur und Kultur geleistet haben. Sie treten als neuzeitliche Druiden auf. Übersetzt bedeutet *Gorsedd* ‚Thron‘.

Siehe: <http://www.eisteddfod.org.uk/english/content.php?nID=323>

¹⁸² Vgl.: Phillips, M. (1997): S. 40ff

zu Irland, wo die Armut die Menschen zur Emigration zwang, konnte die indigene Sprache und die damit verbundene Kultur gestärkt werden. Zumindest war dies bis 1870 der Fall. Aber vor allem die kohlefördernden Täler in Südwales zogen immer mehr Menschen von außen an und diese sahen zumeist wenig Sinn darin die lokale Sprache anzunehmen.¹⁸³

“Language boundaries were constantly shifting in these teeming communities, but the prevailing was for monoglot Welsh-speakers to become bilingual and for monoglot English-speaking incomers to resist acculturation.”¹⁸⁴

Die sozialen Gegebenheiten und die Armut der Arbeiter führte auch immer wieder zu Tumulten und Aufständen, vor allem die Rebecca Riots, welche sich zwischen 1839 und 1844 ereigneten und welche weitreichende Folgen hatten. Die Regierung antwortet auf den sozialen Aufruhr 1846 mit der Bildung einer Kommission zur Untersuchung der Zustände in Wales.¹⁸⁵

1847 erschien das Ergebnis der Kommission, deren Mitglieder aus wohlhabenden englischen Familien stammten, Anhänger der Church of England waren, sowie kein Wort Walisisch sprachen. Genauso einseitig wie die Kommission war auch ihre Untersuchung, 80% der befragten Zeugen waren anglikanische Kirchenmänner. Zudem gab es keine systematische Befragungs- und Auswertungsmethode. Die Schlussfolgerung der Kommission war, dass die sozialen Aufstände aus der Unwissenheit der Leute resultierten, welche sich durch den Gebrauch der walisischen Sprache und dem Anhängen des Nonkonformismus ergab. Vom Gebrauch der Sprache wurde daher abgeraten und in der Folge wurde Walisisch in den Schulen unter Bestrafung verboten. Der *Welsh Not*, ein Stück Holz, das um den Nacken des zu bestrafenden Kindes gehängt wurde, ist bis heute Symbol der Unterdrückung der Sprache.

Auf der walisischen Seite wurde der Bericht mit dem offiziellen Titel *‘Reports oft he Commissioners of Inquiry into the State of Education in Wales’*, ein Bericht bestehend

¹⁸³ Vgl.: Jenkins (2007): S. 184

¹⁸⁴ Jenkins (2007): S. 184

¹⁸⁵ Vgl.: Phillips, M. (1997): S. 42

aus drei blauen Bänden, mit Entrüstung aufgenommen und erlangte den Namen *Brad y Llyfrau Gleision* – der Hochverrat der blauen Bücher.¹⁸⁶

Das Verbot der kymrischen Sprache in den Schulen wurde 1888 zwar wieder abgeschafft, allerdings hatte es in den 40 Jahren seines Bestehens Einfluss auf die Einstellung gegenüber der Sprache genommen. Es ist nicht verwunderlich, dass Zuwanderer keinen Sinn darin sahen die verbotene Sprache anzunehmen, selbst in jenen Fällen nicht, wo in eine walisische Familie eingeheiratet wurde. Ebenso nach der Aufhebung des Verbots betrachteten viele Familien, mit einem oder selbst mit zwei sprachkompetenten Elternteilen, es als einen Nachteil für ihre Kinder, wenn diese die Sprache lernten. Für die meisten Arbeiterfamilien wurde die Sprache innerhalb der Familie und in der Arbeit eine Art walisischer Dialekt des Englischen.¹⁸⁷

Im 20. Jahrhundert war die kymrische Sprache immer mehr im Rückzug begriffen, die linguistische Grenze zog sich immer weiter westwärts und durch den zunehmenden Anteil an Ferienhausbesitzern und englischen Pensionisten, welche sich entlang der Küste ansiedeln, verschiebt sich diese Grenze auch immer weiter von der Küste weg.

“By the middle of the twentieth century, it looked as though the Welsh language, important as it had been in forming the nation, was falling into such a minority condition that it would soon have little continuing effect on the life of the nation. The majority culture became working class urban and its linguistic vehicle was a special Welsh variety of the English language.”¹⁸⁸

Gleichzeitig fand im 20. Jahrhundert auch ein bemerkenswerter Wandel in der Einstellung gegenüber der Sprache auf Seiten der Nicht-Sprecher/innen statt. Auch auf Seiten der Sprecher/innen rief die Angst vor dem kompletten Verlust der Sprache viele Aktivisten auf den Plan. Mit zivilem Ungehorsam erhofften sie sich Gehör zu verschaffen und erreichten damit auch Veränderungen und die Einführung eines symbolischen Bilingualismus. Die Regierung erlaubte die Einführung zweisprachiger Straßenbeschilderung, Formulare etc., vor allem aber wurde auch die politische Richtlinie im Bereich der Schulen geändert:

¹⁸⁶ Vgl.: Glaser (1999): S. 127ff

¹⁸⁷ Vgl.: Phillips, M. (1997): S. 42f

¹⁸⁸ Phillips, M. (1997): S. 43

“Since the 1950s there has been a growth in the number of Welsh language schools and the Gittins Report in 1967 laid down the framework for a policy to make schools fully bilingual. Numerous Welsh language schools have been established so that by 1989-90 13.5% of all primary school children were being taught through the medium of Welsh. The use of Welsh in schools has been further improved by the inclusion of Welsh within the National Curriculum in all the schools of Wales; with a right to ‘opt out’ at key stage 4 in some schools near the Welsh/English border.”¹⁸⁹

Die bilinguale politische Linie ist allerdings keine Parteienangelegenheit, sondern wird von der Regierung gesehen als *„a marginal, low benefit policy which is justified because of the popular support for the language“*¹⁹⁰. Die Unterstützung der Sprache, sowohl von Seiten der Bevölkerung, als auch von der Politik, führte letztlich auch zur Etablierung politischer Instrumente und Körperschaften, dem *Welsh Language Act* von 1967 beziehungsweise 1993 und dem *Welsh Language Board*, womit letztlich die kymrische Sprache auch einen gesetzlich gleichgestellten Status neben dem Englischen erhielt. Die Wahlmöglichkeit hat neue Impulse und neues Leben für die Sprache gebracht. Walisischsprachige Schulen sind vor allem dort stark, wo die Kinder vor allem aus englischsprachigen Familien kommen. Demgegenüber ist die Unterstützung für die Forcierung des walisischsprachigen Unterrichts vor allem in den walisischsprachigen, ländlichen Gebieten ein Grund der Beanstandung, wo das Element der Wahlmöglichkeit abwesend scheint und der zunehmende Schwerpunkt auf das Kymrische dazu beigetragen hat, dass einige monolinguale Englischsprecher/innen sich benachteiligt fühlen.

¹⁸⁹ Phillips, M. (1997): S. 44

¹⁹⁰ Madgwick and Rowe; zitiert in Phillips, M. (1997): S. 44

6. Devolution

6.1. Definition

Unter Devolution versteht man den Prozess des Transfers von Macht von einer zentralen Regierung auf eine niedrigere, regionale Ebene.¹⁹¹

Im Laufe des 20. Jahrhunderts wurde im Vereinigten Königreich mehrere Versuche gestartet, Devolution in der einen oder anderen Form durchzuführen. Dies betraf vor allem administrative Bereiche und führte zur Bildung von Ämtern wie dem *Scottish* und *Welsh Office*. Politische Devolution allerdings – mit Ausnahme von Nordirland – kam erst 1999, mit der Errichtung des Schottischen Parlaments und der Walisischen Nationalversammlung zustande.

6.2. Auf dem Weg in Richtung Devolution

Politischer Nationalismus existiert in Wales nicht erst seit der Gründung von Plaid Cymru im Jahre 1925. Bereits im 19. Jahrhundert, in einer Zeit in der es in ganz Europa zum Erwachen eines kulturellen Patriotismus kam, bildete sich 1866 die *Cymru Fydd* Bewegung, die Bewegung Junges Wales.¹⁹²

“This grouping embraced the liberal ideal of home rule and other more distinctively ‘Welsh’ characteristics of temperance, Nonconformity, Welsh literature and the Welsh language.”¹⁹³

Was als kulturelle Bewegung begann, weitete sich in den 1880er Jahren zu einer nationalistischen aus. Eine Forderung nach Home Rule war allerdings nicht ausschlaggebend für die Bewegung. Vielmehr war die Debatte bezüglich einer Welsh Home Rule eher entzweierend als einigend, allerdings gaben die Entwicklungen in Irland

¹⁹¹ Vgl.: Penguin Dictionary of Politics

¹⁹² Vgl.: Davies, John:

http://www.bbc.co.uk/wales/history/sites/themes/society/politics_cymru_fydd.shtml

¹⁹³ Davies, R. (2006): S. 114

und die Forderungen einer Irish Home Rule den nationalen Gefühlen in Wales Auftrieb. Die Situation in Irland unterschied sich hingegen in wesentlichen Punkten von der Situation in Wales:¹⁹⁴

“In Wales, unlike Ireland, there was no desire for separation and little doubt that Home Rule could be killed by kindness.”¹⁹⁵

Die Bewegung Cymru Fydd kollabierte letztlich 1896, 30 Jahre nach ihrer Gründung. In der Folge konzentrierten die walisischen Liberalen ihre Bemühungen auf die Anerkennung der kulturellen Merkmale sowie der religiösen Besonderheit. Mehr als ein walisisches Parlament wurden nationale Institutionen im Bereich der Bildung gefordert, sowie die Trennung der walisischen Kirche – die Kirche einer Minderheit in Wales – von der anglikanischen Mutterkirche, samt Entkleidung ihrer Position als Staatskirche in Wales. Gerade dieser Wunsch nach *Disestablishment* wurde zu einer zentralen Debatte:¹⁹⁶

“[I]n Wales it was disestablishment rather than Home Rule which served to unify national opinion.”¹⁹⁷

Disestablishment wurde letztlich 1914 auch erreicht, kam aber erst 1920 zur Durchsetzung. Die Welsh Liberal Party, die sich so vehement auf dieses eine vornehmliche Ziel konzentriert hatte, verlor danach einen wesentlichen Teil ihrer Vitalität und ihrer Bedeutung. Bereits 1922 hatte Labour die Liberalen als dominierende Partei in Wales ersetzt; 1951 waren lediglich 3 liberale MPs in Wales übrig.¹⁹⁸

Die Einstellung der Labour Party in Bezug auf nationalistische Ambitionen war immer gespalten. Für Labour war die soziale Klasse und weniger die Community ausschlaggebend für politisches Handeln. Dennoch entwickelte sich auch Labour, wie zuvor die Liberaldemokraten, zur einigenden Kraft für Wales.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁴ Vgl.: Bogdanor (2001): S. 146

¹⁹⁵ Bogdanor (2001): S. 147

¹⁹⁶ Vgl.: Bogdanor (2001): S. 149

¹⁹⁷ Bogdanor (2001): S. 149

¹⁹⁸ Vgl.: Bogdanor (2001): S. 150

¹⁹⁹ Vgl.: Bogdanor (2001): S.150f

“Like the Liberals, Labour enjoyed a broad cultural appeal, based as much upon the chapel and the Sunday school as upon class-consciousness.”²⁰⁰

Die Labour Party übernahm sogar die Doktrin der Liberal Democrats: *‘Home Rule all Round’*. Der erste Antrag hinsichtlich einer walisischen Autonomie wurde bereits 1914 an das britische Unterhaus gestellt und verzeichnete zunächst gute Fortschritte, wurde aber durch den Ausbruch des 1. Weltkrieges gestoppt. Nach Ende des Krieges wurde die Debatte erneut ins Leben gerufen, allerdings war die Unterstützung in der Zwischenzeit gesunken und scheiterte letztlich auch an der Einigkeit über die Frage der Umsetzung.²⁰¹

Die Jahre nach Ende des Großen Krieges waren gezeichnet durch Massenarbeitslosigkeit und Emigration. Nationalismus hatte gegen die wirtschaftliche Krise wenig zu bieten und es herrschte die Überzeugung, dass eine Lösung der Problematik nur vom Zentrum aus geschehen konnte und nicht durch eine Regierung in der Peripherie. Als daher Labour 1945 an die Regierung kam, lagen die Prioritäten der Partei in der Wiederherstellung der Wirtschaft, sowie in der Durchführung sozialer Veränderungen.²⁰²

Die Realisierung konstitutioneller Reformen zu jener Zeit wäre dem Labour MP Aneurin Bevan wie Eskapismus vorgekommen:

“It is not rather cruel to give the impression to the 50,000 unemployed men and women in Wales that their plight would be relieved and their distress removed by this constitutional change? It is not socialism. It is escapism. This is exactly the way in which nation after nation has been ruined in the last 25 to 50 years, trying to pretend that deep-seated economic difficulties can be removed by constitutional changes.”²⁰³

Obwohl die Frage, wie walisische Interessen innerhalb eines Vereinigten Königreichs am besten repräsentiert werden könnten, im Laufe der Zeit immer wieder debattiert und

²⁰⁰ Bogdanor (2001): S. 151

²⁰¹ Vgl.: Watkin (2007): S. 193

²⁰² Vgl.: Bogdanor (2001): S. 151f

²⁰³ House of Commons Debates, 5th series, vol. 428, col. 405, 28. Oct. 1946; zitiert in Bogdanor (2001): S. 152

analysiert wurde und obwohl diese Debatten oberflächlich wenig Erfolg brachten, so darf doch nicht übersehen werden, dass einige Bereiche bereits sehr früh im 20. Jahrhundert an walisische Körperschaften übertragen wurden:

“Thus, the Welsh department of the Board of Education, albeit not a Welsh National Council, had been created in 1907. Welsh Insurance Commissioners, with very wide powers, had been established in 1912, and in 1919, by the Ministry of Health Act, the powers of the Commissioners were transferred to a new Welsh Board of Health, which commenced its work in 1921. The powers of this board were further enhanced in 1931 and 1940. A Welsh department of the Ministry of Agriculture and Fisheries was also set up in 1919, but the separate arrangements existing with regard to the Ministry of Pensions were abolished at that time. Yet, despite some advances, there was no personage in government for Wales to correspond to the secretary of state for Scotland, an office revived in 1895 after having been abolished in 1746 following the 1745 rebellion. A Scottish Office was brought into being as a government department in 1934.”²⁰⁴

Laut Vernon Bogdanor waren es vor allem auch diese Institutionen, welche die walisische Besonderheit hervorhoben und welche für den Ausdruck eines walisischen Nationalismus von größerer Bedeutung sind als die Existenz einer nationalistischen Partei.²⁰⁵

Wales besaß im Gegensatz zu Schottland keine eigene Rechtsordnung, weshalb die Durchsetzung eines eigenen *Welsh Office* lange abgelehnt wurde. Auch Winston Churchill bekrittelt einen solchen Antrag 1943 noch, als er allerdings 1951 erneut zum Premierminister gewählt wird, erschafft seine Regierung das *Ministry of Welsh Affairs*, möglicherweise aufgrund einer gemachten Andeutung während der Zeit in der Opposition. Einen ähnlichen Grund dürfte wohl auch letztlich die Schaffung des Postens des *secretary of state for Wales* und somit auch des *Welsh Office* haben: Als Labour 1964 an die Regierungsmacht kommt, setzt sie durch was die Konservativen zuvor abgelehnt hatten und erhebt die Errichtung eines solchen Postens zum politischen Grundsatz der Partei.²⁰⁶ Während der Zeit in der Opposition hatte zudem James Griffiths, ein Waliser, die stellvertretende Position in der Parteispitze der Labour Party

²⁰⁴ Watkin (2007): S. 191f

²⁰⁵ Vgl.: Bogdanor (2001): S. 157

²⁰⁶ Vgl.: Watkin (2007): S. 192

übernommen und somit erhielten walisische Interessen größere Prominenz innerhalb der Partei. Als 1964 das *Welsh Office* entsteht, wird James Griffith zum ersten *Secretary of State for Wales* und obwohl der Einfluss der Institution äußerst limitiert war, so lag seine Bedeutung vor allem im symbolischen Aspekt.²⁰⁷

*“For the first time, Wales was treated as an economic/administrative unit and under both Labour and Conservative administrations between 1964 and 1997 the powers of the Welsh office grew. The increased status of the Welsh Office, alongside increased electoral support for Plaid Cymru during the 1970s provided the impetus for the Devolution debate [...]”*²⁰⁸

Die Schaffung dieser Positionen und Institutionen bedeutete zwar einen enormen Fortschritt in der Selbstadministration für Wales, allerdings wurden die Verfahrensgrundsätze sowie die Gesetze, welche diese Administration bestimmten, nach wie vor von Westminster bestimmt. Ein wesentlicher Schritt um dies zu ändern, sollte 1979 mit einem Referendum gesetzt werden.

6.3. Devolution Referendum 1979

Referenden tendieren dazu die partikularen Umstände, in welchen sie gehalten werden, zu reflektieren. Als Grund für die vier-zu-eins Niederlage des Referendums 1979 wurde daher auch die fortschreitende Fragmentierung der walisischen Kultur und Gesellschaft gesehen. Allerdings wäre das eine zu einfache Interpretation. Vielmehr spielten auch die politischen und gesellschaftlichen Faktoren innerhalb des gesamten Königreichs eine tragende Rolle.

Der erste Schritt in Richtung einer Neuwertung der britischen Verfassung, hin zu mehr Autonomie für die einzelnen Kulturnationen innerhalb des Vereinigten Königreichs, wurde bereits 1969 gesetzt und zwar mit der Einrichtung der *Royal Commission on the Constitution*, auch *Kilbrandon Commission* genannt. Auslöser war die fortschreitende

²⁰⁷ Vgl.. Bogdanor (2001): S. 159

²⁰⁸ Jones / Royles (2004): S. 217

Forderung von Home Rule von Seiten Schottlands und Wales. In den öffentlichen Fokus geriet dies durch die bahnbrechenden Wahlsiege der nationalistischen Parteien bei den *by-elections*: Plaid Cymru in Wales 1966, sowie SNP in Schottland 1967. Bis Mitte der 1960er Jahre erlangten nationalistische Parteien nur wenig Zuspruch in der Bevölkerung, durch diese Wahlerfolge zeigte sich nun, dass sie durchaus eine ernsthafte politische Herausforderung in gewissen Wahlbezirken darstellen konnten.²⁰⁹

Ziel der Kommission war die umfassende Untersuchung der konstitutionellen Möglichkeiten bezüglich mehr Autonomie der einzelnen Kulturnationen des Vereinigten Königreichs. In seinem Ergebnis war der Ausschuss gespalten, die Mehrheit allerdings sprach sich letztlich für die Durchführung von Devolution aus, in Bezug auf Wales in Form einer gewählten Generalversammlung, wobei sich einige Kommissionsmitglieder sogar für volle legislative Machtbefugnis einer solchen aussprachen, inklusive der Ermächtigung Steuern einzuhoben. Als der Report 1973 erschien waren allerdings bereits andere Probleme, vor allem die Ölkrise, ins Zentrum der Öffentlichkeit gerückt und der Bericht der Kilbrandon-Kommission wurde zu den Akten gelegt.²¹⁰

Im Jahr 1974 stand die britische Regierung auf dem Prüfstand. Bei den Wahlen zum britischen Unterhaus am 28. Februar konnte zum ersten Mal seit dem Zweiten Weltkrieg keine eindeutige Mehrheit erreicht werden und die Instabilität der Regierung machte noch im selben Jahr Neuwahlen notwendig. Die Labour Party erreichte dabei eine äußerst geringe Mehrheit. Der lediglich knappe Vorsprung, sowie die Zugewinne der nationalen Parteien, vor allem das Erstarken der Scottish Nationalist Party, brachte Devolution wieder zurück auf die politische Agenda. Es galt ein ‚break-up of Britain‘, also ein Aufbrechen Großbritanniens, zu verhindern.²¹¹

Devolution war eines der zentralen Wahlkampfthemen der Labour Party bei dieser letzten Wahl gewesen, dementsprechend wurde bereits im September 1974, kurz nach Regierungsantritt, eine Gesetzesvorlage, mit dem Titel ‚*Democracy and Devolution: proposals for Scotland and Wales*‘ von der neuen Regierung veröffentlicht.²¹² Grund für das Starkmachen für Devolution lag auch im Kampf um Wählerstimmen, gelten doch

²⁰⁹ Vgl.: Osmond (2007): S. 6f

²¹⁰ Vgl.: Watkin (2007): S. 194

²¹¹ Vgl.: Robbins (1993): S. 231f

sowie: Osmond (2007): S. 7

²¹² Vgl.: Deacon / Sandry (2007): S. 53

Wales und Schottland als die Hochburgen der Labour Partei. Diese Wähler/innen sollten nicht an die erstarkenden nationalistischen Parteien verloren gehen. Die starke Beziehung zwischen Wales und der Labour Party wurde auch in einem Scherz während eines Interviews verdeutlicht:

“You know when I was a kid people used to say: ‘You could run a donkey to run for the Labour Party in the Valleys and the people would vote for it.’²¹³”

Die Durchführung von Devolution gab zudem Aussicht auf fairere politische Repräsentation für die Bevölkerung und mehr politische Macht für die Labour Party. Über 50 Jahre lang hatten die Bewohner Nordirlands, Schottland und Wales niemals eine konservative Mehrheit bei nationalen Wahlen gewählt und wurden dennoch fast immer von den Conservatives regiert, gewählt von der Mehrheit in England.²¹⁴

Die Zugewinne für die nationalistischen Parteien bedeuteten somit auch Stimmenverluste für die Labour Party und versetzten diese in Aufregung. Laut Bogdanor wurde die politische Lage damals allerdings falsch eingeschätzt:

“However, because Plaid Cymru gained seats in both of the two elections in 1974, Westminster politicians and commentators believed that there was increasing support for nationalism in Wales as well as in Scotland. It was common for politicians and commentators in the mid-1970s to speak of ‘the rise of nationalism in Scotland and Wales’, ignoring the fact that Plaid Cymru’s support had fallen from its high point in 1970; and this mistaken diagnosis was to play its part in the events that led to the debacle of the 1979 referendum.²¹⁵”

Das erste Referendum über Devolution in Wales wurde am 1. März, dem Tag des walisischen Nationalheiligen St David, 1979 abgehalten, mit einem katastrophalen Ergebnis für die Befürworter/innen der Devolution. Lediglich 58,8% der Wähler/innen erschienen zur Abstimmung, davon stimmten 20,3% für Devolution, 79,7% stimmten dagegen. Auf die Gesamtzahl der Wahlberechtigten bezogen bedeutete dies ein Ergebnis von 11,9% für die Umsetzung zu 46,9% dagegen. In Schottland war das

²¹³ Interview Nr. 1: Zeile 723-725

²¹⁴ Deacon / Sandry (2007): S. 3

²¹⁵ Bogdanor (2001): S. 156f

Ergebnis knapper. Dort war ein wenig mehr als die Hälfte (51,6%) der abgegeben Stimmen für die Umsetzung der Devolution, allerdings entsprach dies nur 32,9% der Wahlberechtigten und das notwendige Ziel von 40% wurde nicht erreicht.²¹⁶ Gewisse Schwierigkeiten zeichneten sich allerdings schon während der Zeit der Kampagne ab:

“Of course, the campaign was conducted in the worst possible circumstances, in the middle of the so-called Winter of Discontent. James Callaghan’s Labour government was beset by strikes in the public services. Piles of rubbish were left uncollected amidst ice and snow on the streets. Even the dead went unburied in some areas. This dramatized the general unpopularity of government, any government at the time. ‘Get the Government off your back’, was a slogan being promulgated by the leader of the Opposition, one Margaret Thatcher. Pro-devolutionists were shouting in the wind, trying to make the case for what the anti-devolutionists dubbed ‘more government’.”²¹⁷

Das Ergebnis des Referendums wurde zum Ziel diverser Analysen. Eine der Interpretationen lautete, dass eine interne politische Solidarität noch nicht ausgebildet war²¹⁸ und die Politisierung walisischer Identität sich erst nach dem gescheiterten Referendum entwickelte, als ein Mittel um die Kultur vor weiteren Verlusten zu schützen.

“It is not easy to interpret the significance of these developments. On the one hand, the referendum results could be held to show that there was more attachment to ‘Britishness’ than had been frequently alleged by partisans in the debate. In Wales, in particular, the ‘cultural tradition’ had proved a source of division rather than unity. Non-Welsh-speakers, particularly in South Wales, alleged that in a Wales with a devolved administration Welsh-speakers would gain hegemony. It was quite possible to have a Welsh identity which did not depend upon knowledge of the language. Welsh speakers frequently asserted, on the contrary, that in the longer term it could not survive the death of the language. The political divisions in the principality remained. The substantial political success of Plaid Cymru in the ensuing decade were confined to north-west Wales and thus reinforced the notion that it was the vehicle for localised cultural

²¹⁶ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/politics97/devolution/wales/briefing/79referendums.shtml>

²¹⁷ Osmond (2007): S. 7f

²¹⁸ Vgl.: Osmond (2007): S.7

*defence rather than a party capable of 'liberating' Wales as a whole from the 'British' embrace.*²¹⁹”

Weitere Interpretationen stellen die besondere Stärke der Devolutionsgegner/innen in den Vordergrund oder aber die Krise der walisischen Identität. Neuere Untersuchungen gehen allerdings eher davon aus, dass es sich 1979 weniger um eine Krise der Identität handelte, als vielmehr um eine Krise der politischen Bestrebungen diese Identität zu repräsentieren und zu gestalten. Edwards und Tanner zeigen mit ihrer Untersuchung auf, dass Meinung und Identität nicht fixiert waren und durch die Art und das Timing der Meinungsforschung leicht geformt und manipuliert werden konnten.²²⁰

Auch die Ängste und Befürchtungen innerhalb der Gesellschaft waren vielfältig. Zum einen wurde ein Ansteigen der Administration und des bürokratischen Aufwands und damit verbunden ein Anschwellen der Kosten befürchtet.²²¹ Andere Bedenken betrafen die Vorherrschaft der Labour Party in Süd-Wales, wie es etwa der Vorsitzende der ‚No‘-Bewegung in der *Westen Mail* vom 23. März 1979 ausdrückte:

*“'People in South Wales are very charming, but as a crowd they are loud and coarse. We do not want to be governed by Cardiff. The Assembly will be permanently dominated by Labour. It will be a dictatorship.'*²²²”

Andere Opponenten vertraten die gegenteilige Meinung, dass eine Assembly von einer walisischsprachigen Clique aus dem Norden und Westen dominiert werden würde.²²³ Es herrschte ein Misstrauen zwischen den Communities vor und unzweifelhaft war dies ein wesentlicher Punkt für das Scheitern des Referendums in Wales.

“'It is clear, isn't it, that the Assembly people are going to exercise their undoubted right to speak Welsh. And, indeed, how could you deny it? Once they speak Welsh it means that you have to have interpreters for them, who have in the nature of things, to speak Welsh. Then all the top civil servants would have to speak Welsh because the same members who would speak Welsh in the Assembly would speak Welsh in committees and select committees. So it can't be disputed that, once there is an insistence on the part of those who are going to the

²¹⁹ Robbins (1993): S. 267

²²⁰ Vgl.: Edwards / Tanner (2008): S. 54ff

²²¹ Vgl.: Bogdanor (2001): S. 192

²²² Foulkes / Jones / Wilford (1983): S. 125

²²³ Vgl.: Bogdanor (2001): S. 192

*Assembly that they have the right to use the language, once this is established, you get the pattern for a huge and influential bureaucracy and it is one which will not be open to my people in Gwent.*²²⁴”

Nicht nur die Bevölkerung war gespalten, vielmehr waren auch die meisten politischen Parteien in ihrer Meinung bezüglich Devolution entzweit. Lediglich die nationalistischen Parteien, die SNP in Schottland und Plaid Cymru in Wales waren für Devolution. Dies wiederum schreckte viele Befürworter/innen in der Bevölkerung ab, vor allem auch weil sie befürchteten mit ihrer Stimme einen Beitrag zu einer Aufteilung des Vereinigten Königreichs zu leisten.²²⁵

Was auch immer der Grund für das Ergebnis war, der Ausgang des Referendums hatte in jedem Fall einen wesentlichen Einfluss auf den weiteren Verlauf der internen Politik des Vereinigten Königreichs, mehr noch als die wirtschaftlichen Probleme und der sogenannte ‚*Winter of Discontent*‘:

*“When it was seen that the government could not implement devolution, the SNP put down a non-confidence motion. The Conservative opposition then put down its own motion of no confidence, and on 28 March, it was carried by one vote, [...]. The Liberal voted against the government as did the SNP, which declared that Labour MPs preferred Margaret Thatcher in Downing Street to a Scottish assembly in Edinburgh. Plaid Cymru, however, continued to support the government. It was thus devolution and not the industrial and economic troubles of the ‘Winter of Discontent’ of 1978-9 that was the immediate cause of the collapse of the government, and which was to inaugurate eighteen years of Conservative rule.*²²⁶”

Die neue Regierung unter der Führung der Konservativen, gewählt im Mai 1979, hob bereits im Juni die *Schottland and Wales Acts* auf und somit wurde das Thema Devolution, welches ohnehin nie eine mehrheitliche Zustimmung im House of Commons erreichen konnte, von der legislativen Agenda gestrichen. Die Aufhebung des *Wales Act* wurde mit 191 Stimmen zu 8 beschlossen, die Aufhebung des *Scotland*

²²⁴ MP Leo Abse (MP for Pontypool) in: Planet 47 (1979)

²²⁵ Vgl.: Bogdanor (2001): S. 193

²²⁶ Bogdanor (2001): S. 191

Acts mit 301 Stimmen zu 206. Das Projekt Devolution war damit für die nächsten 18 Jahre auf Eis gelegt. Anstatt zu dispergieren schlug Großbritannien einen anderen Weg ein, in Richtung eines uniformeren und unflexibleren Regierungssystems und akzentuierte in der Folge die geografischen und sozialen Konflikte zwischen den unterschiedlichen Teilen des Landes noch weiter.²²⁷

6.4. Devolution Referendum 1997

In all den Jahren in der Opposition hielt Labour an seiner Unterstützung für Devolution fest, wobei allerdings die Thematik in Bezug auf Wales lange ignoriert wurde.²²⁸ War die Partei in den 1970er Jahren noch gespalten und zögerlich in seiner Einstellung bezüglich eines solchen konstitutionellen Schrittes, so wurde es bis zum Jahr 1997 ein wesentliches Element des Parteiprogramms. Die Erklärung dafür ist nicht schwer zu finden. Vor dem ersten Referendum 1979 wurde Devolution von seinen Befürworter/innen vor allem als ein Mittel gesehen, um die eigenständigen Meinungen Schottlands und Wales innerhalb der Regierung besser vertreten zu wissen. Während der Jahre 1974-79, unter einer Labour-Regierung, war diesbezüglich allerdings kein Grund gegeben, da sich die schottische und walisische Bevölkerung ohnehin von der von ihr gewählten Regierung vertreten sah. Als allerdings in den Jahren 1979, 1983, 1987 und 1992 England für Tory wählte, verblieben Schottland und Wales loyal zu Labour.²²⁹

“There had never been so prolonged a period of geographically one-sided government in Britain in the twentieth century. After 1987, the government was supported by fewer than one-seventh of Scottish MPs and fewer than a quarter of Welsh MPs. The Conservatives gained a large overall majority with the votes of less than a quarter of the Scots, and around three-tenths of the Welsh. Thus Scotland and Wales, instead of following England by swinging to the Right, were

²²⁷ Vgl.: Bogdanor (2001): S. 191ff

²²⁸ Vgl.: Deacon / Sandry (2007): S. 110

²²⁹ Vgl.: Bogdanor (2001): S. 193f;
sowie: Osmond (2007): S. 19

*developing a specifically Scottish and Welsh consciousness of their own. This consciousness would prove incompatible with hitherto-accepted constitutional arrangements for governing Scotland and Wales.*²³⁰”

Demgemäß sahen sich die beiden Kulturnationen einer Regierung ausgesetzt, die sie einerseits nicht gewählt hatten und von der sie sich andererseits keine Rücksicht auf ihre kulturellen Besonderheiten erwarten konnten. Weiter angespannt wurde die Situation durch die politische Führungsstrategie der Konservativen. So merkt Bogdanor an, dass ein wesentliches Problem im Umgang der Torys mit den Kulturnationen lag: Während die Regierungen unter Churchill oder Macmillan Sensibilität gegenüber der schottischen Meinung zeigten, so setzte die ‚Eiserne Lady‘ Margaret Thatcher dermaßen unliebsame Schritte, dass sie selbst Jahrzehnte nach dem Ende ihrer Regierungszeit regelrecht verhasst ist in Schottland.

*“No prime minister in history, Labour or Conservative, has generated so such hostility for so long from so many in Scotland.”*²³¹

Thatcher bereitete der ‚*dual polity*‘ ein Ende, einem System, welches die territorialen Beziehungen seit den 1920er Jahren dominierte und in welchem nationale und lokale Politik im Wesentlichen getrennt voneinander waren. Dieses System der ‚*dual polity*‘ erlaubte Schottland und Wales einen vornehmlichen Teil an Autonomie, unabhängig von der politischen Farbe der Regierung in London. Durch die nun eingetretene Situation wurde Schottland und Wales die Bedeutung von Devolution erst richtig bewusst.²³²

*“The Thatcher government’s policies of competitive individualism were resented both in Scotland and Wales, where they were seen as undermining traditional values of community solidarity; [...] [T]he fiasco of the poll tax seemed to prove to the Scots and Welsh that, in rejecting devolution, they had surrendered themselves to a government which cared little for their interests. Only devolution, so it seemed, could protect Scotland and Wales against future outburst of Thatcherism.”*²³³

²³⁰ Bogdanor (2001): S. 194

²³¹ <http://www.newstatesman.com/uk-politics/2009/02/scottish-scotland-thatcher>

²³² Vgl.: Bogdanor (2001): S. 195f

²³³ Bogdanor (2001): S. 196

Eine parteienübergreifende Kampagne für eine Welsh Assembly wurde 1987 wieder eingeführt, nachdem dies zuvor 10 Jahre erstarrt war. Labour hatte von 1979 bis 1987 das Konzept einer Welsh Assembly ignoriert. Eine Wahlniederlage bei den General Elections 1987 brachte die Partei allerdings dazu, dies nochmals zu überprüfen und zu überdenken. Somit kehrte in den 1990er Jahren Devolution für Wales wieder auf die Agenda der Labour Party zurück.²³⁴

Generell hatte sich zwischen 1979 und 1997 die Einstellung der Labour Party, die davor dem Thema Devolution gespalten gegenüberstand, geändert. 1979, im Jahr des gescheiterten ersten Referendums, wurde das Thema Devolution von vielen noch als nationalistische Angelegenheit betrachtet und die Werte der Partei wurden eher mit Unterstützung des konstitutionellen Status quo assoziiert. Durch die politischen Maßnahmen der Conservatives und dem sich dadurch ergebenden sozialen und ökonomischen Wandel wurden die traditionellen Werte der Labour Partei fundamental unterminiert. Der Niedergang der Schwerindustrie zerstörte traditionelle Gemeinschaften und deren Werte und Praktiken. Dies hatte auch Auswirkungen auf die Labour Partei und ihre Mitglieder, nicht nur in der Haltung gegenüber Devolution, sondern letztendlich auch im Bezug einer kritischen Neubewertung der Werte der Partei und der subsequenten Bildung der New Labour.²³⁵

Im Jahr 1997 war die *Wales Says Yes* Kampagne entsprechend gut organisiert, insbesondere im Vergleich mit der *Yes for Wales* Kampagne von 1979. Aber auch das geeinte Vorgehen in der Politik – Labour kooperierte in Einklang mit Plaid Cymru und den Liberal Democrats – hatte Einfluss auf die Wähler/innen und trug viel zu einem Gefühl des Konsenses im Bereich des Wandels bei. Dies war sicherlich einflussreich, denn durch die sukzessive Administration der Konservativen in den vorangegangenen 18 Jahren hatte sich ein Gefühl von demokratischem Defizit breit gemacht.²³⁶

Eine weitere Veränderung betraf die Wählerschaft an sich, denn zwischen dem Referendum 1979 und jenem 1997 hatte sich ein Generationenwechsel vollzogen, so dass nun eine neue Wählerschaft zur Abstimmung antrat, welche nicht durch den Kampf gegen den Faschismus, den Zweiten Weltkrieg, die Entwicklung des

²³⁴ Vgl.: Osmond (2007): S. 15f
sowie: Deacon / Sandry (2007): S. 110

²³⁵ Vgl.: Davies, R. (2006): S. 116ff

²³⁶ Vgl.: Osmond (2007): S. 19

Wohlfahrtsstaates sowie den Verlust des Empires geprägt war. Wie bereits weiter oben (siehe Kapitel 3 ‚Britishness versus Welshness‘) erläutert wurde, bildeten gerade jene Elemente den emotionalen nationalen Kitt, welcher zum Zusammenhalt Großbritanniens beitrug. Es handelte sich um rund 600.000 Menschen, welche beim ersten Referendum 1979 zu jung waren um ihre Stimmen abzugeben. Die Verschiebung der Generationen war daher auch eine der wichtigsten Erklärungen für das Ergebnis, welches sich von einer 4 zu 1 Mehrheit gegen die Assembly 1979, 18 Jahre später in eine knappe Mehrheit dafür gewandelt hatte. Jene These wurde im Rahmen des Referendums auch untersucht, mit dem Ergebnis, dass jene unter 45 Jahren eher gewillt wären für eine Assembly zu stimmen als jene über 45 Jahre.²³⁷

Generell hatte sich in den 18 Jahren in denen die Konservativen an der Macht waren gesellschaftlich viel verändert. Der Thatcherismus hatte zu einer Erosion des Wohlfahrtsstaates und zur Destabilisierung der industriellen Strukturen geführt. Abgesehen davon, dass dies Einfluss auf die Politik und die Gesellschaft des Vereinigten Königreichs als Ganzes und Wales im Speziellen hatte, so trug es auch wesentlich zur Bedeutung der nationalen Identität bei. Der Niedergang dieser Institutionen, welche neben ihrer eigentlichen Bedeutung auch Charakteristiken des britischen Nationalbewusstseins darstellten, hatte Auswirkungen auf die Identität der Menschen.²³⁸

„In a sense, therefore, eighteen years of Conservative rule helped to change what it meant to be British. Britishness was less and less a collectivist identity bound with a pride in the Empire and the values associated with the welfare state. This change in British identity subsequently impacted on other national identities in the UK.“²³⁹

Am 18. September 1997 stimmte eine äußerst knappe Mehrheit (50,3%) für eine Welsh Assembly; 49,7% stimmten dagegen. Die Wahlbeteiligung betrug knapp über 50% (50,1%).²⁴⁰

²³⁷ Vgl.: Osmond (2007): S. 19f

²³⁸ Vgl.: Davies, R. (2006): S. 116

²³⁹ Davies, R. (2006): S. 116

²⁴⁰ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/politics97/devolution/wales/live/index.shtml>

Beim Wahlverhalten spielte auch die nationale Identität eine entscheidende Rolle. Die logische Vermutung ist, dass jene, welche sich mehr Walisisch fühlen auch für eine Assembly abstimmten, während jene, welche sich eher mehr British fühlen, dagegen wählten. Entsprechend den Zahlen, kann diese Annahme auch verifiziert werden:

Tabelle Nr. 5: Walisische Nationale Identität und Referendum Abstimmung²⁴¹

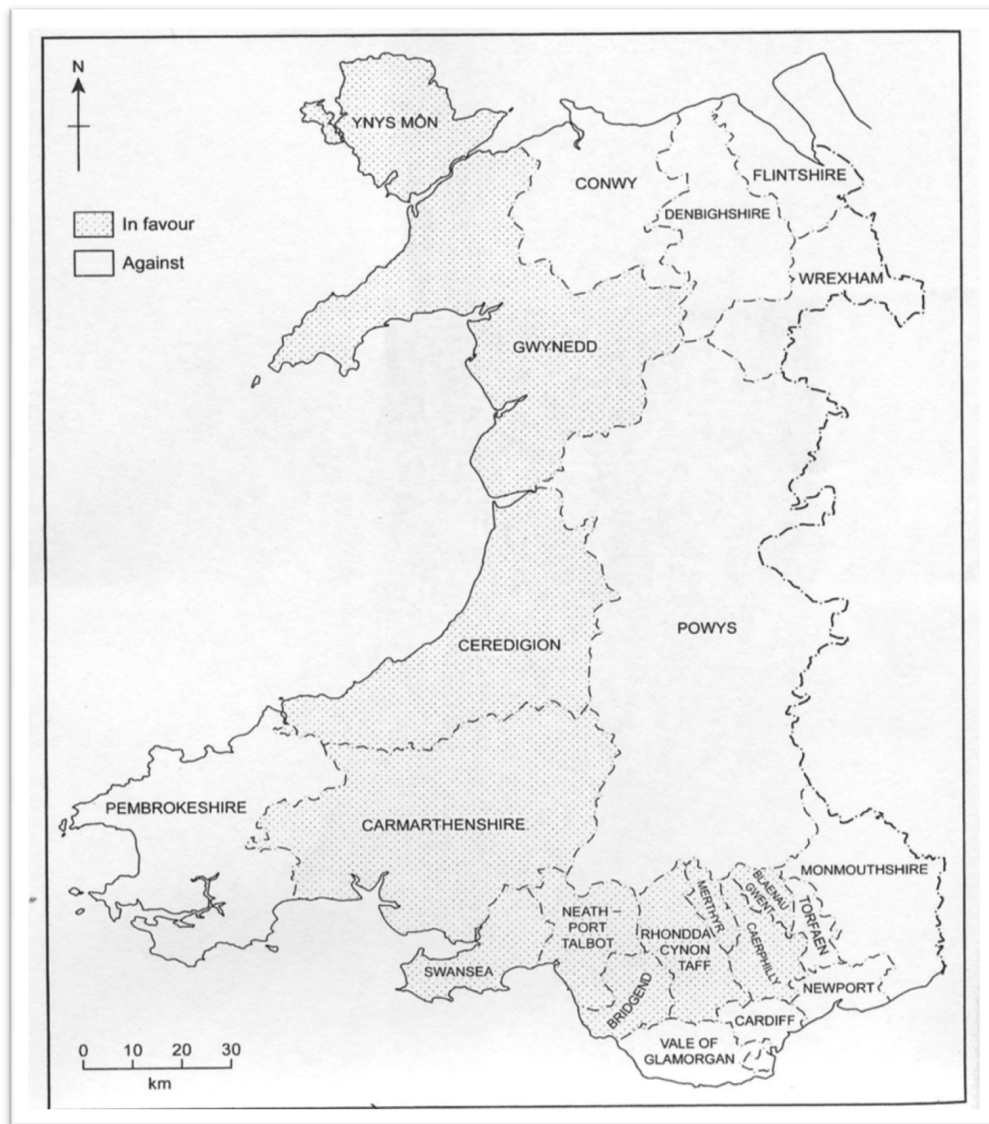
	Yes	No	Did not vote	N
Welsh / not British	43%	23%	34%	106
More Welsh than British	44%	25%	32%	166
Equally Welsh and British	26%	34%	41%	227
More British than Welsh	16%	37%	47%	70
British / not Welsh	13%	45%	42%	84

Der Ausgang des Referendums verwies auch auf eine Allianz, die davor in dem Maße nicht wirklich erkannt wurde und welche auch deutlich machte, dass walisische Identität weniger uneinig war als bislang angenommen:

“The referendum was won through an alliance between Welsh-speaking Wales, the heartland of the north-west, and the industrial Wales of the valleys, the former coalfield areas. It seemed, by comparison with the 1979 result, to show that Welsh identity was becoming less divisive and that a sense of Welshness was growing irrespective of language, a sense of Welshness which may be more deep-seated than social analysts have noticed.”²⁴²

²⁴¹ Curtice (1999): S. 129

²⁴² Bogdanor (2001): S. 200



Graphik Nr. 4: Ergebnis des Referendums vom September 1997

Quelle: Jenkins, Geraint: *A Concise History of Wales*. Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Die Umsetzung des Ergebnisses wurde letztlich mit dem *Government of Wales Act* vollzogen, welcher im Juli 1998 royale Zustimmung erhielt. Der Act ist die gesetzliche Verankerung der Devolution in Wales und ruft die National Assembly for Wales ins Leben. Im Jahr 2006 wurde das Gesetz erneuert und führte so einerseits zu einer Reformierung der Assembly und schuf andererseits auch begrenzte legislative Kompetenzen für diese. Die *Government of Wales Acts*²⁴³ haben neben ihrer rechtlichen Bedeutung aber auch historische und symbolische Wichtigkeit:

²⁴³ Government of Wales Act 1998: <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/38/contents>

“The Government of Wales Acts are laws which have been enacted specifically for Wales and which enable the country to frame specific laws for its own governance. They are the most important statutory enactments relating to Wales since the sixteenth-century Acts of Union [...]. Those Acts required that English be the official language of the annexed territories. The Government of Wales Acts provide that the Assembly must treat Welsh and English on equal terms, and that legislation produced by the Assembly must ordinarily be in both languages.”²⁴⁴

Der Government of Wales Act aus dem Jahr 2006 schuf zudem die Möglichkeit für weitere Referenden welche einer Kompetenzsteigerung der National Assembly dienlich sind. In diesem Sinne wurde auch die Möglichkeit eines solchen dritten Devolution Referendums bereits ins Auge gefasst und nach dem jetzigen Stand der Dinge wird ein solches bereits im Jahr 2011 stattfinden.

6.5. Referendum 2011

Im Gegensatz zum britischen Wahlsystem, welches eine Mehrheitswahl vorsieht, herrscht für die Wahlen zur National Assembly ein Verhältniswahlrecht vor. Ein Novum für die Wähler/innen, sowie für die Parteien. Eine Minderheitenregierung unter Labour nach der Wahl 1999 hielt nur ein Jahr und Labour musste eine Koalition mit den Liberal Democrats eingehen. Bei der zweiten Wahl der Assembly 2003 konnte Labour eine knappe Mehrheit einfahren und eine Alleinregierung durchsetzen. 2007 war Labour abermals gezwungen eine Koalition einzugehen, diesmal mit der rivalisierenden nationalistischen Plaid Cymru. Diese Regierung ist nach wie vor im Amt.

Im Koalitionsabkommen ‚*One Wales*‘²⁴⁵ vom 27. Juni 2007 wurde auch das äußerst kontroverse Thema eines neuerlichen Referendums abgehandelt. Die Koalitionspartner einigten sich auf die Abhaltung eines dritten Referendums bezüglich mehr Möglichkeiten im Bereich der Gesetzgebung. Dieses Referendum sollte laut Übereinkommen noch vor Ablauf dieser Legislaturperiode abgehalten werden.

Government of Wales Act 2006: <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/2006/32/contents>

²⁴⁴ Watkin (2007): S. 201f

²⁴⁵ http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/shared/bsp/hi/pdfs/27_06_07_owales.pdf

Am 21. September 2010 wurde letztlich ein Termin für ein solches Referendum fixiert und wird mit aller Wahrscheinlichkeit am 3. März 2011 stattfinden. Ein positiver Ausgang würde der Assembly erlauben effizienter Gesetze zu machen und dies auf kosteneffizientere Weise.²⁴⁶ Bis jetzt müssen alle Gesetzesanträge der Prüfung und Zustimmung von Westminster standhalten.

“The current system is slow, cumbersome, and highly bureaucratic and it needs to be changed.”²⁴⁷

Die National Assembly for Wales hat seit ihrer Gründung im Jahr 1999 stetig eine Entwicklung erfahren. Ursprünglich bestimmt als Kommunalverwaltung, ausgeführt von einer Reihe von Komitees, so war doch vom ersten Tag an das Bestreben mehr ein Parlament zu werden. Stimmt die walisische Bevölkerung im kommenden März für mehr Kompetenzen ihrer Assembly, dann wäre dieser Schritt deutlich näher gerückt. Und die Anzeichen für eine ausreichende Zustimmung stehen gut, betrachtet man folgende Zahlen:

Tabelle Nr. 6: Konstitutionelle Präferenzen (%) in Wales, 1997 - 2006²⁴⁸

<i>Constitutional Preference</i>	1997	1999	2001	2003	2006
Independence	14,1%	9,6%	12,3%	13,9	11,5
Parliament	19,6%	29,9%	38,8%	37,8	42,1
Assembly	26,8%	35,3%	25,5%	27,1	25,0
No elected body	39,5%	25,3%	24,0%	21,2	21,3

Im September 2010 wurde folgende Formulierung der Referendumsfrage der Bevölkerung präsentiert:²⁴⁹

²⁴⁶ Vgl.: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-politics-11382649>

²⁴⁷ Plaid Cymru: <http://www.plaidcymru.org/content.php?nID=14;ID=2055;IID=1>

²⁴⁸ Wales Devolution Monitoring Report, January 2007: S. 76

²⁴⁹ <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-wales-politics-11382649>

THE REFERENDUM QUESTION

The National Assembly for Wales – what happens at the moment

The assembly has powers to make laws on 20 subject areas, such as agriculture, education, the environment, health, housing, local government.

In each subject area, the assembly can make laws on some matters, but not others. To make laws on any of these other matters, the assembly must ask the UK Parliament for its agreement. The UK Parliament then decides each time whether or not the assembly can make these laws.

The assembly cannot make laws on subject areas such as defence, tax or welfare benefits, whatever the result of this vote.

If most voters vote 'yes' – the Assembly will be able to make laws on all matters in the 20 subject areas it has powers for, without needing the UK Parliament's agreement.

If most voters vote 'no' – what happens at the moment will continue.

Question: Do you want the assembly now to be able to make laws on all matters in the 20 subject areas it has powers for?

Source: Wales Office

Es wird sich in naher Zukunft zeigen wie sich die Waliser/innen entscheiden.

7. Die walisische Sprache und Devolution

7.1. Sprache und Identität

Sprache ist der hörbare und sichtbare Marker einer ethnischen Identität, welcher weit über die Rolle als Kommunikationsinstrument hinausreicht. Der amerikanische Linguist Joshua Fishman bezeichnet Sprache sogar als *„quintessential symbol of ethnicity“*²⁵⁰. In Wales spiegelt sich allerdings folgende Tatsache wider, dass die Sprache lange Zeit im Abnehmen war und es fast den Anschein machte, dass die Sprache bald ausgestorben sein werde. Diesem Umstand ist es laut Jones und Royles zu verdanken, dass in Bezug auf Wales nicht von einer einheitlichen ethnopolitischen Gruppe gesprochen werden kann, vielmehr handelt es sich um zwei Gruppen: jene mit einer walisischen Identität welche die Sprache beherrschen und jene mit einer walisischen Identität, die über diese Kompetenz nicht verfügen.²⁵¹

Trotz dieser Differenzierung war die Sprache für den Erhalt der walisischen Identität im Laufe der Geschichte dennoch von großer Bedeutung.

*“[...] [B]y its existence, the language tells us that we are Welsh. All the feeling of nationality that is supported for the Englishman by the Queen, the House of Parliament, the London policeman, the bewigged judges, the customs officers at Dover and a whole range of political, cultural and popular institutions, rests for the Welshman on the language and literature, and on a few cultural phenomena such as the eisteddfod which are closely linked with the language. For centuries the Welsh identity has not been political or institutional but linguistic and literary and in the last two centuries religious.”*²⁵²

Emotionale Bedeutung hat die Sprache auch für Nicht-Sprecher/innen, egal ob in Wales geboren oder zugezogen:

²⁵⁰ Fishman (1977); zitiert in Tulasiewicz/Adams: S. 15

²⁵¹ Jones / Royles (2004): S. 215

²⁵² Thomas (1971): S. 32f

“There is a full range of emotional attitudes among those who speak not Welsh, ranging from fierce resolve to learn it, though ambivalence, to contempt and hostility. Neutrality of attitude towards Welsh often betokens a recent English immigrant. Emotional attitudes of one kind or another are a sure sign of Welshness.”²⁵³

7.2. Sprach-Aktivismus und das Entstehen der Autonomiebewegung

Ungeachtet seiner Bedeutung für die walisische Identität war die kymrische Sprache im Verlauf des 20. Jahrhunderts von einem stetigen Rückgang betroffen. Zu Beginn der 1960er Jahre beherrschten noch lediglich 26% der Bevölkerung die Sprache. Der Vergleich mit den Zahlen aus den Jahren 1931, sowie 1951, macht den rapide voranschreitenden Rückgang deutlich. Waren es 1931 noch 36,8% Sprecher/innen, so ging diese Zahl bis 1951 auf 28,9% zurück. Die Zahl der monolingualen Walisischsprecher/innen verringerte sich noch deutlicher und ging von 4% 1951 auf lediglich 1% im Jahre 1961 zurück.²⁵⁴

Nur wenige Monate nach Bekanntwerden der Problematik wurde am 13. Februar 1962 ein Radio-Vortrag ausgestrahlt, gehalten von Saunders Lewis, einem Mitbegründer von Plaid Cymru. Der Vortrag unter dem Titel *‘Tynged yr Iaith’* (*Das Schicksal der Sprache*) war bahnbrechend und rief Reaktionen hervor, welche wesentlichen Einfluss auf die Politik ausüben sollten. Als Konsequenz auf die dramatische Situation der Sprache rief Saunders Lewis zu einer Revolution auf:

“Restoring the Welsh language in Wales is nothing less than a revolution. It is only through revolutionary means that we can succeed.”²⁵⁵

Diese Revolution sollte sich in zivilem Ungehorsam ausdrücken und Lewis rief dazu auf Formulare nicht auszufüllen, beziehungsweise keine Steuern oder Lizenzen zu zahlen, wenn dies nicht durch das Medium der walisischen Sprache möglich war.

²⁵³ Thomas, Ned: Wales in the Balance. Aberystwyth, mimeographed paper, 1986: Zitiert in Osmond (1988): S. 123

²⁵⁴ Vgl.: Jones / Griffiths (1963): S. 192

²⁵⁵ Vgl.: <http://www.llgc.org.uk/ymgyrchu/laith/Tyngedlaith/index-e.htm>

Weitere Formen des Protests und Kampagnen wurden in weiterer Folge von ‚*Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg*‘, der ‚*Welsh Language Society*‘ initiiert, deren Gründung auch mit Saunders Lewis Radio-Vortrag in Verbindung steht.²⁵⁶

Die Angst vor dem ‚Sprachtod‘ rief also in den 1960er Jahren Sprachaktivisten auf den Plan, welche an der Spitze einer neu erwachten Autonomiebewegung in Wales standen:

“[...] Welsh language protagonists have been at the forefront of campaigns to secure a greater degree of autonomy for Wales. This derives in part from the fact that the language was seen as the prime ethnic indicator of Welsh identity; an identity that was all but lost following the early assimilation of Wales to England, and one that was being seriously weakened as the language itself continued to decline.”²⁵⁷

Saunders Lewis Prophezeiung vom Ende der Sprache – „*Y bydd terfyn ar y Gymraeg yn iaith fyw, ond parhau'r tueddiad presennol, tua dechrau'r unfed ganrif ar hugin*“ (*that Welsh will end as a living language, should the present trend continue, about the beginning of the twenty-first century*)²⁵⁸ – hat sich letztlich nicht bewahrheitet, wofür er vermutlich selbst auch mitverantwortlich ist. Für Lewis und viele andere waren das Überleben der Sprache und die Kampf für politische Freiheit zwei Seiten einer Medaille. Es galt die Überzeugung, dass für die Rettung der walisischen Sprache – in ihren Augen das wichtigste Element einer nationalen walisischen Identität – politische Freiheit und Autonomie notwendig sei.²⁵⁹ Allerdings auch mit der Warnung von Saunders Lewis im Hinterkopf, dass der Verlust der Sprache, ohne einer gestärkten Stellung des Kymrischen vor dem Erhalt einer Autonomie, unaufhaltbar ist:

“ [P]e ceid unrhyw fath o hunan-lywodraeth i Gymru cyn arddel ac arfer yr iaith Gymraeg yn iaith swyddogol ... byddai tranc yr iaith yn gynt nag y bydd ei thranc hi dan Lywodraeth Loegr.

²⁵⁶ Vgl.: <http://www.llgc.org.uk/ymgyrchu/iaith/TyngedIaith/index-e.htm>

²⁵⁷ Aitchinson and Carter (2000): S. 154

²⁵⁸ Zitiert in Phillips, D. (2005): S. 100

²⁵⁹ Vgl.: Phillips, D. (2005): S. 103f

(If any kind of self-government for Wales were obtained before the Welsh language was acknowledged and used as an official language ... its demise would be quicker than it will be under English rule.).²⁶⁰ “

Seit der letzten Volkszählung im Jahr 2001 zeigt der Trend, dass die Zahl der Walisischsprecher/innen wieder im Steigen ist.

“In fact, Welsh is still spoken today by over half a million people in Wales, representing 20.5 per cent of the population aged three and over, according to the latest 2001 census figures. These figures include an increase in overall numbers of 13.3 per cent since 1991 (...). The decline of the language seems to have been finally reversed and there are positive signs of a particularly substantial rise in the number of young people between the age of three and fifteen who can speak the language, especially in the Anglicized south-east.²⁶¹ ”

Wie bereits in diesem Zitat angedeutet, lässt sich ein Anstieg der Sprache in jenen Gegenden verzeichnen, in denen vormals hauptsächlich nur English gesprochen wurde. Dies hängt einerseits damit zusammen, dass sich die Sprach- und Bildungspolitik im heutigen Wales geändert hat und viele positive Anreize zum Erlernen der Sprache geschaffen wurden, andererseits lässt sich auch eine Änderung in der persönlichen Einstellung vieler Waliser/innen feststellen:

“[...] [W]hereas many Welsh men and women in the early twentieth century saw no purpose in transmitting the language to their children, Welsh now enjoys colossal good will and growing support from those unable to speak it. The results of a study undertaken on behalf of the Welsh Language Board in 2000 by Beaufort Research showed that 61 per cent of even the non-Welsh speakers surveyed supported the increased use of Welsh. The survey also showed that 75 per cent of all the respondents believed that the language would survive for the foreseeable future (Beaufort Research, 2000: 8-10.)²⁶² ”

²⁶⁰ Phillips, D. (2005): S. 100

²⁶¹ Phillips, D. (2005): S.106

²⁶² Phillips, D. (2005): S. 107

Vgl.: State of Welsh Language Research Report:

http://www.linguaecelticae.org/dateien/State_of_Welsh_2000.pdf

7.3. Welsh Assembly und Sprachpolitik

Wie bereits kurz angedeutet war eine der wichtigsten Schritte für den Erhalt beziehungsweise das Wiedererwachen der Sprache, die Bildung der *National Assembly for Wales* an sich. Während der ersten Koalitionsregierung von 2000-2003 nahm Jenny Randerson, Assembly Member der Liberal Democrats, die Position als Ministerin für Kultur, Sport und walisische Sprache ein und in dieser Position zeigte sie deutlichen Spürsinn dafür, was von der Assembly erwartet wurde. Randerson präsentierte 2003 die allererste Sprachstrategie: *Iaith Pawb* ('Everybody's Language')²⁶³. Diese bedeutete einen enormen Durchbruch, auch um die Sprachplanung in das Mainstream policy-making in Wales zu integrieren.

Sprachpolitik war natürlich nicht ein gänzlich neues Thema. Der Aktionsplan konnte auf bereits existierende Strukturen aufbauen, denn selbst in der Prä-Devolution Zeit wurden Schritte in Richtung Bilingualität gesetzt.

*“Over the last three or four decades, UK governments have enacted legislation and introduced policies which have both raised the status of the Welsh language and contributed in no small way to the stabilisation in its decline between 1971 and 1991. The Welsh Language Acts of 1967 and 1993, the launch of S4C, the Welsh language television station, in 1982 and the establishment of the Welsh Language Board in 1988 and the activities flowing from these initiatives have helped enormously to raise the profile and status of the language in public life and in the public consciousness. The most important policy developments have probably been those in the education sector where the steady increase in the provision of Welsh medium and bilingual education has had a significant impact in the number and percentage of school age children able to speak Welsh.”*²⁶⁴

Trotz dieser bereits existierenden Maßnahmen war die Zukunft der Sprache allerdings noch nicht gesichert, etliche Angelegenheiten waren nach wie vor problematisch. Nach

²⁶³ <http://wales.gov.uk/depc/publications/welshlanguage/iaithpawb/iaithpawbe.pdf?lang=en>

²⁶⁴ Morgan, Rhodri / Jenny Randerson: Vorwort *Iaith Pawb*: S. 1

einer genauen Revision der Lage und der Darlegung dieser im Bericht *‘Our Language: Its Future’*²⁶⁵, wurde der Aktionsplan von der Assembly in Angriff genommen.

Es darf allerdings auch nicht alle Hoffnung nur auf die Assembly und ihren Aktionsplan gelegt werden. Nicht überall brachte die Durchsetzung der politischen Autonomie auch eine Stärkung der nationalen Sprache mit sich. Bei einer Betrachtung der Situation in Irland fällt auf, dass dort gerade die Etablierung des Irischen Freistaates im Jahr 1921 einen wesentlichen Schritt hin zu einem Bedeutungsverlust der Sprache ausmachte. Obwohl Maßnahmen zum Erhalt getroffen wurden, nimmt die Zahl der Sprachkompetenten seit 1921 kontinuierlich ab, selbst in den als *Gaeltacht* bezeichneten Gebieten. Dabei handelt es sich um Regionen in denen Irisch die offiziell vorherrschende Sprache ist.²⁶⁶

In Irland wurde nach der Unabhängigkeit fälschlicherweise angenommen, dass bereits allein die Existenz eines irischen Staates die Bewahrung der Sprache gewährleisten würde, einer Sprachpolitik wurde daher weniger Bedeutung geschenkt. Selbst innerhalb der irischen Regierung besitzt das Irische eine rein zeremonielle Stellung. Die Existenz eines souveränen Staates mit eigenen Institutionen hat die Funktion der Sprache als primäres Identifikationsmerkmal geschwächt. Irisch erhielt offiziellen Status der entsprechend hoch war. Daher wurde ein regelmäßiges Pflegen der Sprache auf alltäglicher Basis nicht mehr notwendig. Dies ist in Wales definitiv nicht der Fall, allerdings ist auch das Kymrische nach wie vor mit vielen Problemen konfrontiert.²⁶⁷

Die Probleme in Wales finden ihren Ausgang zum Teil in der Assembly selbst: Zwar gibt es eine parteienübergreifende Übereinkunft, die Erhaltung der Sprache zu unterstützen, dennoch wird das Walisische auch immer wieder für Machtkämpfe zwischen den Parteien missbraucht. Selbst Plaid Cymru distanzierte sich nach ihrem Verlust bei den zweiten Assembly Wahlen, um nicht als *‘too Welsh’* zu gelten²⁶⁸:

“At the same time, it is important not to be too Welsh. Plaid Cymru’s opponents and Welsh Labour in particular, have striven to present the party as extreme, with controversies surrounding the cultural impacts of large scale in-migration from England into poorer, largely rural and traditionally Welsh speaking areas being

²⁶⁵ <http://www.linguae-celticae.org/dateien/Einhiaith-e.pdf>

²⁶⁶ Vgl.: Phillips, D. (2005): S. 109

²⁶⁷ Vgl.: Interview Seán Ó Riain

²⁶⁸ Vgl.: Phillips, D. (2005): S. 110

*used to associate Plaid Cymru with racism and 'anti-Englishness'. [...] Plaid were very probably hurt by these attacks, particularly in the overwhelmingly English-speaking south Wales valleys.*²⁶⁹”

Wie in Irland könnte aber auch allein die Existenz der Assembly an sich eine Bedrohung für den Erhalt der Sprache darstellen:

*“The creation of the Assembly may have given Welsh people a new focus for their national identity strong enough to leave them without further need of the language as a defining characteristic of their uniqueness and singularity. Welsh could become sidelined as a ‘marginal and optional’ marker of identity.*²⁷⁰”

Gegenwärtige Trends sprechen dem entgegen, denn die Begeisterung für die Sprache ist derzeit ungebrochen. Viele Erwachsene belegen Kurse, um sich die Sprache anzueignen, beziehungsweise schicken sie ihre Kinder auf entsprechende Schulen, damit diese bilingual aufwachsen. Dies wird zuletzt nicht auch durch die damit gesteigerten Chancen auf dem Arbeitsmarkt beeinflusst. Die Arbeitssituation ist in Wales zum Teil prekär, dazu kommt, dass für Berufe im öffentlichen Bereiche die Kompetenz in der walisischen Sprache verpflichtend beziehungsweise erwünscht ist. Bei gleicher Kompetenz hat somit eine Walisischsprecherin oder ein Walisischsprecher bessere Aussichten auf den Job als jemand, der die Sprache nicht beherrscht.²⁷¹

Obwohl das Ansteigen der sprachkompetenten Personen positiv anmutet, darf dennoch nicht auch auf ein Problem vergessen werden: Diese Lerner/innen besitzen zwar die Fähigkeit die Sprache anzuwenden, wichtig für den Erhalt ist aber die Anwendung auf einer alltäglichen Basis.

“One of the clear bases of a language’s vitality is the number of people who speak it, especially the number who regard it as their mother tongue, rather than as a second language. Censuses do not yield insights into such matters, but a Welsh Office Survey of 1992 revealed that only 56 per cent of Welsh-speakers regarded Welsh as their mother tongue. More disconcertingly, the proportion dropped to only 27 per cent amongst those between three and fifteen years old. Again, data from primary schools show that in 1996/7 only 6.4 per cent of the

²⁶⁹ Wyn Jones / Scully (2003): S. 34

²⁷⁰ Vgl.: Phillips, D. (2005): S.110f

²⁷¹ Vgl.: Interview Nr. 6: Zeile: 161-201

*pupils came from homes where Welsh was regarded as the household language.*²⁷²“

Mit ihrer Dokumentation ‚*A broken heart*‘ zeigt der BBC die Problematik des Aussterbens der Welsh Communities auf. Zwanzig Jahre nach einem ersten Bericht über Llangeitho, einer walisischen Gemeinde im ‚Welsh Heartland‘, fand eine erneute Reportage über denselben Ort, mit denselben Menschen statt, um nachzusehen wie sich die Situation der Sprache in dieser recht kleinen Gemeinschaft in zwei Dekaden entwickelt hat. Der ursprüngliche Grund für die Dokumentation waren die Prognosen zweier führender Wissenschaftler der Universität Aberystwyth. John Aitchinson und Harold Carter²⁷³ untersuchten das Sprachverhalten in walisischen Haushalten. Es waren dabei vor allem ihre Langzeitprognosen, welche zum Zeitpunkt des Erscheinens Beunruhigung erweckten.²⁷⁴

Als Definition einer lebendigen ‚Heartland Community‘ legten sie die Untergrenze von 75% an Walisischsprechern fest. Eine Unterschreitung dieser Prozentzahl würde laut dieser Definition bedeuten, dass die Sprache aufhört die natürliche Sprache der Gemeinschaft zu sein. Anhand ihrer Forschungsergebnisse stellten Aitchinson und Carter eine Auflistung aller Communities auf, welche mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit bis 2010 verschwunden sein würden. Bei einer Betrachtung der bedrohten Gemeinden von damals, ist die Entwicklung laut BBC deprimierend. Vor allem für jene Gemeinschaften in Ceredigion, Pembrokeshire and Carmarthenshire, auch wenn generell alle Communities eine absteigende Bewegung aufzeigen. Laut der Daten des *Office of National Statistics* ging die Zahl der Communities von 151 im Jahr 1981 auf lediglich 53 im Jahr 1991 zurück. Bei der Volkszählung 2001 waren lediglich 41 Communities noch vorhanden.²⁷⁵

Es hilft also wenig wenn die Anzahl der Sprecher/innen zwar steigt, die Sprache aber nicht auf einer alltäglichen Basis, auf der Straße und im öffentlichen Leben gebraucht wird. Nur eine Sprache die tatsächlich gesprochen wird, ist eine lebendige Sprache.

²⁷² Aitchison / Carter (2000): Preface: S.2

²⁷³ Siehe: Aitchinson / Carter (1994);
Sowie: Carter: (1972)

²⁷⁴ Vgl.: BBC: *A broken heart* (2010)

²⁷⁵ Vgl.: BBC: *A broken heart* (2010)

Demgemäß besitzen die Communities neben dem Kymrischen eine besondere Bedeutung für die walisische Identität und ein Sterben der Gemeinden wäre fatal.²⁷⁶

²⁷⁶ Vgl.: Phillips (1997): S. 11

8. Auswertung der Interviews

Um die Beantwortung der gestellten Forschungsfragen nicht nur auf bereits existierende Erkenntnisse zu stützen, wurde im Zuge eines Forschungsaufenthalts auch eine eigene empirische Forschung durchgeführt. Bei der Methodik handelte es sich zum einen um teilnehmende Beobachtung, zum anderen wurde eine qualitative Untersuchung durchgeführt. Dabei handelte es sich um unstrukturierte, narrative Interviews mit dem Ziel, auch jene Aspekte einer Welshness zu erfassen, welche in der Literatur nicht erwähnt wurden, beziehungsweise um noch mehr in die Breite und Tiefe des durch die Literaturrecherche bereits erfassten zu gehen. Es sollte festgestellt werden, welche Elemente der walisischen Identität besondere Bedeutung für die Informantinnen und Informanten haben. Außerdem sollte die Frage geklärt werden, ob und wieweit Devolution in der Meinung der Waliser tatsächlich einen Beitrag zur Identitätsbildung leistet.

Insgesamt wurden neun solcher biografischer Interviews durchgeführt. Obwohl alle in Aberystwyth, einer Küstenstadt in Mid-Wales, zustande gekommen sind, wurde darauf Wert gelegt, dass die Informantinnen und Informanten aus unterschiedlichen Regionen innerhalb Wales stammen. Vier der Befragten kamen aus Mid- und North-Wales, dem sogenannten ‚Welsh Heartland‘ und waren allesamt bilingual mit Walisisch als Muttersprache. Eine Informantin und ein Informant stammten aus der Region der Welsh Valleys, laut der Kategorisierung von Balsom auch als ‚Welsh Wales‘ bezeichnet. Beide waren ursprünglich monolinguale Englischsprecher, wobei einer der Informanten sich die kymrische Sprache im Laufe seiner Schulzeit aneignete und diese inzwischen selbst unterrichtet. Die zweite Informantin besitzt durch die Schulzeit rudimentäres Basiswissen, ist aber nach eigenen Angaben monolingual. Eine weitere Informantin und ein Informant stammten aus dem Grenzland zu England, dem sogenannten ‚British-Wales‘ und waren wie die Informantin/der Informant aus ‚Welsh-Wales‘ ursprünglich monolinguale Englischsprecher, eigneten sich die Sprache aber zu Beginn ihrer beruflichen Laufbahn aus persönlichem Interesse heraus an und sind heute bilingual. Der letzte Informant ist zwar in Süd-Wales geboren, verbrachte aber die ersten Lebens- und Schuljahre in England, nichtsdestotrotz war die walisische Sprache

auch während dieser Zeit durch die Mutter präsent. Durch die unterschiedliche Herkunft der Eltern – die Mutter stammt aus Wales, der Vater aus England – war das Familienleben dieses Informanten schon immer bilingual geprägt.

Bei der Auswahl der Interviewpartner wurde auch darauf geachtet, dass diese möglichst nach Geschlecht und Alter gewichtet sind. So waren fünf der Informanten männlich und vier weiblich. Beim Alter entstammten vier Informantinnen/Informanten der Altersgruppe 20-30, drei der Gruppe 30-40 und zwei der Gruppe 40-50.

Bereits bei der Durchführung der Interviews fiel auf, dass immer wieder der Aspekt des Selbstvertrauens und Selbstbewusstseins angesprochen wurde. Vor allem bei jenen Informantinnen und Informanten die nicht aus dem ‚Welsh Heartland‘ stammten. Während all jene aus West- und Nord-Wales bereits durch ihre Herkunft und ihre Sprachkompetenz über ein starkes Bewusstsein als Waliser verfügten, war dies bei den Informantinnen und Informanten, welche aus dem Grenzgebiet zu England kamen, nicht von vornherein der Fall.

“My first memory of sort of Welshness ahm it was when I was about 8 and I remember the transport to school. There was just a car, used to drive four, five people together. And I remember, I remember one of the children which was in the car with me teasing his brother saying something about being Welsh and he said ‘I’m not Welsh, I’m not Welsh.’ and I remember looking at this little boy, he was a year or two younger than me, thinking ‘Why would you not want to be Welsh?’²⁷⁷”

...

“Welsh people have no self-confidence (.) as I have been just explaining. The way we talked about Wales when we went to school is (.) an illustration of how (.) kind of strange self-loading, which is still very common in Wales, especially with Non-welsh speakers. And there is a huge inferiority complex opposite to England.²⁷⁸”

Obwohl Informantinnen und Informanten aus anderen Gegenden nicht direkt von einem verminderten Selbstbewusstsein sprechen, so sind sich doch alle einig, dass die Durchführung von Devolution der walisischen Identität einen Auftrieb gegeben hat,

²⁷⁷ Interview Nr. 4: Zeile 2-8

²⁷⁸ Interview Nr. 3: Zeile 123-127

indem sie den Bürgern das Gefühl gibt, gehört zu werden und neben dem mächtigen Nachbarn auch ein Mitspracherecht und eine gewisse Macht besitzen. Der Stolz, eine eigene Regierung zu besitzen, hat in den Augen der Informantinnen und Informanten wesentlich zur Steigerung des Selbstwertgefühls und der walisischen Identität beigetragen.

“[...] [T]he Assembly opened a door and it had provided people with an opportunity to represent themselves. So rather than being part of a much larger, a small part of a much larger UK, suddenly Wales was able to have its own voice. And to me that seemed to say people suddenly got a confidence. To me, what the Assembly has done for Wales it's given it confidence. [...] Confidence is such an important thing that even when it comes at a cost I'm sure that it had massive benefit to Wales as a nation, you know, just the Welsh mentality.”²⁷⁹

...

“So for me it's just one word: It's confidence. Devolution: confidence; no Devolution: no confidence. That's what it's about. It's about self-confidence and self-believe and that is why in spite of the fact that the Assembly is quite big it has greatly strengthened Welshness in Wales. I think.”²⁸⁰

Die Rolle der *National Assembly for Wales* in Bezug auf Identität und Welshness wurde von allen Informantinnen und Informanten vor allem in ihrer Symbolkraft gesehen. Keiner war allerdings der Meinung, dass die Welsh Assembly durch ihr Handeln aktiv an der Identifikationsbildung beiträgt.

“As in with the European Union you really do get a feel that the Commission is trying to push a sense of European identity. Now I don't know if the National Assembly is really, if they have a pro-Welsh agenda in terms of trying to promote Welsh identity. Ahm and if they have got that kind of agenda I don't know if it's working. Ahm (.) I don't feel that someone is trying to push me to be more pro-Welsh. I think one problem is with in Labour party is massive in Wales, the Labour party and they have to be really careful because if they push a pro-Welsh message too strongly then if they gonna be too similar to Plaid Cymru. So there is

²⁷⁹ Interview Nr. 4: Zeile 85-98

²⁸⁰ Interview Nr. 3: Zeile 236-240

*no reason for people to vote for Labour instead of Plaid Cymru. So they don't really want to push a pro-Welsh agenda too strongly (...)*²⁸¹”

In einem Interview wurden auch die enttäuschten Hoffnungen gegenüber der Arbeit der Assembly ausgedrückt. Eine Informantin, die aus einer walisischsprachigen Community in Nordwales stammt und 1997, im selben Jahr des zweiten Referendums, nach Cardiff zog und somit die unterschiedlichen Empfindungen gegenüber Devolution aktiv wahrnehmen konnte, sprach es folgendermaßen an:

*“Many of the people I was associated with had voted against it, in Cardiff. But my mother and my family and everybody in North-Wales thought it was a fantastic thing. And I think what's happened over the last 15 years is that people in Cardiff think it's a good thing and my mother and people in North-Wales don't think it's a good thing. Because what they see, they haven't seen the impact of it, they haven't felt like anything has improved. Because everything to them has moved to the direction, of well, our schools are no longer (.) ahm enforcing as much Welshness on the child because there are more incomers coming in and we can't turn all of them Welsh. So what they do, they form a group and they form a block together and that means that 20% of the school doesn't have to speak Welsh. So you have to teach them bilingual which ahm makes it more difficult for people up there. In Cardiff there is a huge increase in bilingual schools all over the place. They are seeing the new business that the Assembly is attracting. There is a definitive sense in terms of my industry that there are more powers moving over to Wales, the Welsh Audio Office, the Sports Council for Wales, the Arts Council for Wales. There is a feeling of 'Look at us!' There is lots of, you know, ahm Welsh companies or brands which are really going on there and flying the flag for Wales. But that was very much a Cardiff based thing and it wasn't felt in North-Wales. They were the ones thinking 'You know what? Ahm, things aren't getting better'. There might be new regulations going on in the place but it's not solving the core problems of the fact that our young people are moving away and there's no jobs to fulfil their jobs.*²⁸²”

²⁸¹ Interview Nr. 2: Zeile 113-124

²⁸² Interview Nr. 6: Zeile 76-100

Darin zeigt sich deutlich, dass die Arbeit der Assembly in den verschiedenen Regionen unterschiedlich wahrgenommen wird. Aber die regionalen Unterschiede waren auch in Bezug auf die eigene walisische Identität erkennbar. Bei den sprachkompetenten Informantinnen und Informanten wurde naturgemäß die kymrische Sprache als wichtiger Bezugspunkt, wenn nicht sogar als der wichtigste Bezug zu ihrer Identität hervorgehoben. Bei jenen aus Südwales, wo die Sprache nur marginal von Bedeutung ist, wurden vor allem Aspekte wie Sport und die Geschichte betont. Bereits bei den ersten Kontakten mit monolingualen Walisern in Südost-Wales war die Identifikation mit der walisischen Nation durch den Nationalsport Rugby auffällig gewesen. Dies konnte im Zuge der Interviewgespräche verifiziert werden. Für jene Informantinnen und Informanten aus Nordwales spielte das Thema Rugby und Sport während der Interviews nahezu keine Rolle beziehungsweise wurde lediglich angesprochen, dass sich die Informantin/der Informant nicht durch den Sport als Waliser identifiziert. Vielmehr war in jenen Interviews das Gespräch durch das Thema Sprache dominiert.

“My brother brought a girlfriend home when I was about 14 and he was in University. And she was from Tredegar and she was a non-Welsh-speaking Welsh person. [...] And this was a whole totally different concept for us because in the past we’d only known English people from Birmingham, from Liverpool who came in and moved and typically moved away. And we never really encountered non-Welsh-speaking Welsh people. So her idea about identity was very much in question by our family because we thought ‘How can you be Welsh and not want to learn Welsh?’ Because we very much defined our Welshness on the fact that we spoke Welsh. We never questioned what that involved in terms of, you know, we never supported rugby or football or anything in the same way that South Walians do cause our Welsh was very much driven by the fact that we speak Welsh and the culture around that didn’t matter whether it was (.) at the Eisteddfod, whether the Eisteddfod was in Welsh or English. It was the Eisteddfod and it was something that was ours. You know, my mum is a poet and she did her poetry through Welsh, Welsh was her medium. Ahm so I had a very distinct idea of what Welsh identity was all about.”²⁸³

²⁸³ Interview Nr. 6: Zeile 23-42

Obwohl Welshness und walisische Identität in den Interviews die unterschiedlichsten Facetten – von Sprache und Geschichte über Landschaft, Sport, Kohleminen, Landwirtschaft und Schafzucht – aufwies, so war doch allein ein starker Bezug zu Wales und vor allem auch Stolz auf die Heimat gemeinsam.

9. Conclusio

Referenden werden oftmals als konservative Mittel beschrieben, entwickelt um progressive Initiativen zu verhindern, vor allem dort wo sie konstitutionellen Wandel betreffen. Im Falle von Wales allerdings hatten die Referenden von 1979 und 1997 den gegenteiligen Effekt. Die Erfahrung, diese zu durchleben, hatte einen galvanisierenden Einfluss auf die Menschen genommen und der positive Ausgang des Referendums von 1997 hat vielen Waliserinnen und Walisern gezeigt, dass es möglich ist sich dem mächtigen Nachbarn England gegenüber zu behaupten und Entscheidungen für sich selbst zu fällen. Mit dem Referendum und der damit in Verbindung stehenden Gründung der *National Assembly for Wales* wurden auch Hoffnungen getragen, dass durch das Vorhandensein einer zentralen Institution, eine neue Verbundenheit für Wales geschaffen würde, indem sie der walisischen Identität eine staatsbürgerliche Dimension hinzufügt. Ein geteiltes Gefühl der Zugehörigkeit und eine Identität, die von allen getragen werden kann, gleichgültig der regionalen Abstammung oder der Sprache.

In der Vergangenheit spielte, aufgrund der Abwesenheit eigener politischer Institutionen, die Lokalität und die Community die zentrale Bedeutung für die Identität der Waliser/innen. Einer umfassenden Identifizierung für die gesamte walisische Kulturnation waren dagegen, aufgrund der geografischen und emotionalen Barrieren, Grenzen gesetzt. Diese Hürden sollten nun durch die Schaffung der Welsh Assembly fallen und in der Tat haben die Ereignisse im Zuge der Devolution den Blick der Waliser/innen auf sich selbst und ihr Land verändert.

Zwar ist eine höhere Identifizierung mit Wales nicht mit Devolution in Verbindung zu setzen, vielmehr kann man die positive Durchführung einer solchen auf einen Rückgang der britischen Identität und einem Hervortreten der Identitäten der einzelnen Kulturnationen im Laufe des 20. Jahrhunderts zurückführen. Dennoch hat auch der konstitutionelle Wandel Einfluss auf die (Re-)Konstruktion walisischer Identität ausgeübt. Einerseits zeigt sich dies in einem gesteigerten Selbstbewusstsein, vor allem in den grenznahen, anglierten Regionen in denen die kymrische Sprache nicht die Stellung eines symbolischen Identitätsmerkmals einnehmen kann. Andererseits sind die

innerwalisischen Grenzen – die auch unterschiedliche Identitäten mit Wales implizieren – in den letzten Jahren deutlich im Rückgang begriffen. Manche Autoren gehen sogar schon so weit ganz Wales als ‚Y Fro Gymraeg‘, also als ‚Welsh Heartland‘ zu bezeichnen.

Diese Euphorie ist vermutlich etwas verfrüht, denn trotz steigender Zahlen an Walisischsprecherinnen und –sprechern, ist die Reihe der walisischen Communities – den zentralen Trägern einer walisischen Identität – stetig im Sinken begriffen. Eine wichtige Aufgabe der Assembly wäre es daher nicht nur eine Vielzahl an sprachkompetenten Bürgern zu schaffen – einer Aufgabe der durchaus viel Aufmerksamkeit geschenkt wird – sondern auch sicher zu gehen, dass diese Sprache eine aktive Stellung innerhalb der Gemeinschaft einnimmt.

Mit der Schaffung einer Welsh Assembly wurde aber nicht nur der Stolz und das Selbstbewusstsein der Kulturnation gesteigert, sondern auch deren Bereitschaft andere konstitutionelle Optionen in Erwägung zu ziehen. Im Gegensatz zu der äußerst kritischen Haltung beim letzten Referendum, lautet die Devise heute: *‚If we are to have an Assembly, let’s make it work effectively.²⁸⁴‘* Ob dies tatsächlich die Meinung der Mehrheit ist, wird sich letztlich bei einem weiteren Referendum im kommenden Jahr entscheiden. Die *National Assembly for Wales* würde dann neben ihrer vorwiegend symbolischen Bedeutung auch tatsächliche politische Entscheidungsgewalt erhalten. Ob und inwiefern dies Einfluss auf die (Re-)Konstruktion walisischer Identität hat, wird sich in naher Zukunft zeigen.

²⁸⁴ Osmond (2003): S. 17

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„A broken heart“ (Dokumentation)

Ausgestrahlt unter der Dokumentationsreihe „Week in Week in out“

16. März 2010; 22.35; BBC One

Dauer: 30 Minuten

1 **Anhang**

Transkript der Interviews

Lebenslauf

Abstract

Interview Nr. 1 (01:03:40)

(männlich, 49 Jahre)

1 T.: My name is Terry B. ahm I mean this Interview is taking place in Aberystwyth
2 but I'm not actually from here, I'm from the Welsh Valleys, from Merthyr
3 Tydfil and so basically that's where I grew up. And yeah, Welsh Identity ahm..
4 In those days, ahm and Devolution. I was brought up in the 60ies and the 70ies
5 and that was quite interesting, you know, regarding to Welsh Identity and
6 Devolution. It was just getting off the ground. I mean I don't know how much
7 you know but basically there was like a movement in the 20ies and 30ies, even
8 back in the 19. Century by Lloyd George –

9 Int.: Mhm

10 T.: - Cymru Fydd. A movement trying to get some sort of Home Rule. Based on
11 the Irish model I think. And by the 1950ies and it had all been sort of
12 disappeared. And but it was interesting, even when it was all disappeared if
13 you like. The Merthyr MP, where I'm from there was a guy called S. O. Davies
14 who left the Labour Party cause he was more left wing than the Labour Party
15 and he, even in the 1950ies, when no one mentioned the word Devolution, he
16 tried to get a motion through Parliament.

17 Int.: Mhm

18 T.: I think it failed completely but it never, it never went away. Some people like
19 to think that it disappeared completely but it was always there, even under the
20 surface, yeah? So when I grew up in the 70ies basically the Plaid Cymru
21 started coming on the scene, Gwynfor Evans and all that. And they always had
22 a problem though in the Welsh Valleys, even to today they haven't cracked it.
23 Ahm.. I mean Wales is sort of – the Welsh Valleys have their Welsh Identity
24 but it's an English language identity, they don't really speak Welsh.

25 Int: Mhm.

26 T.: Even though if you go back in Merthyr Tydfil at the beginning of the 20.
27 Century I think about 20% of the people spoke Welsh. But that gradually got
28 pushed out. Even though it's coming back because of all the Welsh schools,
29 you know?

30 Int.: Mhm.

31 T.: But when I was growing up you didn't hear much Welsh – but I will come
32 back to that in a minute – I actually did for some odd reason. Ahm. The Welsh
33 language basically didn't play a big role then. So everybody sort of been
34 supported Labour Party because they thought that represented their interests
35 cause they are working class, socialists, even communists. Ahm. Again – I
36 don't know - in the Spanish Civil War Welsh Communists and Socialists went
37 out to fight with the Republicans in the 1930ies. Ahm. So there was this whole
38 thing about the Reds, you know?

39 Int.: Mhm

40 T.: And there is this Welsh Identity thing going on. You have the Reds and the
41 Greens. There was like this complete divide. Basically the Labour Party hated
42 Plaid Cymru, they thought they are a bunch of Welsh nationalists, who are
43 going to impose Welsh on them. So in the Valleys you had this friction going
44 on. And you had people trying to unite them. There is a well-known guy called
45 Gwyn Alf Williams from my town, ahmm he was a Marxist historian.

46 Int.: Mhm

47 T.: and he wrote a book in the 1980ies called 'When was Wales?'. It's very
48 academic, it's difficult to read. But he – a lot asked him, there was this Plaid
49 Cymru people – he was not Plaid Cymru, he was communist – but the idea was
50 to try, you know, bridges gap, because this was dividing us all the time
51 between the nationalists, if you wanna use the word nationalist, and the
52 socialists. Yeah?

53 Int.: Mhm

54 T.: And of course that was.. And I think today they are (implementing) power
55 together. They are, you know, Plaid Cymru and the Labour Party share the
56 government, don't they? So, of course, I was growing up before all this. There
57 was a vote in 1970, when was the first Devolution? 197..?

58 Int.: 1979

59 T.: Exactly. I mean complete flop. I barely remember it

60 Int.: Mhm

61 T.: Ahh, because I was out of the country. I will come back later to that. So
62 basically that's where I grew up in and that's the type of thing really. I did
63 actually hear Welsh when I was a kid. For some odd reason. I just had Welsh

64 lessons in school, so English was my language. But I lived in a little village
65 outside Merthyr Tydfil called Clwydyfagwyr and the old people spoke Welsh.
66 It was the reminiscent of a Welsh-speaking village and this is what is funny
67 about Wales, they looked at me as an in..., not as an intruder, but an incomer
68 who had a different culture to them. Even it was my own town. (Partly) my
69 family is Catholic and I don't know if you know about that, there is a friction
70 in Wales. It's a bit like Wales is a Protestant nation...was. So, the Catholics
71 were all of Irish descent. So, but there was a bit of antagonism. Not like
72 Northern Ireland or (?) but there was this sort of thing going on. I think my
73 mother said they used to call us '*Plant Mari*' that means 'Mary's children',
74 yeah? And I also remember one of the kids, ahm, used to speak Welsh to his
75 granny and I remember we all surrounded him, just to hear them speak Welsh
76 'cause it was a complete novelty. You know it was brilliant, wow, what is he
77 saying to his granny, you know. (*enthusiastisch*)

78 Int.: (*lacht*)

79 T.: And so, I don't know. And that's my first Welsh thing and then I had Welsh
80 lessons in school and so that's how I learned Welsh. So then I left school when
81 I was young actually (*klopft mit Kugelschreiber auf Tisch*). I left school when I
82 was 16 first of all and I joined the Merchant Navy. So I was in the Merchant
83 Navy for a year and a half. So again, that was quite interesting because I grew
84 up in this Welsh Valley, suddenly I was in England, in South England in
85 Southampton with an uniform on. It wasn't military, it was Merchant Navy.
86 And then I had to go to on ships and all that, you know. And I went to Africa
87 and places like that. And that was a bit of, you know, sort of becoming an
88 adult, being out in the big wide world. But I didn't like it. I didn't like ships
89 and there is not much point being in the Merchant Navy if you don't like ships.

90 Int.: Mhm

91 T.: So I came back to my hometown when I was 18 and I did Welsh A-Levels.
92 Our system, you know, we do A-Levels.

93 Int.: Yeah, yeah

94 T.: I've done Welsh A-Levels and then I decided to go to University. So went to
95 University in Swansea. And I was there for three years and that was my first
96 contact with Welsh political things to some extent. And ah people of
97 Cymdeithas yr Iaith Gymraeg, you know, the Welsh Language Society, people

98 like that. So I had sort of one or two people, I met one or two people. Then I
99 went to one or two protests but not many. Anyway, by the time I left it was
100 1984 and that was the miner strike.

101 Int.: Mhm, yeah

102 T.: And that was really important in Wales. In the Welsh Valleys like if you didn't
103 support the miners you weren't Welsh basically. So I grew up with all the
104 socialist sort of stuff. So there were two things going on: The identity with this
105 left wing stuff. My father was, still thinks he is Irish. He is third generation
106 Welsh. So there is this Irish nationalist stuff going on..

107 Int.: Mhm

108 T.: ..with a bit of Welsh nationalism from within. So basically, I was always, and
109 this is quite a lot of people in the Valleys, we have this quite left stuff. Well,
110 my generation anyway, the new generation is different. So you have the left
111 wing stuff going on, you have a bit of Welsh nationalism coming in, you 've
112 got people with maybe Irish descent like my father who were Irish, you know,
113 who were Irish nationalists.

114 Int.: Mhm

115 T.: So the three things sort of played, and I suppose that's still with me today to
116 some extent. Ahm again Gwyn Alf Williams talks about this, he talks about
117 Wales being divided between what he calls the Welsh Welsh, which is where
118 we are now, West Wales.

119 Int.: Yeah

120 T.: He talks about the British Welsh, the people on the border, and then the Welsh
121 Valley people like us. We are like Welsh Identity but we don't speak Welsh.
122 But I'm not. And he talks about the shadow line, you see. Moving, you know,
123 not many people cross the shadow line. People in South Wales like my father. I
124 took him up to Porthmadog a year ago. He was never been up that north. Welsh
125 people from South Wales don't go to North Wales and all that sort of thing. So,
126 and that's quite interesting cause I've been probably, I'm one of the minority
127 who crossed the shadow line. I, cause when I (...) cause I worked in North
128 Wales as well, you know, but it's not that common basically. So anyways,
129 1984 was the miner strike. That influenced me, cause that's Thatcher Britain,
130 you know, Margaret Thatcher. She is like the hate-figure in South Wales,
131 everybody hates her. (*lacht*). She destroyed the mining communities and ah

132 that was that. And of course it was awful in the 1980ies then. There were no
 133 Unions, there were no jobs. South Wales was terrible. I mean I did have jobs.
 134 Welsh-speaking jobs. Working with Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin as a secretary;
 135 not teaching. And I did get paid ok, 'bout a 100 quid a week or something. But
 136 you know, it was a small wage, even then.

137 Int.: Mhm

138 T.: It's probably like 200, 250 quid now. But you know, you just got fed up with
 139 bad jobs, Thatcher's Britain. And like a lot of people I left. First of all I said:
 140 'Oh I have enough of this'. Oh, I was on the dole for a while, you know
 141 claiming benefits.

142 Int.: Ah ok, yeah

143 T.: And again a lot of my generation. Even though I had a degree I thought: 'Oh
 144 sod this. I gonna do something different'. So I went off to Germany actually
 145 (*lacht*). I worked as a Spüler, a dishwasher. You know Oberallgäu?

146 Int.: oh yeah

147 T.: It's near the border with Austria. Bodensee and all that.

148 Int.: yeah

149 T.: But I loved it, I loved it. Mhm I was there for 10 month and ahm again that (..)
 150 was really interesting for me cause in the 1980ies we were the cheap labour
 151 because of Thatcher's Britain. There is a series on TV, don't know if you've
 152 heard about it: 'Auf Wiedersehen, Pet'.

153 Int.: No

154 T.: It's all about Northern English guys they are, go off to Germany to find labour
 155 'cause there were no jobs here. So we were the cheap labour. This was before
 156 German unification. So we, the Spülers, we were all British. The girls, the
 157 British girls, were the chambermaids, you know, they made the beds and that.

158 Int.: Mhm

159 T.: So that was that. I think it's all gone now, it's probably eastern Germans who
 160 do the, the... And that was good for me to be on the... And now when I see
 161 immigrants in Britain, the Polish or the Spanish, the Portuguese, I think 'yeah,
 162 I know how they feel' because I had the same in Germany (*lacht*).

163 Int.: It's funny 'cause it's always kind of a shift. It's now that a lot of Germans are
 164 coming to Austria and do this. They are working in the mountains during the
 165 winter season.

166 T.: Ohhhh

167 Int.: So it's really always changing

168 T.: Yeah, it's going round. So I went off to Germany for 10 month between 1986

169 and 1987, came back, worked in a Kibbutz for a little bit in Israel, you know.

170 Then I came back to Wales again, again couldn't get decent jobs. So that's how

171 I got into TEFL. This was 1989. In 1989 if you wanted to do TEFL.. Sorry do

172 you understand TEFL? Teaching English as Foreign Language.

173 Int.: Yeah

174 T.: If you want to get into it now it's so easy. You can go, we do a course up here

175 in Aberystwyth. I work sometime, well not so much on the TEFL course but I

176 know the people in the TEFL Department. I'm an English language examiner.

177 Whatever. In 1989 you had to go to South England basically. Ahm, there was

178 nothing hardly in Scotland, nor Wales. So I went down to do a course in

179 Brighton, no Hastings, yeah. So I did that course, it was only a four week

180 course ahm a certificate Teaching English as Foreign Language. And then I left

181 basically and I didn't really come back till 2003. I just worked abroad

182 permanently ah I taught in a little school in Portugal a year, then I worked in

183 Lisbon for a year, then I did VSO Volunteer Service Overseas, (..) ahm, it's

184 like the American Peace Corps, so the British Version but less political. The

185 peace corps is political. VSO, well, they like to think they are not political.

186 Int.: Mhm

187 T.: So I worked with them in China. Then I went to Brazil and worked with the

188 British Council. No, no stop, that's a lie. I worked for a private institution in

189 Brazil, left Brazil and by that time I had quite a lot of experience. Have you

190 heard of the British Council?

191 Int.: Yeah

192 T.: I finally got a job for the British Council then and that in TEFL terms, in those

193 days, yeah, in those days that was like the highpoint: 'Oh I got a job at the

194 British Council!' I worked for them in Venezuela, in Caracas for three years,

195 three years? Yeah, three years. Then I went to Colombia, cause when I was in

196 Venezuela they sent me to Colombia to do a course. Ah I got the diploma, so I

197 did a course in Bogota. Oh Colombia is great. I travelled in Colombia. Then I

198 came back to Venezuela and when my contract was coming to an end in

199 Venezuela I thought: 'Oh, I go to Colombia'. I went to Colombia and worked

200 there for, uff three years. I met my wife, we got married in Colombia, came
201 back, stayed here from 2003 to 2007. I was doing this job, my wife wanted to
202 go back so we went back (??). We had a little girl in 2006, went back for two
203 years and then we came back again cause it didn't work out for my wife cause
204 she is a social worker.

205 Int.: Mhm

206 T.: And in Colombia, she had a degree in Colombia but all the rules and all the
207 laws they are all different in Colombia and they don't pay. The government is
208 too busy investing in their internal Guerra civil, you know, they are fighting the
209 guerrillas.

210 Int.: Yeah

211 T.: They have a right-wing government so with Uribe. But anyway, I was in South
212 America for a long time and that's when I also became interested in the politics
213 of Latin America. So that influenced me back again then in Wales. You see
214 what I mean, cause ahm I got like (..) in Brazil. I've never seen poor white
215 people before and Southern Brazil is very ahm (..) ahm I think over 50% of
216 Brazilians are Pardus, Pardus means black, yeah.

217 Int.: Mhm

218 T.: But it was quite a shock to me. I've been to China; I've seen poor people in
219 China. I've been with the Merchant Navy; I've seen poor people in Africa and
220 India. And it was quite a shock to see poor white people. A lot of them were
221 German descent. They have blue eyes, like you. You see people quite poor.
222 That was quite a shock 'cause you are not used to that.

223 Int.: Yeah, I can imagine

224 T.: And in Brazil at that time, again they had a right-wing president, Collor, no,
225 Collor? He went. And then Fernando Henrique. I don't know how much you
226 know 'bout Latin-American politics. But anyway, Lula, Lula is now the
227 president. Lula tried to get elected and I was in Porto Alegre in the south and
228 there they always voted PT, Partido de Trabalhadores, the Workers Party. And
229 of course, eventually they won, but by the time they won Lula sort of, well
230 Lula moved from the left sort of, don't know where he is now, sort of into the
231 centre, like everybody else. Isn't he?

232 Int.: Mhm

233 T.: But that was really interesting for me. Cause I've never seen politics like that.
234 Cause it was all like electric, cause in an election in South-America there is lot
235 of tension around. And everything comes to the service, and there are always
236 strikes all the time. And I thought, wow, it's a bit more interesting than Welsh
237 politics but at the same time it was influencing when I thought about Wales,
238 you understand? And then I went to Venezuela and suddenly it was like, wow.
239 They had this old guy running the country, really old, what was his name?
240 Caldero or something. He is dead, he actually died last month. And there were
241 two parties: Acción Democrática and COPEI. Both quite right-wing, even
242 though Acción Democrática started off as left-wing but they moved. And
243 Venezuela has all this oil money. Venezuela should be like Saudi Arabia, it has
244 massiv.. And like 80% of the people are in poverty. How is that? It's just crazy.
245 And then Chavez, you know, the president, and then Chavez came on the scene
246 and it was bizarre to me. I was: 'Yeah, that guy looks interesting, this Chavez
247 guy.' And he led a coup, a failed coup in 1989, after the.. he was a military
248 guy. And I thought: 'That guy looks interesting.' And I remember (..) cause I
249 used to teach rich Venezuelans, you understand, because I was an English
250 teacher and it was private. The British Council made a fortune, they make a
251 fortune. So, all my students were middle class, they HATED Chavez for the
252 obvious reasons, yeah. And I used to say: 'Hang on, I don't have anything
253 against Chavez.' (*lacht*)

254 Int.: (*lacht*)

255 T.: And one of them said: 'Terry, you can't vote here' and I said 'No.' And
256 'Thank god' they said 'one less vote for Chavez'. And I've got this brilliant
257 picture of Chavez cose he was campaigning, yeah. He was thin then. It was
258 199.. He came passed where I lived and I ran out with my camera and I have
259 this brilliant photo of Chavez. (*lacht*)

260 Int.: (*lacht*)

261 T.: And Chavez, yeah, I was probably the first Welsh Chavista. You know what I
262 mean? Cause people here. My mate, my mate... Well, that's the other thing.
263 One of my best mates, he (..) you know the Nicaragua Solidaridad, there is a
264 Wales Nicaragua Solidarity Campaign, that goes back to 1979.

265 Int.: Mhm

266 T.: And he always supported the Sandinistas. Even, well, they are back in again.
267 So he understood about Chavez, but most people in Wales, you know: What
268 Cavez? What way is South-America? And, but anyway, so that was that. And
269 then I went to Colombia, and in Colombia it was really interesting, I mean
270 politically, I mean that was really interesting. And because of ahh (...). Again,
271 you have this civil war going on. I mean (*seufzt*) it's really complicated the
272 Colombia thing. I think the guerrillas started out with the best motives, you
273 understand, back in the 1960ies. Even the FARC. And you have the ELN and
274 masses of groups there. But the FARC have lost their way a bit. I argue, hm,
275 that they still got more ideology than people say. I don't think that it is all
276 about drugs. (I think they just say that justify the means). But once you start
277 planting bombs everywhere, you know, you start kidnapping and all that, you
278 know, it's a bit of a dodgy way. But basically, yeah, so then I, all this
279 influenced me a bit in how I think about Wales, then coming back. You see
280 what I mean? So (...) I was actually out of the country when all this, when all
281 this things were going on. In 1979 I was in the Merchant Navy..

282 Int.: Mhm

283 T.: ..when we had this vote for Devolution. I remember it actually. I was
284 completely out of touch. I put on the radio in Venezuela, my Spanish wasn't
285 very good at this time, and this guy was talking about Gales. I said: 'What?'.
286 Nobody ever talks about Wales in South-America, it's always England,
287 Inglaterra. And they were talking about and 'Shit yeah, of course, we are
288 having a vote on ahmm..

289 Int.: ..Devolution

290 T.: ..Devolution'. I knew about it but there was no internet. See, this was my
291 problem, this is pre-internet.

292 Int.: Mhm

293 T.: So, 'Oh yeah'. And then I came back on holiday. I always used to come back
294 on holidays. So, of course we won, well we won, they voted, yeah. But it was
295 really touch-and-go. I think you know. Apparently, I was talking to people, it
296 was 1997, people had gone to bed thinking that the Devolution thing had
297 failed. It was only when the last, I think it was Carmarthern, came in.

298 Int.: I think. Yeah it was Carmarthern.

299 T.: But most people went to bed thinking, well you know: ‘We’ve lost again’, you
300 know. Yeah, I support Devolution ahm the problem (..) the only problem I see,
301 maybe it’s because of my (.) I mean, I don’t do anything about politics. Yeah, I
302 just don’t do anything. I just don’t have time but I feel I should. I feel guilty all
303 the time because I don’t do anything ahhm. But it’s sooo boring. You know.
304 Have you seen Ieuan Wyn Jones? Ieuan Wyn Jones from Plaid Cymru? You
305 couldn’t have a more BORING politician. You know Dafydd Elis-Thomas?

306 Int.: No

307 T.: Ok. He was like, he is the spokesman, no, not the spokesman what’s the word,
308 the chairman of the Welsh assembly from Plaid Cymru.

309 Int.: Mhm

310 T.: He is like the eldest statesman, you understand, of Welsh politics. And he, I
311 remember him in the 1980ies, he was really left-wing in the miner strike. He
312 was a Marxist at one stage. Now, he has just given everything up, it’s sort of a
313 typical politician. And I just see people like that all the time. And not just in
314 Plaid Cymru, in the Labour Party as well. I remember the miner strike, Kim
315 Howells, he has been out to IRAK and places like that and talking to the British
316 troops and all that. And I remember him in the 1980ies as a leader of the
317 miners. So, it’s made me really cynical....

318 Int.: Yeah.

319 T.: ...about the way British politicians and Welsh politicians behave. What worries
320 me about Devolution, even though I’m in favour, it’s, you know, what’s the
321 point having some form of Welsh independence when it’s just a miniversion of
322 everywhere else. Do you get that?

323 Int.: Mhm

324 T.: It would just be like England, but a Welsh version of England. Very middle of
325 the road, you know. Wouldn’t be radical. Wouldn’t have anything to offer to
326 anyone, not even to the Welsh people I think and ahm, that’s what worries me
327 about it. Even though, you know, it looks like we get a referendum now for
328 more powers. I mean ok, if you send me down to the booth I’d probably tick
329 yes. I always tick yes but it’s more of an instinct thing. If I really sit down and
330 analyse the way Wales is going (.) I mean (..) I just don’t know. It’s so boring.
331 I mean look at Venezuela. I mean, I don’t say that Chavez is perfect. I don’t
332 say that Chavez is perfect but at least he is offering something different.

333 Int.: Mhm

334 T.: You know he is offering something that is not capitalist. He is offering, you
 335 know. What does the Welsh Assembly offer to everyone? It's the same old
 336 (trollp). That's what worries me about it. If it ends up with a state. And Plaid
 337 Cymru have also been really bad. You know, they've got a pacifist past ahm,
 338 they are supposed to be anti-war and all of that but they have given the go
 339 ahead in things like. You know, in St. Athan they are going to build more or
 340 less a big military; it's a military educational thing. But it's still military.

341 Int.: Mhm

342 T.: So why are they supporting it? And apparently they have also; you know
 343 student top-up fees. You know students have to pay money. Apparently they
 344 support that as well. So I'm a bit dubious of Plaid Cymru.

345 Int.: Mhm

346 T.: They seem to be; because now they are in power. It's easy to be radical if
 347 you're not in power.

348 Int.: Yeah

349 T.: But Plaid Cymru seems to be just doing the same thing. A little bit. There is
 350 one good MP. Ahm I like her. She is the EU MP. What's her name? Ahm,
 351 again she is from South Wales, the Valleys. Ahm, she was in Palestine, talking
 352 to the Palestinians. Ah Jill Evans. And she was great cause when Uribe, you
 353 know the president of Colombia.

354 Int.: Yeah

355 T.: He came to the European Parliament. I lobbied her, that's the last political
 356 thing I did (*lacht*) saying 'Can you boycott Uribe?' because there was kind a
 357 movement to boycott him. And she did. She said not just only to the other Plaid
 358 Cymru. And when Uribe walked in she emailed me and she said: 'Uribe has
 359 walked in and we just walked out' (*lacht*)

360 Int.: (*lacht*)

361 T.: So, you know, I was still voting, you know.. I'd vote for her any day basically
 362 but this is sort of, yeah. Does that give you a picture of what I think?

363 Int.: Yeah, yeah. Of course

364 T.: So yeah, a bit schizophrenic really (.), but I think we are. We are
 365 schizophrenic. Basically from a post-colonial perspective we are really
 366 fragmented. Ahm, that, you know (.) you've got the British identity, you've got

367 the Welsh identity, they sort of compete and then Welsh. When I was a kid the
368 Welsh identity was there and here was the British (*zeigt mit seinen Händen*
369 *eine Distanz auf*), but now the Welsh is pushing in (*rückt seine Hände näher*
370 *zueinander*) and I think the Welsh identity is in the increase. Ahm people like
371 to think: ‘Yeah, you can have both, the British and the Welsh’. Ah, I can’t see
372 that keeping up much longer to be honest. I mean if you go back to the 17.
373 Century you can say you were Welsh and English, apparently there was no
374 problem with that.

375 Int.: Mhm

376 T.: There was no problem in the 17th century. Now you can’t say Welsh and
377 English. I think you can say Welsh and British. I mean (..) a certain thing about
378 Britain that really bug me is nationalism. The people don’t even realize it’s
379 nationalism. I mean people think nationalism is going out and waving the
380 Union Jack an all that but to me, I mean this is, maybe you study this, it’s deep
381 seated nationalism. A thing to me that is nationalism is like the National Health
382 Service. That is British and it’s a British institution. I’m not against the
383 National Health System but you take that away and that really affect everyone,
384 yeah.

385 Int.: Mhm

386 T.: Ahm, the Royal Family (.) but that’s just .. If the Royal Family would die
387 tomorrow, I would be quite happy, but it wouldn’t affect me, it wouldn’t have
388 an effect, you are getting that? Things like the BBC, you know the BBC has a
389 big effect and they have a very British agenda. And ahm, they really annoy me,
390 the BBC.

391 Int.: (*lacht*)

392 T.: They promote a very British agenda, they say they are neutral but they are not.
393 They promote British interest all the time. And, do you ever see anything on
394 BBC about South-America? No, very little.

395 Int.: From my perspective watching News here is more local news always. It’s
396 quite hard to get some news from outside. Even what’s going on in Europe and
397 especially not what’s going on in South-America or other places.

398 T.: And when they do go, it’s always this Muslim thing, you know, Irak, the war
399 on terror and all that crap you know. And everybody knows it’s an oil-war.
400 And that’s what annoys me. You know we have the Chilcot inquiry, you know

401 Tony Blair and Gordon Brown, about the war in Irak. The BBC haven't
 402 mentioned what everybody knows, I mean everybody who studies international
 403 politics knows that war was about oil. The word oil never gets mentioned. So
 404 hold on, what are we talking about, you know, Regime change, bringing down
 405 Saddam Hussein, (.) you know. Let's talk about oil, you know, it's a vital
 406 resources because the Americans are worried, the West was worried they might
 407 lose access to oil. Let's make sure we have enough oil. But you can't say that.
 408 And ahm, it's like the Malvinas. Malvinas? Falklands?

409 Int.: Oh yeah.

410 T.: They have started saying it, but they are almost scared to say the word
 411 Malvinas on the BBC because, you know, of the implications. It has to be the
 412 Falklands all the time. And ah yeah, so ah, yeah, and I think that type of things
 413 like the BBC, ah the NHS, they are way British nationalism is really seated,
 414 yeah?

415 Int.: Mhm

416 T.: And that's what it is about Devolution cause now the NHS in Wales is in
 417 control of the Welsh Assembly. So this is what I mean Welsh nationalism, or
 418 whatever you gonna call it, is pushing in a bit.

419 Int.: Mhm

420 T.: And when they lose the control of the NHS in Wales that's a big thing.
 421 Scotland, I know the SNP want to control over the broadcasting. They worked
 422 out, you know, the BBC is not good for them. Because they already have their
 423 own media in Scotland, they have their own papers, Wales we don't. And I
 424 think that would be.. And I like the SNP, I like Alex Salmond, I don't think he
 425 is perfect but at least he is a bit radical and he is witty and he is funny, you
 426 know. We need a charismatic person like him I think. And this is what annoys
 427 me. Dafydd Elis-Thomas, you know the one I was telling you about, the
 428 Marxist, he was REALLY charismatic in the 1980ies and really radical, you
 429 know. And there is no one. So, yeah, and the other thing that really, cause I'm
 430 not from here, as I said, so I live here. The other thing that annoys me a bit, we
 431 are a small country, we are only about three million and if you wanna get a job,
 432 even round here, it is who you know and all your contacts.

433 Int.: Mhm

434 T.: I mean it happens everywhere but when it's a small country like Wales it's just
 435 more (.) incestuous. You know what I mean?

436 Int.: Mhm, yeah

437 T.: That. And while I was more on a British stage, yeah, well I don't like the
 438 British Council very much, even though I worked for them. At least they were
 439 giving me a job and they didn't care who I knew and where I was from. In fact
 440 they probably liked the fact, you know, for their statistics. 'Oh well let's gonna
 441 do Welsh people. We are the British Council.' You see what I mean? (*lacht*)

442 Int.: (*lacht*)

443 T.: They probably thought: 'Oh let's get him, he is Welsh'. So and they were quite
 444 good and they are very good on equal opportunity scheme.

445 Int.: Mhm

446 T.: You see what I mean. So I thought, you know, it would be nice in some Welsh
 447 institutions sort like that. Well, as far as I can see in Ceredigion, you know (.)
 448 where I work now (..) everyone seems to know everyone. People related to
 449 each other working in the same places and that grinds a bit. So, you know
 450 (*klings etwas niedergeschlagen*)

451 Int.: Yes I can see. Yeah.

452 T.: Mhm, mhm. And again this is what I'm saying if we get more independence,
 453 you know pff, you can have so many people (..) You know, imagine you've got
 454 a Welsh prime minister and it's an independent Wales. You can imagine all
 455 this people crawling and trying to get, you know what I mean, everybody
 456 using.. And it would be awful in a small country.

457 Int.: Mhm

458 T.: And, I don't know other small countries. I just wonder how it happens in
 459 places like Iceland or Luxemburg. I just wonder, you know. That type of thing
 460 annoys me. So ahm but you know that's life I guess. (...) So ok, anything else?
 461 I mean I think I have given sort of my ideas.

462 Int.: Well, I have to think. So many new things that I've heard now. Those things
 463 were quite interesting..(..)

464 T.: Oh, one other thing which I should say is about the Welsh language. If you say
 465 that our identity is fragmented because of these competing influences and we
 466 have always been geographically divided. You know between North- and
 467 South Wales and all that.

468 Int.: Mhm

469 T.: And we never got quite over that. And ah (.) I mean like Rhodri, you know,
 470 Rhodri?

471 Int.: Morgan?

472 T.: Yeah, Rhodri Morgan said. Well there was an idea to build like a highway
 473 between North- and South Wales, a motorway. And Rhodri Morgan said
 474 something like, god he said ‘if we had won Devolution in 1979 nobody would
 475 have cared about ecology. We would have built this massive great motorway
 476 from North- to South Wales.’ Actually you can’t do this anymore. (*lacht*) It’s
 477 true, isn’t it? You see what I mean? And that would have united us more. BUT
 478 you probably know about the friction, incomers coming into Wales and all the
 479 rest. The holiday homes and all that. It would be even fuller, imagine, if there
 480 is a big motorway. There are so many tourists; there is enough tourism as it is.
 481 You see what I mean?

482 Int.: Mhm

483 T.: But this is what ahm is really funny about Welsh people, you know (..) I (.) it’s
 484 a tricky one. I understand why Welsh people get upset about people coming in
 485 and buying the houses and then they come from Eng..., you know, they tend to
 486 come from England, cause it’s the neighbour country. But they could be
 487 Scottish, they could be German, they could be Austrian, they could be from
 488 anywhere, couldn’t they?

489 Int.: Mhm

490 T.: And then there is this friction, cause they don’t learn Welsh and all the rest.
 491 But it’s funny they always seem to take it out on the English. You are getting
 492 it? It’s always THE ENGLISH and I’m like ‘well,..’. And these people they
 493 might not mind if the Polish come, or the East Germans, but if it’s the English
 494 it’s different. Well, you know, if you are going to be pro-immigrant, which I
 495 am... To be honest, I believe in open borders, because you know (.) if the
 496 capitalists gonna play their game, which they do you know, all this money
 497 flows round, all over the world. There is no control. That’s why we are in the
 498 mess, basically, we are in the recession. Like well, if that’s what the capitalists
 499 want then you got a free flow of labour.

500 Int.: Mhm

501 T.: But they want the free flow of capital and speculation. Well, sorry, if that's the
502 game you wanna play, open borders! And you know, everybody thinks that
503 Britain is the best place in the world and all the Polish turn up on their doorstep
504 tomorrow morning when we have an open border. It's just, you know, they can
505 go to France, they can go to Germany, they can go wherever they want,
506 Austria, I don't know. So why do we think they all wanna come to Britain all
507 the time? And that really annoys me. See what I mean?

508 Int.: Mhm

509 T.: But if we gonna have open borders then you can't say: "Well English people
510 can't come into Wales". Do you get it? (*lacht*) We have to be more liberal
511 about it and ahm. The interesting thing is, I don't know if anybody has done
512 this, we all talk about our identity but not much research has been done, as far
513 as I know, about these incomers into Wales. Because our identity will rub off
514 on them. You see what I mean? So if they are here for 10 years, I think people
515 have to start speaking to them how Welsh they feel. If they have kids, their
516 kids are not English then, they are hybrid. If you know what I mean, you have
517 this hybridity thing going on then. You know things like Third Spaces and all
518 that? Postcolonial argument?

519 Int.: I'm not sure.

520 T.: It's hybridisation basically. When, it's like Latino music going to the United
521 States. There has been a really good programme on BBC Three how Latino
522 music has swept through the United States. And it's Third Space.

523 In.: Mhm

524 T.: It's not quite American, it's Latino and it's that mixture thing. And so the
525 Latinos who grow up there are not quite Americans, they are not quite
526 Mexicans, they are (.) what are they called? Chicanos and all this. So they are;
527 and in Wales there is lot of Third Space going on, you see what I mean?

528 Int.: Yeah. I think I was coming across a book in the library which was about in-
529 migrants, English or wherever, there were also Americans. They had some
530 relation to a Welsh person, through marriage or something and they feel so
531 Welsh now, even though,.. They learned the language and so they have this
532 kind of connection. And I think I was coming across this quite often, people
533 taking on the Welsh identity, even if they are from outside and had no
534 connection before to Wales.

535 T.: Exactly. And I think that's interesting. That's good, you know. That's
536 excellent.

537 Int.: It's also my (..) point of view. Also I can feel now (..) I don't know; can feel a
538 way of home here even if I had no connection to Wales before.

539 T.: Previous no Welsh relations, yeah. Yeah, that's interesting. I mean the other
540 thing about this Third Space or whatever, and nobody really deals with this, is
541 the language. It's an argument but it's not argued. The language is fragmented.
542 You know we have like dialects, North South and all that. I don't agree with
543 this teaching dialects. You know we teach you dialects "Sian gobod" "Dw i
544 ddim yn gobod". Cause when I teach English I don't teach Birmingham
545 English and South Wales English; and then you know there is American
546 English and British English. You can do some divides there, but it's business. I
547 think we have gone overboard on this. Cause I think we are helping to
548 fragment it. Yeah. But that's not the only issue of fragmentation. The other
549 issue of fragmentation is; have you heard Welsh people having a conversation?
550 There is lots of English in it.

551 Int.: Mhm

552 T.: And nobody wants to talk about that. But the fact is how many people speak
553 pure Welsh when having a conversation. They are mixing in English. We all do
554 it. You understand? And to me, I'm quite happy with that. I don't have a
555 problem with it. I think it's fine by me cause; but why doesn't anybody;
556 nobody seems to be studying it. It would be very interesting if they went round
557 like you here (*zeigt auf das Aufnahmegerät*) and record it. But don't tell them,
558 you can't tell people you are recording them otherwise they start speaking
559 proper Welsh. (*lacht*)

560 Int.: (*lacht*)

561 T.: You are getting it? And I think they have to do research like that I think. See
562 how two languages interact at the same time. You are getting it?

563 Int.: Mhm

564 T.: And I think, you know, that's quite interesting. I mean like I speak to Welsh
565 speakers, yeah and then sometimes they say to me: 'Oh Terry, dwi'n sharad
566 Cymraeg on dwi'n sharad get-by Welsh'²⁸⁵. Like my financial adviser he says:

²⁸⁵ „I speak Welsh but I speak get by Welsh”

567 “Yeah I speak get-by Welsh”. In other words if he wants to say anything to do
 568 with his job, finance and that, he doesn’t wanna do it in Welsh.

569 Int.: Mhm

570 T.: He might do a little bit but then he will go back into English and he is part...;
 571 there are loads of people like him. They switch languages a little bit if they
 572 want to discuss something that is difficult.

573 Int.: Mhm

574 T.: You see what I mean? Oh, we have all these forms in Welsh, you know,
 575 bilingual tax forms.

576 Int.: Mhm

577 T.: I mean even I, if I get a tax form in Welsh it’s “oh oh” (*dreht ein Blatt Papier*
 578 *herum*) and I go to the English side form (*lacht*)

579 Int.: (*lacht*)

580 T.: I just would, I know I would. I don’t say we all do it, but say “ok, let’s do it”.
 581 But I don’t want to undermine the Welsh language. What I’m saying is, you
 582 know, (.) I think there needs to be more study of the way we interact between
 583 Welsh and English. Do you see what I mean?

584 Int.: Mhm

585 T.: And ahm ahm and yeah. As I said, you remember, I’ve been to Latin-America
 586 listening to indigenous people speaking and I would say they are using more
 587 Spanish than I use English when I speak Welsh. You see what I mean? You
 588 know it’s very common. And ah, yeah again (.) from a Welsh perspective you
 589 could argue in a 100 years (.) the Welsh language there could be this mixture
 590 going on. You see what I mean? I don’t think so because of the media and their
 591 push, they probably manage to keep them apart, Welsh and English, even
 592 though when we speak we mix them a bit. It won’t become like Creol. You
 593 know Creol?

594 Int.: Mhm

595 T.: It could, in theory turn into Creol, couldn’t it. This language is not quite one or
 596 the other but I think because of (.) it’s like (..) let me think of language (.) like
 597 you know in Haiti or even parts of Colombia on this little islands they speak
 598 English but I don’t understand it.

599 Int.: like Pidgin English?

600 T.: Yes. So ahm, but because that happened before the Internet and all the
601 technology. I think the technology will stop them confusing them. So ahm but
602 yeah, that you know. And I think it's quite interesting from a Welsh, you know
603 people's attitudes towards the language. You know? I mean, like my wife, she
604 said she went to a (.) some people like this woman, she couldn't speak Welsh,
605 went to a car showroom to buy a car and the guy phoned up his boss to ask a
606 question about the car and she didn't like it because he was speaking in Welsh.
607 People think we are speaking in Welsh to exclude people. You see what I
608 mean?

609 Int.: Mhm

610 T.: And you have probably heard and this is I'd say 90% (.) of people who aren't,
611 don't speak Welsh think people just speak Welsh when they are there. "I went
612 to the shop, they were all speaking English and suddenly I went in and they
613 were starting speaking Welsh." And this is so widely believed.

614 Int.: Mhm. Ok

615 T.: So many people have told me that. And it's just not true. (*lacht*) We don't
616 switch languages just because it happens that somebody comes into the shop.
617 So ahm (..)

618 Int.: Do you think that Welsh government now, through Devolution, this friction
619 is going to stop? That there is coming up a more standardized form of the
620 language? Because when children are learning Welsh in school they are
621 learning more the (.) I don't know. What kind of Welsh are they learning?
622 Standardized form, or?

623 T.: Ahh, I don't know. I think they sort of teach more on the spoken. So whatever
624 the girl; I'm thinking about primary schools the teachers there are mainly
625 women. So whatever the women teachers or the male teachers tend to speak
626 they just pick up that. I mean my little girl I speak Welsh with her but she uses
627 some North-Walian words because the girls who look after in *Camau bach*²⁸⁶
628 some of them are North-Walian. So she goes round saying things like I am but
629 she is also coming up with the old North-Walian words. So whatever they are
630 listening to, they are going on the spoken word. They are, yeah, but as you said
631 Aberystwyth is this mixture and there are so many people, I think my daughter

²⁸⁶ Anm.: day nursery

632 will end up speaking that neutral form of Welsh anyway. So ahm, yeah, I mean
633 I know the Assembly they are now trying to ..., but again to use the targets. You
634 know this is the thing now in the modern...: Targets. You know they want to
635 increase the number of Welsh speakers among adults. So there is a big push on
636 now. Ahm but it's all like targets, you know. And to me it's not about numbers,
637 you know what I mean. It's about getting the people ahm (.) you know if you
638 get one person to speak Welsh fluently you are better off than having 12 people
639 who can sort of get by but never really use it. You see what I mean? But if you
640 go on targets, in theory you can say "Oh we produced 12 Welsh speakers".
641 Yeah, but none of them speaks it. You see where I'm getting?

642 Int.: Yeah yeah

643 T.: I think they are better concentrating...; and even, your class for instance, I
644 wonder sometimes, but you have to really carefully about this, some people are
645 really bad in learning languages and that's just the way it is.

646 Int.: Yeah

647 T.: Even when I was teaching English it was a bit difficult to take them aside and
648 say "Look, wouldn't...? You just be.." you have to be very (settle). "Wouldn't
649 you been better off doing something else?" You see what I mean? And I do
650 wonder whether we should, you have to be really carefully when you talk about
651 it, push the ones who don't have the ability to learn it or take them out and
652 stick them somewhere else fast track rather than leaving them go through the
653 system. Which we do too. I mean, you know, somebody who learns very fast
654 we say: Ok, why don't you jump a level?" or you know what I mean, "miss out
655 a level". Keep pushing them. I mean we do have this option. But it's difficult to
656 say to the people who are very slow, you know: "Why don't you try something
657 else" (*sagt das sehr leise*). Ahm (...)

658 Int.: Yeah, that can be heard

659 T.: Yes, exactly. You have to be very careful when you do this. It used to be awful
660 when I was teaching English cause they were paying a lot of money as well,
661 you know what I mean. And then one thing, the teachers used to give them
662 little sessions by themselves. You see where I'm getting it? But then who pays
663 the teachers? Are you getting it? It gets a bit complicated then. You know,
664 that's not really my job and they not gonna pay me. Like... So (..) Do you have

665 any other questions about Devolution? I haven't talked that much about
666 Devolution, have I?

667 Int.: No, ahm (.)

668 T.: I don't know how Devolution fits quite into.. but I don't know how Devolution
669 fits into my ideas anyway to some extent. Ahm, well what's happening here to
670 some.. some things are devolved like I mentioned to you, the health system,
671 traffic, the Welsh language. So what they are trying to do, we have a
672 referendum.

673 Int.: Mhm

674 T.: Now, it's ok having these things devolved but if you wanna pass a law you
675 still have to ask London for permission.

676 Int.: Yes

677 T.: Now, that's fine when you have a government that's pro-Devolution but in 5
678 years' time, even in a years' time we might have a government that is not pro-
679 Devolution. So they can say "Sorry, we are not giving you permission". So
680 that's why I think it's important to get that law pass. So then the Welsh don't
681 have to go to London and say "Can we have permission?" They just can do it.

682 Int.: I see

683 T.: And it will stop them turning the clock back. There are some people who
684 would like to turn the clock back and get rid of the Welsh Assembly
685 completely. And I think that's a danger. Also you've got the competing.
686 You've got the Welsh Labour MPs in London and the ones in the Welsh
687 Assembly. And apparently the London ones, well they've got vested interest,
688 haven't they? They don't want devolved power, 'cause the more power the
689 Welsh Assembly gets the less power they get.

690 Int.: Mhm

691 T.: So I think that's also a big problem at the moment

692 Int.: But I think generally people, not the politicians, people are supporting the
693 Welsh Assembly much more now than they did 1997. I just saw numbers that a
694 lot more people are now going towards a Welsh Parliament and really
695 supporting that

696 T.: Yeah. I mean Richard Wyn Jones, he was the (?), (.) he was like the Nr. 1 here
697 in Welsh politics. He is in Cardiff now, the Welsh Institute. He did lots of stuff
698 on that, lots of statistics. And ahm, yeah, he did a program on TV actually all

699 about that, showing how the percentage of the people supporting the Assembly
700 now has gone up, I don't know, like 10...like if we had a voted (?) for the
701 Assembly it wouldn't be like 70 in favour for the Assembly and 30 against it, it
702 wouldn't be, yeah, definitely, ahm yeah, that's going up.

703 Int.: So do you think that there is also some connection to identity, that there is an
704 identity issue growing? People feeling much more Welsh now? Being proud of
705 being Welsh?

706 T.: Yeah, I mean, again (.) on the political thing; I mean what the Labour would
707 argue, this is really purely administrative, that it's all about jobs, helping the
708 Welsh economy. They ignore the word that it is about Welsh people feeling
709 more Welsh and they want more independence. You know, the Labour Party
710 just ignore that fact. They just look at it on the administrative side; you know
711 we are making things better for the people of Wales blab la. It's always the
712 people of Wales, the people of England; to be inclusive. But I think underneath
713 it's cultural. But you can't talk about that 'cause nobody wants to talk, that's
714 the Welsh people, yeah, definitely I think. Cause you know, the Welsh Valleys
715 people, don't forget when they vote Plaid Cymru, for them part of their Welsh
716 identity is voting for the Welsh Labour Party. You see and getting that?

717 Int.: Yeah

718 T.: And I think that gets ignored, you see?

719 Int.: I think especially in the Valleys, that's such a different type of, I don't know.
720 It's hard to say. But it's so connected to the mines, the coalmines and of course
721 it has more connection to the Labour Party who is supporting working people.
722 And I think it has a much stronger history.

723 T.: Oh yes of course. You know when I was a kid people used to say "You could
724 run a donkey to run for the Labour Party in the Valleys and the people would
725 vote for it". But that has changed a bit. I think and that's why, you know, I was
726 more politically aware because of my education and that. That's why I always
727 hated the Labour Party 'cause they were supposed to represent the working
728 class. I think they did in the 1960s, yeah. And they were some left wing up to
729 the 1970s. But now, well the Labour Party, there are a few left wing ones left,
730 but they are not many. And that's probably why I vote Plaid Cymru because
731 they are probably more left wing than the Labour Party. You see what I mean?

732 Int.: Mhm

733 T.: Ahm I mean we do have other parties now, like in Scotland they have the
734 Scottish Socialist Party and in Wales there is a left wing semi-nationalist Party
735 called Wales Forever.

736 Int.: Mhm

737 T.: But they are, I don't know. They don't seem like they are not together and I
738 am always a bit worried about, 'cause you always get the Trotskyite, you know
739 the Trotskyite? You know the people like militants and they wind people up.
740 You know when they get to these, ahm these, you know you have the workers
741 socialist party and all that. You always worry about that these groups are
742 influenced by people like them and nobody likes them. Well, not nobody. Ahm
743 I agree with left wing politics but I think you have to bring in every, you know,
744 not form little tiny groups. You are getting it? I mean I don't know how it
745 works in Austria but I don't like little tiny groups. (It's that.) I think people like
746 the Welsh Language Society, again I don't do anything with them, but I know
747 people who do things with them. I think they've done a lot of good work. Even
748 if a few people think they are extremists, you know what I mean? But you
749 know everything is extreme that's not, you know, 'cause this is what's been
750 done in Britain. Basically the Labour Party and the Conservative Party have
751 tied everything up between them. They do share power, don't they? Maybe
752 we'll have a Conservative Government and so what they do is to create this
753 false competition. They actually live off each other. You understand what I
754 mean?

755 Int.: Mhm

756 T.: And exclude everything else. So once you have this consensus build around
757 the Labour Party, the Conservative Party and the Liberal Democrats as well,
758 anybody else outside that is seen to be extreme and they've done a marvellous
759 job on that. Oh, when I was kid, even now, even till recently, the 1980s, people
760 thought Plaid Cymru were a bunch of people that went around burning down
761 houses. You understand?

762 Int.: Yeah

763 T.: I remember once in my University, there were English people I was sharing
764 with, and I tried to sell some tickets for Plaid Cymru. And I thought it's like
765 selling tickets for the Labour Party, you know? She went mad, you know:
766 "You'd think I'd give money to Plaid Cymru so they can burn down my

767 mother's holiday home?" And that's what people think, yeah. And if you were
768 anything to do with Cymdeithas yr Iaith, in the Valleys they'd thought you're a
769 bit of a nutter. They'd thought you'd put a bomb, you see what I mean?

770 Int.: Mhm

771 T.: And that is what I mean. This is how they constructed Britain. And the BBC
772 do the same thing. They just help to keep Britain British by promoting this
773 agenda. I mean how often do you hear the SNP? They have been criticised it
774 but they have to put the SNP on a little bit, you know the Scottish National
775 Party, cause they are running the Government in Scotland. They do talk to
776 Plaid Cymru MPs a little bit but they try and exclude them as much as they can
777 because it's not their agenda. And ahm I think you know, I think if we had
778 control over our broadcasting that would help Welsh Identity a lot actually. But
779 you know, we don't even have our own newspapers. You know like Scotland.

780 Int.: Yeah, that's a problem

781 T.: I know Chomsky, you know Noam Chomsky?

782 Int.: Mhm

783 T.: He is interesting, isn't he? I mean I haven't read his book but he has written a
784 book which is all about the media in the United States. Ahm, what does it say?
785 They make constructing consent or something, isn't it?

786 Int.: I'm not sure.

787 T.: But he, he says basically the media in the States, it's all; basically the problem
788 is, and even the BBC is (about that). In the States basically they are all co-
789 operations, you know, and even in Britain it's like that. So you know, they are
790 not really representing their own interests, they are all tied up with big co-
791 operations and all the rest and I think; but you know why Chavez, isn't it?
792 Basically I think we need a revolution. That's the only option I can see,
793 something a revolution. But it doesn't have to be bloody, you are getting it?
794 Ahm like Chavez this is probably where you hit the nail on the head, we need a
795 Welsh Chavez (*lacht*) (*ein paar Wörter aufgrund des heftigen Lachens*
796 *unverständlich*).

797 Int.: (*lacht*)

798 T.: But I think a Welsh Chavez would be great, you know. I just don't see it
799 happening. And that's why I feel really guilty 'cause I'm not gonna go and do
800 it. You know what I mean? I keep waiting for other people to do it.

801 Int.: Yeah

802 T.: But that's what everybody does and ahm yeah. That's what I think we need.

803 Ahm cause I cannot see any other way out. I know we had all this business in

804 Britain, with all this scandals, you know, all the expenses scandal?

805 Int.: Yeah

806 T.: I just find that bizarre. Ok, yeah they are bad and it's not nice but the middle

807 class we all do it. You know, if we fill out our expenses, we all do it. They're

808 just reflecting what the rest of the middle class do. And it's not if they are

809 breaking the law. I think it has gone overboard and all that. That's not a main

810 issue. I mean it's all the things I was talking about, the big co-operations and

811 all the rest of it, and you know. But again, I don't know about Austria. Do you

812 have this identity problem?

813 Int.: Actually if you are coming from your own country and it's your own identity

814 you don't think that much about it. It's just when somebody then comes from a

815 region where there are a lot of mixtures going on. Cause I'm living quite next

816 to the Hungarian border.

817 T.: That's what I was going to say

818 Int.: So there are a lot of Hungarian..

819 T.: And they speak Magyar, do they? They are bilingual?

820 Int.: No, it's going back. My region is part of Austria since 1921 and before that

821 the main language in school was Hungarian so a lot of old people were

822 speaking Hungarian but now it's going back. It's funny to see Hungarians

823 which are living on the other side of the border. They can speak perfectly

824 German, but the people in Austria don't speak Hungarian at all.

825 T.: Don't you have a Slovenian minority as well?

826 Int.: This as well, there are 4 minority groups in Austria and 3 of them are in my

827 region.

828 T.: So here we are, it's a bit of hybridised identity.

829 Int.: Yeah

830 T.: You know borderlands, and that's postcolonialism? You know borderlands?

831 Int.: When you look at my family name, Kirisits, it's a Croatian name with

832 Hungarian spelling.

833 T.: (*interessiert*) ahh. So you are the result of the borderlands. But you only speak

834 German; you don't speak Magyar, do you?

835 Int.: I only speak German. Like my grandfather, he was used to speak Croatian
836 when he was a kid but then because of the Second World War people gave it
837 up when they were coming from a bigger town, like my grandfather did. But
838 there are some remote hamlets or villages where they still speak a lot of
839 Croatian.

840 T.: And is the Government supporting the Croatian language or are they just “Ok
841 speak it, but we’re not gonna do anything about it”?

842 Int.: It’s growing a bit but not as much as here with the Welsh language. But there
843 are now some bilingual high schools and there are some kindergartens so that
844 the children can start from an early age on.

845 T.: Yeah yeah

846 Int.: But there are just a few towns actually in my area where they actually speak
847 Croatian.

848 T.: Oh yeah, that’s interesting. And do they have newspapers in Croatian or
849 anything or is it all just German?

850 Int.: I don’t think so; there are some magazines especially for them; weekly or
851 monthly magazines probably. I don’t really know.

852 T.: You see the advantage, well more the disadvantage. The disadvantage for
853 them they live in Austria which as another state language but they know when
854 they cross the border to Croatia or wherever they go, that language that they
855 speak can be used as a state language. Do you see what I mean? But in Wales
856 that is a problem.

857 Int.: Yeah, but the thing is with the Austrian Croatian language it’s a bit different
858 than the modern Croatian language cause they were settled there in the 15th
859 century. So they took 2 different movements.

860 T: Apparently when I was in Porto Alegre, lots of Germans settled there. And I
861 met some Germans who came out there and they said the German there is kind
862 of fossilised. They speak a type of German they brought out with them in the
863 18th Century and ahm the 19th century and apparently it’s really old fashioned
864 German. It has moved, like in Germany or Austria so yeah, kind of fossilised.
865 And if you go to Patagonia, you know, the Welsh Colony there, that’s quite
866 funny. I’ve been there. You have to be really careful with your Welsh ‘cause
867 you know *mâs*, I’ve told you *mâs* for out.

868 Int.: Mhm

869 T: They didn't understand me. They say *allan* "Oh right, allan". They didn't
870 understand. They didn't understand like, some like, things like *chwaer*, which
871 is sister but South Walian often say [*wâr*] and they didn't understand that at
872 all? You had to say *chwaer*. So there Welsh has been a little ahm, you know
873 even now, there is so much interaction and they are trying catching up on each
874 other to best honest with you. And they also kept the old spelling as well. You
875 know *Gorfffenof*? You learned it with a double f but they only changed that in
876 the 18., after they went out to Patagonia, so they used to write, well even on
877 their monuments? *Gorfffenof* is written with a ph. I think they go moving over
878 now.

879 Int.: Mhm

880 T: They resumed the new spellings now. But they had the, the, the same problem I
881 think. Ah but that's another thing I actually wanted to mention, very important
882 I think for Welsh identity. Just thinking about German and all that. You know
883 the First and Second World War.

884 Int.: Mhm

885 T: That is a big problem I think. I mean (.) they are all dying now. My father is
886 72, he can about to remember the Second World War. That was how they
887 reconstructed Britishness, yeah. Because before the Second World War, like in
888 Aberystwyth apparently before the 2 World War was mainly Welsh speaking.
889 Basically language shift, yeah is often based; well there are different arguments
890 about language shift. One of the things is that you need something (dimodius)
891 to change it. Like medieval Welsh. You know the Owain Glyndŵr rebellion?
892 Owain Glyndŵr? 1400?

893 Int.: Yeah

894 T.: Basically they think that that could have affected the way medieval Welsh
895 became modern Welsh. That was a big turning point. And I think a big turning
896 point here was the Second World War because it was a joint effort, all the
897 British, the Scottish, the Welsh, even the Irish at that time, or some of the Irish.
898 They all joint together and that pushed Britishness. Ok?

899 Int.: Mhm

900 T.: And they never let it go, the British Government. That's why I don't know.
901 Oh, it's all that business. Every year, you know, they are celebrating the war

902 dead. And that is, there are so many ceremonies and because of that they can
903 see them all dying because they all gonna be 80, they all gonna be dying.

904 Int.: Mhm

905 T.: Now they are going after the same thing with Afghanistan and Irak. You, have
906 you seen what they are doing? And it's really interesting cause it's a deliberate
907 thing. Cause Gordon Brown is dressing himself up with the Union Jack. Cause
908 Gordon Brown has an identity problem. He is Scottish and everybody knows
909 he is Scottish but he has to be seen as very, very British.

910 Int.: Mhm

911 T.: And I think this war thing, basically Irak and Afghanistan are replacing the
912 Second World War. And it has to be a military aspect to British Identity and
913 that is what worries me.

914 Int.: I was actually reading something interesting about Britishness. Britishness is
915 so connected to Navy and "we still can rule the waves" and things like this and
916 it's actually so true.

917 T.: Yeah, yeah. It's very interesting. And I think people like me, cause I was born
918 in 1961, I was post-war. Cause to me, you know, the 2. World War is what? 50
919 years ago? I mean if you count back to the 2. World War and people talked
920 about the (?) war or the Boer war, you know the Boer war in South Africa?
921 People would probably say "What? That's ancient history!" But it's like why
922 are we talking about the Second World War so much? It was a long; you know
923 it's been a long time now for me. You know what I mean? It doesn't mean
924 much to me. I understand, the history and all that, but you know, give it a rest.
925 It's the 21st century, we can't keep talking about it forever. We don't talk
926 about the (?) War, we don't talk about the Boer War, like it's history. Let's
927 leave it history, learn from it but move on. But they don't want to because it's a
928 very important part of; I think when they established Irak and Afghanistan as
929 the new Second World War they might, but that's a big problem. The whole
930 military aspect of British identity but you know (..) So ah yeah, it's difficult to
931 compete against this type of British nationalism. You see what I mean?

932 Int.: Mhm

933 T.: And ahm, that's what happens I suppose. And again they use Welsh towns
934 particularly because there is a lot of unemployment. Like my town Merthyr or
935 Caernarfon, they are known as troop towns, you know what I mean? I mean the

936 young people; there are not many jobs so they join the army. And what really
937 annoys me the way they use all the; Have you seen the way they advertise to
938 join the British army? It's all adventure. Ah you could go to Afghanistan and
939 get your head blown off. Well, that would be honest, wouldn't it? And you've
940 got a chance. I don't know what the chances are but when you go to
941 Afghanistan there is the chance to get killed. And they just ignore that.

942 Int.: Yeah, I've seen it. They are always advertising it: "You are having a boring
943 job, so join the army. It's so much more fun"

944 T.: Yeah, you might not get shot in the head if you work in a factory. You might
945 (*lacht, einige Wörter daher unverständlich*). Ahm, yeah, yeah. Cause this is the
946 thing, cause I was brought up on this Irish nationalism thing. When I said to
947 my father when I was 16 that I wanna joint the Merchant Navy he said 'Ok, as
948 long as it's not military'.

949 Int.: (*lacht*)

950 T.: Cause he hated the British Army cause of the Irish. And apparently they sent
951 him to Germany after the Second World War. It was 1950s and you know
952 when the British took control over different German parts and all that?

953 Int.: Mhm

954 T.: They sent him to Germany and he worked, I don't know for about a year or
955 something just in one of the things and he never liked the British Army from
956 then on. (*lacht*) And because of the Irish thing, you know the Irish nationalism
957 thing is all about anti-British. So, yes that was the other problem with that. And
958 I think the other thing that I think you can be interested in. You know Celtic
959 nationalism. You know what I mean?

960 Int.: Mhm

961 T.: I mean that's pan-celticism. That's like a waste of space that is I mean. I was
962 reading an article even the Irish when they got independents, apparently one of
963 their politicians said 'look'; in the Second World War they were neutral. But
964 they realized we can't offend the British. Cause if they offended the British,
965 even when the Germans used some of the ports, the British would have
966 invaded. So even in the Second World War the Irish said "ok, officially we are
967 neutral but got aside with the British unofficial. You see what I mean? And
968 apparently that's the apology after the war. They didn't wanna upset the French

969 too much. So we have like Breton nationalists. They didn't accept them in
970 Ireland but they didn't do it officially.

971 Int.: Mhm

972 T.: And again, they couldn't be seen to be supporting the Welsh nationalists, or
973 the Breton nationalists or the Basks or whatever. Ahm so that's another aspect
974 of it. You know I would argue that Welsh people got more in common with the
975 English people really then way by Irish people. Even if some (?) could say that.
976 I mean we've been stuck in with England for how long? 700 years? You know,
977 the Irish, yes we sorta lost contact with them in a sorta way of an Irish state
978 since the 1920s.

979 Int.: Mhm

980 T.: So you know, we've separated a little bit. So I don't know. This might be
981 interesting. I quite think, I mean, have you studied Scottish nationalism or not?

982 Int.: No, not really. I was coming across a few articles but was more concentrating
983 on Wales.

984 T.: Mhm. Cause that's the other thing. I mean they ok, they've got Devolution but
985 I've read a few books on Scottish history and that is very different to Wales
986 basically.

987 Int.: Mhm

988 T.: They are; cause basically you've got south; to some extend Wales was like a
989 internal colony of England I think, you know from a post-colonial perspective.
990 Scotland was more a separate state for a long time and to be honest they treated
991 the North of Scotland like a colony of their own. Because the northern Scottish
992 were catholic, the southern were protestant. The northern spoke Gaelic, the
993 southern never spoke Gaelic, they spoke, well, not English, they spoke Scots.

994 Int.: Mhm

995 T.: Which is semi like English. And they exploited the northern of Scotland. So
996 you see what I mean, it was more like that. The relationship between north and
997 southern Scotland was more like the relationship between England and Wales.
998 So you know the Irish, the Irish history is very different as well. So I don't
999 know how much we have in common. Do you see what I mean?

1000 Int.: Mhm

1001 T.: From an identity thing. Ah I think we are very different ballgames, aren't we?

1002 Int.: Mhm

1003 T.: Yeah, and of course the language is like; this is the other problem in Wales.
 1004 The Scottish and the Irish don't have to worry about the language issue. You
 1005 know what I mean? So many, so few people speak Scottish Gaelic, that is not a
 1006 big issue (?). But in Wales, you know, the language every time it crops up.

1007 Int.: (*lacht*)

1008 T.: And the Labour Party will always use this against it. "Oh you not gonna use
 1009 Welsh". So that's another problem in Wales.

1010 Int.: Mhm

1011 T.: Some people say; I don't agree with it but some people say 'Oh, if the Welsh
 1012 language had disappeared, maybe it will be easier in some way to get
 1013 independence'.

1014 Int.: Mhm

1015 T.: Or what other people have said is, and that is what the Irish did, 'use the
 1016 Welsh language as a tool to gain independence, and if we have gained
 1017 independence just drop it.' You see what I mean? (*lacht*)

1018 Int.: Mhm

1019 T.: But I mean I don't agree with that either but it's an argument some people put
 1020 around, because the Irish they did push the Irish language but since they got
 1021 independence the Irish language; they haven't done much to help it at all.

1022 Int.: No

1023 T.: So (..) Cause Wales, you know, if you compare Welsh to Breton or Irish we
 1024 have a what? 20% speakers? Speakers on an everyday basis; more or less. In
 1025 Ireland on everyday basis there are about 5%?

1026 Int.: Yeah, something like this.

1027 T.: So (.) Yeah (..)

1028 Int.: I think it's interesting cause in Ireland they have it just in a few regions left.
 1029 A rest that's all they have left.

1030 T.: Well, they have the Gaeltacht., that preserves; like you said they have to
 1031 preserve it. In Wales we don't have to do it. Not yet anyway. So yeah (...)

1032 Int.: Well, thank you very much for the interview

1033 T.: Sorry I talked so much

1034 Int.: No, no, no it was really interesting. It was really good listening to you.

Interview Nr. 2 (19:23)

(männlich, 23)

1 E.: So, my name is Einion D., I am 23 years old and I come from Aberystwyth. I
2 speak Welsh, Welsh is my first language. Ahm I started learning English at
3 school when I was 6. Ahm both of my parents speak Welsh and ahm both of
4 my parents spoke, you know, have always spoken Welsh

5 Int.: Mhm

6 E.: Ahm (..) in terms of (.) politics I think as a family we have always been (.) you
7 know, we always had a strong sense of strong Welsh identity, so maybe
8 looking towards the Plaid Cymru and in terms of party politics. Ahm and this is
9 an area which is quite strong supporting Plaid Cymru as well. Ahm (.) I'm not
10 sure in terms of, you know, some, some people associate Plaid Cymru with
11 supporting independence. So you know Wales separate from Britain.

12 Int.: Mhm

13 E.: I don't know how strong people really, you know, if they really support that
14 idea or not. But ahm in terms of national identity then people would definitely
15 call themselves Welsh and definitely not English. Ahm probably most people,
16 you know, my friends and my family they wouldn't really call themselves
17 British either. So they concentrate on just saying, you know, they are Welsh.
18 Ahm so if you just think about me and all my friends and all the family ahm
19 most of (.) most of my friends, definitely before I went to Uni, ahm they all
20 spoke Welsh really.

21 Int.: Mhm

22 E.: So all my friends at school ahm so friends of the family ahm so they all spoke
23 Welsh or speak Welsh.

24 Int.: And your whole family is from this area?

25 E.: Yes, well my mother is from North-Wales. Anglesey. But she has been living
26 here for many years now. Ahm but yes. So everyone speaks Welsh and that's
27 what we use every day. So we all speak Welsh. Ahm. Then when I went to
28 University then obviously you meet, you mix with people from everywhere, all
29 the different countries. Ahm so, I stayed here to go to University so I always
30 lived here in Aberystwyth.

31 Int.: Mhm

32 E.: But actually I did a year in Germany, an Erasmus year. So then I think when I
33 went to Germany, you do, as if you meet with someone from outside Britain
34 then you do think about yourself more as British or more so as British. As in
35 normally you would, normally you wouldn't call yourself British in Britain.

36 Int.: Mhm

37 E.: But then if you are going out ahm then you realize maybe that you are maybe
38 more British then you used to think that you are. Ahm, you know, so if you ask
39 me from where I am first of all I would say 'I'm from Wales' and also if I'm in
40 Austria or anywhere but then if, you know, got them a confused, you know,
41 'Where is Wales? What is Wales?' Then I would just say ah it's, it's ahm yeah.
42 Or I would say something like 'Oh I'm from Wales in Britain' or something,
43 you know. But I try to get over the fact that I am Welsh. But if that was
44 confusing then I would kind of go with that thing that I'm British. But I think
45 it's quite different for me because I'm from a Welsh-speaking background.
46 Ahm the difference between me and someone from England is more obvious
47 therefore I think of myself more as Welsh. (..) And I because I speak Welsh
48 most of the time ahm maybe I have lesser the reason to say that I'm British.

49 Int.: Mhm

50 E.: Because if you are from England than you are kind of English and British but
51 if you are from Wales you can think: 'Well I'm from Wales and I speak Welsh
52 so I am Welsh.'

53 Int.: Mhm

54 E.: Yeah

55 Int.: So the connection to Welshness is mainly through the language, or..?

56 E.: Ahm it's a very difficult one because when you go to South-Wales there you'd
57 meet a lot of people who would be more explicitly proud of their Welshness
58 than a lot of Welsh-speaking people. People from South-Wales generally most
59 of them don't speak Welsh. Ahm but they are very, very ahm willing to show
60 that they are Welsh and to call themselves Welsh and they too want to make
61 the distinction that they are Welsh and not English, and they are kind of anti-
62 English. They want to show that they are not English. So they would, I don't
63 know, but I would imagine that they would try to avoid calling themselves

64 British as well (.) I think. Yes. So that's the general where I come from. That's
65 what I can think. Yes.

66 Int.: Mhm

67 E.: Yes (..) Ahm you are thinking of Devolution then?

68 Int.: Yes..

69 E.: And how that might have changed things?

70 Int.: Yeah. Maybe you are a bit young. I don't know, but..

71 E.: Well I run with the referendum on Devolution ahm I can't say that I as I
72 wasn't old enough before the referendum to (.) to be able to make my mind up
73 on that, you know, what the political structure of Britain means for me cause
74 obviously I was 10 I think when the referendum took place. Ahm so yes I have
75 grown up in the context of Wales having some form of government. Ahm (..) I
76 was trying to work this out when I heard that you are working on Devolution
77 and national identity. Would that have made a difference, say that would have
78 been born 10 years before would I have changed my (.) national identity or
79 would my national identity have changed in some way? Ahm, I think it's
80 impossible to say but now (..) we don't have to justify the fact that we call
81 ourselves Welsh maybe as much as we used to. Because I think, I don't know
82 about before 1997, but there is no doubt that Wales is a nation now. Ahm it's
83 not a nation-state..

84 Int.: Mhm

85 E.: it's a nation. And we don't really have to explain that to people as much (..).
86 It's difficult because it's only an institution, isn't it? The assembly is only a
87 political institution (.) but it's quite symbolic, isn't it? (.) It's a symbol for what
88 was there before then. It's a symbol of the will of the people ahm (.) so it
89 probably legitimises the fact that we call ourselves Welsh and have then so

90 Int.: Mhm

91 E.: even before Devolution. It shows that it is something different about it. (.)
92 Ahm so I guess (.) we've thought of ourselves, we always known inside that
93 we are a nation. Ahm this kind of makes it a bit more official.

94 Int.: So the self-confidence was growing as well then, the self-confidence as a
95 nation by having a symbol.

96 E.: Yeah, absolutely. I think so. I think back to the time so years between, well
97 1997 and end of the century and the millennium. Ahm a lot of people were

98 kind of, we have this thing going on, *Cool Cymru*, and just this, we were kind
99 of, not just proud to be from Wales and being Welsh but proud of Welshness. It
100 was cool to be Welsh. It was something we could take pride from. And not just
101 in a nationalistic way but also in a semi-fashionable way.

102 Int.: Mhm

103 E.: So back then we had all this, quite a few bands from Wales which were making
104 big in Britain. Ahm say Stereophonics, Catatonia and all these people. As if I
105 wasn't really a fan of all that idea (.) but I think just Welsh culture was cool,
106 we were getting Devolution and all those things probably contributed to just
107 that idea that Welsh is cool.

108 Int.: Mhm

109 E.: Ahm mhm

110 Int.: So and do you have the feeling that the government self is pushing the sense
111 of Welshness? Trying to get more people to speak Welsh or something like
112 that?

113 E.: Yeh, ahm, I don't know. As in with the European Union you really do get a
114 feel that the Commission is trying to push a sense of European identity. Now I
115 don't know if the National Assembly is really, if they have a pro-Welsh agenda
116 in terms of trying to promote Welsh identity. Ahm and if they have got that
117 kind of agenda I don't know if it's working. Ahm (.) I don't feel that someone
118 is trying to push me to be more pro-Welsh. I think one problem is with in
119 Labour party is massive in Wales, the Labour party and they have to be really
120 careful because if they push a pro-Welsh message too strongly then if they
121 gonna be too similar to Plaid Cymru.

122 Int.: Mhm

123 E.: So there is no reason for people to vote for Labour instead of Plaid Cymru. So
124 they don't really want to push a pro-Welsh agenda too strongly ahm and the
125 other problem is a lot of Labour supporters they are not too sure about
126 Devolution. And because if you think of socialists, they, they just want a strong
127 country in terms of Britain, so they would want, you know a strong working
128 class Britain. Ahm and they've been more interested in helping out the working
129 class of say no one than England than making sure that Wales has its own
130 parliament. So I don't think; I think Labour is being, is trying not to push
131 people to feel that they have a very strong Welsh identity. I think so. And then

132 the Conservatives of course they have a really strong (British) identity. So they
133 are not pushing it. And then Plaid Cymru they are trying to push people neither
134 because they want to kind of give the impression that they are just a normal
135 party who are working for Wales, not like a Welsh-nationalist party..

136 Int.: Mhm

137 E.: but the party of Wales. You know, working FOR Wales but not, not too kind
138 of nationalist mainstream.

139 Int.: No

140 E.: Ahm mhm (.) Yeah (..) I can't really think of anything else (.) Are you looking
141 at (.) things to do with (.) ah, more powers for the Assembly or anything like
142 that, or does it really have more to do with identity?

143 Int.: It has more to do with identity. But if you have an opinion about it, because I
144 know there is now a new referendum going on in a short period of time.

145 E.: Yeah, I think it's gonna held in October I think. Ahm (..) I think (.) maybe (.) I
146 think that's gonna push things forward a lot more. (.) It's difficult to say. First
147 of all let's not forget that Devolution is a major event in the history of Wales as
148 a nation. It's massive. Ahm (.) but Devolution isn't actually ahm (.) as in (.) we
149 can't do much with Devolution as in we can't really pass the laws that are
150 actually very strong. Ahm so if you had a parliament with primary legislative
151 powers so you'd have a parliament which can actually, presumably you could
152 ban smoking in Wales like you would have no more smoking in Wales then.
153 Ahm if you'd have a parliament like that I think it would start passing laws that
154 would actually start affecting people's lives more and then you'd have real
155 sense of power, so you know, that would have control over your country, so
156 Wales. And I think it's possible that if they transferre more powers to Cardiff, I
157 think many people would, that would really influence national identity. As I'm
158 not saying that Devolution hasn't.

159 Int.: Mhm

160 E.: I think it really has and if you look at statistical work ahm (.) and some of the
161 studies as in (.) it shows that over time people have come to feel more strongly
162 Welsh. But I think this, I don't think people are going to stop as in; I think
163 more people will come to feel or think of themselves as Welsh in the future if
164 we have more powers in Cardiff.

165 Int.: Mhm

166 E.: It's very technical, isn't it?

167 Int.: Mhm

168 E.: You know, ahm powers and, you know, what kind of laws can we pass. But
 169 once people (.) come to the point that actually (.) the country is being governed
 170 from Cardiff and not from London ahm I think they will actually come to a
 171 point where they realize that it's the case.

172 Int.: Mhm

173 E.: Ahm because it's just the small things these days. As in there is probably a
 174 sign somewhere in the National Library saying that it's paid for by the
 175 Assembly. But that doesn't really have a major impact on people's lives ahm
 176 but if (..) the Welsh parliament in a year or two would pass like a massive law,
 177 I think people would start to feel 'Wow, we really have power here'.

178 Int.: Mhm

179 E.: I think. Yeah. Have you seen ahm (nimmt Dokumente zur Hand welche er
 180 zum Interview mitgebracht hat). Talking about statistics. You've probably seen
 181 them. (blättert) Have you heard of Moreno scale?

182 Int.: Yeah, I have.

183 E.: You have.

184 Int.: Yes, yeah.

185 E.: As you can see over the time. No, that's the Scotland ones. (blättert weiter)
 186 Ahm yes. I think this is kind of the point really. Ahm the fact that people can
 187 feel slightly British, slightly Welsh, but on the whole do people feel Welsh or
 188 British? You know, do they feel more Welsh than British. I think it's inevitable
 189 that people are gonna feel more Welsh over the time. (.) People think of Wales
 190 more in terms of being a real Unit now, you know, a real nation. So yeah, I
 191 think so. I think as in, I think these figures always gonna go up. That people
 192 feel more Welsh then British over the time because (.)

193 Int.: Mhm

194 E.: Not because of people like me, because I would, I would always have said,
 195 even if we didn't have Devolution, if we didn't have much of this. Because of
 196 my background I would always have said more Welsh than British. But I think
 197 the people who have less reason to call themselves more Welsh than British, so
 198 people who don't speak Welsh, people who (.) you know, just normal people,

199 who just go to work every day and don't speak Welsh and, you know, haven't
200 grown up in a bilingual part of Wales. I think increasingly.

201 Int.: My first contact with Wales was in south-east Wales, Abergavenny, Brecon
202 Beacons and then Swansea. I mean Swansea is a bit different from what I've
203 read, with a lot of Welsh-speakers. But from my first contact with Welsh
204 people they weren't speaking Welsh at all.

205 E.: No

206 Int.: So for me it's a totally different experience being here in Aberystwyth.

207 E.: Yes, yes, ahm yeah. (..) I don't know what else I can say really.

208 Int: No, it was really interesting

209 E.: Is there anything (.) that someone has said which sounded a bit strange that I
210 can explain or is there anything?

211 Int.: (.) No (.), no actually at the moment I don't have any questions left. Thank
212 you very much for your time and for the interview

Interview Nr. 3 (22:54)

(männlich, 33 Jahre)

1 B.: My name is Barry L., I'm 33 years old and I come from a small village called
2 Guilsfield which is in the old county of Montgomeryshire in Mid-Wales. And
3 the nearest town is Welshpool and that's where I went to secondary school. So
4 I was brought up, well born and brought up in a village which is pretty well
5 right on the Welsh-English border. And yeah very few people speak Welsh
6 there. And I went to school, as I said, in Welshpool. Both of my schools, my
7 primary school and my secondary school were basically English-speaking
8 schools with a very few Welsh-speakers in. And we had to learn Welsh as a
9 compulsory subject from primary school onwards and I have to confess that at
10 that time I didn't enjoy it at all (*lacht*) and I couldn't wait to give up. Yeah, and
11 in fact at, I think, the age of fourteen I did drop Welsh as a subject in favour of
12 doing French and German. That was in the last few years when it was possible
13 to do that. In a sense I regretted it later because I changed my mind inside and I
14 wanted to learn Welsh but I missed that opportunity. But on the other hand I
15 still learned quite a lot subconsciously from the lessons in primary school. So
16 when I did come to learn Welsh it was, I kind of had knowledge already. Ahm
17 I went to University in England, I went to Cambridge and I went to study
18 modern languages and I think in a way my interest in Welsh was paradoxically
19 ahm changed by (?men). I think it's not an uncommon experience. And going
20 to University in England, one minor point was obviously I was doing
21 languages, I was a linguist, and yet I couldn't speak Welsh, the language of my
22 own country, which was slightly embarrassing.

23 Int.: Mhm

24 B.: But also there was a general interest, because I came to know other languages
25 better, there was an increasing interest, I felt an increasing interest in Welsh as
26 a language. And I specialised particularly in medieval languages and medieval
27 literatures and I began to wonder if there exist medieval Welsh literatures,
28 because I never thought about it before. And I did a bit of reading and I found
29 out it did and that enormously increased my interest in the language.

30 Int.: Mhm

31 B.: And then in my third year at University I had the chance to go, well you have
32 to go abroad to study a language so I went to Freiburg in the south of Germany
33 and in those days they had a Celtic department in Freiburg. My year was the
34 last year there to except students and I went there for a year and learned the
35 Celtic languages. (.) Ahm and that was a very useful year to please myself to
36 learn Welsh properly and so I learned German for my degree at the same time.
37 (*lacht*) (*räuspert sich*) After my first degree then I made the decision to change
38 from modern languages to, to Welsh and I studied medieval Welsh in
39 particular. So I took the M.Phil in Cambridge, in, they have a wonderfull
40 department in Cambridge called the department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and
41 Celtic. They've always, always been the only department in the world where
42 you can study old English and Welsh and Irish all together. So I took an M.Phil
43 there for a year. Then I came home to Wales to do my Ph.D. here in
44 Aberystwyth and I have been here ever since. Ahm my Ph.D., (.) obviously my
45 M.Phil Thesis was written in English, because I was in England. When I came
46 back to Wales I decided I have to learn Welsh properly.

47 Int.: Mhm

48 B.: And I have to write my Ph.D. in Welsh, so (*lacht*). So that was going to be,
49 that was a major challenge. But for the first six month I did struggle in
50 Aberystwyth because it was all, my liaison with the department was in Welsh,
51 my supervision was in Welsh, I was trying to write in Welsh and you have to
52 give papers in Welsh eventually. But the training was enormously important
53 and if you are going to do what I wanted to do, which is to teach and study in
54 the field of Welsh, obviously you need to read the language. So, so, yes, so the
55 real increase of my fluency came when I came back to Aberystwyth. And then
56 two years into my Ph.D. I got a job as a researcher in the field of medieval
57 Welsh literature if you believe it or not (*lachtet*) and I'm still in that job. So yes.
58 So (.) for me obviously Welshness is very important in that regard in
59 professional life and in personal life and in a sense I made a commitment to the
60 Welsh language and to Wales at the mo., at the point when I changed after I
61 finished my first degree. So at the age of 22 I made the personal commitment
62 that I would become professionally involved in the Welsh language. And that's
63 a big commitment to make because there are very few jobs. Wales is a very
64 small country; the opportunities are few and far between. Ahm. So in a sense I

65 was going in for a very narrow specialism but I wanted to live in Wales. (.) I
66 love the landscape, the scenery here, I feel at home here. I wanted to live in
67 Wales and speak Welsh so I made the decision with 22 to come home. And by
68 an odd coincidence that was (.) I think it's the same, it was more or less the
69 same year as the Devolution referendum, I think. Yes, I think the Devolution
70 referendum was the same year as I began my M.Phil in Cambridge in Welsh.
71 So there was a good omen.. (*lacht*)

72 Int.: (*lacht*)

73 B.: that we voted yes. It was more or less the same time. Ahm I took that as a sign
74 for the future that it's more positive that I would have thought. The reaction of
75 my parents was interesting because they are both born and brought up in
76 Wales.

77 Int.: Mhm

78 B.: Both, in fact both of my mother's parents were born and brought up in Wales
79 and my father's father. His mother is Irish but his father is Welsh. And they are
80 all from Montgomeryshire. They are all from that certain border area, very
81 small area near Welshpool. But they all (*räuspert sich*), but they all are
82 English-speaking and my grandparents, their parents and I don't know how far
83 back we have to go in my family before we meet Welsh-speakers but it's
84 clearly quite a long time ago. And so they all have or had the attitudes, which
85 are common in that area, which is very conservative (.) very, in a sense Anglo-
86 centric, dismissive of the Welsh language, suspicious of it, uncomfortable
87 where it's existent. For them my turning to Welsh was a shock. Especially after
88 I've been to Cambridge and (.) they probably expected me to go off to live
89 there or in London and get a very fat salary as a lawyer or a business executive
90 or something like that. Ah (*räuspert sich*) and I don't know, I am going back to
91 Aberystwyth and they were shocked by that. (*lacht*)

92 Int.: (*lacht*)

93 B.: They were even more shocked when I got a job, so 'Good grief! You can
94 actually live here; you can actually pay for yourself in this field'. And it has
95 been a change for them as well because they became much more positive about
96 Welsh, the language and eventually that nationality as well. 'Cause I mean the
97 attitude of Non-welsh speaking Welsh people, which is the great majority of
98 people in Wales, is very or has been very contradictory, especially in this

99 border areas. They are proud to be Welsh, especially when it comes to sport
 100 and that kind of things.

101 Int.: Mhm

102 B.: But they are very, very nervous of (.) a linguistic and a cultural dimension and
 103 the political dimension. They are extremely suspicious to that. So for them it's
 104 been quite a journey. And in a sense for me as well because I came from that
 105 culture. When I was in school I was just dismissive with Welsh and I had no
 106 time for Wales. In school I used to say 'Wales is a third world country' and
 107 that was our mantra.

108 Int.: Mhm

109 B.: We thought of Wales as small, backward and effectively poor with not much
 110 prospects, with a few job prospects and most people would go to England to
 111 get a job.

112 Int.: Mhm

113 B.: And I think that's quite true. But ahm, yes of Wales (*murmelt ein paar Worte,*
 114 *nur* all my lifetime *verständlich*). But never mind. What can I say about
 115 Devolution?

116 Int.: But for your family, the change of the attitude was because of you or also
 117 because of the political changes then?

118 B.: I think they went hand in hand. I think you can't really distinguish. The
 119 personal and the more abstract came together.

120 Int.: Mhm

121 B.: But there is no doubt at all that Devolution has been a huge change to people's
 122 attitudes. Ahm (.) it goes to the heart of the greatest problem in Wales which is
 123 self-confidence. Welsh people have no self-confidence (.) as I have been just
 124 explaining. The way we talked about Wales when we went to school is (.) an
 125 illustration of how (.) kind of strange self-loading, which is still very common
 126 in Wales, especially with Non-welsh speakers. And there is a huge inferiority
 127 complex opposite to England. And there is no doubt that the yes vote in the
 128 referendum had a tremendous transformative effect on that because it was a
 129 decision made in Wales by Welsh people and it was accepted in London, which
 130 is probably the first time that happened ever. (*lacht*) (Certainly since the last
 131 Welsh prince in 1218) and it's certainly a departure and it's even more a

132 departure, or what was even more a departure was the subsequence (.) the
133 creation of the Assembly and then the huge problems with Alun Michael.

134 Int.: Mhm

135 B.: He was booted out (.) and the way the British Prime Minister Tony Blair
136 tempted to force his choice of candidates on the Welsh Assembly to be first
137 minister. And not just the people were annoyed by that and that's; but they
138 actually succeeded in getting rid of that candidate and appointing Rhodri
139 Morgan, the person the people wanted. That was the second time that Wales
140 had taken a decision.

141 Int.: Mhm

142 B.: This time without reference and this time directly against the wishes of the
143 political establishment in London and won. That was a second; that was a huge
144 eye opener for Welsh people. The realization that in a democracy actually we
145 can have our way if we stand up for ourselves. Ahm I think those two events (.)
146 had a transformative effect on self-confidence. And that effect was growing as
147 the Assembly has matured and hasn't been abolished. Because there is always
148 the fear, and that's annoying, an unsympathetic British government could turn
149 to (.) if not abolish (*jemand geht durch den Raum und knallt mit der Tür, daher*
150 *sind ein paar Worte unverständlich*), perhaps even offer a referendum to
151 abolition. So the longer the assembly is there the stronger is the people's
152 identification with it.

153 Int.: Mhm

154 B.: As to its links with Welshness well that is, (.) there are so many threats strands
155 to that but its near existence is a symbol of Welshness, that Wales is a country.

156 Int.: Mhm

157 B.: And not a region of England. Even if it had no power at all, it still would have
158 that effect of strengthening the people's outstanding will as a country. And you
159 also have to look at the way that outsiders, and outsiders includes English
160 people, but also includes anybody else in the world. And a country with no
161 government of its own is not a country in the view of most people and that's
162 very reasonable. So a country that votes not to have a government of its own is
163 not a country where I personally would like to live in.

164 Int.: Mhm

165 B.: And I think people who are not completely (.) dull would think the same. So
166 for outsiders, for the way outsiders look at Wales, and for how we look at
167 Wales, it is essential that we have put a political dimension to our Welshness.
168 ‘Cause otherwise it means nothing.

169 Int.: Mhm

170 B.: Standing up at the rugby field and shouting ‘Wales’ doesn’t count, it’s not
171 good enough. (*lacht*) So (.) it’s raised the profile of Wales internationally and
172 within the British heartlands. It symbolises the claims to be a country, even
173 within the United Kingdom. Even if Wales remains within the United
174 Kingdom, which is very likely indeed for the foreseeable future that it remains,
175 it is now established that Wales is a country and before this Assembly this
176 wasn’t clear at all. It was clear in the case of Scotland and Northern Ireland.

177 Int.: Mhm

178 B.: But it was less clear in the case of Wales, because Wales is so much more
179 closely into England and in its legal system. And there was this dreadful phrase
180 ‘England and Wales, all one thing’ which still exists in legal (?) but no one else
181 uses it. So (.) and the Assembly in term (.) brings whole load of changes in way
182 people talk about Wales. So that you have now a need for, ahm for instance
183 statistics, more statistics from Wales to be counted separately from England
184 because the Welsh government needs to make policy and it needs its own data.
185 So we don’t get the England and Wales stuff so much, we get an English figure
186 and we get a Welsh figure, a Scottish figure and a Northern Irish figure.

187 Int.: Mhm

188 B.: We get parity. And even that Wales is a very small country compared to
189 England we get parity of; in political discussion in that sense that we have
190 suddenly people looking at Wales, even studying Wales as Wales; people are
191 producing statistics for Wales. We have our own national statistics office and
192 so on. So the discourse about Wales within the UK has become much more
193 respectful. And outside of the political administrative level, that’s also
194 including the media because obviously the English media had a major problem
195 with Wales. It has improved over the past 10 years. The attitude of respect.
196 And I think actually what (.) at the moment people don’t emphasize enough, is
197 the opening of the National Assembly building. Because that’s the third, the

198 third critical event. The first was the referendum. The second was the removal
 199 of Alun Michael. And the third was the building of the Assembly.

200 Int.: Mhm

201 B.: Because buildings matter (.) and images matter.

202 Int.: Mhm

203 B.: And holding out debates in a converted underground car park in a bog-
 204 standard office block isn't good enough. So the Assembly building is quite a
 205 smart building.

206 Int.: Mhm. It is, indeed.

207 B.: It looks good, it looks modern. (.) Its eco-friendly, it's got all the stuff. It's
 208 much better than the House of Commons for practical purposes of holding
 209 committees and actually allowing the public in to see. It's much more
 210 transparent. It just looks good. Welsh people are not used to achievement. A lot
 211 of Welsh people are in love with mediocrity and being not very good at stuff
 212 and 'We can't do this' or 'Oh, we can't afford this'. Whatever you suggest in
 213 anything it's always 'We can't do this', 'We won't be allowed to do this', 'We
 214 can't afford this'. Those are the three mantras.

215 Int.: But isn't that also a matter of self-confidence what you mentioned before?

216 B.: Yeah, that's what I mean. Those three mantras. When those three mantras die,
 217 this country will be close to self-confident.

218 Int.: Mhm

219 B.: But I'm afraid it's still a long way to go. There is a huge, there is a huge
 220 matter over the Assembly building as I remember. Don't know if you've heard
 221 it, but... (*stöhnt laut auf*) They run the budget over as they always do and tried
 222 to stop it and then Rhodri Morgan (?) and tried to build a shed, stuck on the
 223 back of the office block they used to be in, and they all said 'No, we want a
 224 proper building'. So they wasted a good six month, trying to build a shed
 225 which was never gonna work. (*lacht*)

226 Int.: (*lacht*)

227 B.: Eventually they said 'Keep the property instead'. So that illustrates, the
 228 torturous process of building the thing demonstrates some of the problems.
 229 Once it was built you certainly had some Westminster journalists, people from
 230 London journalists saying 'Actually it doesn't look bad. Actually it looks quite
 231 good now'. So it was an important moment. And you don't get, you get far

232 fewer snide remarks from the media about the Assembly then you used to. (.)
 233 So for me it's just one word: it's confidence. (*Jemand geht erneut durch den*
 234 *Raum und es wird erneut mit der Tür geknallt*). Devolution: confidence; no
 235 Devolution: no confidence. That's what it's about. It's about self-confidence
 236 and self-believes and that is why in spite of the fact that the Assembly is quite
 237 big it has greatly strengthened Welshness in Wales. I think (.) I'm dried out.
 238 (*lacht*)

239 Int.: (*lacht*) Oh well. That was really interesting. There were a few things that I
 240 haven't heard before.

241 B. Right. If you want to ask me any questions..

242 Int.: Well, I mean you actually explained everything very well, so there aren't any
 243 questions open at the moment. So if there is nothing more you have to say...

244 B.: I can't think of much more now. Do you want to know what I think about the
 245 future?

246 Int.: Yes, sure. (.) What is actually your main goal? Would you prefer Wales
 247 going towards independence, or..?

248 B.: (..) Ahm, (..) emotionally I'd like independence but I don't think it's remotely
 249 realistic, in my mind so. So the goal is incremental the improvement in the
 250 amount of power we have in Wales. That's the short, intermediate term. The
 251 short term (bill), I'm afraid, for the National Assembly is going have to be (.)
 252 governing in a period of real tight budgets. It had 10 years of very generous
 253 budgets (.) and it showed that it can govern Wales without making a complete
 254 mess of things.

255 Int.: Mhm

256 B.: In good times. It's now going to show, I'm afraid, that it can function in bad
 257 times and make unpopular decisions as well as popular decisions.

258 Int.: Mhm

259 B.: 'Cause they have made a lot of popular decisions: abortion, prescription
 260 charges, hospital car parking charges, things which Wales could really afford.
 261 So for me it's about nuts-and-bolts from now on. It's about the National
 262 Assembly and Welsh government down stretching what they can take. Difficult
 263 and unpopular decisions and to govern responsibly. And I would like to see the
 264 Assembly taking control of the cumulate justice system, the police, courts and
 265 prisons. And I don't think I can see these coming in a short term. And the

266 referendum which is promised, I don't know when this is actually happen in a
267 short term. If it does I think it's the long term for it because (.) we need to be
268 focusing on the economic problems and budget problems before we can start
269 thinking about these things.

270 Int.: Mhm

271 B.: It's not the right time to ask the Welsh people to give any politician more
272 power. So I'm worried about the forthcoming referendum (*jemand*
273 *transportiert etwas durch den Raum, dadurch steigt die Lautstärke. Die letzten*
274 *drei, vier Sätze der Aufzeichnung sind daher nicht verständlich*)

Interview Nr. 4 (25:15)

(weiblich, 31 Jahre)

1 J.: I don't know what to start off with really. Ahm I suppose ahh perhaps it's a
2 slightly different perspective with me being so close to the border. My first
3 memory of sort of Welshness ahm it was when I was about 8 and I remember
4 the transport to school. There was just a car used to drive four, five people
5 together. And I remember, I remember one of the children which was in the car
6 with me teasing his brother saying something about being Welsh and he said
7 'I'm not Welsh, I'm not Welsh.' and I remember looking at this little boy, he
8 was a year or two younger than me, thinking 'Why would you not want to be
9 Welsh?', you know. To me that was what I was. It was something I was very,
10 very proud of but I didn't really think about what it meant to be Welsh. It was
11 just that I was Welsh, my parents were Welsh and that's was how we were.
12 And then when I was about 17 I got send to an exposition in Spain and we
13 were people there from each of the ah secondary schools in Welsh, so one
14 person for each school. And I was the only person that didn't speak any Welsh
15 and I was one of about five maybe six that wasn't first language Welsh and sort
16 of, or fluent Welsh and suddenly I thought 'Am I really Welsh? Am I ..?' I
17 don't really know whether I'm really Welsh because I don't understand what
18 all these people are doing, what they are talking about. And then I went to
19 University in the North of England. When I was in University I realized I
20 didn't quite feel at home. I had some quite good friends there and people from
21 all sorts of different backgrounds. And people I got on with very well. But
22 somehow there was something a bit different I couldn't put my finger on. And
23 then so from being very, very small I'd always felt I was Welsh but I didn't
24 know what it meant to be Welsh. And then when I went to University,
25 grounded in a city, I felt that even the people were very nice, there were lots of
26 little tiny things they didn't understand about my background and where I was
27 from. I heard the phrase that culture is like an iceberg. So the more you look at
28 an iceberg, the more it reflects what culture is like. So you could see a tiny bit
29 at the top poking out but there is loads more underneath.

30 Int.: Mhm

31 J.: And I think that was probably what I was experiencing, you know, I was in a
32 complete different environment than my home environment. And suddenly I
33 kind of realized that 'Yeah, yeah I'm Welsh. I'm definitely Welsh'. And then I
34 remember coming back with work. I was based at home but I was travelling
35 out. My area was Wales. I was travelling to North Wales and to South Wales.
36 And I thought that Welsh was a dying language and I thought it was ridiculous
37 that people... And I was the last year in my school to go through without
38 having to learn compulsory Welsh. And at that time I was really, really glad
39 about it. And when I, when I went to, out with work onto farms I suddenly
40 started realizing that actually Welsh was very much alive and that it was very
41 much ahm part of the communities, that I was going in to. And me being non-
42 Welsh speaking meant that everyone was having to speak English because I
43 was there. And so soon after starting work I started sort of learning Welsh but
44 not really doing it very much. I did going to evening classes once a week but it
45 wasn't enough. So then I started learning more seriously and going to week
46 residential courses and that sort of thing and ahm suddenly something made
47 sense and clicked into place because where I'm from at the border the TV
48 reception is all transmitted in from the Midlands. So you get news at home
49 about people who are about 50 or 80 miles away but you don't know anything
50 of them. There are completely different news or events that effect you. But
51 suddenly through learning Welsh I was able to access the Welsh media, so
52 Radio Cymru, S4C. And there were loads and loads of programmes in there
53 about a culture that I was familiar with, so loads of farming programmes, lots
54 of people who been members of the Young Farmers and faces that I knew and
55 suddenly the whole media that I was exposed to was of my friends and colleges
56 and suddenly it sort of clicked into place. 'Yeah right, this makes sense.' And
57 so for me the whole question of what it is to be Welsh I think is confused
58 slightly by language issue. Because I think, to me to be Welsh is to be from an
59 agricultural background and to be very much sort of aware of your heritage and
60 where your fathers are from. And that is not what it is to be Welsh. That is
61 what it is to be from a farming family but that was my own version of
62 Welshness and how it came through and because in my area people don't speak
63 Welsh, they kind of are in this (limberland). They are Welsh and they
64 understand the whole agricultural background scene but they don't, they don't

65 fit in entirely because they can't contribute in the same language as other
66 people.

67 Int.: Where are you actually coming from?

68 J.: From the border, half way down from the English border. The county is called
69 Radnorshire and it's a part of Powys, which is the largest county in Wales.
70 Ahm so, ahm (.) to me there are, again that was something I wouldn't
71 appreciate until I started travelling around Wales etcetera, but there are many
72 different types of Welshness. So if you ask somebody from the Valleys about
73 their background and their cultural exposure etcetera it will be very, very
74 different to what I experienced growing up. Likewise this is very, very
75 different to somebody that comes from North-Wales ahm or you know there is
76 such a difference between cities and countryside but that's the same
77 everywhere, isn't it? What I've learned in the last 10 years I suppose is, you
78 know, there is no such thing as one type of Welshness. There is this whole
79 different... There are loads and loads of different types of looking at things and
80 loads and loads of ways as how people feel about themselves and what sort of
81 pride they have etcetera. But with regards to the Assembly and Devolution I
82 think if you ask somebody at home ahm what they thought the Assembly had
83 done for them, I suspect that they would say there was nothing. I would suspect
84 they wouldn't really notice much difference. However, ahm just after the
85 Assembly had come into power ahm I was very involved with the Young
86 Farmers and was doing a lot on the Welsh level and also on UK national level
87 really and so was going to conferences all over the place and also to some in
88 Europe. And it felt to me very much being part of the Young Farmers that the
89 Assembly opened a door and it had provided people with an opportunity to
90 represent themselves. So rather than being part of a much larger, a small part of
91 a much larger UK, suddenly Wales was able to have its own voice. And to me
92 that seemed to say people suddenly got a confidence. To me, what the
93 Assembly has done for Wales it's given it confidence. I think there is room for
94 a debate there as whether that confidence has been at a high price or not
95 because obviously at the moment we've got another layer of government, so
96 ahm I think there is certainly room for a debate as to whether the whole
97 structure of the UK should be altered cause it makes no sense for me that
98 Wales should have the Assembly and then we should also have the

99 Westminster Parliament. It seems to me there is another massive layer of cost
 100 in there and I think that certainly on a political level there is room there for a
 101 reform there etcetera I think. Confidence is such an important thing that even
 102 when it comes at a cost I'm sure that it had massive benefit to Wales as a
 103 nation, you know, just the Welsh mentality. When I was learning Welsh ahm I
 104 was learning something about the Mabin..., sorry (*lacht*), Mabinogion tales.
 105 And they were saying that in the Mabinogion tales, there are loads of tales
 106 which are really, really sad. And I remember asking one of the tutors 'Why is
 107 everything so sad?'. Ahm the idea, the sort of background to it was, well,
 108 maybe, maybe, there was some sort of oppression in the history. I don't say
 109 that this is right but this is there. Maybe Welsh history has seen oppression
 110 coming in from outside. So maybe there have been some sort of sad things
 111 happened. Maybe we are entering a new era now where things can be happy or
 112 so. Ahm I don't know whether those comments are right about the past, you
 113 know, certainly Wales in the past has been very oppressed over the times. We
 114 got beaten back historically, the Welsh people have by, you know, the Saxons
 115 and you know however coming in. But I think there is this, well it is just pride,
 116 isn't it? Pride and Confidence coming through. And I think that really does
 117 move things forward and it makes everything possible (?). And I think that's a
 118 wonderful thing. I don't know if that kind of answers the question.
 119 Int.: I find it quite interesting now because this self-confidence thing was coming
 120 up quite a few times in the interviews. I think it made, it had a mayor impact.
 121 J.: Yeah, yeah, yeah, definitely. (..) (*jemand geht durch den Raum*). Yeah, so I
 122 don't know if you want to know anything else?
 123 Int.: Mhm, let me just think for a second. Ahm.
 124 J.: (*lacht*) (..)
 125 Int.: We already talked before several times. So I just have to think through that as
 126 well if I have some open questions.
 127 J.: You probably get a few points from there as well.
 128 Int.: Definitely. (..)
 129 J.: What I find interesting if you look at the map of which areas are Welsh
 130 speaking or if you look at a map which is got shaded by the numbers of Welsh-
 131 speakers and then you look at a a map of ahm where (..) there has been sort of
 132 inputs of people, you know historically, Saxons, Vikings or whoever and then

133 you look at maps of people who voted for the Assembly or not for the
134 Assembly. (.) There is not an exact fit but there are similar fits. So the Welsh-
135 speaking areas are tended to vote much more for the Assembly whereas those
136 areas over by the border were much more Anti-Assembly. Ahm and you know
137 my views of that there is an extra layer of government (..) the Welsh Assembly
138 would be much stronger. I think if you ask somebody from my family they
139 would say 'It's completely pointless. It's giving this extra layer of cost and
140 what is the sense in an extra layer of cost?'. And I think, ahm I think it's very
141 interesting in how those things, those maps, although there would be different
142 things, how they have then some boundary lines between them. And I wonder
143 if that is part of, you know, people feel this way about a thing and this is
144 influencing how they feel about another thing.

145 Int.: Mhm

146 J.: This thing with language isn't though. Ahm I think there is an argument which
147 adjust that a few ahm. The way a language is structured can alter your
148 perception of certain things, so for example if you gonna say [...] 'I've got a
149 headache' 'Mae pen tost 'da fi', 'there is a headache on me' or 'Mae poen
150 stumog 'da fi' 'there is a stomach ache on me' while 'I've got a bad stomach'
151 'I've a headache' in the English way of saying it. The syntax in the sentence
152 is...

153 Int.: I find this quite interesting. I was thinking about this as well; cause for
154 example the Welsh don't have this possessive word 'have', you always have to
155 say 'there is something with you'.

156 J.: Yeah, yeah. So does that make a difference to your mentality? Does that make,
157 does that then follow through? I don't know, I just wonder. Possibly. I think it
158 must have some sort of place in it but I mean the differences are too distinct for
159 it to be just a language thing coming through.

160 Int.: Mhm

161 J.: But certainly those maps are very interesting in this way I think.

162 Int.: Mhm. You mentioned before that your family would say the Assembly is just
163 an extra cost. So they are quite negative towards it?

164 J.: Yeah, I think they would be, I think they would be generally representative of
165 the people from the area. It's wrong for me to represent people in the area
166 because I'm, you know, I can't speak for other people. I can only speak for me.

167 Int.: Yeah, yeah.

168 J.: And I may be wrong but I think I've been out of my area for over 10 years now
 169 and I mix in quite different circles to home. I like home but it's just that I came
 170 here with work.

171 Int.: Mhm

172 J.: and there is no one here that comes from the same area as me, so I tend to ahm,
 173 well I don't tend to go out much at the moment, but I would tend to see people
 174 through work who are from different areas and I wouldn't travel to my home
 175 area with my work at all. So I think I'm not necessarily representative of them
 176 and I suspect from the things that I've heard from the area. People at home say
 177 that they are Welsh, they can get very much cross if people call them English
 178 ahm, but then they also get quite cross if they hear people speaking Welsh in
 179 front of them because they think they are ignorant and they feel like they are
 180 made foreigners in their own country.

181 Int.: Mhm

182 J.: So very much they are proud Welsh but I suspect that partly as well because
 183 of the TV reception. Because at home (.) just in that little band by the border
 184 you are not getting full coverage of exactly what's happening or you weren't
 185 until digital... Well they haven't made up to digital in the whole area but they
 186 will be. But I'm not sure when that transmitter switch is over. When they get
 187 digital TV than that will make a difference, they will have more exposure. You
 188 know, you are very cut off from Wales generally.

189 Int.: Mhm

190 J.: And so you are cut off and not getting the news and what's happened in the
 191 Assembly or whatever then it does impact on your (.) ahm your understanding
 192 of it.

193 Int.: Mhm

194 J.: If you don't understand what's happening than you can't appreciate it.

195 Int.: Yeah, yeah

196 J.: So that may be more a thing than everything else. Yeah (..)

197 Int.: It's like you mentioned that, they are upset when someone speaks Welsh.
 198 What I am coming across here now, for example last weekend from Welsh-
 199 speakers and I have heard this before. When they say: 'Normally I'm used to
 200 speak Welsh with my Welsh friends but if someone comes towards me and

201 starts talking Welsh – I don't know this person and this person doesn't know if
 202 I am Welsh-speaker or not. But if they start speaking Welsh to me I will say
 203 'Oh sorry, I don't speak Welsh, can you speak English with me?'

204 J.: Really? Why would they do that?

205 Int.: They say it's rude when you start talking in Welsh. You can't assume this
 206 other person is a Welsh-speaker.

207 J.: Ahm

208 Int.: Cause I've just heard, sorry to interrupt you, that people from North Wales,
 209 they, cause there are more Welsh speakers there and so they assume that
 210 everyone speaks Welsh.

211 J.: The people that said that to you where South-Walian right?

212 Int.: They were (.) ahm, yeah. Last weekend the guy was from Swansea and the
 213 girl was from here, Aberystwyth.

214 J.: But they wouldn't have been North-Walian cause I think you would find a
 215 quite different attitude with the North-Walians to that where North-Walian
 216 would automatically start in Welsh because they are more Welsh speakers. As
 217 a Welsh learner it's very difficult to be around South-Walians because South-
 218 Walians don't want to speak Welsh or won't speak Welsh so readily to Welsh-
 219 learners as North-Walians will. So some South-Walians are very, very helpful
 220 but many, many North-Walians are very, very helpful as to a Welsh-learner
 221 because somehow (.), well they are not exposed to English as much. So it's just
 222 (.) it's just they don't speak English. So they just carry on in their.. So where
 223 the South-Walians are kind of trained I suppose, to when it's inconsiderate to
 224 them to speak Welsh to them, when you have to think. Because I'm quite often
 225 in a room with people who don't speak Welsh so we'll speak... With the North-
 226 Walians it doesn't even occur to a lot of them because they don't have to speak
 227 English. And it's a big confidence thing there as well where their English is all
 228 perfect, they all sound perfect but actually a lot of them won't be confident in
 229 English and you won't find that out until you are speaking to them in Welsh.
 230 And then you suddenly hear them say something like 'Oh my goodness we are
 231 going into this meeting. Do I have to get my report in English?' 'Yeah, well
 232 because there are non-Welsh-speakers there.' And then (*entsetztes Aufstöhnen*)
 233 and big panics. Or when you are speaking to someone and they say: 'Oh I don't
 234 remember when I last spoke English. I don't know if I could.' And, you know,

235 of course they could. It's a confidence thing there. So I think (.) yeah (.) I think
236 you wouldn't find many North-Walians saying the same thing. I think that
237 would be a South-Walian attitude. Definitely. (.) Yeah, but it's good and bad
238 things to it. I think, I think it's important that people speak it cause otherwise
239 the language doesn't carry on. So it's kinda good. There's a campaign going on
240 'Cymraeg yn Gyntaf' 'Welsh First!' and it is trying to encourage people to take
241 pride in their language, cause if you don't have pride in your language than it
242 will disappear.

243 Int.: What I also heard, or what I was reading is that ahm, well there are more
244 Welsh-speakers now in number but it's just the communities are dying. And
245 like Welsh as a community language that is dying.

246 J.: Yeah, yeah. And the number your see, what declassifies a Welsh speaker?
247 Because they would take the numbers from everyone in the primary schools,
248 everyone that is in Welsh classes. So they would go through and there will be
249 big, big numbers but how many people actually speak it?

250 Int.: Mhm

251 J.: So, to be able to say some pitch in class or to actually use it as part of your life
252 is quite, quite different. Ahm and the minute you have one English-speaker,
253 going into a group of Welsh-speakers, then they all have to speak English and
254 that's why I've learned Welsh. So also I'm aware that there are many, many (?)
255 with my Welsh.

256 Int.: Mhm

257 J.: Ahm (.) I would prefer that I sound a bit stupid and everyone else can carry on
258 as they were in as I sit there and they have to speak English.

259 Int.: Mhm

260 J.: Or they carry on speaking Welsh and I don't understand what going on. Cause
261 neither is acceptable. It's far better that I sound stupid (*lacht*). Ahm but prior to
262 learning Welsh, people, groups of people would have to speak English when
263 they wouldn't speak English otherwise because I was there. And I'm sure
264 that's what happening all the way through cause there are so many people
265 moving in and out in Wales.

266 Int.: Yeah, this is especially in North Wales where the communities are getting
267 smaller and smaller.

268 J.: Yeah, yeah and when you look at the ~~yn~~ peninsula that's a big, big tourist
 269 area now and it's one of the most expensive areas I think in the UK to buy
 270 houses. It's (.) goodness me, what's the place called? Ahm, it's on the ~~yn~~ ⁿL
 271 peninsula anyway, there's a big sort of surfers paradise and there's a new big
 272 road coming from Caernarfon down, so the A55 runs along the top of North-
 273 Wales, it's a really fast carriage way. Ahm so you can get from Chester across
 274 to Caernarfon really, really quickly. And then you drop down then on this big
 275 powerful road they have put in now down to the ~~Lyn~~ ⁿ peninsula. So what used
 276 to be just tiny roads, very slow ways of life, suddenly had this influx of English
 277 folks coming in at the weekend. (*lacht*) And some farmers were telling me last
 278 year that they don't go to this town anymore because, well they don't hear any
 279 Welsh spoken. There are all those people in their big Range Rovers coming in
 280 from outside. It's very good for the economy, don't get me wrong, I'm not
 281 saying it's a terrible, terrible thing but it's a great shame that the ~~yn~~ ⁿ ~~L~~as a
 282 whole, as a stronghold of the Welsh language and its scene... Language is such
 283 a difficult thing to ah maintain, isn't it? Because you can lose it in a generation
 284 and you also can get it back in a generation, sort of, but it can be completely
 285 lost in a generation. It's just sad but I suppose there are sader things in life.
 286 (*lacht*) I hope it's some use to you anyway. With some bits and bobs.
 287 Int.: Yeah, definitely.
 288 J.: Right, I make a move then, there are still some bits and bobs I have to do.
 289 Int.: Thank you very much for your time and all your help and for doing this
 290 interview with me.

Interview Nr. 5 (25:42)

(weiblich, 40 Jahre)

1 I.: Well, what am I going to say? When I was growing up I do remember having a
2 bit of trouble with language in my parents spoke Welsh to me and then as I was
3 growing up I found English a bit difficult, because ahm if I would read a word
4 I wouldn't know how to pronounce it, so I just pronounced it phonetically.

5 Int.: Ok

6 I.: Which caused hilarity really. People thought it .. I still do it to a certain degree,
7 if I read new words in a book it's always a bit phonetic. And people think I am
8 a bit stupid maybe for coming up with odd words. Ahm, Welsh Devolution...

9 Int.: Where are you actually coming from?

10 I.: I come from a little village called Bontnewydd, which is about half an hour to
11 drive outside Aberystwyth and is a very rural area where the nearest house was
12 about half a mile away. So it was very difficult when we were growing up
13 because my parents lived on a farm and it was virtually impossible to have
14 friends back from school. It involved a lot and lot of travelling. Ahm it was a
15 little lonely in some respect but ahm also it gave a degree of freedom as well
16 because I'd see my mum at breakfast time, we had breakfast and then she
17 wouldn't see us until teatime that night. And she wouldn't worried because we
18 were out about playing in the fields and things. Ahm (.) I didn't like living on a
19 farm. I still don't like the thought of it living on a farm and I really like living
20 in the middle of town now. I (.) like the language around here. There is a lot of
21 Welsh because I've lived away from Aberystwyth for many years. I've lived in
22 Pembrokeshire which is known as 'Little England of Wales', yeah, and I've
23 lived in Swansea and Cardiff. And I spent some years in France and Spain as
24 well. So coming back to Wales has been great, because I was able to use the
25 language again. And I, I've realized how much I've missed it.

26 Int.: Mhm

27 I.: So, that had been great. But I don't, I don't think that I've found many
28 xenophobic people here, that don't like foreigners.

29 Int.: Hmm

30 I.: There is that sort of rivalry between England and Wales. Like the joke is on
31 rugby days: ‘Who do the Welsh support? – Well, they support Wales or anyone
32 who is playing England’. That is traditional, isn’t it? But ahm, I don’t think
33 there is (..) I don’t think that Welsh people hate the English, seriously. It’s just
34 a bit of a friendly rivalry, I think.

35 Int.: Mhm

36 I.: Ahm (..) I support Plaid Cymru. I’ve always supported Plaid Cymru since the
37 first time I was able to vote I voted for them. Regardless of who is standing,
38 most of the time I didn’t even know who the candidate was. I’ve always voted
39 for them. Ahm politics, Mair is more into politics than I am. I think if someone
40 from Plaid Cymru could actually get into power they probably would be just as
41 bad as whoever is in power now, because there is always problems. They
42 follow one after the other. Ahm (..) independence, devolution in Wales (..) I
43 think things have got better. I think they can get a lot more better. That’s not
44 proper English, is it? (*lacht*) They can improve further. Ahm (..) but I think
45 Wales is still getting a bit of a bum deal really. Because, because you pay your
46 taxes in Wales and then everything goes into a big pot and Westminster dishes
47 it all out then. And then what comes back into Wales doesn’t seem to be equal
48 with what goes out. Really.

49 Int.: Mhm

50 I.: Not that I know much about it but from the little knowledge that I have doesn’t
51 seem that we are getting a fair deal. For instance there is a lot of money put
52 into the war in ahm the east at the moment and things like the Olympics. How
53 is it benefiting Wales really? Especially things like the Olympics, because yes
54 it does generate a lot of money, but London is so far away from Wales that
55 might be, well it is another country, but it might be another planet really. (..)
56 Ahm have you got any specific questions? I’m not sure what I’m going to say.

57 Int.: Well, how do you think, in which way has Devolution had an influence on
58 Welshness, or on your Welshness personally?

59 I.: I am proud that we are starting to get somewhere with this. That Wales is
60 considered more of a country in its own rights because before... Well, living in
61 Spain, I’ve lived in Spain for about four years recently and everyone, everyone
62 there, even the English, and there is a huge English population there, and the
63 Spaniards as well. And everyone, they don’t, they don’t realize that Wales is a

64 little country all on its own. As to Scotland they recognise as a country on its
65 own to an extent. And Ireland. They don't know nothing about Northern-
66 Ireland really.

67 Int.: Mhm

68 I.: And when I say I come from Britain, I'm Welsh: 'Oh, where is Wales?' 'Oh
69 there is England and it's that little bit there' 'Oh so you are English then?' But
70 I think maybe people are starting to get more of an awareness that it is different
71 country and ahm it is different. It's all very tiny, the UK as a whole, but it's
72 different. It has identity of its own and I like the fact that it is being recognised
73 now. However there is still a long journey ahead. Because to a certain extent
74 we can start making our own laws now. And the Education system is different
75 in Wales then it is in England. Ahm I think to a certain extent it, possibly it has
76 advantage over the English system. Ahm but it's still like a little brother. I
77 don't think we quite do enough for our own sake at the moment 'cause we are
78 not able to (.) At the present I think. (.) I'm quite proud of the things,
79 (everyone) in Wales as well. Like silly things like the DVLA, where you get
80 your licences and where you get your (car) stuff sorted. That's in Swansea.
81 And that's for the whole of Britian.

82 Int.: Oh really?

83 I.: A part of the Royal Mint. I'm not sure if it still is but it used to be in
84 Llantrisant, where they make money, coins and things. Wales has a lot to offer.
85 A lot to offer. And (.) it's not ahm, a lot of things get produced and a lot of
86 things get contributed to the UK. But I don't think we get enough back.

87 Int.: Mhm

88 I.: Really. It's unequal partnership. (.) I think a bit like I think (.) ahm what the
89 Basks feel in Spain

90 Int.: Mhm

91 I.: I've spoken to a few Spaniards. They don't like using Castilian, well they are
92 using their own language rather than Spanish. 'Cause there are lots of different
93 languages in Spain. And I think it's all a bit like that really. People just don't
94 realize that it is an own country. 'Oh it has its own language? Oh I didn't
95 realize.' The language, the language thing is getting better. I think there is more
96 awareness; even there is a lot of people in Wales who don't speak Welsh. They
97 are Welsh, I think. I don't consider them not being Welsh, you know. Whether

98 they are born here or they decide 'I'm living in Wales and therefore now, I'm
99 Welsh'. I don't think the language, the use of language is ahm important in that
100 way per se. Because recently we had elections and a lot of people have said:
101 'Oh I can't possibly vote for Plaid Cymru because I'm (?)' And they say this
102 being English. And I mean of course you can, because you are not voting for
103 who has the better language, you are voting for policies to do with Wales. Not
104 where you come from. And I can't.... It seems to get there. I do feel pleased
105 that more is being done to promote the language. Because there was a problem
106 that it might have died out. 'Cause my written Welsh for instance is really poor
107 and that's due to my education.

108 Int.: Is the Welsh language that you learn in school more based on the spoken
109 language? Like it is when you learn it as an adult speaker, like I do.

110 I.: Well done you.

111 Int.: In these courses it's mainly based on the spoken language. We try to do a bit
112 of writing but not much.

113 I.: The written and the spoken are two completely different languages. Two
114 completely. And also, 'cause I'm doing this course in University at the
115 moment. Teacher training and I'm doing it through the medium of Welsh as
116 well. Ahm more because they thought 'Oh she can speak Welsh, she can do it.
117 We tick that box. Because we need more people to tick that they are doing it in
118 Welsh'. I didn't want to do that because my written language is so, so bad. But
119 I find that the people marking my work are coming from North-Wales, where
120 their written Welsh is excellent.

121 Int.: Mhm

122 I.: But also different from the written Welsh that you get in Mid-Wales. It is
123 different.

124 Int.: Mhm

125 I.: The language is little bit different. North-Wales language is a little bit different
126 to mine. Ahm (.) I can understand everything they say of course but when it
127 comes to writing it, it is so complicated. Because I've been told: 'Your work
128 reads like you are an English person that has translated her work.'

129 Int.: Mhm

130 I.: And I think 'Oh that can't be right.' Because I had my education in Tregaron
131 school and ahm the lessons were conducted in the medium of Welsh. So the

132 teachers would speak to us in Welsh and everything was written down in
133 English. You see, which is why my Welsh is so poor. My written Welsh is
134 what I've learned in primary school and now I appreciate what a good job my
135 teacher did in primary school because I learned any Welsh at all in Secondary
136 school. (..) Ahm, I worked in Penwedig School here, they teach everything in
137 the medium of Welsh.

138 Int.: Mhm

139 I.: I could never be a pupil there. It's just so complicated. (*lacht*)

140 Int.: You are also from an 'older' generation. Most of the people I talked with had
141 Welsh already in school as a compulsory subject and I don't think that when
142 you went to school it was that important.

143 I.: Well, when I went to school you see... oh let's talk about age. I'm born in 1970
144 that makes me 39 and 40 this year. When I was doing my O-Levels... Do you
145 know O-Levels? O-Levels preceded GCSEs

146 Int.: Oh right.

147 I.: Now we have GCSEs. Before that, ahm we had O-Levels for GCSEs higher
148 tier or CSEs, which is Certificate for Secondary Education, for lower tier. And
149 I did my Welsh in lower tier, in CSE, which was the low grade because really,
150 I wasn't good enough and I got a grade 2 which is like getting a D I suppose. It
151 was poor, really.

152 Int.: Mhm

153 I.: It was poor. Ahm, I didn't think I was good enough for.. I don't think it was
154 compulsory because in our days you left school when you are 15, before doing
155 exams. But things have changed now. My parents weren't really keen on this
156 having education really because they didn't see the point in it. Because you
157 didn't need qualifications to be able to work in a shop and things.

158 (*jemand geht durch den Raum*) (..).

159 Cardiff was nice. I lived in Cardiff for a bit from 1980 to 2002 and the nice
160 thing about Cardiff was that some people spoke Welsh there, because there is
161 quite a strong Welsh community there. 'Cause the further south you go the less
162 Welsh there is. Carmarthen there is loads of Welsh, ahm I went to college
163 there. Then I moved to Swansea. Absolutely nothing. Everyone has got the
164 accent but no one has the language. Then I moved to Cardiff.

165 Int.: Sorry to interrupt you but I heard that there is more spoken Welsh in Swansea
 166 than in Cardiff but when I stayed in Swansea I've never heard anyone talking
 167 Welsh in Swansea.

168 I.: I don't think I ever heard anyone talking Welsh in Swansea.

169 Int.: I did hear it though in Cardiff in the Hostel where I stayed. All the people
 170 who worked there were talking in Welsh to each other.

171 I.: Yes, there is lot more Welsh in Cardiff then people believe. There is a strong
 172 Welsh Community down there of active Welsh speakers. There are Welsh
 173 schools and things. I never encountered anything like that in Swansea. I lived
 174 there for a year, in Uplands. And I went to University there and I never
 175 encountered anything like that whereas in University in Cardiff we had
 176 lecturers who spoke Welsh, which is great. And you bumped into people all the
 177 time and they spoke Welsh.

178 Int.: Mhm

179 I.: Probably more people in Cardiff spoke (English) that I met but it was nice that
 180 there were Welsh people as well. Which surprised me really, 'cause I didn't
 181 expect to find anyone. Because once you go more south of Carmarthen there is
 182 nothing, really.

183 Int.: Mhm. It's like I told you before, that the first time I came to Wales was to
 184 Abergavenny and then I was also in Cardiff and Swansea. So that was my first
 185 impression of Wales there.

186 I.: All right, yeah.

187 Int.: The first time that I heard Welsh was last summer and the first time I came to
 188 Wales was the summer before. And I came to Wales several times in this year.

189 I.: Oh really?

190 Int.: So it took me quite a while until I heard the first Welsh words.

191 I.: Yeah, that's quite a while. Yeah. The further you go north, you see.
 192 Aberystwyth and more north, we probably won't hear English at all. Hardly
 193 any. Maybe there is more resistance, maybe resistance isn't the right word.
 194 Ahm, (.) people settle more somewhere else rather than North-Wales. And then
 195 once you get a few people that don't speak Welsh then you get a lot more that
 196 move in there as well (.). Does that sound Anglophobic? I don't mean to be
 197 (*lacht*). I don't do like foreigners. (*lacht*) No, I'm not like that at all. Ahm I'm
 198 proud to be Welsh. Can I say that? I am. Where I have lived before and when I

199 lived abroad people have had a curious reaction to ‘Oh you’re not English
 200 then? You must be alright then’. For some reason, it’s more acceptable. Which
 201 is also (*lacht*) horrible, isn’t it? Ahm can I... can I.. (.) Ahm, my English
 202 language is a lot better than my Welsh. If we would have this interview now in
 203 the medium of Welsh it would be absolutely peppered with English words. I
 204 think that might be due to my education because I’ve done the written stuff in
 205 English. And I love reading but not Welsh books. Because my Welsh is so
 206 poor. But this summer I’m going to really knuckle down and read some Welsh.

207 Int.: But your first language at home was..

208 I.: Welsh, yeah. My parents.. Because people say to me ‘Oh you don’t sound very
 209 Welsh’. A friend was saying yesterday and he met my brother for the first time
 210 and listened to my brother and he said ‘Oh he has much more an accent than
 211 you. Why is that then?’ My parents feel at times quite uncomfortable speaking
 212 in English because they haven’t the vocabulary. And they sound very, very
 213 Welsh.

214 Int.: Mhm

215 I.: And they speak quite slowly in English, compared to how they speak in Welsh.
 216 And when I was a teenager I was just determent not to sound like anything
 217 really which is why I made an effort not to have a Welsh accent when I was in
 218 secondary school. Which is why I don’t sound as Welsh as I would do.

219 Int.: Mhm

220 I.: When I think about it the accent is coming round really strong (*lacht*). (.) Ah
 221 and another thing that just popped into my mind. Because my brother now he
 222 has got a daughter. He is fluent of course in Welsh. His, well she is an ex now,
 223 but the mother of his daughter is a Greek-Cypriot, born in London I think. She
 224 is learning Welsh. But the daughter is five this year. She goes to Plascrug
 225 School, which isn’t the Welsh school; it’s the one next door. Ahm but she has
 226 difficulty with the Welsh language in that my brother really tries to speak
 227 Welsh to her but for instance she is saying ‘Oh I don’t understand what you are
 228 saying’ and I find this a bit sad really. Because ahm, this is quite a Welsh area.
 229 And sometimes I think she is putting on this because she is being awkward.
 230 But sometimes I think maybe she is just not getting the education and the input
 231 from enough people. Because she is only four or five and now it’s the best time
 232 to learn.

233 Int.: Mhm. And how often does your brother see his daughter.

234 I.: Oh often, ahm often. They probably talk every day and he probably sees her

235 three, four times a week for an extended period. Overnight and things. (.)

236 Int.: Yeah, that's a shame.

237 I.: She seems to speak a lot more Welsh before she went to school. When she was

238 in the same school doing this preschool stuff but she was also going to

239 Camenbach which is where her mum works, which is a Welsh speaking pre-

240 nursery school.

241 Int.: Mhm

242 I.: And now she seems to have less, you know, and she makes less afford to (.)

243 communicate in Welsh. I find that, that is a bit unfortunate. 'Cause it's gonna

244 be more of a struggle later on.

245 Int.: Yeah, it is.

246 I.: Well done for you trying to learn Welsh because I think I'm not very good at

247 languages and I think if I didn't have the Welsh already I wouldn't have the

248 ability to be able to learn it because the Welsh I'm learning at the moment, the

249 written Welsh for my course, I'm finding it very difficult and I think with the

250 spoken Welsh as well I would just give up because it's really difficult. It's a

251 very difficult language and you have got this mutations right at the start of the

252 word (*lacht*). And you read that and you want to look in the dictionary to see

253 what it means, well they just changed the first letter of the word haven't they,

254 so you haven't got a hope.

255 Int.: Mhm (*lacht*)

256 I.: You haven't got the hope to find it in a dictionary unless you know what you

257 are looking for.

258 Int.: Yeah

259 I.: Very difficult. When I was working in (?) one day someone was coming down

260 from Welsh and said: 'This is an animal, this is the word, we don't know what

261 it is. Can you find out for us?' And we were in the Welsh department. We

262 looked in the book to find it. We just stumbled across it in the end by accident.

263 I don't know what it was but they hadn't given us the word that came before

264 which would have told us that it has mutated. The word was gazelle. The

265 Welsh word for gazelle. They just made it up anyway. That's another thing

266 with the Welsh language, you see. I think I love the Welsh language, yes I do,

267 but they make up these new words or take an English word and give it a Welsh
 268 spelling. And I don't approve with that, I don't approve with that. I'm trying to
 269 teach Biology at the moment and we have these words, like glucose. They
 270 don't spell it like glucose. They even haven't come up with a new word, they
 271 just call it glucose but with Welsh spelling.

272 Int.: Mhm

273 I.: And then if you are from North Wales there is a different spelling as when you
 274 are from Mid-Wales. And I find that a bit frustrating. (.) (lacht) There we go.
 275 I'm babbling now. I'm tired (*lacht*)

276 Int.: No, no, it's alright. Don't worry. But I know what you mean. At the moment
 277 I'm struggling as well a bit with my Welsh.

278 I.: Is it conversational Welsh?

279 Int.: Mhm, yeah.

280 I.: That's the best one to learn, I think.

281 Int.: Yeah, but I missed a few classes because I went back to Austria for a few
 282 weeks. But I tried to do a little back to catch up on the Internet. The BBC has
 283 this Internet program to learn Welsh.

284 I.: Oh right.

285 Int.: And this one is really, really good. It's actually the best self-learning program
 286 I've ever come across so far.

287 I.: Do they do it for other languages as well apart from Welsh? Cause I would like
 288 to improve my Spanish as well. But well done to you. Wyt ti'n siarad Cymraeg
 289 nawr?

290 Int.: (*lacht*)

291 I.: That's always the thing with learning a language. When someone is talking
 292 Welsh you probably can make out what he is talking about but responding
 293 might be a bit of a problem. But it's a pretty good step trying to understand
 294 what people are saying.

295 Int.: Yeah, and what I always wanted to know, since I came to Wales so often,
 296 because you see all the street signs and you are wondering how you pronounce
 297 those words.

298 I.: The good thing about Welsh is that it is a phonetic language. So when you
 299 know the alphabet you know how to read it. I really like phonetic languages.
 300 (..)

301 Int.: Well, I don't have any more questions left at the moment. Thank you very
302 much for your time and for having this interview with me

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Interview Nr. 6 (23:20)

(weiblich, 35 Jahre)

1 M.: I was brought up in a village which it's about an hour north of Aberystwyth
2 and ahm it's called Llanuwchllyn. It's quite close to Bala. Ahm in
3 geographically distance it's quite far from anywhere else, it's typically an
4 hour from Bangor, it's an hour from Wrexham, it's an hour from
5 Aberystwyth, it's an hour from anywhere. And that's how we kind of
6 typicalise ourselves. Ahm ahm when I was growing up, I think 90% of the
7 village was Welsh-speaking which meant that all of my family, everybody in
8 the shops, everybody I knew typically spoke Welsh and my mother had this
9 crazy idea that I had to learn better English if I was to progress in school.
10 Ahm so there were a few incomers into the area who had moved in from
11 different areas, like from the south of England because of the house prices.

12 Int.: Mhm

13 M.: So she would typically sent us to see these ahm older people who had very
14 different things to my childhood, being Radio 4, tennis, Wimbledon and very
15 Middle-England kind of views of life. You know, they were very much like
16 'Oh I'm sure you'll marry a doctor' kind of idea, you know 'Oh I'm sure
17 you'll do very well. I'm sure you marry very well'. Ahm and that had a very
18 distinct difference to my working class, ahm Labour, ahm (?) family. So I had
19 a distinct view of that Middle-England were conservatives, very narrow in
20 their views of life and what the woman's role was and what your potential in
21 life was, compared to my very liberal upbringing.

22 Int.: Mhm

23 M.: And a very, ahm very open view that we had on peoples potential. But that
24 was typified by just three different people that we knew from my valley. Ahm
25 my brother brought a girlfriend home when I was about 14 and he was in
26 University. And she was from Tredegar and she was a non-Welsh-speaking
27 Welsh person. It's not far from Abergavenny where you were down.

28 Int.: Mhm

29 M.: And this was a whole totally different concept for us because in the past we'd
30 only known English people from Birmingham, from Liverpool who came in

31 and moved and typically moved away. And we never really encountered non-
32 Welsh-speaking Welsh people.

33 Int.: Mhm

34 M.: So her idea about identity was very much in question by our family because
35 we thought ‘How can you be Welsh and not want to learn Welsh?’ Because
36 we very much defined our Welshness on the fact that we spoke Welsh. We
37 never questioned what that involved in terms of, you know, we never
38 supported rugby or football or anything in the same way that South-Walians
39 do, ‘cause our Welsh was very much driven by the fact that we speak Welsh
40 and the culture around that didn’t matter whether it was (.) at the Eisteddfod,
41 whether the Eisteddfod was in Welsh or English. It was the Eisteddfod and it
42 was something that was ours. You know, my mum is a poet and she did her
43 poetry through Welsh, Welsh was her medium. Ahm so I had a very distinct
44 idea of what Welsh identity was all about. When I moved to Aberystwyth
45 University ahm I went to Pantycelyn and that was the first politically driven
46 Welshness that I kind of encountered because ahm (.) people then were more
47 in tune with the injustices of the things that weren’t right with the system.
48 Because we had a Torry government running in Westminster but not many
49 Torries supporting Wales.

50 Int.: Mhm

51 M.: This was seen to be a very non-Welsh (?) that we had to overcome. And
52 definitely in the sense of nationalism that we had to have independence. So
53 we had to have a different model and this was about 95 to 97ish period ahm
54 and I was part of the ahm throwing the axe at the queen incidence. Ahm not
55 in terms of anti-royalism but in terms of ahm getting attention to the fact that
56 we consider ourselves Welsh we don’t want this, this woman ruling all over
57 us.

58 Int.: Mhm

59 M.: Ahm so I suppose that was growing up. And then I moved to Cardiff and I
60 drove an accounting firm which was very different ‘cause I was the only
61 Welsh-speaker there and you do have a very sense of ‘I’m, I’m now the little
62 fish in the huge pool’ and they don’t even know what I’m talking in terms of
63 culture. They never even heard of the Eisteddfod. Now, if I say something
64 like (.) the fact that I can speak Welsh, they don’t consider it an advantage.

65 But I (.) made it my unique selling point, I made it my ahm 'Look I can get
66 clients in by the fact that I speak Welsh. I can get in with these people
67 because I know their culture and I know ahm what they are interested in and I
68 think that was a way that I survived not having to turn my back on my
69 Welshness. Ahm because I found (.) their idea of Welsh identity very isolated
70 to what I considered. You know, they have supported Wales in rugby and that
71 was about it. But any talk of sending the kids to Welsh schools or any support
72 for any Welsh language TV or Radio Cymraeg they were against because
73 they were definite people who thought an increase to the Welsh language
74 would mean a negative impact on them personally.

75 Int.: Because they couldn't speak Welsh and they thought 'I'm gonna lose out
76 here so I'm gonna be against it and I'm not gonna go for it and I'm not gonna
77 let my child go for it because I think, you know, this is something I don't
78 want to happen'. Ahm so 97 was the day I moved to Cardiff and tried to get
79 (? ?) and it was also the day of the referendum so I'm trying to remember
80 what happened in terms of did we have.. (.). Many of the people I was
81 associated with had voted against it, in Cardiff. But my mother and my family
82 and everybody in North-Wales thought it was a fantastic thing. And I think
83 what's happened over the last 15 years is that people in Cardiff think it's a
84 good thing and my mother and people in North-Wales don't think it's a good
85 thing. Because what they see, they haven't seen the impact of it, they haven't
86 felt like anything has improved.

87 Int.: Mhm

88 M.: Because everything to them has moved to the direction, of well, our schools
89 are no longer (.) ahm enforcing as much Welshness on the child because there
90 are more incomers coming in and we can't turn all of them Welsh. So what
91 they do, they form a group and they form a block together and that means that
92 20% of the school doesn't have to speak Welsh. So you have to teach them
93 bilingual which ahm makes it more difficult for people up there. In Cardiff
94 there is a huge increase in bilingual schools all over the place. They are
95 seeing the new business that the Assembly is attracting. There is a definitive
96 sense in terms of my industry that there are more powers moving over to
97 Wales, the Welsh Audio Office, the Sports Council for Wales, the Arts
98 Council for Wales. There is a feeling of 'Look at us!' There is lots of, you

99 know, ahm Welsh companies or brands which are really going on there and
100 flying the flag for Wales. But that was very much a Cardiff based thing and it
101 wasn't felt in North-Wales.

102 Int.: Mhm

103 M.: They were the ones thinking you know what ahm things aren't getting better.
104 There might be new regulations going on in the place but it's not solving the
105 core problems of the fact that our young people are moving away and there's
106 no jobs to fulfil their jobs.

107 Int.: Mhm

108 M.: So they kinda feel that the Assembly had given lip service to improving
109 things. Things like, yeah you can speak in Welsh in the Parliament in
110 Brussels, you can speak Welsh in the Assembly and there's gonna be new
111 Welsh Language Act but it doesn't (.) stop the fact that 2/3 of the comp., big
112 companies in Bala have moved to China. It doesn't stop the fact that most of
113 the people that are now leaving school will move away at some eventual
114 point. So (.) ahm that almost economic driven of it.

115 Int.: Yeah

116 M.: That they feel that the Assembly has let them down really. So I don't know
117 whether that's it.

118 Int.: So, it's like, what I know from Welsh identity is that it is also a regional thing
119 mainly based on the communities. So this is actually what happens there that
120 the communities are splitting up when you say that there are no jobs for the
121 young people and they have to move out.

122 M.: Definitely. Yeah and when I was a child we had children moving into the area
123 and within about six month they would have learned Welsh very quickly.
124 Their parents might have learned to speak Welsh but generally they wouldn't
125 have mixed. But that child was a part of the school and would have been
126 amalgamated in everything and the community would have remained Welsh.
127 What happens now is that somebody moves in and they feel 'Mhm I don't
128 want my child to learn Welsh, I don't feel they need to'. Which means there
129 is a split in the school but that parents also feel 'Well I want to have my yoga-
130 classes, so I'm gonna organize yoga-classes and I'm gonna have my friends
131 over here' whereas the people who used to run the Eisteddfod will still run
132 the Eisteddfod but it becomes an ever-decreasing amount of people who get

133 involved in it and that is generally the same people who have to organize all
134 the same stuff because this group (*zeigt mit Hand in eine Richtung*) is getting
135 even bigger, because there is a group that's giving them new choices on new
136 things to do whereas this group (*zeigt mit der Hand in die andere Richtung*) is
137 stuck in its old ways. It's still trying to do Eisteddfod and choir and poet
138 readings and chapel going. It's the old class and that's where (..) my mum's
139 generation and I'm still going to this things. But my sisters, my one sister will
140 still go, because she is a teacher in a local school, my other sister she will go
141 and mix with the non-Welsh-speaking class of people. Because they are,
142 'They have got new ideas. Ahm. Look they are doing (..) a sponsord run for
143 blablabla.' It's not that it is anti-Welsh, it is the fact that this is (*zeigt erneut*
144 *mit der Hand*) is old fashioned and this is what my mum does. So.

145 Int.: Mhm

146 M.: And that is part of the problem. It's after the older people to keep it going.
147 And because it is older people, the young people are looking at it and think
148 'Oh god it's something that old people do. So ahm it's becoming an old
149 people's generation. But that's not the case in Aberystwyth necessarily. Ahm
150 in Aberystwyth, yes we are very split.

151 (*Ihr Telefon läutet und sie telefoniert kurz mit ihrem Lebensgefährten. Sie*
152 *sagt ihm, dass sie in 5 min. draußen ist*).

153 Yes, where were we? What do you want to know next? My boyfriend clearly
154 speaks English. (*lacht*) Ahm, that does have problems in itself. Ahm because
155 Aberystwyth society, you have people who work in the National Library or in
156 my work in *Mudiad Ysgolion Meithrin* who are very Welsh institutions so we
157 can speak Welsh in work and that's fine and it's acceptable. But in university
158 or in hospital because most people don't speak Welsh people tend to speak
159 English and English becomes the norm. So (..) once it becomes the norm, you
160 are the exceptional one by the fact that you are speaking Welsh to each other.
161 Ahm (..) and I'm lucky my work place isn't like that because I don't have to
162 have the choice then. Ahm but some people do have to make the choice, ahm
163 ahm. Sorry, next question.

164 Int.: Ahm talking about the language and job possibilities how is this.. 'cause
165 I had sometimes the feeling that some people; that in some jobs, that it is
166 easier for people who can speak Welsh, that they are having easier access to

167 some jobs than non-Welsh speakers. ‘Cause also in the Welsh course that I’m
 168 doing at the moment there are a few people saying that they are doing it to get
 169 a job again.

170 M.: There aren’t many jobs and the two words that are essential are: Welsh is
 171 essential for this post, Welsh is desired for this post. Where they say Welsh is
 172 essential it means you can’t do the job unless you speak Welsh, so ahm it
 173 would be a job where (.) 90% of the people who are involved in that job is
 174 Welsh and it wouldn’t be possible for you to do that job. If you were
 175 (perwedig) school, if you were in my nursery it wouldn’t be acceptable
 176 because it’s a Welsh institution and that’s its basis. Ahm where it says Welsh
 177 is desirable, where all of those people who learn Welsh with you. You are
 178 more likely to get a job if you can speak Welsh because it’s one of the criteria
 179 to get this job because it’s nice to have someone who has the capability of
 180 switching from one to the other. But if somebody with more qualification
 181 would go for the job and didn’t have Welsh then they would be given the job
 182 regardless of the fact that they couldn’t speak Welsh or not. My boyfriend is
 183 an IT consultant in the University and they say Welsh is desirable for his
 184 post. He doesn’t speak Welsh, one member of his department does.
 185 Occasionally they’ll have someone coming to the office and say ‘Can I have a
 186 Welsh-speaker IT technician?’ In which case Martin will go on and deal with
 187 that customer. But because the Welsh people have the capability bilingually it
 188 hardly ever comes up. And that’s almost where you are a victim of your own
 189 bilingualism.

190 Int.: Mhm

191 M.: Because if people would said ‘Oh I can’t speak English’ I would only
 192 deal in Welsh. Then the requirement to speak Welsh would become essential,
 193 not desirable.

194 Int.: Mhm

195 M.: It would become ‘Sorry, IT technicians you have to speak Welsh because
 196 somebody might come in one day and they might only be able to speak
 197 Welsh. But everybody knows that if he can speak Welsh he can speak English
 198 as well. So ahm if not requirement and that’s not something you can legislate
 199 about. That’s something that’s gonna be there with attitude. Ahm with *Tŷ*
 200 *Ceredigion* we have a translator in the meetings and only 5 out of 20 of us

201 speak English. But still (.) I would say 80% of that meeting will be in English
 202 because the Welsh-speaking people will feel a duty to speak English because
 203 they don't like going through the translator.

204 Int.: Mhm

205 M.: Because they don't have that level of confidence to say 'I'm gonna speak
 206 Welsh, we have a translator here and I know the English speaker gonna
 207 understand'. But they think that's being rude to the English person. You
 208 know what I mean?

209 Int.: Yeah, I know what you mean.

210 M.: So that's why it's very difficult to make Welsh essential to a post but
 211 definitely if you have two candidates where they are on the same level of
 212 capability, one could speak Welsh and one couldn't then you will go for the
 213 one who could speak Welsh because that would definitely please a lot of
 214 people.

215 Int.: Mhm

216 M.: That they did have a Welsh speaking technician. I believe (*lacht*)

217 Int.: But actually it also pushes a lot of people to attend in Welsh classes and
 218 improve their language skills.

219 M.: Mhm

220 Int.: Well, for the moment I don't have any questions left. So if there's
 221 nothing left that you would like to say then I would say thank you for the
 222 Interview.

223 M.: Is it more about the Assembly you are after or just about attitudes?

224 Int.: In the interviews it's mainly about attitudes but I know that you are a bit
 225 more involved in politics than my other informants. So if there's something
 226 about the Assembly you want to say, feel free to do so.

227 M.: I mean I see a very differing view from (.) the traditional Welsh (.) ahm
 228 strongholds which everybody has depended on. Ahm, there's gonna be a next
 229 generation which isn't gonna be as strong. There are so many external
 230 influences on children these days. They watch TV so much more. I don't
 231 think I watched that much TV when I was growing up. Ahm and all that
 232 influences are in English because the Welsh medium isn't as strong. They
 233 don't have the same level of bands they do in English. So clearly they gonna
 234 listen to English radio stations for their Welsh bands. So it's not my

235 generation that I worry about, it's the next one and their language of choice.
236 If they are confident enough to speak it. Yeah, but I gonna have to go.
237 Int.: Well, thank you very much. Thank you for giving me your time.

Interview Nr. 7 (13:45)

(weiblich, 20 Jahre)

1 C.: Well I'm from South-Wales, from the South Wales Valleys, about 15 minutes
2 away from Newport. Ahm so I'm not in an urban area, I'm more from a
3 countryside area. Ahm I don't, I'm not a fluent Welsh speaker. English is my
4 first language and I don't have much of an accent as you can hear,
5 unfortunately. But I always quite wanted one, everyone likes it and everything
6 but.. Ahm, we have to do GCSE Welsh as a basic kind of requirement, so I did
7 that but I really don't know a lot, more basic kind of stuff. Ahm I would quite
8 like to be able to speak fluent Welsh, it'd be especially handy for jobs and that
9 kind of things as well.

10 Int.: Mhm

11 C.: Well, but it is quite a difficult language (*lacht*). I don't know if you have tried.

12 Int.: (*lacht*) Yeah, it is. I'm doing a Welsh course at the moment.

13 C.: And I guess it's better to learn it while you are younger when you keep all the
14 information and stuff but obviously I'm quite busy at the moment with degree
15 and that. So hopefully one day I'll be able to do a course or something, maybe.

16 Yes, ahm that's my kind of basic background I think.

17 Int.: So in your family no one speaks Welsh?

18 C.: No, there are no fluent Welsh-speakers in my family, not in my immediate
19 family. Ahm, it's all very kind of basic GCSE standard level. I mean it's not
20 ahm something you need in South-Wales particularly, you probably already
21 know. South-Wales is more anglicised than North-Wales. But no, a couple of
22 my friends I know do speak Welsh and I do know some people who are Welsh
23 speakers by their first tongue who don't live very far away from me but that's
24 kind of a family thing, you know. Their parents speak Welsh and they carry on
25 to do it, to their kids.

26 Int.: Mhm

27 C.: If I did learn Welsh before I have kids I'll probably end up doing that so they
28 have both languages, cause I think it would be very helpful, you know.

29 Int.: Cause I met a girl once, she was from the Rhondda Valleys and her family
 30 they were all English speaking but the parents wanted their children to speak
 31 Welsh. So they were sending their kids to a special Welsh school.

32 C.: Yeah

33 Int.: And she told me that she is talking to her parents in English but sometimes
 34 she and her sisters are talking in Welsh.

35 C.: Yeah (*lacht*)

36 Int.: She also studied Welsh and is doing a Welsh translator job now.

37 C.: Yeah, it's becoming more of a popular thing from what I can see to be able to
 38 speak fluent Welsh. I mean everyone, a lot of people are saying 'Oh, it's a
 39 dying language' and that sort of thing and 'It's not helpful' but it's becoming, I
 40 think, maybe it's brought more to the public, to keep our heritage. That sort of
 41 thing. And again, it's helpful to get jobs and stuff if you're bilingual.
 42 Especially if you work more kind of up this area.

43 Int.: Mhm

44 C.: So I think it's becoming more a popular thing and in a few years you might
 45 see more and more people fluently speaking it. You know, in South-Wales not
 46 just up here. Yeah (.)

47 Int.: I was just wondering, you said you would like to have more of an accent, a
 48 Welsh accent.

49 C.: Yeah, cause I do like the Welsh accent. I think it's awesome and you do hear it
 50 occasionally. It depends where you live as well, especially. I have a friend in
 51 Merthyr who has a very thick accent and when I'm speaking to her it turns to
 52 bring it out so they love it more, from what I hear anyway.

53 Int.: It's just interesting cause when I started doing my research I was coming
 54 across this study on the internet where they were asking people in the whole of
 55 the UK about accents. Which ones they like, which ones they absolutely don't
 56 like. And it turned out that the Welsh accent is the most unpopular accent in the
 57 UK.

58 C.: (*lacht*) Oh right. I think there is a kind of stereotype in the minds of people
 59 from elsewhere in Britain when they think of Welsh people. They think we are
 60 a bit slow, a farmer community sort of. But yeah, what do they know. (*lacht*) I
 61 like it. Obviously there are different accents within Wales.

62 Int.: Mhm

63 C.: Ahm if I would have one it would be a Valleys accent, that's where I live
64 closest to. Ahm and obviously when you get up to North-Wales again a really
65 kind of thick different accent. Maybe not so much that one. (*lacht*) But yeah, I
66 like it. I think it's cool. (..)

67 Int.: Ahm and in connection with the political situation now. How do you feel
68 about Devolution and the Assembly? Do you think that it had an impact on
69 people's feelings about Welshness?

70 C.: I think to a certain extent it probably does. Everyone obviously has their own
71 opinion that's not so easily persuaded. Like recently with the whole elections
72 and stuff. A lot of people have been worried about ahm what their policies
73 towards Wales and the Welsh Assembly is. And you can see it more in that
74 kind. It has changed that the people care, you know, what the policy is like on,
75 you know, the language especially and things like that. I know there was some
76 uproar about the Welsh Minister being picked who lived in Wales until he was
77 six and then moved to England. And they wanted someone, like a Welsh MP to
78 be it. And I think that's good that people are kind of fighting for what they
79 want for their patch of land. (..)

80 Int.: (..) Ahm, what does Welshness actually mean to you? You mentioned the
81 language and the accent before. How connected is Welshness to you with that,
82 or what else does it mean to you?

83 C.: Ahm, I think being from South-Wales and not having a fluent accent, the
84 fluent language, Welsh. I don't think that the Welsh identity should be found
85 solely in speaking Welsh

86 Int.: Mhm

87 C.: Ahm, you probably noticed being here, it's very ahm kind of (physicional)
88 image, you know, the Welsh identity there is a lot of things associated with it.
89 You know, like rugby and the different types of food and the different kind of
90 communities and loads of sheep everywhere (*lacht*). All sort of things. Ahm
91 and some people would say that it is a bad image. I personally don't think so. I
92 like the whole Welsh identity and when people ask, especially on forms where
93 it says 'What is your first nationality?' I would put Welsh above British. You
94 know, I'm proud to be Welsh in that sense. It doesn't mean that I don't count
95 myself as British but I would pick Welsh first and I know some people who are
96 from England originally and they moved here when they were kids and they

97 consider themselves Welsh now. Cause they would rather be.. (*lacht*). They
98 like the people and the community and the image of it. So yeah, although the
99 Welsh language does help, you know, with the whole identity. Ahm there are
100 only a few areas within Britain which have their own language rather than
101 English.

102 Int.: Mhm

103 C.: I think that is something. It has gone through a lot of ahm a lot trouble from
104 England over the last centuries, you know, trying to get rid of it. You probably
105 know, about schools and the *Welsh Knot* and that kind of things. And it
106 managed to survive to all this and it is now on the increase. So I think it is
107 something to be proud of. And it's trying, you know, to have. I think it's good.
108 (.)

109 Int.: But in the Valleys is more; the first thing you mentioned is rugby.

110 C.: (*lacht*) Yeah. Oh yeah. We are, I think the Welsh consider themselves superior
111 to all the Nationalities when it comes towards rugby. Which they are, but
112 (*lacht*). You especially see it around *6 Nations* and that sort of thing. It's very
113 obvious that we are a supporting country in that Sport. It's great. There's a
114 whole kind of thing behind it, you know, traditions, people have their own
115 traditions and everyone is just in the kind of a general mood of supporting.
116 Going to the pub and stuff like that. I like that. It's always a good time when
117 the *6 Nations* comes around.

118 Int.: Mhm. Especially the Wales-England match.

119 C.: It's always one to look out for. There's a lot of, kind of traditions posing
120 between England and Wales. And I guess it's kind of an image (.) like maybe
121 Wales, Scotland, Ireland standing up against the English, that sort of thing,
122 from history I guess.

123 Int.: Mhm

124 C.: The Celtic brothers sort of thing. And that just stayed obviously, you can see
125 that in sports and that kind of stuff. It's quite funny, the banter that goes on.
126 (*lacht*)

127 Int.: Mhm. Yeah I know, I have been in Cardiff last year during the England-
128 Wales match in the Millennium Stadium. That was very impressive.

129 C.: Yeah, it's always a big one. People kinda love it in Cardiff. (...)

130 Int.: Right (.) I have to think if there's something else to ask.

131 C.: So, you are specifically looking at the language?

132 Int.: My main interest is in Devolution and if this has made a change for people
 133 towards their attitude on Welshness. But there are the aspects like the language,
 134 the (.) the Assembly is now trying to get more people to speak it. Well, there is
 135 now more Welsh education in schools, more Welsh-schools. So the language is
 136 then also a major aspect in that sense.

137 C.: I guess it's the thing that's trying to do the most in politics and that kind of
 138 stuff. I think it's good that, I know here they do Welsh versions of modules.
 139 Like in Biology you can pick certain modules, not all of them obviously, that
 140 you can do in Welsh instead. I think that's good in promoting, you know, do
 141 your education thing in Welsh and not just learn.

142 Int.: And there are all those modules in Welsh and in English or just a few of
 143 them?

144 C.: Ahm just a few of them. It's mainly dependent on if the lecturers can speak the
 145 language. So we've got two or three lecturers this year who can speak Welsh.
 146 So the modules that they coordinate can be done in the Welsh language as well.
 147 Obviously there is not a lot of people who do that. I think it's good that they
 148 have then.

149 Int.: And how about the exams? Is it possible to do them in Welsh and in English?

150 C.: Yes, if you ask for it they'll provide you with a Welsh paper. And one of my
 151 flatmates, she is doing Math and Geography and she is a first language Welsh
 152 speaker. She started off doing it in Welsh and she, you know, liked it, she
 153 appreciated it to be able to do that. She went doing them in English in the end
 154 to make things simpler. Ahm but yeah I know she was glad for the opportunity.
 155 Although I know that's not the case in all the Universities. The further North
 156 you go the more likely you are to get that kind of thing.

157 Int.: Yeah. Aberystwyth University is also University of Wales. I think it was also
 158 the first University in Wales.

159 C.: I think so, yeah. I think I remember someone telling me that. It was down at
 160 the Old College originally.

161 Int.: Mhm

162 C.: Which was a hotel I think, someone told me.

163 Int.: Yeah, it was built as a hotel, but was never used as one.

164 C.: So it is, you find interesting things when you dig into it. And another good
165 thing is that there is so much history in Wales. There are a lot of famous
166 figures in history that are either Welsh, or something important happened in
167 Wales. Like there is the whole legend of King Arthur which is originally Welsh
168 and all that kind of things. When you kind of dig into it you find that Wales
169 was actually quite a pivotal area with a lot of events. This is cool (*lacht*) (..)
170 Int.: Well, I say thank you then. At the moment there are no more questions
171 coming up in my mind.
172 C.: No problem. I hope I could help you with it.

Interview Nr. 8 (28:30)

(männlich, 24 Jahre)

173 O.: My name is Owain. A very Welsh name. Ahm, I was born in Swansea which
174 is in South Wales.

175 Int.: Mhm

176 O.: Ahm my mum is from (Hamenforth) which is in Carmarthen,
177 Carmarthenshire, sorry. So West-Wales is where my mum's from, that's my
178 grandparents. Ahm grew up in the Gallon area. Me personally lived in the
179 Winchester area in England for a while until I was about (.) 6 or 7. The
180 second year of primary school and then..

181 Int.: You were also born there?

182 O.: I was born in South Wales.

183 Int.: Oh yeah, sorry, you mentioned that before.

184 O.: My mum was living in Winchester at the time but she came back to have me
185 (*lacht*).

186 Int.: (*lacht*)

187 O.: And then she went back to Winchester. But yeah, my mum is Welsh-speaking
188 and she taught me Welsh when I was little. Although I went to an English-
189 speaking school she thought the Welsh language is very important. So that
190 was that. So then I moved back to South-Wales (.), a part of South-Wales
191 when I was about 7 or 8 and that was it. Ahm that's my background. (.)

192 Int.: And you lived then in Swansea?

193 O.: No, the town was called (Llanmegan), in the Valley of Glamorgan. It's near
194 Cardiff and Swansea. Yeah, yeah. (.) Ahm (.)

195 Int.: And how was it for you coming back to Wales after living in England?

196 O.: Ahm actually I didn't enjoy it that much cause it was a bit of a jump. Making
197 friends in primary school in England and then I had to move to a different
198 school. That was a bit traumatic. Otherwise I was quite happy to be back in
199 Wales. Yeah, yeah, Ahm (.)

200 Int.: And the school you moved then was..

201 O.: Yeah, it was a Welsh medium school. So that was a bit strange actually even
202 though I was used to speak to my mum in the house. But ahm (.) actually

203 learning, you know, being taught in Welsh is a bit different. When you are
204 younger you pick up things quite easily. I think it wasn't too much of a
205 problem but yeah it's a bit different. But yeah, my, I went to a Welsh medium
206 primary school and junior high school and high school as well. So yeah, I had
207 all my education in Welsh, apart from University. It hasn't got that far yet
208 with Welsh education in high schools, in Universities, sorry. Yeah, so that's
209 the next step.

210 Int.: But isn't it possible here in Aberystwyth to have modules in Welsh?

211 O.: Yeah, I think so. It's just a matter of time I think. You have to wait for, you
212 know, us students now to get go through the system. Maybe in the future it
213 will help implement Welsh education in Universities. Ahm, does that make
214 sense? (.) Ahm so we have to... it's gonna be a next generation thing, or two
215 generations, I think. Or maybe two generations that our Universities finally
216 will become, or at least to have a choice to do it in Welsh or English.

217 Int.: Mhm

218 O.: It's just not enough.. For example in the physics department, there aren't
219 enough lecturers Welsh-speaking to cover everything. But I mean (.) I know
220 the Dean, the head Welsh lecturer in the physics department and she is
221 explaining to me how they are bringing in the modules in physics that are
222 slightly easy to begin with. So where there's not so much laboratory work. I
223 mean it's easier to turn this into a Welsh version of the module.

224 Int.: Mhm

225 O.: Mhm (.) Things like doing presentations as well in Welsh. That's one of the
226 easier things to do as well. I think this year I did a presentation in physics in
227 Welsh. And I don't think anyone else did. So I'm quite (proud of it). It's
228 important it has to be done (?). So it's going in the right direction. (.) Yes (..)

229 Int.: What would be your main, like when you think of Welshness: What would be
230 the first thing coming to your mind on representing Welshness for you?

231 O.: (..) There are lots of small things. (.) I'm glad we have, well, we are beginning
232 to have our own government. That's the favourite thing to be proud of.
233 Rugby. Sport. Any, I mean lots of nations have their own sports. Similar to
234 New Zealand, they have Rugby. Welsh sport is Rugby. Ahm to me
235 personally, I think to me it's more the historical thing. I think of the history.
236 The history as the history of Wales if that makes sense.

237 Int.: Mhm

238 O.: The history of a country is quite important. Yeah, for me it's the history. It's
 239 like knowing where you come from. All way back from before the Romans
 240 invaded. Yeah, there is all Britain, all Celtic-speaking. Yeah, and we are like
 241 the (?) of those Celtic tribes. So that idea and then following after then the
 242 history of English (law), the history between the English and the Welsh.
 243 There was always a lot of fighting. Ahm (.) yeah, so that's the history. That's
 244 my Welsh thing, that's what I like about Wales. And actually I think that it's
 245 not taught enough in schools, in secondary schools more. I think in primary
 246 schools we have quite a lot of Welsh. I think it's because is more focused on
 247 Wales in what they teach. We were taught a lot about Welsh mythology and
 248 Welsh history then (.) but it's just when we get into high schools we don't get
 249 taught enough about that. We learn all about the Tudors, more English history
 250 or British history than Welsh history.

251 Int.: And when you learn about Tudors for example, because you mentioned them,
 252 because they are actually from Wales and so it's part of Welsh history as
 253 well.

254 O.: They are, yeah, that's a good point.

255 Int.: So will it taught, will this Welsh relation to the history mentioned then?

256 O.: Yeah, yeah, cause it's all intermixed, isn't it? But it's difficult to say. When
 257 the Tudors came into power they took the weapons, they didn't ... 'Cause
 258 that's the reason why the Welsh wanted, why they wanted to put him on the
 259 throne.. Was it Henry VII?

260 Int.: Yeah

261 O.: They went, marched with him to a battle. I can't remember where the battle
 262 was but ahm yeah, they went with him because they thought it might be good
 263 for Wales.

264 O.: Ans ultimately it was, I don't know (.) it's difficult to say, but probably not.

265 Int.: It was from what I was reading, at that time it was good for Wales because
 266 they wanted equal rights with England and that was what they gave them, so
 267 but then in the future things changed and went a different way.

268 O.: Yeah, yeah. So that was Henry VII, ok. Yeah, but I don't think he did enough
 269 to secure maybe Welsh independence then. He was quarter Welsh I believe.
 270 Still (*lacht*)

271 Int.: But I think he was growing up in Wales and also speaking Welsh.

272 O.: Mhm, yeah. I think, yeah. I think Henry VIII spoke Welsh as well. (??) (*lacht*)

273 Int.: So, and how do you feel about the, ahm, modern history of Wales? About the

274 last 10 years? Do you think that those last years had an impact on the identity

275 as well? Having some form of Devolution?

276 O.: Right, ok. Devolution. It's getting there. Yeah, the last 10 years. Well the

277 Assembly Government is the main thing in the fact that the people voted for

278 the Assembly Government. I don't know how old I was, I couldn't vote back

279 then.

280 Int.: How old are you now?

281 O.: I'm 24, I'm nearly 24. And I think that's (almost ??) about the Assembly but

282 from what I've heard it wasn't the vast majority that voted.

283 Int.: Mhm

284 O.: They had to get over a certain percentage, it wasn't much over that. That was a

285 bit worrying because if they haven't, I don't know. We probably wouldn't

286 have an Assembly today, I think. And you know, it would go backwards. It's

287 not good, it's not good not going forward. What else can I say? Oh yeah,

288 there is a referendum coming up which is about more power for the

289 Assembly. Let's hope that the people ahm say yes. I talked about that with

290 you before the other day. Yeah, I hope they say, I hope they say yes, that it's

291 common sense. We are a separate country. I mean you can't.. it's better for us

292 to be (.) to govern ourselves, to have more powers by ourselves than be

293 governed by the parliament of London. There are pros and cons in that.

294 Int.: Mhm

295 O.: There are positives for the British Parliament, there are positives for the Welsh

296 Government, I think. The Welsh Government is definitely better in my

297 opinion. (*lacht*)

298 Int.: And do you think that it has had an impact on Welshness and Welsh identity

299 since there is the Assembly?

300 O.: Since there is the Assembly? Yes, I think it has. Definitely. Some (.), well

301 personally I respond more to subconscious things. Well, ok there is the

302 Assembly Government there but it is not that they haven't made any impacts

303 really. Ahm (.) things like (.) haven't they made the law about prescriptions,

304 didn't they? The cost of prescription is free in Wales but not in the hole of the

305 UK. There are things like that, small things like that. I think that was the
306 Assembly Governments choice. (.) But yeah, small things like that. I went to
307 England the other day and I had to buy some medication and I was charged
308 for that. Not like in Wales.

309 Int.: In Wales it is completely free?

310 O.: Prescriptions, yeah. Which is nice. So the small things like that which
311 definitely make me think ‘Yes, I’m Welsh’. (??) (*lacht*) (.) And I think that
312 it’s a good thing that they vote for Plaid Cymru, the Assembly, because Plaid
313 Cymru is the Welsh political party. And (.) ahm they managed to get into
314 power in the Assembly Government. It’s a coalition but still, it’s nice for
315 them.

316 Int.: Mhm

317 O.: But I think people always (.) it’s a bit of a confusion, I think. I don’t like this
318 idea that there is a Parliament in London and also an Assembly in Wales. But
319 the Assembly Members of the Assembly Parliament they sort of helped out in
320 the General Election as well. That’s just sort of a confusion thing. The Welsh
321 Assembly is the Welsh Assembly. (.) Yeah, the parties of the Welsh
322 Assembly are still very, very much connected with those parties in London,
323 you know, Labour, Liberal Democrats and the Conservatives. They just put
324 the word Welsh in front of them. It’s just (*lacht*). So I’m looking forward
325 eventually when there’s more sort of a separation between the Welsh parties
326 and the London parties, if that makes sense.

327 Int.: Mhm

328 O.: (..)

329 Int.: And where would you like to see Wales in the future? Would you like to see
330 it independent or still part of the United Kingdom but with more powers?
331 Like you already mentioned it before.

332 O.: Yeah, I know what you mean. (..) Mhm, more powers but still part of the UK.
333 I mean it’s difficult to.. yeah, you have to be realistic, don’t you? Wales is
334 part of an island that has been united for a very long time.

335 Int.: Mhm

336 O.: Mhm, so it’s gonna be very difficult. I’d like Wales to be fully independent.
337 I’d like it to be whether it’s going to happen or not in the future. It will take a
338 long, long time for this to happen if it does happen.

339 Int.: Mhm

340 O.: (.) For the time being just more powers would be nice.

341 Int.: Mhm

342 O.: For the time being.

343 Int.: There is another question now coming to my mind. I don't know if you have

344 ever heard of the Moreno scale. This scale measures if you feel more Welsh

345 or British, or both equally since it's quite common in Wales to have multiple

346 identities. How would you put yourself in there when you have to describe

347 yourself? What is your first thing to say: Welsh, British, or both equally?

348 O.: Oh I see. Well first of all Welsh but then I also consider myself British. It's

349 Britain (*lacht*). It's my mind on Britain, but there is a country in it called

350 Wales. There is also the Scotland thing.

351 Int.: Mhm

352 O.: What I don't like is the fact that (.) (??) but with Northern Ireland it's a bit

353 strange. It's in Ireland, yet it's considered part of the UK or nearly. Anyway.

354 'Cause my friend is from Northern Ireland and she explains all those different

355 parties and all that stuff which is quite complicated (*lacht*). So yeah, we are

356 quite lucky here in Wales. One Plaid Cymru and the other three, the parties of

357 London (*lacht*) (..)

358 Int.: Well, I don't have any more questions in mind at the moment, but ..

359 O.: How long have I spoken now?

360 Int.: Ahm, 17 minutes.

361 O.: 17, ok. (.) Music, I haven't mentioned that. When you mentioned what makes

362 (.) Welshness... Questions about Welshness I have to think of the Eistedfodd,

363 what I also mentioned yesterday. Again, it's historic the Eistedfodd, isn't it?

364 The first one was in the year 900 and something. Yeah, something like that

365 basically. When Wales still had lots of kingdoms. So it's long way back. Ahm

366 so and yeah, music and poetry, especially poetry. Actually poetry, Welsh

367 poetry is quite unique. Well, Welsh poetry has the most complex way of

368 writing poetry. There is the *cynghanedd*. I don't know if you have heard of

369 *cynghanedd*. It's a very difficult way of writing poetry. Also with matching

370 up sounds and words with other words and bringing it to a sentence but it's

371 the rhyme as well. So, yeah. Things like that, music, singing, dancing of

372 course. Ahm yes, (.) I forgot to mention that. Music. The Eistedfodd.
 373 Competitions.

374 Int.: Mhm

375 O.: Landscape, the special landscape. Actually what they often say about Wales is
 376 that it has lots of different looking landscapes all over the country. Wide
 377 coasts but also mountains, there are also plains and flat areas in the south. (.)
 378 So things like that. Wildlife. (..)

379 Int.: You haven't mentioned the mines. Since you are coming from South Wales.
 380 (*lacht*)

381 O.: The mines, yeah. I'm not from the valleys as such but I know plenty of people
 382 from there. Yes, the mines. (*lacht*)

383 Int.: Yeah, they shouldn't have closed the mines. Bad as it is. (??). Lots and lots of
 384 job losses. Yes I heard lots of this in primary school about all the, the ahm (.)
 385 movement, ahm not migration. People from North-Wales actually could come
 386 down to work in the mines. Farmers and such. Yeah, that's quite an important
 387 part of history, the coalmines. As well iron and steel industry. Port Talbot still
 388 has steel industry. (..) I can't think of anything else to mention.

389 Int.: What I found interesting is that in the beginning, when you mentioned things,
 390 one of the first things coming to your mind were rugby and history. And I
 391 was talking yesterday to a girl who comes from the valleys.

392 O.: Yeah

393 Int.: And the first things that she mentioned were rugby and history.

394 O.: (*lacht*)

395 Int.: And it's so different talking to people from other parts of Wales, because I
 396 was talking to someone from North-Wales and he said that rugby is not really
 397 what he would put first, thinking about Welshness. So you can see the
 398 difference in between Wales and different connections to Wales in different
 399 parts of the country.

400 O.: There is a big (*hustet*) (?) about rugby a few years back. I don't know if you
 401 know about the different regions, the different rugby regions. You've got the
 402 Cardiff Blues, there are about 4, like top (?) rugby teams. But before that they
 403 were all these South-Wales rugby teams. They were all famous rugby teams
 404 and they had to be split up to go to these, you know, bigger regions in South-
 405 Wales.

406 Int.: Mhm

407 O.: And there was lots and lots of competition and rivalry between the different
 408 valleys and so on, especially between the area north of Cardiff and the valleys
 409 up there. The Pontypridd area and Cardiff. Lots of rivalry there but all of a
 410 sudden all of these people had to be in the same region as Cardiff. Since then
 411 there is always a big uproar about rugby in South-Wales anyway.

412 Int.: All right.

413 O.: And Swansea and Neath, they are very close and there is rivalry there as well,
 414 but again, they are in the same region, you know, and they are supporting the
 415 same team. So it's all a bit strange for them.

416 Int.: Mhm

417 (*jemand geht durch den Raum*)

418 O.: Actually, very recently, the last five years I got into rugby. So whereas people
 419 from the Valleys grow up with it, you go, they go to the union rugby teams,
 420 (??). My friend talks about it all the time. (..)

421 Int.: Yeah, you can see differences from region to region. The first interviews that
 422 I had were just with people from North-Wales or from here. On the other
 423 side, my first contact with Welsh people was with people from South-Wales
 424 and there rugby meant everything to the people.

425 Int.: Mhm, mhm, I think football is still quite big in North-Wales but I don't know
 426 much about football, I don't watch football much. All I know is that Cardiff
 427 nearly got in the premier ship. Is that right?

428 Int.: (*lacht*) I don't know. I know hardly anything about football.

429 O.: (*lacht*) (..) Yeah, a friend of mine from North-Wales much prefers football to
 430 rugby. He is from Bangor in North-Wales.

431 Int.: Mhm

432 O.: And he supports Bangor football club and he is obsessed with them. They are
 433 not a big team, that's why they are the best, one of the best in Wales. But they
 434 can't be compared with Manchester United and ahm Arsenal in England. It's
 435 like they are just over the border. In Wales all those small teams are playing
 436 against each other and they've got no chance to play against bigger teams, but
 437 that's just how it is.

438 Int.: How is this when there is a big sports event going on and there is just
 439 England, playing internationally: Would you support England then or would
 440 this be a total no-go for you because they are England?
 441 O.: So you mean not England playing Wales, England playing somebody else.
 442 Int.: Yeah, England playing somebody else.
 443 O.: Yeah (*lacht*). It's difficult. Ahm for example in the world cup football I would
 444 support England cause my Dad is from England, a part is from England
 445 really. Well, my Dad is a bit Scottish as well. So I am half English.
 446 geneswise. But I, I consider myself Welsh.
 447 Int.: Ah, ok.
 448 O.: Yeah, I think, I read, I think it depends more on the mother what nationality
 449 your mother is, rather than your father. When you, when you are brought up and
 450 deciding who you are, I think it's more your mother that has an important role
 451 because they spend more time with the child I think. I think that's the general
 452 idea. I remember somebody saying this as well (.) but yeah, I've heard that and
 453 it's quite interesting. It's like if my mother being English and my father Welsh
 454 then I may consider myself more English than Welsh.
 455 Int.: Mhm
 456 O.: Ahm (.) Yeah, that's a good example: Mike Ruddock, he used to coach Wales,
 457 his son has played for Wales under-21-team or something like that but he is, his
 458 mother is Irish and so he is playing for the Irish team. So yes, I think it's true
 459 (*lacht*). This makes my point (*lacht*)
 460 Int.: (*lacht*)
 461 O.: One point. (..)
 462 Int.: Well, I don't have any more questions on my mind at the moment. So thank
 463 you very much for your help and doing this interview with me.

Das durchgeführte neunte Interview (Informant männlich, 28 Jahre) konnte aufgrund von Aufnahmeschwierigkeiten nicht transkribiert werden.

Abstract (Deutsch)

Die vorliegende Diplomarbeit befasst sich mit dem Thema der walisischen Identität im Kontext des konstitutionellem Wandels seit dem Devolution-Referendum von 1997 und dem damit einhergehenden Entstehen der *National Assembly for Wales*. Was genau ist überhaupt eine ‚walisische Identität‘? Wie definiert sich diese Identität innerhalb des multinationalen Großbritannien? Die Arbeit wendet sich einerseits dem historischen Entstehen der walisischen Nation zu, andererseits wird der Schwerpunkt auf die aktuellen historischen Ereignisse – die Devolution-Referenden, sowie das Entstehen der Welsh Assembly – gelegt, um zu hinterfragen wie die politischen Veränderungen das Verständnis der Kulturnation gegenüber ihrer Identität geprägt haben. Ein weiterer Kernpunkt der Arbeit ist der Aspekt der Sprache, dem wohl wichtigsten Merkmal der walisischen Identität.

Um den Einfluss von Devolution auf die (Re-)Konstruktion der Identität möglichst breit zu erfassen, wurden narrative Interviews durchgeführt, deren Auswertung sich im letzten Teil der Arbeit findet. Dabei konnte festgestellt werden, dass die Bedeutung der Welsh Assembly vor allem in ihrem symbolischem Charakter liegt, mit wesentlichem Einfluss auf das walisische Selbstbewusstsein. Eine höhere Identifizierung mit Wales ist zwar nicht direkt mit Devolution in Verbindung zu setzen, dennoch hat der konstitutionelle Wandel Einfluss auf die walisische Kulturnation ausgeübt. Vor allem die innerwalisischen Grenzen und Differenzierungen sind in den letzten Jahren immer mehr im Rückgang begriffen und auch die walisische Sprache scheint einen Bedeutungsaufschwung zu erfahren. Dies wird deutlich an der stetig steigenden Zahl an Sprecher/innen. Nichtsdestotrotz ist die Anzahl der walisischen Communities – die bedeutendsten Träger der walisischen Traditionen und Identität – weiterhin stark im Rückgang begriffen, einer Problematik, der man sich erst jetzt immer mehr bewusst wird.

Abstract (English)

The present thesis addresses the topic of Welsh identity in context of the constitutional change since the devolution referendum of 1997 and the construction of the *National Assembly of Wales*. What exactly is a Welsh identity? How is this Identity defined within a multinational Great Britain? The thesis deals with the historical aspects of building the Welsh nation on the one hand, and the latest events – the devolution referendum as well as the construction of the Welsh Assembly – on the other hand; thereby addressing the question how political changes have influenced the identity of the Welsh nation. Another aspect is the Welsh language, the main distinguishing mark of Welsh identity.

To obtain a really broad understanding of the impact of Devolution on the (re-) construction of identity qualitative research in the form of narrative interviews with Welsh people has been carried out. The analysis of these will be found in the last section of this thesis. The findings of these interviews were that the main importance of the Welsh Assembly is more or less a symbolic one with a major impact on Welsh self-confidence. Although a higher identification with Wales and Welshness cannot be put in connection with devolution, the constitutional change has had an impact on the Welsh nation. Most notably is the decline of the borders and differentiations within Wales in the last years. Furthermore the Welsh language is getting more important. This is shown in the increasing number of Welsh speakers. Nevertheless, the decline in the number of Welsh communities, which are directly responsible for carrying on the Welsh tradition and identity, is a real problem people have to face.

Curriculum Vitae

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